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PURCHAS

HIS

PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The sixth, Contayning Nauigations, Voyages, and Land-
Discoueries, with other Historicall Relations
of *AFRICA*.

The seuenth, *Nauigations, Voyages, and Discoueries of the*
Sea-Coasts and In-land Regions of Africa, which is generally
called Æthiopia: by English-men, and others,

The eighth, Peregrinations and Trauels by land in *Palestina, Natolia, Syria;*
Arabia, Persia; and other parts of *ASIA*.

The ninth, *Peregrinations, and Discoueries by Land, of Assyria, Armenia,*
Persia, India, Arabia, and other In-land Countries of Asia, by English-men
and others; Moderne and Ancients.

The tenth, *Præteritorum, or Discoueries of the World, specially such*
as in the other Bookes are omitted.

The Second Part.

Unus Deus, Una Veritas.



LONDON

Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in
Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.

1625.

2^d H. coll.

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The Second Part.

By Wm. Purchas, One of the Secretaries.



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1625.

666/25/44



TO THE HIGH
AND MIGHTIE
PRINCE,
GEORGE,

Duke, Marquesse, and Earle of BUCKINGHAM,
Viscount VILHERS, Baron of WHADDON,
Lord High Admirall of ENGLAND, Iustice in
Eyre of all his MAIESTIES Forests, Parkes,
and Chaces beyond Trent;

MASTER of His MAIESTIES Horse, KNIGHT of the
most Noble ORDER of the GARTER, and One of
His MAIESTIES most Honorable Priue
COUNCELL.



Having presented to the Princes Highnesse
a World of Histories composed into a
Historie of the World, I durst not set
saile with so great a Fleet of Sea-voyages
(a principall part thereof) before I be-
came humble Sutor to Your Grace for li-
cense from the Admiraltie. Pardon this
presumption, which Your Greatnesse requireth, Your Goodnesse
inuiteth, and the nature of the Worke exacteth. His Maie-
stie, the breath of our nostrils, the Life and Rule of our a-
ctions, hath by many graces otherwise, and by exemplarie dedica-
tion, taught Others Bookes there to seeke delightsome shaddow,
where His gaue so glorious light.

Neither may any Name stand so neere That of His High-
nesse, especially in a Booke of Sea and Land Trauels, as His

THE EPISTLE,&c.

who hath beene so late and faithfull a Traueller with Him by Sea and Land; Nor the Kings honor (here aymed at) bee more welcome to any then the Kings Friend, whom the King will honour; Nor can acts of Nauigation bee any where more sutable then to a Noble mind, now fixing his best and blest thoughts on discovering a neerer passage to the remoter World, and vnder whose Charge the Nauie Royall more flourisheth then euer. By some of Yours also the Author was encouraged to vndertake this great worke, which now therefore returneth to your Grace, as that Sea whence the Springs first flowed. May it please your Graces taste (more from such employments cannot be expected) to incite inferior appetites: and I hope that to such sweetnesse of Nature, this Historie of Nature will not be altogether distastfull. God Almighty blesse and prosper your Grace, and all your Loyall seruices to His Maiestie, with increase of Diuine, Royall, and Princely fauour.

AMEN.

Your Graces

lowly Orator

SAMUEL PURCHAS



NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, AND LAND-DISCOVERIES, WITH OTHER HISTORICALL RELATIONS OF AFRIKE.

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

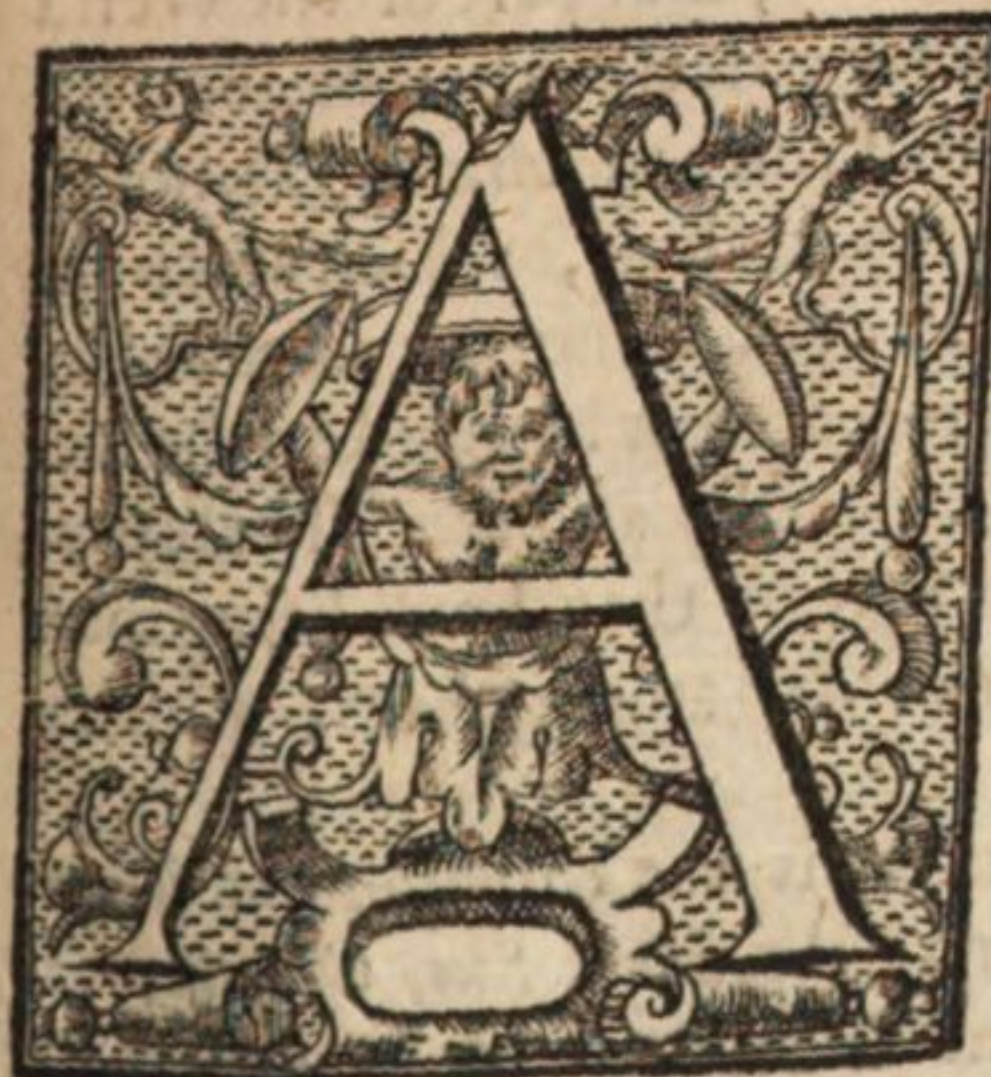
CHAP. I.

Observations of Africa, taken out of Iohn Leo his nine Bookes, translated by Master * Pory, and the most remarkable things hither transcribed.

* In diuers places the translation is amended.

§. I.

Collections out of the first Booke of Iohn Leo, touching the People, Tribes, Languages, Seasons, Vertues, Vices, and other more generall considerations of Africa.



AFRICA is called in the Arabian Tongue *Iphrichia*, of the word *Faraca*, which signifieth in the said Language, to diuide: but why it should be so called, there are two opinions; the first is this: namely, because this part of the World is diuided from *Europa* by the Mediterran Sea, and from *Asia* * by the Riuer of *Nilus*. Others are of opinion, that this name of *Africa* was deriued from one *Ifricus* the King of *Arabia Fœlix*, who is said to haue bene the first that euer inhabited these parts. This *Ifricus* waging war against the King of *Assyria*, & being at length by him driuen out of his Kingdome, passed with his whole Armie ouer *Nilus*, and so conducting his troupes westward, made no delay till he was come vnto the Region lying

Why this part of the World was so named *Africa*.
John Leo, lib. r.
* Others diuide it from *Asia* by the Red Sea.
As there was *Asia* proprie dicta, so likewise *Africa* was the name of the whole and of a speciall part; and that both amongst the Ancients, so (but in larger latent) with the *African* Authors and John Leo.
The borders of *Africa*.
* Non.

about *Carthage*. Hence it is that the *Arabians* doe imagine the Countrey about *Carthage* onely, and the Regions lying Westward thereof, to comprehend all *Africa*.

Africa (if we may giue credit vnto the Writers of that Nation; being men of Learning, and most skilfull Cosmographers) beginneth Southward at certaine Riuers issuing forth of a Lake in the Desart of *Gaoga*. East-ward it bordereth vpon the Riuer *Nilus*. It extendeth Northward to that part of *Egypt*, where *Nilus* at seuen mouthes dischargeth his streames into the Mediterran Sea: from whence it stretcheth Westward as farre as the Straights of *Gibraltar*, and is bounded on that part with the vtmost Sea-towne of all *Libya*, called * *Nun*. Likewise the South part thereof abutteth vpon the Ocean Sea, which compasseth *Africa* almost as farre as the Desarts of *Gaoga*.

The diuision
of Africa.
We usually call
all Africa
which lyeth
betweene the
Red, Indian,
Atlantike, and
Mediterran
Seas; ioyned
with a necke
of Land to A-
rabia.

Our Authours affirme, that *Africa* is diuided into foure parts, that is to say, *Barbaria*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, and the Land of *Negros*. *Barbaria* taketh beginning from the Hill called *Meies*, which is the extreme part of all the Mountaines of *Atlas*, being distant from *Alexandria* almost three hundred miles. It is bounded on the North-side with the *Mediterran Sea*, stretching thence to Mount-*Meies* afore said, and from Mount-*Meies* extending it selfe to the Streights of *Gibraltar*. West-ward it is limited with the said Streights, from whence winding it selfe out of the *Mediterran Sea* into the mayn Ocean, it is inclosed with the most Westerly point of *Atlas*: namely, at that Westerne Cape which is next vnto the Towne called *Messa*. And Southward it is bounded with that side of *Atlas* which lyeth towards the *Mediterran Sea*. This is the most noble and worthy Region of all *Africa*, the Inhabitants whereof are of a browne or tawny colour, being a ciuill people, and prescribe whollome Lawes and Constitutions vnto themselves.

* *Nun*.

The second part of *Africa* is called of the *Latines* *Numidia*, but of the *Arabians* *Biledulgerid*: this Region bringeth forth Dates in great abundance. It beginneth East-ward at the Citie of *Eloacat*, which is an hundred miles distant from *Egypt*, and extendeth West as far as the Towne of * *Nun*, standing vpon the Ocean Sea. North-ward it is inclosed with the South-side of *Atlas*. And the South part thereof bordereth vpon the sandy Desarts of *Libya*. All the *Arabians* doe usually call it the Land of Dates: because this onely Region of *Africa* beareth Dates.

The third part called of the *Latines* *Libya*, and of the *Arabians* *Sarra*, (which word signifieth a Desart) beginneth Eastward at that part of *Nilus* which is next vnto the Citie of *Eloacat*, and from thence runneth West-ward as farre as the Ocean Sea. North-ward it is bounded with *Numidia*, South-ward it abutteth vpon the Land of *Negros*, East-ward it taketh beginning at the Kingdome of *Gaoga*, and stretcheth West-ward euen to the Land of *Gualata*, which bordereth vpon the Ocean Sea.

The Riuer of
Niger.

The fourth part of *Africa* which is called the Land of *Negros*, beginneth East-ward at the Kingdome of *Gaoga*, from whence it extendeth West as farre as *Gualata*. The North part thereof is inclosed with the Desart of *Libya*, and the South part, which is vnknowne vnto vs, with the Ocean Sea: howbeit the Merchants which daily come from thence to the Kingdome of *Tombuto*, haue sufficiently described the situation of that Countrey vnto vs. This Land of *Negros* hath a mightie Riuer, which taking his name of the Region, is called *Niger*: this Riuer taketh his originall from the East out of a certaine Desart called by the fore-said *Negros*, *Sem*. Others will haue this Riuer to spring out of a certaine Lake, and so to runne Westward till it exonerateth it selfe into the Ocean Sea. Our Cosmographers affirme, that the said Riuer of *Niger* is deriued out of *Nilus*, which they imagine for some certaine space to bee swallowed vp of the Earth, and yet at last to burst forth into such a Lake as is before mentioned. Some others are of opinion, that this Riuer beginneth West-ward to spring out of a certaine Mountaine, and so running East, to make at length a huge Lake: which verily is not like to be true; for they usually faile West-ward from *Tombuto* to the Kingdome of *Ginea*, yea, and to the Land of *Melli* also; both which in respect of *Tombuto* are situate to the West: neither hath the said Land of *Negros* any Kingdomes comparable, for beautifull and pleasant soyle, vnto those which adioyne vnto the bankes of *Niger*. And here it is to be noted, that (according to the opinion of our Cosmographers) * that Land of *Negros* by which *Nilus* is said to runne (namely, that part of the World which stretcheth East-ward euen to the *Indian Sea*, some Northerly parcell whereof abutteth vpon the Red Sea, to wit, the Countrey which lyeth without the Gulfe of *Arabia*) is not to bee called any member or portion of *Africa*; and that for many reasons, which are to bee found in the proesse of this Historie set downe more at large: The said Countrey is called by the *Latines* *Ethiopia*. From thence come certaine religious Friars seared or branded on the face with an hot Iron, who are to be seene almost quer all *Europe*, and specially at *Rome*. These people haue an Emperour, which they call *Prete Gianni*, the greater part of that Land being inhabited with Christians. Howbeit, there is also a certaine *Mahumetane* among them, which is said to possesse a great Dominion.

* *Ethiopia*.

A diuision of
the foure fore-
named parts
of Africa.

Barbarie is distinguished into foure Kingdomes: the first whereof is the Kingdome of *Marocco*; which is likewise diuided into seuen Regions or Prouinces; namely, *Hea*, *Sus*, *Guzula*, the territorre of *Maroco*, *Ducoala*, *Hazcora*, and *Tedles*. The second Kingdome of *Barbarie* called *Fez*, comprehendeth in like sort seuen Regions within the bounds thereof; to wit, *Temesne*, the Territory of *Fez*, *Argara*, * *Elabat*, *Errif*, *Garet*, and * *Elcauz*. The third Kingdome is called * *Telenfin*, and hath three Regions vnder it, namely, the Mountaines, *Tenez*, and *Algezzer*. The fourth Kingdom of *Barbarie* is named *Tunis*; vnder which are comprized foure Regions, that is to say, *Bugia*, *Constantina*, *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, and *Ezzaba*, which is a good part of *Numidia*. *Bugia* hath alwayes beene turmoyled with continuall warres; because sometimes it was subiect vnto the King of *Tunis*, and sometimes againe vnto the King of *Tremizen*. Certaine it is that euen vntill these our dayes, this *Bugia* was a Kingdome of it selfe, and so continued, till the principall Citie of that Region was at the commandement of *Ferdinando* the King of *Castile*, taken by one *Peter* of *Nauarre*.

* *Habat*.

* *Chaux*.

* *Tremizen*.

This

This is the basest part of all *Africa*; neither will our Cosmographers vouchsafe it the name of a Kingdome, by reason that the Inhabitants thereof are so farre distant a sunder; which you may easily coniecture by that which followeth. *Tesset* a City of *Numidia*, containeth about foure hundred families, and is in regard of the *Libyan* Desart, seuered from all places of habitation almost three hundred miles; wherefore this second part is thought by diuers not to bee worthy the name of a Kingdome. Howbeit we will make some relation of the habitable parts of *Numidia*; some whereof may not vnfitly bee compared with other Regions of *Africa*; as for example, that of *Segelmess*, which territorie of *Numidia* lyeth ouer against *Barbarie*; likewise *Zeb*, which is situate against *Bugia*, and the signorie of *Biledulgerid*, which extendeth vn-
 10 to the Kingdome of *Tunis*. Reseruing therefore many particulars for the second part of this Historie, we will make our entrie and beginning at those places, which lie vpon the West of *Numidia*: the names whereof be these; *Tesset*, *Gnaden*, *Isren*, *Hacca*, *Dare*, *Tabelbelt*, *Todga*, *Fercalc*, *Segelmess*, *Benigumi*, *Figbig*, *Tegua*, *Tsabit*, *Tegorarin*, *Mesab*, *Tegort* and *Guarghela*. The Region of *Zeb* containeth five townes, to wit, *Pescara*, *Elborh*, *Nesta*, *Taolac* and *Densin*: so many Cities likewise hath the territories of *Biledulgerid*; namely, *Teozar*, *Caphesa*, *Nesreoa*, *Elchamid* and *Chalbis*: and from hence Eastward are found the Isles of *Gerbe*, *Gaxion*, *Mesellata*, *Mestrata*, *Tecirraga*, *Gademis*, *Fizza*, *Angela*, *Birdeoa* and *Eloacat*. These are the names of the most famous places of all *Numidia*, being bounded (as is said before) Westward vpon the Ocean Sea, and Eastward with the Riuer of *Nilus*.

The diuision of *Numidia*.*Tesset*.

In the map of Africa, the West of Numidia is marked with the names of the cities mentioned in the text.

These Desarts haue not as yet any certaine name amongst vs, albeit they be diuided into five
 20 parts, and receiue all their denomination from the inhabitants which dwell vpon them, that is to say, from the *Numidians*, who are in like sort themselues diuided into five parts also, to wit, the People or Tribes called *Zanaga*, *Ganziga*, *Terga*, *Lenta* and *Berdeoa*. There bee likewise certaine places, which take some proper and particular name from the goodnesse and badnesse of the soile; as namely, the Desart of *Azaohad*, so called for the drought and vnfruitfulnesse of that place: likewise *Hair*, albeit a Desart, yet so called for the goodnesse and temperature of the ayre.

A description of the *Libyan* Desarts, which lie betweene *Numidia* and the Land of *Negros*.

Moreouer, the land of *Negros* is diuided into many Kingdomes: whereof albeit a great part be vnknowne vnto vs, and remooued farre out of our trade; wee will notwithstanding make relation of those places, where wee our selues haue abroad, and which by long experience are growne very familiar vnto vs: as likewise of some other places, from whence Merchants vsed
 30 to trauell vnto the same Cities wherein my selfe was then resident; from whom I learned right well the state of their Countries. I * my selfe saw fifteene Kingdomes of the *Negros*: howbeit there are many more, which although I saw not with mine owne eyes, yet are they by the *Negros* sufficiently knowne and frequented. Their names therefore (beginning from the West, and so proceeding Eastward and Southward) are these following: *Gualata*, *Ghinea*, *Melli*, *Tombuto*, *Gago*, *Guber*, *Agadez*, *Cano*, *Casena*, *Zegzeg*, *Zanfara*, *Guangara*, *Burno*, *Gaoga*, *Nube*. These fifteene Kingdomes are for the most part situate vpon the Riuer *Niger*, through the which Merchants vsually trauell from *Gualata* to the City of * *Alcair* in *Egypt*. The iourney indeede is very long, but yet secure and voyd of danger. All the said Kingdomes adioyne one vpon another; ten whereof are separated either by the Riuer *Niger*, or by some sandie desart:
 40 and in times past each one of the fifteene had a seuerall King, but now * at this present, they are all in a manner subiect vnto three Kings onely: namely, to the King of *Tombuto*, who is Lord of the greatest part; to the King of *Borno*, who gouerneth the least part, and the residue is in subiection vnto the King of *Gaoga*: howbeit, he that possesseth the Kingdome of *Ducala* hath a very small traine attending vpon him. Likewise these Kingdomes haue many other Kingdomes bordering vpon the South frontiers of them: to wit, *Bito*, *Temiam*, *Damma*, *Medra*, and *Gorhan*; the Gouvernors and Inhabitants whereof, are most rich and industrious people, great louers of Iustice and equitie, albeit some leade a brutish kind of life.

A diuision of the land of *Negros* into seuerall Kingdomes.* *John Leo* trauelled ouer fifteene Kingdomes of the land of *Negros*.* *Cairo*.

* About the yeere 1526.

Our Cosmographers and Historiographers affirme, that in times past *Africa* was altogether disinhabited, except that part which is now called the Land of *Negros*: and most certaine it is,
 50 that *Barbarie* and *Numidia* were for many ages destitute of Inhabitants. The tawnie people of the said Region were called by the name of *Barbar*, being deriued of the Verbe *Barbara*, which in their tongue signifieth to murmur: because the *African* tongue soundeth in the eares of the *Arabians*, no otherwise then the voyce of Beasts, which vtter their sounds without any accents. Others will haue *Barbar* to be one word twice repeated, forso much as *Bar* in the *Arabian* tongue signifieth a Desart. For (say they) when King *Iphricus* being by the *Assyrians* or *Ethiopians* driuen out of his owne Kingdome, trauelled towards *Egypt*, and seeing himselfe so oppressed with his enemies, that he knew not what should become of him and his followers,
 60 he asked his people how or which way it was possible to escape, who answered him *Bar-Bar*, that is, to the Desart, to the Desart: giuing him to vnderstand by this speech, that he could haue no safer refuge, then to crosse ouer *Nilus*, and to flee vnto the Desart of *Africa*. And this reason seemeth to agree with them, which affirme the *Africans* to bee descended from the people of *Arabia felix*.

Of the habitations of *Africa*, and of the signification of this word *Barbar*.

The map of Africa, the West of Numidia is marked with the names of the cities mentioned in the text.

The

A diuision of
the tawny
Moores into
sundrie Tribes
or Nations.
* *Guadalkabit.*

Tremizen cal-
led by the an-
cient Cosmo-
graphers *Cesa-*
ria, or *Maurita-*
nia Cesariensis.

Ibnu Rachu an
African Histo-
rian.

The agreemēt
or varietie of
the African
language.
Aquel Amarig.
African lan-
guage.
Arabike.

Sungai.

Guber.

Bornolanguage.

Nubian.

Arabike bro-
ken.

Barbarian.

Of the Arabi-
ans inhabiting
the Citie of
Africa.

* *Hulmen.*

* *Hucha.*

* *Cairaoan.*

Tunis.

* *Cairaoan.*

Corruption of
Language.

* The Moores
of Granada.
Of the Arabi-
ans which dwel
in Tents, and
their coming
into Africa.

* A Mahume-
tane Patriarch.
Of these Chali-
sa's, see my
Pilgrim, lib 3.

The tawny Moores are diuided into five seuerall People or Tribes: to wit, the Tribes called *Zanhagi*, *Musmudi*, *Zeneti*, *Hacari* and *Gumeri*. The Tribe of *Musmudi* inhabit the Westernne part of Mount *Atlas*, from the Prouince of *Hea*, to the Riuer of * *Sernan*. Likewise they dwell vpon the South part of the said Mountaine, and vpon all the inward plaines of that Region. These *Musmude* haue foure Prouinces vnder them: namely, *Hea*, *Sus*, *Guzula*, and the Territorie of *Morocco*. The Tribe of *Gumeri* possesse certaine Mountaines of *Barbarie*, dwelling on the sides of those Mountaines which lie ouer against the Mediterranean Sea: as likewise they are Lords of all the Riuer called in their language *Rif*. This Riuer hath his Fountaine neere vnto the streights of *Gibraltar*, and thence runneth Eastwards to the Kingdome of *Tremizen*, called by the Latines *Cesaria*. These two tribes or people haue seuerall habitations by themselves: the other three are dispersed confusely ouer all *Africa*: howbeit, they are like strangers, discerned one from another by certaine properties or tokens, maintaining continuall warre among themselves, especially they of *Numidia*. Out of all which it is euident, that in times past all the foresaid people had their habitations and tents in the plaine fields: euery one of which fauoured their owne faction, and exercised all labours necessary for mans life, as common among them. The Gouvernours of the Countrey attended their droues and flocks; and the Citizens applyed themselves vnto some manuell Art, or to husbandry. The said people are diuided into five hundred seuerall families, as appeareth by the Genealogies of the *Africans*, Author whereof is one *Ibnu Rachu*, whom I haue oftentimes read and perused. Some writers are of opinion, that the King of *Tombuto*, the King of *Melli*, and the King of *Agadez* fetch their originall from the people of *Zanaga*, to wit, from them which inhabite the Desert.

The foresaid five families or people, being diuided into hundreds of progenies, and hauing innumerable habitations, doe notwithstanding vse all one kind of language, called by them *Aquel Amarig*, that is, the noble tongue: the *Arabians* which inhabit *Africa*, call it a barbarous tongue; and this is the true and naturall language of the *Africans*. Howbeit it is altogether different from other languages, although it hath diuers words common with the *Arabian* tongue. Yea, all the *Gumeri* in a manner and most of the *Hacari* speake *Arabian*, though corruptly; which (I suppose) came first hereupon to passe, for that the said people haue had long acquaintance and conuersation with the *Arabians*. The *Negros* haue diuers languages among themselves, among which they call one *Sungai*, and the same is current in many Regions; as namely, in *Gualata*, *Tombuto*, *Ghinea*, *Melli* and *Gago*. Another language there is among the *Negros*, which they call *Guber*; and this is rise among the people of *Guber*, of *Cano*, of *Casena*, of *Perzegreg*, and of *Guangra*. Likewise the Kingdome of *Borno* hath a peculiar kind of speech, altogether like vnto that, which is vsed in *Gaoga*. And the Kingdome of *Nube* hath a language of great affinitie with the *Caldean*, *Arabian* and *Egyptian* tongues. But all the Sea-townes of *Africa*, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Mountaines of *Atlas*, speake broken *Arabian*. Except the Kingdome and Towne of *Maroco*, and the in-land *Numidians* bordering vpon *Maroco*, *Fez* and *Tremizen*; all which, vse the *Barbarian* tongue. Howbeit, they which dwell ouer against *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, speake indeede the *Arabian* language; albeit most corruptly.

Of that Army which was sent by *Califa* * *Otmen* the third, in the foure hundred yeere of the *Hegira*, there came into *Africa* fourescore thousand Gentlemen and others, who hauing subdued sundry Prouinces, at length arriued in *Africa*: and there the Generall of the whole Army called * *Hucha Hibnu Nafich* remained. This man built that great City which is called of vs * *Alcair*. For he stood in feare of the people of *Tunis*, lest they should betray him, misdoubting also that they would procure aide out of *Sicily*, and so giue him the incounter. Wherefore with all his treasure which he had got, he trauelled to the Desert and firme ground, distant from *Carthage* about one hundred and twenty miles, and there is he said to haue built the City of * *Alcair*. The remnant of his Souldiers he commanded to keepe those places, which were most secure and fit for their defence, and willed them to build where no rocke not fortification was. Which being done, the *Arabians* began to inhabit *Africa*, and to disperse themselves among the *Africans*, who, because they had beene for certaine yeeres subiect vnto the *Romans* or *Italians*, vsed to speake their language: and hence it is, that the naturall and mother-tongue of the *Arabians*, which hath great affinitie with the *African* tongue, grew by little and little to be corrupted: and so they report that these two Nations at length conioyned themselves in one. Howbeit the *Arabians* vsually doe blaze their Pedigree in daily and triuiall Songs, which custome as yet is common both to * vs, and to the people of *Barbarie* also. For no man there is, be he neuer so base, which will not to his owne name, adde the name of his Nation; as for example, *Arabian*, *Barbarian*, or such like.

The *Mahumetan* Priests alwayes forbad the *Arabians* to passe ouer *Nilus* with their Armies and Tents. Howbeit in the foure hundred yeere of the *Hegira* we reade, that they were permitted so to doe by a certaine factious and schismaticall * *Califa*: because one of his Nobles had rebelled against him, vsurping the City of *Cairaoan*, and the greatest part of *Barbarie*. After the death of which Rebell, that Kingdome remained for some yeeres vnto his posteritie and family; whose iurisdiction (as the *African* Chronicles report) grew so large and strong in the time

time of *Elcain* (the *Mahumetan Califa* and Patriarch of *Arabia*) that hee sent vnto them one *Gehoar*, whom of a slave he had made his Counsellor, with an huge Armie. This *Gehoar* conducting me his Armie Westward, recovered all *Numidia* and *Barbarie*. Insomuch that hee pierced vnto the Region of *Sus*, and there claymed most ample Tribute: all which being done, he returned backe vnto his *Califa*, and most faithfully surrendred vnto him whatsoever hee had gained from the Enemy. The *Califa* seeing his prosperous successe, beganne to aspire vnto greater Exploits. And *Gehoar* most firmly promised, that as hee had recovered the Westerne Dominion vnto his Lord, so would he likewise by force of Warre most certainly restore vnto him the Countries of the East, to wit, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and all *Arabia*; and protested moreouer that with the greatest hazard of his life, he would bee auenged of all the iniuries offered by the Family of *Labbus* vnto his Lords Predecessors, and would reuest him in the Royall Seate of his most famous Grand-fathers, great-grand-fathers, and Progenitors. The *Califa* liking well his audacious promise, caused an Armie of fourescore thousand Souldiers, with an infinite summe of money and other things necessary for the Warres, to bee deliuered vnto him. And so this valiant and stout Chieftaine being prouided for warfare, conducted his Troupes through the Desarts of *Egypt* and *Barbarie*; and hauing first put to flight the Vice-*Califa* of *Egypt* (who fled vnto *Eluir*, the *Califa* of *Bagdet*) in short time he subdued very easily all the Prouinces of *Egypt* and *Syria*. Howbeit he could not as yet hold himselfe secure; fearing least the *Califa* of *Bagdet* would assaile him with an Army out of *Asia*, and least the Garrisons which he had left to keepe *Barbarie*, should be constrained to forsake those conquered Prouinces. Wherefore hee built a Citie, and caused it to be walled round about. In which Citie hee left one of his most trustie Captaines, with a great part of the Army: and this Citie hee called by the name of *Alchair*, which afterward by others was named *Cairo*. This *Alchair* is said daily so to haue increased, that no Citie of the World for buildings and Inhabitants was any way comparable thereunto.

Moreouer, *Califa Elcain* arriuing at *Alchair*, and beeing most honourably entertayned by his Seruant *Gehoar*, (who had written for him to come) began to thinke vpon great affaires, and hauing gathered an huge Armie, resolved to wage battell against the *Califa* of *Bagdet*. In the meane season he that was appointed Vice-Roy of *Barbarie*, compacting with the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, yeelded himselfe and all *Barbarie* into his hands. Which the *Califa* most kindly accepted, and ordayned him King ouer all *Africa*. But *Califa Elcain* hearing this newes at *Alchair* was wonderfully afflicted in minde. Howbeit there was one of his secret Counsellors a very learned and wittie man, who seeing his Lord so sad and pensieue; I assure you, said he, if you please to take mine aduise, that I will forth-with procure you such an Armie, as shall giue you great store of money, and yet notwithstanding shall doe you good seruice also. The *Califa* beeing some-what emboldened at these speeches, asked his Counsellour how this might possibly bee brought to effect: My Lord (sayth his Counsellor) certaine it is, that the *Arabians* are now growne so populous, and to so great a number, that all *Arabia* cannot contayne them, scarcely will the yeerely increase of the ground suffice to feed their Droues, and you see with what great famine they are afflicted, and how they are destitute not onely of habitations, but euen of victuals and sustenance. Wherefore if you had heretofore giuen them leaue, they would long ere this haue inuaded *Africa*. And if you will now licence them so to do, doubt you not, but that you shall receiue of them an huge Masse of Gold. This counsell could not altogether satisfie the *Califa* his minde: for he knew right well that the *Arabians* would so waste all *Africa*, as it should neither be profitable for himselfe, nor for his Enemies. Notwithstanding, seeing that his Kingdome was altogether endangered, he thought it better to accept those summes of money which his Counsellour promised, and so to be reuenged of his Enemy, then to lose both his Kingdome and Gold all at once. Wherefore he permitted all *Arabians*, which would pay him Duckats apiece, freely to enter *Africa*; conditionally that they would shew themselves most deadly Enemies vnto the treacherous King of *Barbarie*. Which libertie being granted vnto them, it is reported that ten Tribes or Families of *Arabians*, being halfe the people of *Arabia Deserta*, came immediately into *Africa*; vnto whom certaine Inhabitants of *Arabia Felix* ioyned themselves, insomuch that there were found amongst them about fiftie thousand persons able to beare Armes: their women, children, and cattell were almost innumerable: the Storie whereof *Ibnu Rachu*, the most diligent Chronicler of *African* Affaires (whom wee haue before mentioned) setteth downe at large.

These *Arabians* hauing trauesed the Desart betweene *Egypt* and *Barbarie*, first laid siege vnto *Tripolis* a Citie of *Barbarie*, which being overcome, they slue a great part of the Citizens, the residue escaping by flight. Next of all they encountred the Towne of *Capes*, which was by them taken and vanquished. At length they besieged *Cairoan* also; howbeit the Citizens being sufficiently prouided of victuals, are said to haue indured the siege for eight monethes: which being expired, they were constrained to yeeld: at what time there was nothing in *Cairoan* but wofull slaughters, hideous out-cryes, and present death. This Land the *Arabians* diuided among themselves, and began to people and inhabit the same; requiring in the meane space large Tributes of the Townes and Prouinces subiect vnto them. And so they possessed all *Afri-*

Gehoar a slave by condition conquered all *Barbarie*, *Numidia*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*.

Cairo built, called *Alchair*. *Gehoar* the first founder of *Cairo*: all is the *Arabeck* Article, o the *Exoticke* termination.

Ten Tribes of *Arabians* inuade *Africa*. *Ibnu Rachu* a famous Historiographer.

petually remaine in the Desarts. They are able to leuie fourescore thousand souldiers, the greatest part being footmen. Likewise the Tribe of *Sabid* doe inhabite the Desart of *Libya*: and these haue had alwaies great league and familiaritie with the King of *Guargala*. They haue such abundance of cattell, that they doe plentifully supply all the Cities of that region with flesh, and that especially in Summer-time, for all the Winter they stir not out of the Desarts. Their number is increased to about a hundred and fiftie thousand, hauing not many Horsmen among them. The Tribe of *Delleg* possesse diuers habitations; howbeit, *Casaria* containeth the greatest part of them. Some also inhabit vpon the frontiers of the Kingdom of *Bugia*, who are said to receiue a yearely stipend from their next neighbours. But the least part of them dwell vpon the field-
 10 countrey of *Acdes*, vpon the borders of *Mauritania*, and vpon some part of mount *Atlas*, being subiect vnto the King of *Fez*. The people of *Elmuntefig* are seated in the Prouince of *Azgar*, and are called by the later writers *Elcaluth*. These also pay certaine yearely tribute vnto the King of *Fez*, being able to furnish about eight thousand Horsmen to the warres. The Kindred of *Sobair* doe inhabit not farre from the Kingdome of *Gezeir*, being many of them vnder the pay of the King of *Tremizen*, and are said to enioy a great part of *Numidia*. They haue more or lesse, three thousand most warlike Horsmen. They possesse likewise great abundance of Camels; for which cause they abide all Winter in the Desarts. The remnant of them occupieth the Plaine which lieth betweene *Sala* and *Mecnes*. These haue huge droues of Cattell, and exercise themselves in Husbandrie, being constrained to pay some yearely tribute vnto the King of *Fez*. They haue Horsmen, who, as a man may say, are naturally framed to the warres, about foure thousand
 20 in number.

Hillel, which are also called *Benhamir*, dwell vpon the frontiers of the Kingdome of *Tremizen* and *Oran*. These range vp and downe the Desart of *Tegorarin*, being in pay vnder the King of *Tremizen*, and of great riches and power; insomuch that they haue at all times in a readinesse for the warres sixe thousand Horsmen. The Tribe of *Hurua* possesse onely the borders of *Mustaganim*. These are sauage people, giuing themselves wholly to spoyles and robberies, and alienating their minds from the warres. They neuer come forth of the Desarts; for the people of *Barbarie* will neither allow them any places of habitation, nor yet any stipend at all: Horsmen they haue to the number of two thousand. The Kindred of *Hucbar* are next neighbours vnto the region of *Melian*, who receiue certaine pay from the King of *Tunis*. They are rude and wild people, and in very deed estranged from all humanitie: they haue (as it is reported) about fiftene
 30 hundred Horsmen. The Tribe of *Habru* inhabit the region lying betweene *Oran* and *Mustaganim*: these exercise Husbandrie, paying yearely tribute vnto the King of *Tremizen*, and being scarce able to make one hundred Horsmen.

The people called *Massim*, possesse those Desarts of *Masla*, which extend vnto the Kingdome of *Bugia*. These likewise are giuen onely to theft and robbetrie; they take tribute both of their owne people, and of other regions adioyning vnto them. The Tribe of *Rieeb* inhabit those desarts of *Libya*, which border vpon *Constantina*. These haue most ample Dominions in *Numidia*, being now diuided into sixe parts. This right famous and warlike Nation receiue stipend from the King of *Tunis*, hauing five thousand Horsmen at command. The people of *Snaid* enioy that Desart, which is extended vnto the Signiorie of *Tenez*. These haue very large possessions, receiuing stipend from the King of *Tremizen*, being men of notable dexteritie, as well in the warres, as in all other conuersation of life. The Kindred of *Azgeg* dwell not altogether in one place: for part of them inhabit the region of *Garet*, among the people called *Hemram*; and the residue possesse that part of *Duccala*, which lieth neere vnto *Azaphi*. The Tribe of *Elcherit* dwell vpon that portion of *Helin* which is situate in the Plaine of *Sahidim*, hauing the people of *Heah* tributarie vnto them, and being a very vnciuill and barbarous people. The people called *Enedri* are seated in the Plaine of *Heah*: but the whole region of *Heah* maintaineth almost foure thousand Horsmen, which notwithstanding are vnfit for the warres. The people of *Garfa* haue sundry Mansions: neither haue they any King or Gouvernour. They are dispersed among other Generations, and especially among the Kindreds of *Manebbi* and *Hemram*. These conuay Dates from *Segelmessa* to the Kingdome of *Fez*, and carry backe againe from thence such things as are necessarie for *Segelmess*.

The people called *Ruche*, who are thought to be descended from *Mastar*, doe possesse that desart, which lieth next vnto *Dedes* and *Farcala*. They haue very small dominions, for which cause they are accounted no whit rich; howbeit, they are most valiant souldiers, and exceeding swift of foote; insomuch that they esteeme it a great disgrace, if one of their footemen be vanquished by two horsmen. And you shall find scarce any one man among them, which will not outgoe a very swift horse, be the iourney neuer so long. They haue about five hundred Horsmen, but most warlike Footemen, to the number of eight thousand. *Selim* inhabite vpon the Riuer of *Dara*, from whence they range vp and downe the Desarts. They are endowed with great riches, carrying euery yeare merchandize vnto the Kingdome of *Tombuto*, and are thought to be in high fauour with the King himselfe. A large iurisdiction they haue in *Darha*, and great plentie of Camels: and for all opportunities of warre they haue euer in a readinesse three thousand Horsmen.

The

Sabid.

Delleg.

Tremizen.

Elmuntefig.

Sobair.

Of the people of Hillel, and of their habitations.

Hurua.

Hucbar.

Habru.

Massim.

Rieeb.

Snaid.

Azgeg.

Elcherit.

Enedri.

Garfa.

Of the Tribe of Macbil.

Ruche.

Swift people.

Selim.

Traffick to Tombuto.

- Elbasis.** The Tribe of *Elbasis* dwelleth vpon the sea-coast, neere vnto *Messa*. They doe arme about fūe hundred Horsēmen, and are a Nation altogether rude, and vnacquainted in the warres. Some part of them inhabiteth *Azgar*. Those which dwell about *Messa*, are free from the yoke of superiority; but the others which remaine in *Azgar*, are subiect to the King of *Fez*. The Kindred of *Chinan* are dispersed among them, which before were called *Elcaluth*, and these also are subiect vnto the King of *Fez*. Very warlike people they are, and are able to set forth two thousand Horsēmen. The people of *Deuibessen* are diuided into the Kindreds of *Duleim*, *Burbun*, *Vode*, *Deuimansor*, and *Deuibubaidulla*. *Duleim* are conuersant in the Desarts of *Libya* with the *African* people, called *Zanhaga*. They haue neither dominion, nor yet any stipend; wherefore they are very poore, and giuen to robbrie: they trauell vnto *Dara*, and exchange Cattell for Dates with the inhabitants there. All brauerie and comelinesse of apparrell they vtterly neglect; and their number of fighting men is ten thousand, foure thousand being Horsēmen, and the residue Footemen. The people called *Burbun*, possesse that part of the *Libyan* Desart which adioyneth vnto *Sus*: They are a huge multitude, neither haue they any riches besides Camels. Vnto them is subiect the Citie of *Tesset*; which scarce sufficeth them for the maintenance of their Horsēs, being but a few. The people of *Vode* enioyeth that Desart, which is situate betweene *Guaden* and *Gualata*. They beare rule ouer the *Guadenites*, and of the Duke of *Gualata* they receiue yearely tribute, and their number is growne almost infinite: for by report, they are of abilitie to bring into the field almost threescore thousand most skilfull souldiers; notwithstanding, they haue great want of Horsēs. The Tribe of *Racmen* occupie that Desart which is next vnto *Hacha*: they haue verie large possessions, and doe in the Spring-time vsually trauell vnto *Tesset*; for then alwaies they haue somewhat to do with the inhabitants there. Their people fit for Armes are to the number of twelue thousand, albeit they haue very few Horsēmen. The Nation of *Hamrum* inhabit the Desarts of *Taganost*, exacting some tribute of the inhabitants there, and with daily incursions likewise molesting the people of *Nun*. Their number of souldiers is almost eight thousand.
- The Generation of *Dehemrum*, which are said to deriue their pedigree from *Deuimansor*, inhabit the Desart ouer against *Segelmess*, who continually wander by the *Libyan* Desarts as farre as *Ighid*. They haue tributarie vnto them the people of *Segelmess*, of *Todgatan*, of *Tebelbeli*, and of *Dara*. Their soile yeeldeth such abundance of Dates, that the yearely increase thereof is sufficient to maintaine them, although they had nothing else to liue on. They are of great fame in other Nations, being able to furnish for the warres about three thousand Horsēmen. There dwell likewise among these certaine other *Arabians* of more base condition, called in their language *Garfa Esgeb*; which notwithstanding haue great abundance of Horsēs, and of all other Cattell. The people of *Menebbe* doe almost inhabite the very same Desart, hauing two Prouinces of *Numidia* vnder them; to wit, *Margara*, and *Retebbe*. These also are a most valiant Nation, being in pay vnder the Prouince of *Segelmess*, and being able to make about two thousand Horsēmen. The Kindred of *Husein*, which are thought to be descended of *Deuimansor*, are seated vpon the Mountaines of *Atlas*. They haue in the said Mountaines a large iurisdiction, namely, diuers Castles euery where, and many most rich and flourishing Cities; all which, they thinke, were giuen them in old time by the Vice-royes of the *Marini*: for as soone as they had wonne that Kingdome, the Kindred of *Husein* afforded them great aide and seruice. Their dominion is now subiect vnto the Kings of *Fez* and of *Segelmess*. They haue a Captaine, which for the most part resideth at the Citie, commonly called *Garfeluin*. Likewise they are alwaies in a manner, trauersing of that Desart, which in their language is called *Eddara*. They are taken to be a most rich and honest people, being of abilitie to furnish for the warres about fixe thousand Horsēmen. Among these, you shall oftentimes find many *Arabians* of another sort, whom they vse onely to be their seruants. The Tribe of *Abulhusein* doe inhabit part of the foresaid Desart of *Eddara*, howbeit a very small part; the greatest number of whom are brought vnto such extreme misery, that they haue not in those their wild tents sufficient sustenance to liue vpon.
- One Generation of the people of *Deuibubaidulla* are those which are named *Gharrag*: these enioy the Desarts of *Benigomi* and *Fighig*, hauing very large possessions in *Numidia*. They are stipendaries vnto the King of *Tremizen*, who diligently endeouureth to bring them to peace and tranquillitie of life; for they are wholly giuen to theft and robbrie. In Summer-time they vsually repaire vnto *Tremizen*, where they are thought for that season of the yeare to settle their abode: their Horsēmen are to the number of foure thousand, all which are most noble warriors. The Kindred of *Hodeg* possesse a certaine Desart neere vnto *Tremizen*, called in their owne language *Hangad*. These haue no stipend from any Prince, nor yet any iurisdiction at all, rapine and stealth is onely delightfull vnto them; they provide onely for their family and themselves, and are able to set forth about fūe hundred Horsēmen. The Tribe of *Theleb* inhabite the Plaine of *Algezzer*; these haue often vagaries ouer the Desarts vnto the Prouince of *Tedgear*. Vnto them were subiect in times past, the most famous Cities of *Algezzer* and *Tedelles*: howbeit in these our dayes they were recovered againe from them by *Barbarossa* the *Turke*; which losse could not but greatly grieue and molest their King. It is reported moreouer, that at the same time, the principall of the said people of *Theleb* were cut off. For strength and cunning in chiuallrie

ualrie they were inferiour to no other Nation; their Horsemen were about three thousand. The Tribe of *Geboan* inhabite not all in one place: for part of them you may find among the people of *Guarag*, and the residue amongst the people of *Hedeg*; and they are vnto them no other-
 10 wise then their seruants, which condition they notwithstanding most patiently and willingly submit themselues vnto. And here one thing is to bee noted by the way; to wit, that the two forenamed people called *Schachin* and *Hilel*, are originally *Arabians* of *Arabia Desarta*, and think themselues to be descended from *Ismael*, the sonne of *Abraham*. And those which we called *Machil*, came first forth of *Arabia Felix*, and deriue their pedigree from *Saba*. Before whom the *Mahumetans* preferre the former, which of *Ismael* are called *Ismaelites*. And because there hath
 20 alwaies been great controuersie among them, which part should bee of greater Nobilitie, they haue written on both sides many Dialogues and Epigrams, whereby each man is wont to blaze the Renowne, the Vertues, Manners, and laudable Customes of his owne Nation. The ancient *Arabians*, which were before the times of the *Ismaelites*, were called by the *African* Historiographers *Arabi-Araba*; as if a man should say, *Arabians* of *Arabia*. But those which came of *Ismael*, they call *Arabi Mus-Araba*; as if they should say, *Arabians* ingrafted into the land of *Arabia*, or *Arabians* accidentally, because they were not originally bred and borne in *Arabia*. And them which afterward came into *Africa*, they name in their language *Mustehgeme*, that is, *Barbarous Arabians*; and that because they ioyned themselues vnto strangers, insomuch that not onely their speech, but their manners also are most corrupt and barbarous. These are (friend-
 30 ly Reader) the particulars, which for these ten yeeres my memorie could reserue, as touching the originals and diuersities of the *Africans* and *Arabians*; in all which time I remember not, that euer I read, or saw any Historie of that Nation. He that will know more, let him haue recourse vnto *Hibnu Rachu* the Historiographer before named.

Those five kinds of people before rehearsed, to wit, the people of *Zenega*, of *Gansiga*, of *Terga*, of *Leuta*, and of *Bardeoa*, are called of the *Lains*, *Numida*: and they liue all after one manner, that is to say, without all law and ciuilitie. Their garment is a narrow and base piece of cloth, where-
 40 with scarce halfe their body is couered. Some of them wrap their heads in a kind of black cloth, as it were with a scarfe, such as the *Turkes* vse, which is commonly called a Turbant. Such as will be discerned from the common sort, for Gentlemen weare a Iacket made of blew Cotton with wide sleeues. And Cotton-cloth is brought vnto them by certaine Merchants from the land of *Negros*. They haue no beasts fit to ride vpon, except their Camels; vnto whom Nature, be-
 50 tweene the bunch standing vpon the hinder part of their backes and their necks, hath allotted a place, which may fitly serue to ride vpon, in stead of a saddle. Their manner of riding is most ridiculous. For sometimes they lay their leggs acrosse vpon the Camels necke; and sometimes againe (hauing no knowledge nor regard of stirrups) they rest their feete vpon a rope, which is cast ouer his shoulders. Instead of spurs, they vse a truncheon of a cubites length, hauing at the one end thereof a Goade, wherewith they pricke onely the shoulders of their Camels. Those Camels which they vse to ride vpon, haue a hole bored through the gristles of their nose; in the which a ring of leather is fastened, whereby as with a bit, they are more easily curbed and ma-
 60 stred; after which manner I haue seene buffles vsed in *Italie*. For beds, they lie vpon mats made of sedge and bulrushes. Their tents are couered for the most part with course chamlet, or with a harsh kind of Wooll, which commonly groweth vpon the boughes of their Date-trees.

As for their manner of liuing, it would seeme to any man incredible what hunger and scarcitie this Nation will indure. Bread they haue none at all, neither vse they any seething or roasting; their foode is Camels milke onely, and they desire no other dainties. For their break-fast they drinke off a great cup of Camels milke: for supper they haue certaine dried flesh steeped in butter and milke, whereof each man taking his share, eateth it out of his fist. And that this their meate may not stay long vndigested in their stomacks, they sup off the foresaid broth wherein
 70 their flesh was steeped: for which purpose they vse the palmes of their hands as a most fit instrument framed by nature to the same end. After that, each one drinks his cup of milke, and so their supper hath an end. These *Numidians*, while they haue any store of milke, regard water nothing at all, which for the most part hapneth in the Spring of the yeare, all which time you shall find some among them that will neither wash their hands nor their faces. Which seemeth not altogether to be vnlikely; for (as we said before) while their milke lasteth, they frequent
 80 not those places where water is common: yea, and their Camels, so long as they may feede vpon grasse, will drinke no water at all. They spend their whole dayes in hunting and theeuing: for all their indeauour and exercise is to driue away the Camels of their enemies; neither will they remaine about three dayes in one place, by reason that they haue not pasture any longer for the sustenance of their Camels. And albeit (as is aforesaid) they haue no ciuilitie at all, nor
 90 any Lawes prescribed vnto them; yet haue they a certaine Gouvernour or Prince placed ouer them, vnto whom they render obedience and due honour, as vnto their King. They are not only ignorant of all good learning and liberall Sciences; but are likewise altogether carelesse and destitute of vertue: insomuch that you shall find scarce one amongst them all, which is a man of

Geboan.

The Arabians
called Cachin
and Hilel de-
scended from
Ismael, the base
sonne of
Abraham.
The Arabians
called Machil;
descended of
Saba.

The manners
and customes
of the African
people.
The people of
Numidia.
Their attire.

Camels.

Riding.

Beds and
tents.

Wooll grow-
ing vpon the
Palme-tree.
Miserable diet.

Naturall dish;

Slouens.

Occupation.

Pollicy:

- iudgement or counsell. And if any iniured partie will goe to the Law with his aduerfarie, hee must ride continually fve or fixe daies before he can come to the speech of any iudge. This Nation hath all learning and good disciplines in such contempt, that they will not once vouchsafe to goe out of their deserts for the study and attaining thereof: neither, if any learned man shall chance to come among them, can they loue his company and conuersation, in regard of their most rude and detestable behauiour. Howbeit, if they can find any iudge, which can frame himselfe to liue and continue among them, to him they giue most large yearely allowance. Some allow their Iudge a thousand ducates yearely, some more, and some lesse, according as themselves thinke good. They that will seeme to be accounted of the better sort, couer their heads (as I said before) with a piece of blacke cloth, part whereof, like a vizard or maske, reacheth downe ouer their faces, couering all their countenance except their eyes; and this is their daily kind of attire. And so often as they put meate into their mouthes, they remoue the said maske; which being done, they forthwith couer their mouthes againe, alleaging this fond reason: for (say they) as it is vnseemely for a man, after he hath receiued meate into his stomacke, to vomit it out of his mouth againe, and to cast it vpon the earth; euen so it is an vndecent part to eate meate with a mans mouth vncouered.
- Iudges.**
- Learning.**
- Manner of eating.**
- Their women.** The women of this Nation be grosse, corpulent, and of a swart complexion. They are fatestt vpon their brest and paps, but slender about the girdle-stead. Very ciuill they are, after their manner, both in speech and gestures: sometimes they will accept of a kisse; but who so tempteth them farther, putteth his owne life in hazard. For by reason of ieaousie, you may see them daily one to be the death and destruction of another, and that in such sauage and brutish manner, that in this case they will shew no compassion at all. And they seeme to bee more wise in this behalfe then diuers of our people, for they will by no meanes match themselves vnto an harlot. The liberalitie of this people hath at all times been exceeding great. And when any trauellers may passe through their drie and desert Territories, they will neuer repaire vnto their tents, neither will they themselves trauell vpon the common high way. And if any Carauan, or multitude of Merchants will passe those Delarts, they are bound to pay certaine Custome vnto the Prince of the said people, namely, for euery Camels load, a piece of cloth worth a Ducat.
- Ieaousie.**
- Merchants.**
- The Authours trauels.** Vpon a time I remember, that traueilling in the companie of certaine Merchants ouer the Desert, called by them *Arauan*, it was our chance there to meete with the Prince of *Zanaga*; who, after he had receiued his due custome, inuited the said companie of Merchants, for their recreation, to goe and abide with him in his tents foure or fve dayes. Howbeit, because his tents were too farre out of our way, and for that wee should haue wandred farther then we thought good, esteeming it more conuenient for vs to hold on our direct course, we refused his gentle offer, and for his courtesie gaue him great thanks. But not being satisfied therewith, he commanded that our Camels should proceede on forward, but the Merchants he carried along with him, and gaue them very sumptuous entertainment at his place of abode. Where we were no sooner arriued, but this good Prince caused Camels of all kinds and Ostriches, which he had hunted and taken by the way, to bee killed for his household prouision. Howbeit, wee requested him not to make such daily slaughters of his Camels; affirming moreouer, that we neuer vsed to eate the flesh of a gelt Camell, but when all other victuals failed vs. Whereunto hee answered, that he should deale vnciuilly, if he welcommed so worthy and so seldome-seene ghests with the killing of smal Cattell onely. Wherefore hee wished vs to fall to such prouision as was set before vs. Heere might you haue scene great plenty of roasted and sodden flesh: their roasted Ostriches were brought to the Table in wicker platters, being seasoned with sundry kinds of Herbes and Spices. Their bread made of Mill and Panicke was of a most sauorie and pleasant taste: and alwaies at the end of dinner or supper we had plentie of Dates, and great store of Milke serued in. Yea, this bountifull and noble Prince, that he might sufficiently shew how welcome wee were vnto him, would together with his Nobilitie alwaies beare vs company: howbeit, we euer dined and supped apart by our selues. Moreouer, hee caused certaine religious and most learned men to come vnto our banquet; who, all the time wee remained with the said Prince, vsed not to eate any bread at all, but fed onely vpon flesh and milke. Whereat we being somewhat amazed, the good Prince gently told vs, that they all were borne in such places, whereas no kind of graine would grow: howbeit, that himselfe for the entertainment of strangers, had great plentie of Corne laid vp in store. Wherefore he bade vs to be of good cheere, saying, That he would eate onely of such things as his owne natie soyle affoorded: affirming moreouer, that bread was yet in vse among them at their feast of Pascheouer, and at other feasts also, whereupon they vsed to offer sacrifice. And thus we remained with him for the space of two dayes; all which time, what wonderfull and magnificent cheere we had made vs, would seeme incredible to report. But the third day, being desirous to take our leaue, the Prince accompanied vs to that place where wee ouertooke our Camels and companie sent before. And this I dare most deeply take mine oath on, that we spent the said Prince ten times more, then our Custome which he receiued came to. We thought it not amisse here to set downe this Historie, to declare in some sort the courtesie and liberalitie of the said Nation. Neither could the Prince aforesaid vnderstand our language,
- Camels and Ostriches vsed for victuals.**
- Princely fare.**
- Bread of Millet.**
- Religious men.**
- Places without graine.**
- Bountifull hospitalitie.**

nor we his; but all our speech to and fro was made by an interpreter. And this which we haue here recorded as touching this nation, is likewise to bee vnderstood of the other foure Nations aboue mentioned, which are dispersed ouer the residue of the *Numidian* Desarts.

- The *Arabians*, as they haue sundrie mansions and places of abode, so doe they liue after a diuers and sundry manner. Those which inhabite betweene *Numidia* and *Libya* leade a most miserable and distressed life, differing much in this regard from those *Africans*, whom we affirmed to dwell in *Libya*. Howbeit, they are farre more valiant then the said *Africans*, and vse commonly to exchange Camels in the land of *Negros*: they haue likewise great store of Horses, which in *Europe* they call Horses of *Barbarie*. They take wonderfull delight in hunting and pursuing of Deere, of wild Asses, of Ostriches, and such like. Neither is here to be omitted, that the greater part of *Arabians* which inhabite *Numidia*, are very witty and conceited in penning of verses; wherein each man will decypher his loue, his hunting, his combates, and other his worthy acts: and this is done for the most part in rime, after the *Italian* manner. And albeit they are most liberally minded, yet dare they not by bountifull giuing make any shew of wealth; for they are daily oppressed with manifold inconueniences. They are apparelled after the *Numidians* fashion, sauing that their women differ somewhat from the women of *Numidia*. Those Desarts which they doe now enioy, were wont to be possessed by *Africans*: but the *Arabians* with their Armie inuading that part of *Africa*, draue out the naturall *Numidians*, and reserued the Desarts adioyning vpon the *Land of Dates*, vnto themselves: but the *Numidians* began to inhabit those Desarts which border vpon the land of *Negros*. The *Arabians* which dwell betweene Mount *Atlas* and the *Mediterran* sea, are farre wealthier then these which wee now speake of, both for costlinesse of apparrell, for good horse-meate, and for the statelinesse and beautie of their tents. Their Horses also are of better shape, and more corpulent, but not so swift as the Horses of the *Numidian* Desart. They exercise Husbandry, and haue great increase of corne. Their droues and flockes of Cattell be innumerable, inso much that they cannot inhabit one by another for want of pasture. They are somewhat more vile and barbarous then those which inhabit the Desarts, and yet they are not altogether destitute of liberalitie: part of them which dwel in the territory of *Fez*, are subiect vnto the King of *Fez*. Those which remaine in *Marocco* and *Duccala*, haue continued this long time free from all exaction and tribute: but so soone as the King of *Portugall* began to beare rule ouer *Azafi* and *Azamor*, there began also among them strife and ciuill warre. Wherefore being assailed by the King of *Portugall* on the one side, and by the King of *Fez* on the other, and being oppressed also with extreme famine and scarcitie of that yeere, they were brought vnto such misery, that they freely offered themselves as slaues vnto the *Portugals*, submitting themselves to any man, that was willing to relieue their intolerable hunger: and by this meanes scarce one of them was left in all *Duccala*.

- Moreover, those which possesse the Desarts bordering vpon the Kingdomes of *Tremizen* and *Tunis*, may all of them (in regard of the rest) be called Noblemen, and Gentlemen: For their Gouvernours receiuing euery yeare great reuenues from the King of *Tunis*, diuide the same afterward among their people, to the end they may auoide all discord: and by this meanes all dissention is eschewed, and peace is kept firme and inuiolable among them. They haue notable dexteritie and cunning, both in making of Tents, and in bringing vp and keeping of Horses. In Summer-time they vsually come neere vnto *Tunis*, to the end that each man may prouide himself of bread, armour, and other necessities; all which they carrie with them into the Desarts, remaining there the whole Winter. In the Spring of the yeare they apply themselves vnto hunting, inso much that no beast can escape their pursuite. My selfe (I remember) was once at their tents, to my no little danger and inconuenience, where I saw greater quantitie of Cloth, Brasse, Yron, and Copper, then a man shall oftentimes find in the most rich ware-houses of some Cities. Howbeit no trust is to be giuen vnto them; for if occasion serue, they will play the thieues most slyly and cunningly; notwithstanding, they seeme to carrie some shew of ciuilitie. They take great delight in Poetrie, and will pen most excellent verses, their language being very pure and elegant. If any worthy Poet be found among them, he is accepted by their Gouvernours with great honor and liberalitie; neither would any man easily belieue what wit and decencie is in their verses.

- Their women (according to the guise of that countrie) goe very gorgeously attired: they weare linnen Gownes died blacke, with exceeding wide sleeves, ouer which sometimes they cast a Mantle of the same colour, or of blew, the corners of which Mantle are very artificially fastened about their shoulders with a fine siluer claspe. Likewise they haue rings hanging at their eares, which for the most part are made of siluer: they weare many rings also vpon their fingers. Moreover, they vsually weare about their thighes and ankles certaine scarfes and rings, after the fashion of the *Africans*. They couer their faces with certaine maskes, hauing onely two holes for their eyes to peepe out at. If any man chance to meete with them, they presently hide their faces, passing by him with silence, except it be some of their Allies or Kinsfolks; for vnto them they alwaies discover their faces, neither is there any vse of the said maske so long as they be in presence. These *Arabians* when they trauell any journey (as they oftentimes doe) they

The manners and customes of the *Arabians* which inhabite *Africa*.

Arabian valour, Where the *Barbarie* Horses are bred. *Arabian* Poems and Verses.

Apparell.

Biledulgerid.

Portugals acts in *Africa*: see *Orosius*, &c. The *Arabians* offer themselves slaues to any that would relieue their extreme hunger.

Their hunting. Riches.

Honesty. Poetry.

Women.

set their women vpon certaine saddles made handsomely of wicker for the same purpose, and fastned to their Camels backs, neither be they any thing too wide, but fit onely for a woman to sit in. When they goe to the wars, each man carries his wife with him, to the end that she may cheare vp her good man, and giue him encouragement. Their Damsels which are vnmarried, do vsually paint their faces, breasts, armes, hands, and fingers with a kind of counterfeite colour: which is accounted a most decent custome amongst them. But this fashion was first brought in by those *Arabians*, which before we called *Africans*, what time they began first of all to inhabite that region; for before then, they neuer vsed any false or glozing colours. The women of *Barbarie* vse not this fond kind of painting, but contenting themselues onely with their naturall hiew, they regard not such fained ornaments: howbeit sometimes they will temper a certaine colour with hens-dung and safron, wherewithall they paint a little round spot on the bals of their cheekes, about the bredth of a French Crowne. Likewise betweene their eye-browes they make a triangle, and paint vpon their chinnes a patch like vnto an oliue leafe. Some of them also doe paint their eye-browes: and this custome is very highly esteemed of by the *Arabian* Poets, and by the Gentlemen of that countrie. Howbeit, they will not vse these fantastical ornaments aboue two or three dayes together: all which time they will not bee seene to any of their friends, except it be to their husbands and children: for these paintings seeme to be great allurements vnto lust, whereby the said women thinke themselues more trim and beautiful.

The Arabians
in the Desarts
neere Egypt.
Their pouerty.

The Arabians
of Barcalay
their sonnes to
pawne vnto
the Sicilians
for corne.

Cruell famine.

Miserable
people.

The ouer-
throw and
death of the
King of Tunis
his sonne.

The life of the *Arabians* in the Desarts betweene *Barbarie* and *Egypt* is full of miserie and calamitie: for the places where they inhabite, are barren and vnpleasant. They haue some store of Camels and other Cattell: howbeit, their fodder is so scarce, that they cannot well sustaine them. Neither shall you find ouer all the whole region any place fit to beare corne. And if in that Desart there be any villages at all, which vse to husband and manure their ground; yet reape they small commoditie thereby, except it bee for plentiful increase of Dates. Their Camels and other of their Cattell, they exchange for Dates and Corne; and so the poore Husbandmen of the foresaid villages haue some small recompence for their labours: notwithstanding, how can all this satisfie the hunger of such a multitude? For you shall daily see in *Sicilia* great numbers of their sonnes laid to pawne; because when they haue not wherewithall to pay for the Corne which they there buy, they are constrained to leaue their sonnes behind them, as pledges of future payment. But the *Sicilians*, if their money bee not paid them at the time appointed, will challenge the *Arabians* sonnes to be their slaues. Which day being once past, if any father will redeeme his child, hee must disburse thrice or foure times so much as the due debt amounteth vnto: for which cause they are the most notable thieues in the whole world. If any stranger fall into their hands, depriving him of all that he hath, they presently carry him to *Sicily*, and there either sell or exchange him for Corne. And I think, that no Merchants durst at any time within these hundred yeares arriue for trafficks sake vpon any part of their coast. For when they are to passe by with merchandize, or about any other weightie affaires, they eschew that region fise hundred miles at the least. Once I remember, that I my selfe, for my better securitie, and to auoid the danger of those mischieuous people, went in companie with certaine Merchants, who in three ships sailed along their coast. Wee were no sooner espied of them, but forthwith they came running to the shore, making signes that they would traffique with vs to our great aduantage. Howbeit, because we durst not repose any trust in them, none of our companie would depart the ship, before they had deliuered certaine pledges vnto vs. Which being done, we bought certaine Eunuchs, or gelded men, and good store of butter of them. And so immediately weighing our ankens, we betooke vs to flight, fearing lest wee should haue been met withall by the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* Pirates, and been spoiled not onely of our goods, but of our liberties also. To be short, the said *Arabians* are very rude, forlorne, beggerly, leane, and hunger-starued people, hauing God (no doubt) alwaies displeased against them, by whose vengeance they daily sustaine such grievous calamities.

You shall find many among the *Africans* which liue altogether a shepheards or droyers life, inhabiting vpon the beginning of mount *Atlas*, and being dispersed here and there ouer the same Mountaine. They are constrained alwaies to pay tribute either to the King of the same region where they dwell, or else to the *Arabians*, except those onely which inhabite *Tamesna*, who are free from all forren superioritie, and are of great power. They speake the same kind of language that other *Africans* doe, except some few of them which conuerse with the inhabitants of the Citie called *Urbs* (which is neere vnto *Tunis*) who speake the *Arabian* tongue. Moreover, there is a certaine people inhabiting that region, which diuideth *Nu-midia* from *Tunis*. These oftentimes wage warre against the King of *Tunis* himselfe, which they put in practice not many yeares since, when as the said King his sonne marching towards them from *Constantina* with an Armie, for the demanding of such tribute as was due vnto him, fought a verie vnfortunate battell. For no sooner were they aduertised of the Kings sonne his approach, but forthwith they went to meete him with two thousand Horsemen, and at length vanquished and slew him at vnawares, carrying home with them all the furniture, bag, and

and baggage, which he had brought forth. And this was done in the yeere of *Mahumets Hegeira* 915. From that time their Fame hath beene spread abroad in all places. Yea, many of the King of *Tunis* his Subjects revolted from their King vnto them; insomuch that the Prince of this People is growne so puissant, that scarcely is his equall to be found in all *Africa*.

The ancient *Africans* were much addicted to Idolatrie, euen as certaine of the *Persians* are at this day; some of whom worship the Sunne, and others the Fire, for their gods. For the said *Africans* had in times past magnificent and most stately Temples built, and dedicated as well to the honour of the Sunne as of the Fire. In these Temples day and night they kept Fire kindled, giuing diligent heed that it might not at any time be extinguished, euen as we reade of the *Roman Vestall Virgins*: all which you may reade more fully and at large in the *Persian* and *African* Chronicles. Those *Africans* which inhabited *Libya* and *Numidia*, would each of them worship some certaine Planet, vnto whom likewise they offered Sacrifices and Prayers. Some others of the Land of *Negros* worship *Guighimo*, that is to say, *The Lord of Heauen*. And this found point of Religion was not deliuered vnto them by any Prophet or Teacher, but was inspired, as it were, from God himselfe. After that, they embraced the *Iewish* Law, wherein they are said to haue continued many yeeres. Afterward they professed the Christian Religion, and continued Christians, vntill such time as the *Mahumetan* Superstition preuailed; which came to passe in the yeere of the *Hegeira* 208. About which time certaine of *Mahumets* disciples so bewitched them with eloquent and deceivable speeches, that they allured their weak minds to consent vnto their opinion; insomuch that all the Kingdomes of the *Negroes* adioyning vnto *Libya* receiued the *Mahumetan* Law. Neither is there any Region in all the *Negros* Land, which hath in it at this day any *Christians* at all. At the same time such as were found to be *Iewes*, *Christians*, or of the *African* Religion, were slaine euery man of them. Howbeit those which dwell neere vnto the Ocean Sea, are all of them very grosse Idolaters. Howbeit afterward, ciuill dissensions arising among them, neglecting the Law of *Mahumet*, they slew all the Priests and Gouvernours of that Region. Which tumult when it came to the eares of the *Mahumetan Califa*, they sent an huge Armie against the said Rebels of *Barbarie*, to wit, those which were revolted from the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, and seuerely punished their misdeemeanour.

Those Writers which record the Histories of the *Arabians* doings are all ioyntly of opinion, that the *Africans* were wont to vse onely the *Latine* letters. The *Arabians* haue no Historie of *African* matters, which was not first written in *Latine*. They haue certaine ancient Authors, who writ partly in the times of the *Arrians*, and partly before their times, the names of all which are cleane forgotten. But when as those which rebelled against the *Califa* of *Bagdet* (as is aforesaid) got the vpper hand in *Africa*, they burnt all the *Africans* bookes. For they were of opinion, that the *Africans*, so long as they had any knowledge of Naturall Philosophie, or of other good Arts and Sciences, would euery day more and more arrogantly contemne the Law of *Mahumet*. Contrariwise, some Historiographers there are which affirme, that the *Africans* had a kind of letters peculiar vnto themselves; which notwithstanding, from the time wherein the *Italians* began first to inhabite *Barbarie*, and wherein the *Christians* fleeing out of *Italie* from the *Gothes*, began to subdue those Prouinces of *Africa*, were vtterly abolished and taken away. For it is likely that a People vanquished should follow the customes and the letters also of their Conquerours. And did not the same thing happen to the *Persians*, while the *Arabians* Empire stood? For certaine it is, that the *Persians* at the same time lost those letters which were peculiar vnto their Nation; and that all their bookes, by the commandement of the *Mahumetan* Prelates, were burnt; least their knowledge in naturall Philosophie, or their idolatrous Religion might moue them to contemne the precepts of *Mahumet*. The like also (as wee shewed before) befell the *Barbarians*, when as the *Italians* and the *Gothes* viurped their Dominions in *Barbarie*; which may here (I hope) suffice the gentle Reader. Howbeit this is out of doubt, that all the Sea-Cities and Inland-Cities of *Barbarie* doe vse *Latine* letters onely, whensoever they will commit any Epitaphs, or any other Verses or Prose vnto posteritie. The consideration of all which former particulars hath made me to be of opinion, that the *Africans* in times past had their owne proper and peculiar letters, wherein they described their doings and exploits. For it is likely that the *Romans*, when they first subdued those Prouinces (as Conquerours vsually doe) vtterly spoiled and tooke away all their letters and memorie, and established their owne letters in the stead thereof; to the end that the fame and honour of the *Roman* People might there onely be continued. And who knoweth not that the very same attempt was practised by the *Gothes* vpon the stately buildings of the *Romans*, and by the *Arabians* against the Monuments of the *Persians*. Concerning those nine hundred yeeres, wherein the *Africans* vsed the letters of the *Arabians*, *Ibnu Rachich*, a most diligent Writer of *Africa*, doth in his Chronicle most largely dispute; whether the *Africans* euer had any peculiar kind of writing or no. And at last he concludeth the affirmative part; that they had: for (sayth he) whosoever denyeth this, may as well denye, that they had a Language peculiar vnto themselves. For it cannot be that any People should haue a proper kind of Speech, and

The Faith and Religion of the ancient *Africans* or *Moors*. Sunne and Fire worship ped.

No *Christians* among the *Negroes*. Wee may hold it a punishment of God for their many giddie heresies, of which *Monsters Africa* was fertile as well as of the naturall *Donatists*, *Circumcellians* and others (which had this good to yeeld vs the learned labors of *S. Aug.*)

The *Arrians* after preuailed, the *Pandals* making way to *Mahumet*. The letters and characters of the *Africans*: The *Africans* vsed in times past none other kind of letters but the *Roman* letters. * Perhaps he meaneth the histories of *Salust*, *Titus Liuius*, and others. Science guide to Conscience. The *Mahumetan* Califa caused all the bookes of the *Persians* to be burned.

The vnplea-
sant and snowy
places in Africa

The Moun-
taines of Atlas
exceeding
cold.

Most wonder-
full and terri-
ble Snowes a-
bout October
and Nouemb.

The extreme
danger of
Snow which
John Leo him-
self escaped.

yet should vse letters borrowed from other Nations, and being altogether vnfit for their Mother-language.

All the Region of *Barbarie*, and the Mountaines contained therein, are subiect more to cold then to heat. For seldome commeth any gale of wind which bringeth not some Snow therewith. In all the said Mountaines there grow abundance of Fruits, but not so great plentie of Corne. The Inhabitants of these Mountaines liue for the greatest part of the yeere vpon Barley Bread. The Springs and Riueris issuing forth of the said Mountaines, representing the qualitie and taste of their native soyle, are somewhat muddie and impure, especially vpon the confines of *Mauritania*. These Mountaines likewise are replenished with Woods and loftie Trees, and are greatly stored with Beasts of all kinds. But the little Hills and Valleys lying betweene the foresaid Mountaines and Mount *Atlas* are farre more commodious, and abounding with Corne. For they are moistened with Riueris springing out of *Atlas*, and from thence holding on their course to the *Mediterran Sea*. And albeit Woods are somewhat more scarce vpon these Plaines, yet are they much more fruitfull, then be the plaine Countreys situate betweene *Atlas* and the *Ocean Sea*, as namely, the Regions of *Maroco*, of *Duccala*, of *Tedles*, of *Temesna*, of *Azgara*, and the Countrey lying towards the Straights of *Gibraltar*. The Mountaines of *Atlas* are exceeding cold and barren, and bring forth but small store of Corne, being woody on all sides, and engendring almost all the Riueris of *Africa*. The Fountaines of *Atlas* are euen in the midst of Summer extremely cold; so that if a man dippeth his hand therein for any long space, he is in great danger of losing the same. Howbeit the said Mountaines are not so cold in all places: for some parts thereof are of such milde temperature, that they may be right commodiously inhabited: yea, and sundry places thereof are well stored with inhabitants; as in the second part of this present discourse we will declare more at large. Those places which are destitute of Inhabitants be either extremely cold, as namely, the same which lie ouer against *Mauritania*: or very rough and vnpleasant, to wit, those which are directly opposite to the Region of *Temesna*. Where notwithstanding in Summer time they may feed their great and small Cattell, but not in Winter by any meanes. For then the North wind so furiously rageth, bringing with it such abundance of Snow; that all the Cattell which till then remaine vpon the said Mountaines and a great part of the People also are forced to lose their liues in regard thereof: wherefore whosoever hath any occasion to trauaile that way in Winter time, chuseth rather to take his Iourney betweene *Mauritania* and *Numidia*. Those Merchants which bring Dates out of *Numidia* for the vse and seruice of other Nations, set forth vsually vpon their Iourney about the end of October: and yet they are oftentimes so oppressed and ouertaken with a sodaine fall of Snow, that scarcely one man among them all escapeth the danger of the tempest. For when it beginneth to snow ouer night, before the next morning not onely Carts and Men, but euen the very Trees are so drowned and ouerwhelmed therein, that it is not possible to finde any mention of them. Howbeit the dead Carkasses are then found, when the Sunne hath melted the Snow.

I my selfe also, by the goodnesse of Almighty God, twice escaped the most dreadfull danger of the foresaid Snow; whereof, if it may not be tedious to the Reader, I will here in few words make relation. Vpon a certaine day of the foresaid moneth of October, traueiling with a great companie of Merchants towards *Atlas*, wee were there about the Sunne going downe weather-beaten with a most cold and snowy kind of Hayle. Here we found eleuen or twelue Horse-men (*Arabians* to our thinking) who perswading vs to leave our Carts and to goe with them, promised vs a good and secure place to lodge in. For mine owne part, that I might not seeme altogether vnciuill, I thought it not meet to refuse their good offer; albeit I stood in doubt lest they went about to practise some mischiefe. Wherefore I bethought my selfe to hide vp a certaine summe of gold which I had as then about me. But all being readie to ride, I had no leasure to hide away my Coyne from them; whereupon I fained that I would goe ease my selfe. And so departing a while their companie, and getting me vnder a certaine Tree, whereof I tooke diligent notice, I buried my money betweene certaine stones and the roote of the said Tree. And then we rode on quietly till about mid-night. What time one of them thinking that he had stayed long enough for his Prey, began to vtter that in words which secretly he had conceiued in his mind. For he asked whether I had any money about me or no? To whom I answered, that I had left my money behind with one of them which attended the Carts, and that I had then none at all about me. Howbeit they being no whit satisfied with this answer, commanded me, for all the cold weather, to strip my selfe out of mine apparell. At length when they could find no money at all, they said in iesting and scoffing wise, that they did this for no other purpose, but onely to see how strong and hardy I was, and how I could endure the cold and tempestuous season. Well, on we rode, seeking our way as well as wee could that darke and dismall night; and anone we heard the bleating of Sheepe, coniecturing thereby, that wee were not farre distant from some habitation of people. Wherefore out of hand we directed our course thitherwards: being constrained to leade our Horses thorow thicke Woods, and ouer steepe and craggie Rockes, to the great hazard and perill of our liues. And at length after many labours,

labours, wee found Shepheards in a certaine Caue : who, hauing with much paines brought their Cattell in there, had kindled a lustie fire for themselues, which they were constrained, by reason of the extreme cold, daily to sit by. Who vnderstanding our companie to be *Arabians*, feared at the first that we would doe them some mischief: but afterward being perswaded that we were driuen thither by extremitie of cold, and being more secure of vs, they gaue vs most friendly entertainment. For they set bread, flesh, and cheese before vs, wherewith hauing ended our Suppers, we laid vs along each man to sleep before the fire. All of vs were as yet exceeding cold, but especially my selfe, who before with great horroure and trembling was stripped starke naked. And so we continued with the said shepheards for the space of two dayes: all which

10 time we could not set forth, by reason of continuall Snow. But the third day, so soone as they saw it leaue snowing, with great labour they began to remooue that Snow which lay before the doore of their Caue. Which done, they brought vs to our Horses, which wee found well prouided of Hay in another Caue. Being all mounted, the shepheards accompanied vs some part of our way, shewing vs where the Snow was of least depth, and yet euen there it touched our Horse bellies. This day was so cleere, that the Sunne tooke away all the cold of the two dayes going before.

Continuall
Snow.

At length entring into a certaine Village neere vnto *Fez*, wee vnderstood, that our Carts which passed by, were ouerwhelmed with the Snow. Then the *Arabians* seeing no hope of recompence for all the paines they had taken (for they had defended our Carts from Theeues) carried a certaine *Iew* of our Companie with them as their Captiue, (who had lost a great

Vnkind kind-
nesse.

20 quantitie of Dates, by reason of the Snow aforesaid) to the end that he might remayne as their Prisoner, till he had satisfied for all the residue. From my selfe they tooke my Horse, and committed me vnto the wide World and to Fortune. From whence, riding vpon a Mule, within three daies I arriued at *Fez*, where I heard dolefull newes of our Merchants and Wares, that they were cast away in the Snow. Yea, they thought that I had beene destroyed with the rest; but it seemed that God would haue it otherwise.

Now, hauing finished the Historie of mine owne misfortunes, let vs returne vnto that Discourse where we left. Beyond *Atlas* there are certaine hot and dry places moystened with very few Riuers, but those which flow out of *Atlas* it selfe: some of which Riuers running into the

Riuers dried
vp by sands.

30 *Libyan* Desarts are dried vp with the Sands, but others do ingender Lakes. Neither shall you find in these Countreyes any places apt to bring forth Corne, notwithstanding they haue Dates in abundance.

There are also certaine other Trees bearing fruit, but in so small quantitie, that no increase nor gaine is to be reaped by them. You may see likewise in those parts of *Numidia* which border vpon *Libya*, certaine barren hills destitute of Trees, vpon the lower parts whereof grow nothing but vnprofitable thornes and shrubs. Amongst these Mountaines you shall find no Riuers nor Springs, nor yet any waters at all, except it be in certaine Pits and Wels almost vnknowne vnto the Inhabitants of that Region. Moreouer, in sixe or seuen dayes iourney they haue not one drop of water, but such as is brought vnto them by certaine Merchants vpon Camels backs.

And that especially in those places which lye vpon the mayne Road from *Fez* to *Tombuto* or from *Tremizen* to * *Agad*. That iourney likewise is very dangerous which is of late found

Danger by
thirst.

40 out by the Merchants of our dayes from *Fez* to *Alcair* ouer the Desarts of *Libya*, were it not for an huge Lake in the way, vpon the bankes whereof the *Sinites* and the *Goranites* doe inhabit. But in the way which leadeth from *Fez* to *Tombuto* are certaine Pits enuironed either with the hides or bones of Camels. Neither doe the Merchants in Sommer time passe that way without

great danger of their liues: for oftentimes it falleth out, when the South-wind bloweth, that all those Pits are stopped vp with sand. And so the Merchants when they can find neither those

Pits, nor any mention thereof, must needs perish for extreame thirst: whose carkasses are afterward found lying scattered here and there, and scorched with the heat of the Sunne. One

remedie they haue in this case, which is very strange: for when they are so grievously oppressed

with thirst, they kill forth-with some one of their Camels, out of whose bowels they wring

50 and expresse some quantitie of water, which water they drinke and carrie about with them, till they haue either found some Pit of water, or till they pine away for thirst. In the Desart which

they call *Azaoad*, there are as yet extant two Monuments built of Marble, vpon which Marble is an Epitaph engrauen, signifying that one of the said Monuments represented a most

rich Merchant, and the other a Carrier or transporter of Wares. Which wealthfull Merchant bought of the Carrier a cup of water for ten thousand Ducats, and yet this precious

water could suffice neither of them; for both were consumed with thirst. This Desart likewise

contayneth sundry kinds of beasts, which in the fourth part of this Discourse concerning *Libya*,

and in our Treatise of the beasts of *Africa*, we will discourse of more at large.

60 The Land of *Negros* is extreame hot, hauing some store of moysture also, by reason of the Riuer of *Niger* running through the midst thereof. All places adioyning vpon *Niger* doe mightily abound both with Cattell and Corne. No Trees I saw there but only certaine great ones, bearing a kind of bitter fruit like vnto a Chestnut, which in their Language is called *Goron*.

Like-

Cocos, Cucumbers, Onions.

Likewise in the same Regions grow Cocos, Cucumbers, Onions, and such kinde of herbs and fruits in great abundance.

There are no Mountaines at all either in *Libya* or in the Land of *Negros*: howbeit diuers Fennes and Lakes there are; which (as men report) the inundation of *Niger* hath left behind it. Neither are the woods of the said Regions altogether destitute of Elephants and other strange beasts; whereof we will make relation in their due place.

What naturall impressions & motions the Aire of *Africa* is subject vnto; and what effects ensue thereupon. The seasons of the yeare. Cherries ripe in Aprill.

Throughout the greatest part of *Barbarie* stormie and cold weather begin commonly about the midst of October. But in December and January the cold groweth some-what more sharpe in all places: howbeit this happeneth in the morning onely, but so gently and remissely, that no man careth greatly to warme himselfe by the fire. February some-what mitigateth the cold of Winter, but that so inconstantly, that the weather changeth sometime fue and sometime fixe times in one day. In March the North and West winds vsually blow, which cause the Trees to be adorned with blossomes. In April all fruits attaine to their proper forme and shape, insomuch that Cherries are commonly ripe about the end of Aprill and the beginning of May. In the midst of May they gather their figs: and in mid-Iune their Grapes are ripe in many places. Likewise their Peares, their sweete Quinces, and their Damascens attayne vnto sufficient ripenesse in the monethes of Iune and Iuly. Their Figs of Autumne may be gathered in August; howbeit they neuer haue so great plentie of Figs and Peaches, as in September. By the midst of August they vsually begin to dry their Grapes in the Sunne, whereof they make Rafins. Which if they cannot finish in September, by reason of vnseasonable weather, of their Grapes as then vngathered they vse to make Wine and Must, especially in the Prouince of *Rifa*, as wee will in due place signifie more at large. In the midst of October they take in their Honey, and gather their Pomegranates and Quinces. In Nouember they gather their Oliues, not climbing vp with Ladders nor plucking them with their hands, according to the custome of *Europe*; for the Trees of *Mauritania* and *Cesarea* are so tall, that no Ladder is long enough to reach vnto the fruit. And therefore their Oliues being full ripe, they climbe the Trees, beating them off the boughes with certaine long Poles, albeit they know this kind of beating to be most hurtfull vnto the said Trees. Sometimes they haue great plentie of Oliues in *Africa*, and sometimes as great scarcitie. Certaine great Oliue-trees there are, the Oliues whereof are eaten ripe by the Inhabitants because they are not so fit for Oyle. No yeare falls out to be so vnseasonable, but that they haue three monethes in the spring alwayes temperate.

The Oliues of *Africa*.

Pleasant spring

Raine signifying plentie or scarcitie.

They begin their spring vpon the fifteenth day of February, accounting the eighteenth of May, for the end thereof: all which time they haue most pleasant weather. But if from the fue and twentieth of Aprill, to the fifth of May they haue no raine fall, they take it as a signe of ill lucke. And the raine-water which falleth all the time aforesaid they call *Naisan*, that is, *water blessed of God*. Some store it vp in Vessels, most religiously keeping it, as an holy thing. Their Summer lasteth till the sixteenth of August; all which time they haue most hot and cleere weather. Except perhaps some showres of raine fall in Iuly and August, which doe so infect the Aire, that great plague and most pestilent Feuers ensue thereupon; with which plague whosoever is infected, most hardly escapeth death. Their Autumne they reckon from the seuenteenth of August to the sixteenth of Nouember; hauing commonly in the monethes of August and September not such extreme heate as before. Howbeit all the time betweene the fifteenth of August and the fifteenth of September is called by them the furnace of the whole yeare, for that it bringeth Figs, Quinces, and such kind of fruits to their full maturitie. From the fifteenth of Nouember they beginne their winter-season, continuing the same till the fourteenth day of February. So soone as Winter commeth, they begin to till their ground which lyeth in the Plaines: but vpon the Mountaines they goe to plough in October. The *Africans* are most certainly perswaded that euery yeare containeth fortie extreme hot dayes, beginning vpon the twelfth of Iune; and againe so many dayes extreme cold, beginning from the twelfth of December. Their *Aequinoctia* are vpon the sixteenth of March, and the sixteenth of September. For their *Solstitia* they account the sixteenth of Iune and the sixteenth of December. These rules they doe most strictly obserue, as well Husbandrie and Nauigation, as in searching out the houses and true places of the Planets: and these instructions, with other such like they teach their young children first of all.

Forty dayes of extreme heate and forty of cold.

The Peasants and vnlearned people of *Africa* cunning in Astrologie. Note.

Many Countrey-people and Husbandmen there be in *Africa*, who knowing (as they say) neuer a Letter of the Booke, will notwithstanding most learnedly dispute of Astrologie, and alleage most profound reasons and arguments for themselves. But whatsoeuer skill they haue in the Art of Astrologie, they first learned the same of the *Latines*: yea, they giue those very names vnto their Moneths which the *Latines* doe.

Moreouer, they haue extant among them a certaine great Booke diuided into three Volumes, which they call, *The Treasure or Store-house of Husbandry*. This Booke was then translated out of *Latine* into their Tongue, when *Manzor* was Lord of *Granada*. In the said *Treasure* are all things containd which may seeme in any wise to concerne Husbandry; as namely, the changes

changes and varietie of times, the manner of sowing, with a number of such like particulars, which (I thinke) at this day the *Latine* Tongue it felte, whereout these things were first translated, doth not contayne. Whatsoever either the *Africans* or the *Mahumetans* haue, which seemeth to appertaine in any wise to their Law or Religion, they make their computation thereof altogether according to the course of the Moone.

Their yeare is diuided into three hundred fiftie foure dayes: for vnto fixe Monethes they allot thirtie dayes, and vnto the other fixe but nine and twentie; all which beeing added into one summe doe produce the number aforesaid: wherefore their yeare differeth eleuen daies from the yeare of the *Latines*. They haue at diuers times Festiuall Dayes and Fasts,

10 About the end of Autumne, for all Winter, and a great part of the Spring they are troubled with boysterous winds, with Haile, with terrible Thunder and Lightening: yea then it snoweth much in some places of *Barbarie*. The Easterne, Southerne, and South-easterne winds blowing in May and Iune, doe very much hurt there: for they spoyle the Corne, and hinder the fruit from comming to ripenesse. Their Corne likewise is greatly appayred by Snow, especially such as falleth in the day time, when it beginneth to flowre. Vpon the Mountaynes of *Atlas* they diuide the yeare into two parts onely: for their Winter continueth from October to Aprill; and from Aprill to October they account it Summer: neither is there any day throughout the whole yeare, wherein the tops of those Mountaines are not couered with Snow. In *Numidia*, the yeare runneth away very swiftly: for they reape their Corne in May, and in October they gather their Dates: but from the midst of September, they haue Winter till the beginning of Ianuarie. But if September falleth out to be raynie, they are like to lose most part of their Dates.

The yeare of the *Arabians* & *Africans*.

Winds.

The yeares diuided into two seasons onely, vpon the Mountaines of *Atlas*.

The time of the Dates.

All the fields of *Numidia* require watering from the Rivers; but if the Mountaynes of *Atlas* haue no raine fall vpon them, the *Numidian* Rivers waxe dry, and so the fields are destitute of watering. October being destitute of raine, the Husbandman hath no hope to cast his seed into the ground; and he despayreth likewise, if it raine not in Aprill. But their Dates prosper more without raine, whereof the *Numidians* haue greater plentie then of Corne. For albeit they haue some store of Corne, yet can it scarcely suffice them for halfe the yeere. Howbeit, if they haue good increase of Dates, they cannot want abundance of Corne, which is sold vnto them by the *Arabians* for Dates. If in the *Libyan* Desarts there fall out change of weather about the midst of October; and if it continue rayning there all December, Ianuary, and some part of February, it is wonderfull what abundance of grasse and milke it bringeth forth. Then may you find diuers Lakes in all places, and many Fennes throughout *Libya*; wherefore this is the meetest time for the *Barbarie* Merchants to trauell to the Land of *Negros*. Heere all kind of fruits grow sooner ripe, if they haue moderate showers about the end of Iuly. Moreover, the Land of *Negros* receiueth by raine neither any benefit, nor yet any dammage at all. For the River *Niger* together with the water which falleth from certaine Mountaynes doth so moysten their grounds, that no places can be deuised to be more fruitfull: for that which *Nilus* is to *Egypt*, the same is *Niger* to the Land of *Negros*: for it increaseth like *Nilus* from the fifteenth of Iune the space of fortie dayes after, and for so many againe it decreaseth. And so at the increase of *Niger* when all places are ouer-flowne with water, a man may in a Barke passe ouer all the Land of *Negros*, albeit not without great perill of drowning; as in the fift part of this Treatise we will declare more at large.

When and where the Dates are brought forth.

Heere of the Diseases called burning or the rubbing.

The increase of the River of *Niger* and *Nilus*.

All the people of *Barbarie* by vs before mentioned liue vnto sixtie sixe or seuentie yeares of age, and few or none exceed that number. Howbeit in the foresaid Mountaynes I saw some which had liued an hundred yeares, and others which affirmed themselues to bee older; whose age was most healthfull and lustie. Yea, some you shall find heere of fourescore yeares of age, who are sufficiently strong and able to exercise Husbandry, to dresse Vines, and to serue in the Warres; insomuch that yong men are oftentimes inferiour vnto them. In *Numidia*, that is to say, in the Land of *Dates*, they liue a long time: howbeit they lose their Teeth very soone, and their Eyes waxe wonderfull dimme. Which infirmities are likely to be incident vnto them, first because they continually feed vpon Dates, the sweetnesse and naturall qualitie whereof doth by little and little pull out their Teeth; and secondly, the dust and sand, which is tossed vp and downe the Ayre with Easterne windes entring into their Eyes, doth at last miserably weaken and spoile their eye-sight. The Inhabitants of *Libya* are of a shorter life; but those which are most strong and healthfull among them liue oftentimes till they come to threescore yeares; albeit they are slender and leane of bodie.

The length and shortnesse of the *African* liues.

Teeth soone lost and Eyes decayed.

The *Negros* commonly liue the shortest time of all the rest: howbeit they are alwayes strong and lustie, hauing their Teeth sound euen till their dying day: yet is there no Nation vnder Heaven more prone to Venerie; vnto which vice also the *Libyans* and *Numidians* are too too much addicted. To be short, the *Barbarians* are the weakest people of them all.

What kinds of Diseases the *Africans* are subiect vnto.

The children, and sometimes the ancient women of this Region are subiect vnto baldnesse or vnnaturall shedding of haire; which disease they can hardly be cured of. They are likewise oftentimes troubled with the head-ache, which vsually afflicteth them without any ague ioyned there-

therewith. Many of them are tormented with the tooth-ache, which (as some thinke) they are the more subiect vnto, because immediately after hot pottage they drinke cold water. They are oftentimes vexed with extreame paine of the stomacke, which ignorantly they call, the paine of the heart. They are likewise daily molested with inward gripings and infirmities ouer their whole bodie, which is thought to proceed of continuall drinking of water. Yea, they are much subiect vnto bone-aches and gowts, by reason that they sit commonly vpon the bare ground, and neuer weare any shooes vpon their feet. Their chiefe Gentlemen and Noblemen proue gowtie oftentimes with immoderate drinking of Wine and eating of daintie meates. Some with eating of Oliues, Nuts, and such course fare, are for the most part infected with the Scuruies.

Those which are of a sanguine complexion are greatly troubled with the cough, because that in the Sprin-season they sit too much vpon the ground. And vpon Fridayes I had no small sport and recreation to goe and see them. For vpon this day the people flocke to Church in great numbers to heare their *Mahumetan* Sermons. Now if any one in the Sermon-time fals a neezing, all the whole multitude will neeze with him for company, and so they make such a noise, that they neuer leaue, till the Sermon be quite done; so that a man shall reape but little knowledge by any of their Sermons.

If any of *Barbarie* be infected with the Disease commonly called the *French Poxe*, they dye thereof for the most part, and are seldome cured. This Disease beginneth with a kinde of anguish and swelling, and at length breaketh out into Sores. Ouer the Mountaines of *Atlas*, and throughout all *Numidia* and *Libya* they scarcely know this Disease. Insomuch that oftentimes the parties infected trauell forth-with into *Numidia* or the land of *Negros*, in which places the Aire is so temperate, that onely by remaying there they recouer their perfect health, and returne home sound into their owne Countrey: which I saw many doe with mine owne eyes; who without the helpe of any Physician or Medicine, except the foresaid holosome aire, were restored to their former health. Not so much as the name of this malady was euer known vnto the *Africans*, before *Ferdinand* the King of *Castile* expelled all *Iewes* out of *Spaine*; after the returne of which *Iewes* into *Africa*, certaine unhappie and lewd people lay with their Wiues; and so at length the Disease spread from one to another, ouer the whole Region: insomuch that scarce any one Family was free from the same. Howbeit, this they were most certainly perswaded of, that the same Disease came first from *Spaine*; wherefore they (for want of a better name) doe call it, *The Spanish Poxe*. Notwithstanding at *Tunis* and ouer all *Italy*, it is called the *French Disease*. It is so called likewise in *Egypt* and *Syria*: for there it is vsed as a common Prouerbe of Cursing; *The French Poxe take you*. Amongst the *Barbarians* the Disease called in *Latine* *Hernia* is not so common; but in *Egypt* the people are much troubled therewith. For some of the *Egyptians* haue their Cods oftentimes so swollen, as it is incredible to report. Which infirmitie is thought to be so common among them, because they eate so much Gumme, and Salt Cheese. Some of their children are subiect vnto the falling sicknesse; but when they grow to any stature, they are free from that Disease. This falling sicknesse likewise possesseth the women of *Barbarie*, and of the Land of *Negros*; who, to excuse it, say that they are taken with a Spirit. In *Barbarie* the Plague is rife euery tenth, fifteenth, or twentieth yeare, whereby great numbers of people are consumed; for they haue no cure for the same, but onely to rub the Plague-sore with certaine Ointments made of *Armenian* Earth.

In *Numidia* they are infected with the Plague scarce once in an hundred yeares. And in the Land of *Negros* they know not the name of this Disease: because they neuer were subiect thereunto.

Those *Arabians* which inhabit in *Barbarie* or vpon the Coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, are greatly addicted vnto the studie of good Arts and Sciences: and those things which concerne their Law and Religion are esteemed by them in the first place. Moreouer, they haue beene heretofore most studious of the *Mathematikes*, of *Philosophie*, and of *Astrologie*: but these Arts (as it is aforesaid) were foure hundred yeares agoe, vterly destroyed and taken away by the chiefe Professors of their Law. The Inhabitants of Cities doe most religiously obserue and reuerence those things which appertaine vnto their Religion: yea, they honour those Doctors and Priests, of whom they learne their Law, as if they were pettie gods. Their Churches they frequent very diligently, to the end they may repeat certaine prescript and formall Praiers; most superstitiously perswading themselues that the same day wherein they make their praiers, it is not lawfull for them to wash certaine of their members, when as at other times they will wash their whole bodies.

Moreouer those which inhabit *Barbarie*, are of great cunning and dexteritie for building and for Mathematicall Inuentions, which a man may easily coniecture by their artificiall Workes. Most honest people they are, and destitute of all fraud and guile; not onely imbracing all simplicitie and truth, but also practising the same throughout the whole course of their liues: albeit certaine *Latine* Authors, which haue written of the same Regions, are farre otherwise of opinion. Likewise they are most strong and valiant people, especially those which dwell vpon the Moun-

Needing at
Sermons.

The French
Disease.

When and by
what means
the French Pox
was brought
into Africa.

Hernia, or the
Disease called
bursting or
the rupture.

Earth of Ar-
menia.
Plague rare in
Numidia.
The commen-
dable actions
and vertues of
the Africans.
Mathematikes
studied.
Priests honou-
red.
Superstitions.

Mountaines. They keepe their couenant most faithfully; inſomuch that they had rather dye then breake promiſe.

The Moores
are a people of
great fidelitie,
lealouſie.

No Nation in the World is ſo ſubieſt vnto lealouſie; for they will rather loſe their liues, then put vp any diſgrace in the behalfe of their women. So deſirous they are of Riches and Honour, that therein no other people can go beyond them. They trauel in a manner ouer the whole World to exerciſe Traffike. For they are continually to be ſeene in *Egypt*, in *Ethiopia*, in *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, and *Turkie*: and whitherſoeuer they goe, they are moſt honourably eſteemed of: for none of them will profeſſe any Art, vnleſſe hee hath attained vnto great exactneſſe and perfection therein. They haue alwayes bene much delighted with all kind of ciuilitie and moſt behauiour: and it is accounted hainous among them for any man to vtter in companie, any *Bawdie* or *unſcemely word*. They haue alwayes in mind this ſentence of a graue Author; *Give place to thy Superiour*. If any youth in preſence of his Father, his Vncle, or any other of his Kindred, doth ſing or talke ought of loue matters, he is deemed to be worthy of grieuous puniſhment. Whatſoeuer Lad or Youth there lighteth by chance into any companie which diſcourſeth of Loue, no ſooner heareth nor vnderſtandeth what their talke tendeth vnto, but immediately he withdraweth himſelfe from among them.

Merchandize.

Grauitie:
Modestie.

Thoſe *Arabians* which dwell in Tents, that is to ſay, which bring vp Cattell, are of a more liberall and ciuill diſpoſition: to wit, they are in their kind as deuout, valiant, patient, courteous, hoſpitall, and as honeſt in life and conuerſation as any other people. They be moſt faithfull obſeruers of their word and promiſe: inſomuch that the people, which before we ſaid to dwell in the Mountaines, are greatly ſtirred vp with emulation of their Vertues. Howbeit the ſaid Mountainers, both for Learning, for Vertue, and for Religion, are thought much inferiour to the *Numidians*; albeit they haue little or no knowledge at all in naturall Philoſophie. They are reported likewiſe to be moſt ſkilfull Warriours, to be valiant, and exceeding louers and practiſers of all humanitie. Alſo, the *Moores* and *Arabians* inhabiting *Libya* are ſomewhat ciuill of behauiour, being plaine dealers, void of diſſimulation, fauourable to Strangers, and louers of Simplicitie.

The Arabians
and their vertues.

Thoſe which we before named white, or tawnie *Moores*, are moſt ſtedfaſt in friendſhip: as likewiſe they indifferently and fauourably eſteeme of other Nations: and wholly indeauour themſelues in this one thing, namely, that they may leade a moſt pleaſant and iocund life. Moreover, they maintaine moſt learned Profeſſors of liberall Arts, and ſuch men as are moſt deuout in their Religion. Neither is there any people in all *Africa* that lead a more happie and honourable life.

Neuer was there any people or Nation ſo perfectly endued with vertue, but that they had their contrary faults and blemiſhes: now therefore let vs conſider, whether the vices of the *Africans* doe ſurpaſſe their vertues and good parts. Thoſe which we named the Inhabitants of the Cities of *Barbarie*, are ſomewhat needie and couetous, being alſo very proud and high-minded, and wonderfully addicted vnto wrath; inſomuch that (according to the Prouerbe) they will deeply engraue in Marble any iniurie be it neuer ſo ſmall, and will in no wiſe blot it out of their memorance. So ruſticall they are and void of good manners, that ſcarcely can any ſtranger obtaine their familiaritie and friendſhip. Their wits are but meane, and they are ſo credulous, that they will beleue matters impoſſible, which are told them. So ignorant are they of naturall Philoſophie, that they imagine all the effects and operations of nature to be extraordinarie and diuine.

What vices the
foreſaid Africans
are ſubieſt vnto.

Vindicatiue,
Rude,
Credulous.

They obſerue no certaine order of liuing nor of Lawes. Abounding exceedingly with choler, they ſpeake alwayes with an angry and lowd voice. Neither ſhall you walke in the day-time in any of their ſtreets, but you ſhall ſee commonly two or three of them together by the eares. By nature they are a vile and baſe people, being no better accounted of by their Gouernours then if they were Dogges. They haue neither Iudges nor Lawyers, by whoſe wiſdome and counſell they ought to be directed. They are vtterly vnſkilfull in Trades of Merchandize, being deſtitute of Bankers Money-changers: wherefore a Merchant can doe nothing among them in his abſence, but is himſelfe conſtrayned to goe in perſon, whitherſoeuer his Wares are carried. No people vnder Heauen are more addicted vnto couetiſe then this Nation: neither is there (I thinke) to be found among them one of an hundred, who for courteſie, humanitie, or deuotions ſake, will vouchſafe any entertainment vpon a ſtranger. Mindfull they haue alwayes bene of iniuries, but moſt forgetfull of benefiſts. Their mindes are perpetually poſſeſſed with vexation and ſtriſe, ſo that they will ſeldome or neuer ſhew themſelues tractable to any man; the cauſe whereof is ſuppoſed to be; for that they are ſo greedily addicted vnto their filthy lucre, that they neuer could attayne vnto any kind of ciuilitie or good behauiour.

Cholericke &
quarrelſome.

Couetous.

Ingratefull.

The Shepheards of that Region liue a miſerable, toylſome, wretched and beggerly life: they are a rude people, and (as a man may ſay) borne and bred to theft, deceit, and brutiſh manners. Their young men may goe a wooing to diuers Maides, till ſuch time as they haue ſped of a wife. Yea, the father of the Maide moſt friendly welcommeth her Suiter; ſo that I thinke ſcarce any Noble or Gentleman among them can chuſe a Virgine for his Spouſe: albeit, ſo ſoone as any

Shepheards.

Mariages.

we

Beginning at the West part of *Africa*, we will in this our Geographicall Historie proceed Eastward, till we come to the borders of *Egypt*.

Hea being one of the Prouinces of *Maroco* is bounded Westward and Northward with the maine Ocean, Southward with the Mountaines of *Atlas*, and Eastward with the Riuer which they call *Esfinalo*. This Riuer springeth out of the foresaid Mountaine, discharging it selfe at length into the Riuer of *Tensift*, and diuiding *Hea* from the Prouince next adjacent.

The Region of *Hea* lying vpon the West part of *Africa*.

The Region of *Hea* is an vneuen and rough soile, full of rockie Mountaines, shadie Woods, and Christall Streames in all places; being wonderfully rich, and well stored with Inhabitants. They haue in the said Region great abundance of Goats and Asses, but not such plentie of Sheep, Oxen, and Horses. All kind of Fruits are very scarce among them.

This People for the most part eateth Barly-bread vnleauened, which is like rather vnto a Cake, then to a Loafe: this Bread is baked in a kind of earthen Baking-pan.

Their Food.

The greatest part of them are clad in a kind of cloth Garment made of Wooll after the manner of a Couerlet, called in their Language, *Elchise*, and not vnlike vnto those Couerlets or Blankets which the *Italians* lay vpon their Beds. In these kind of Mantles they wrap themselves; and then are they girt with a woollen girdle, not about their waste, but about their hips. You may easily discerne which of them is married, and who is not: for an vnmarried man must alwayes keepe his Beard shauen, which, after hee bee once married, hee suffereth to grow at length. The said Region bringeth forth no great plentie of Horses, but those that it doth bring forth, are so nimble and full of mettall, that they will climbe like Cats over the steep and craggie Mountaines. These Horses are alwayes vnshod: and the People of this Region vse to till their ground with no other Cattell, but onely with Horses and Asses. You shall here find great store of Deere, of wild Goats, and of Hares. No good learning nor liberall Arts are here to be found; except it be a little skill in the Lawes, which some few challenge vnto themselves: otherwise you shall find not so much as any shadow of vertue among them. They haue neither Physician nor Surgeon of any learning or account. But if a disease or infirmitie befall any of them, they presently seare or cauterize the sicke partie with red hot Irons, euen as the *Italians* vse their Horses. Howbeit some Chyrurgians there are among them, whose dutie and occupation consisteth onely in circumcising of their male Children. Whosoever will trauell into a forraine Countrey must take either a Harlot, or a Wife, or a religious man of the contrary part, to beare him companie. They haue no regard at all of Iustice.

Their Attire.

Horses and other Beasts.

Cauterizing.

The ancient Citie of *Tednest* was built by the *Africans* vpon a most beautifull and large Plaine, which they inuironed with a loftie Wall built of Bricke and Lime. In this Citie there are no Innes, Stoues, nor Wine-tauernes: so that whatsoeuer Merchant goes thither, must seeke out some of his acquaintance to remaine withall: but if hee hath no friends nor acquaintance in the Towne, then the principall Inhabitants there cast lots who should entertaine the strange Merchant: insomuch that no Stranger, be he neuer so meane, shall want friendly entertainment, but is alwaies sumptuously and honourably accepted of. But whosoever is receiued as a Guest, must at his departure bestow some gift vpon his Host in token of thankfulness, to the end hee may be more welcome at his next returne. Howbeit if the said Stranger be no Merchant, hee may chuse what great mans house he will to lodge in, being bound at his departure to no recompence nor gift. To be short, if any Beggar or poore Pilgrim passe the same way, he hath some sustenance prouided for him in a certaine Hospitall, which was founded onely for the reliefe of poore people, and is maintained at the common charge of the Citie. In the midst of the Citie stands an ancient Temple, being most sumptuously built, and of an huge bignesse, which was thought to be founded at the very same time when as the King of *Maroco* bare rule in those places. This Temple hath a great Cisterne standing in the midst thereof, and it hath many Priests and such kind of People which giue attendance thereunto, and store it with things necessarie. In this Citie likewise are diuers other Temples, which, albeit they are but little, yet be they most cleanly and decently kept. There are in this Citie about an hundred Families of *Iewes*. My selfe saw this Citie vtterly ruined and defaced, the Walls thereof being laid euen with the ground, the Houses being destitute of Inhabitants, and nothing at that time to be there scene, but onely the nests of *Rauens* and of other Birds. All this I saw in the 930. yeere of the *Hegeira*.

Tednest one of the Cities of *Hea*.

Their manner of entertaining Strangers at *Tednest*.

Their Temple.

Tednest forsaken for feare of the *Portugals*.

Vpon the foot of an hill, eightene miles Eastward from *Tednest*, stands a Towne called by the *Africans* *Teculeth*, and containing about one thousand Housholds. Here also is to be seene a most stately and beautifull Temple; as likewise foure Hospitals, and a Monasterie of Religious persons. The Inhabitants of this Towne are farre wealthier then they of *Tednest*: for they haue a most famous Port vpon the Ocean Sea, commonly called by Merchants, *Goz*. They haue likewise great abundance of Corne and Pulse, which grow in the fruitfull fields adjacent. It was destroyed by the *Portugals*, 1514.

Teculeth a Towne of *Hea*.

The Citie of *Hadeccbis* being situate vpon a Plaine, standeth eight miles Southward of *Teculeth*: it containeth seuen hundred Families: and the Walls, Churches, and Houses throughout this whole Citie are all built of Free-stone. They haue certaine yeerely *Faires* or *Marts*, wher-

Hadeccbis a Towne of *Hea*.

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unto

unto the Nations adioyning doe vsually resort. Here is to bee sold great store of Cattell, of Butter, Oyle, Iron, and Cloth; and their said Mart lasteth fifteene dayes. Their Women are very beautifull, white of colour, fat, comely, and trim. But the Men beare a most sauage mind, being to extremely possessed with iealousie, that whomsoever they find but talking with their Wiues, they presently goe about to murder them. They haue no Iudges nor learned men among them, nor any which can assigne vnto the Citizens any Functions and Magistracies according to their worthinesse: so that he rules like a King that excelleth the residue in wealth. For matters of Religion, they haue certaine *Mahumetan* Priests. Who neither pay Tribute nor yeerely Custome, euen as they whom we last before mentioned. Here I was entertained by a certaine courteous and liberall minded Priest, who was exceedingly delighted with *Arabian* Poetrie. From hence I trauelled vnto *Maroco*. And afterward I heard that this Towne also, in the yeere of the *Hegira* 922. was sacked by the *Portugals*; and that the Inhabitants were all fled into the next Mountaines.

Hadecchis sacked by the *Portugals*, 1513.

Ilenfugagen a Towne of *Hea*.

Barbarisme.

Wax cast away by dull ignorance.

Tesegdel a Towne of *Hea*.

Tejant destroyed by the *Portugals*, 1513.

ten miles West off *Ilenfugagen*.

The curtesie of the Citizens of *Tesegdel* towards Strangers.

A Description of the Citie of *Tagtefs*.

Water farre fetched.

Locusts.

The Towne of *Eidenet*.

Jewes.

Lawyers.

Learned Men.

Law-bookes.

This Towne is situate vpon the top of a certaine high Mountaine which is distant eight miles to the South of *Hadecchis*: it consisteth of about two hundred Families. They are at continuall war with their neighbours, which is performed with such monstrous blood-shed and manslaughter, that they deserue rather the name of Beasts then of Men. They haue neither Iudges, Priests, nor Lawyers, to prescribe any forme of liuing among them, or to gouerne their Common-wealth: wherefore iustice and honestie is quite banished out of their habitations. Those Mountaines are altogether destitute of Fruits: howbeit they abound greatly with Honie, which serueth the Inhabitants both for Food, and for Merchandize to sell in the neighbour-Countries. And because they know not what seruice to put their Waxe vnto, they cast it forth, together with the other excrements of Honie. No People vnder Heauen can be more wicked, treacherous, or lewdly addicted, then this People is.

The Towne *Tesegdel* being situate vpon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, and naturally enuironed with an high Rocke in stead of a Wall, containeth more then eight hundred Families. It is distant from *Tejant* Southward about twelue miles, and it hath a Riuer running by it, the name whereof I haue forgotten. About this Towne of *Tesegdel* are most pleasant Gardens and Orchards, replenished with all kind of Trees, and especially with Walnut-trees. The Inhabitants are wealthie, hauing great abundance of Horses, neither are they constrained to pay any Tribute vnto the *Arabians*. There are continuall Warres betweene the *Arabians* and them, and that with great blood-shed and man-slaughter on both parts. The Villages lying neere vnto *Tesegdel* doe vsually carrie all their Graine thither, lest they should be deprived thereof by the Enemie, who maketh daily inrodes and inuasions vpon them. The Inhabitants of the foresaid Towne are much addicted vnto curtesie and ciuilitie; and for liberalitie and bountie vnto Strangers, they will suffer themselves to be inferiour to none other. At euery Gate of *Tesegdel* stand certaine Watch-men or Warders, which doe most louingly receiue all In-commers, enquiring of them, whether they haue any friends and acquaintance in the Towne, or no? If they haue none, then are they conducted to one of the best Innes of the Towne, and hauing had entertainment there, according to their degree and place, they are friendly dismissed: and whatsoever his expences come to, the Stranger payes nought at all, but his charges are defrayed out of the common Purse. This People of *Tesegdel* are subiect also vnto iealousie: howbeit they are most faithfull keepers of their promise. In the very midst of the Towne stands a most beautifull and stately Temple, whereunto belong a certaine number of *Mahumetan* Priests.

The most ancient Citie of *Tagtefs* is built round, and standeth vpon the top of an Hill: on the sides whereof are certaine winding steps hewen out of the hard Rocke. It is about fourteene miles distant from *Tesegdel*. By the foot of the said Hill runnes a Riuer, whereout the Women of *Tagtefs* draw their water, neither haue the Citizens any other drinke: and although this Riuer be almost sixe miles from *Tagtefs*, yet a man would thinke, looking downe from the Citie vpon it, that it were but halfe a mile distant. The way leading vnto the said Riuer being cut out of the Rocke, in forme of a paire of Staires, is very narrow. While I was in that Countrey, there came such a swarme of Locusts, that they deuoured the greatest part of their Cornes which were as then ripe: insomuch that all the vpper part of the ground was couered with Locusts. Which was in the yeere of the *Hegira* 919. that is, in the yeere of our Lord 1510.

Fifteene miles Southward from *Tagtefs* stands another Towne called *Eidenet*. In the said Towne are Jewes of all Occupations: and some there are which affirme, that the first Inhabitants of this Towne came by naturall descent from King *Dauid*: but so soone as the *Mahumetan* Religion had infected that place, their owne Law and Religion ceased. Here are great store of most cunning Lawyers, which are perfectly well seene in the Lawes and constitutions of that Nation: for, I my selfe saw a very aged man, who could most readily repeat a whole Volume written in their Language, called by them *Elmudevnaana*, that is to say, the Bodie of the whole Law. The said Volume is diuided into three Tomes, wherein all difficult questions are dissolued: together with certaine Counsels or Commentaries of a famous Author, which they call *Melic*.

This

This *Culeibat Elmuridin* is a Castle built vpon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, hauing round about it diuers other Mountaines of a like heighth, which are enuironed with craggie Rocks and huge Woods. There is no passage vnto this Castle, but onely a certaine narrow path vpon one side of the Mountaine. By the one side thereof stands a Rocke, and vpon the other-side the Mountaine of *Tesegdelt* is within halfe a mile, and it is distant from *Endeuet* almost eightene miles. This Castle was built euen in our time by a certaine Apostata, or renouncer of the *Mahumetan* religion, called by them *Homar Seijef*; who being first a *Mahumetan* Preacher vnto the people, propounded vnto a great number of Disciples and Sectaries, whom hee had drawn to be of his opinion, certain new points of religion. This fellow seeing that he preuailed so
 10 with his Disciples, that they esteemed him for some petty-god, became of a false Preacher a most cruell tyrant, and his gouernment lasted for twelue yeares. Hee was the chiefe cause of the destruction and ruine of the whole Prouince. At length he was slaine by his owne wife, because he had vnlawfully lien with her daughter which she had by her former husband. And then was his peruerse and lewd dealing laid open vnto all men: for hee is reported to haue been vtterly ignorant of the lawes, and of all good knowledge. Wherefore not long after his decease, all the inhabitants of the region gathering their forces together, slew euery one of his Disciples and false Sectaries. Howbeit, the Nephew of the said Apostata was left aliue; who afterward in the same Castle endured a whole yeares siege of his aduersaries, and repelled them, insomuch that they were constrained to depart. Yea, euen vntill this day he molesteth the people of *Hea*, and those which inhabite neere vnto him, with continuall warre, liuing vpon robberie and spoile;
 20 for which purpose he hath certaine Horsemen, which are appointed to watch and to pursue trauellers, sometimes taking Cattell, and sometimes men captiues. He hath likewise certaine Gunners, who, although trauellers be a good distance off (for the common high-way standeth almost a mile from the Castle) will put them in great feare. Howbeit, all people doe so deadly hate him, that they will not suffer him to till one foote of ground, or to beare any dominion without the said Mountaine. This man hath caused his Grandfathers body to be honourably buried in his Castle, suffering him to be adored of his people, as if he were a God. Passing by that way vpon a certaine time, I escaped their very bullets narrowly.

Culeibat Elmuridin, that is to say, The Rock of Disciples, a Castle of *Hea*.

A pestiferous Mahumetan Preacher.

Igilingil and *Teseghne* are here omitted for breuitie. The Inhabitants of the Mountaines in *Hea*.

Needles not used, and Buttons.

How the Temple of *Endeuet* was destroyed.

Subterraneous Caves.

The Mountaine called *Demenfara*.

Plenty of Iron.

The greatest part of the people of *Hea* dwelleth vpon mountaines, some whereof being called *Ideuacal* (for so are they named) inhabite vpon that part of *Atlas*, which stretcheth it selfe from the Ocean Sea Eastward, as farre as *Igilingil*; and this ridge of mountaines diuideth *Hea*
 30 from *Sus*. The breadth of this mountaine is three dayes journey. It is replenished with inhabitants and country Villages. Their ordinarie food is Barly, Goates-flesh, and Hony. Shirts they weare none at all, nor yet any other garments which are sowne together; for there is no man among them which knoweth how to vse the needle; but such apparell as they haue, hangeth by a knot vpon their shoulders. Their women weare silver rings vpon their eares, some three, and some more. They haue silver buttons of so great a scantling, that each one weigheth an ounce, wherewith they fasten their apparell vpon their shoulders, to the end it may not fall off. The nobler and richer sort of people among them weare silver rings vpon their fingers and leggs; but such as are poore, weare rings only of iron or of copper. There are likewise certaine Horses in this Region, being so smal of stature and so swift, as it is wonderfull. Here may you find great plentie
 40 of wild Goats, Hares, & Deere, and yet none of the people are delighted in hunting. Many fountaines are here to be found, and great abundance of trees, but especially of Walnut-trees. The greater part of this people liueth after the *Arabians* manner, often changing their places of habitation. A kind of Daggers they vse, which are broad and crooked like a wood-knife; and their Swords are as thicke as Siches, wherewith they mow Hay. When they goe to the warres, they carrie three or foure hunting Toyles with them. In all the said mountaine are neither Iudges, Priests, or Temples to be found. So ignorant they are of learning, that not one among them either loueth, or embraceth the same. They are all most lewd and wicked people, and apply their minds vnto all kind of villanie. It was told the *Seriffo* in my presence, that the foresaid mountaine was able to afford twentie thousand souldiers for a neede.

This mountaine also is a part of *Atlas*, beginning from the mountaine last before mentioned, and extending it selfe Eastward for the space of about fiftie miles, as farre as the mountaine of *Niff*, in the Territorie of *Maroco*; and it diuideth a good part of *Hea* from the Region of *Sus* before named. It aboundeth with inhabitants, which are of a most barbarous and sauage disposition. Horses they haue great plentie: they goe to warre oftentimes with the *Arabians* which border vpon them; neither will they permit any of the said *Arabians* to come within their Dominions. There are no Townes nor Castles vpon all this mountaine: howbeit, they haue certaine Villages and Cottages, wherein the better sort doe hide their heads. Great store of Noblemen or Gouernours they haue in all places, vnto whom the residue are very obedient. Their ground yeeldeth Barly and Mill in abundance: They haue euerie where many fountaines, which being disperfed ouer the whole Prouince, doe at length issue into that Riuer, which is called in their language *Siffaia*. Their apparell is somewhat decent: also they possesse great quantitie of
 60 Iron, which is from thence transported into other places; and these people are well giuen to

Store of Iewes.

Carraum that is, Scripture-men; for they admitted not the traditions.

Of the Mountaine of Iron, commonly called Gebel-el-badish.

The Region of Sns.

Of the Towne of Messa.

Dates which will last but one yeare.

Holy Temple. Great store of Whales.

Superstitious conceit.

A Whales Rib of incredible greatnesse.

Amber.

thrift and good husbandrie. Great numbers of *Iewes* remaine in this Region, which liue as stipendarie souldiers vnder diuers Princes, and are continually in Armes; and they are reputed and called by other *Iewes* in *Africa*, *Carraum*; that is to say, Heretikes. They haue store of Boxe, of Mastick, and of high Walnut-trees. Vnto their Argans (for so they call a kind of Oliues which they haue) they put nuts; out of which two simples they expresse very bitter Oyle, vsing it for a sauce to some of their meates, and powring it into their lampes. I heard diuers of their principall men auouch, that they were able to bring into the field fve and twenty thousand most expert souldiers.

This mountaine is not to be accounted any part of *Atlas*: for it beginneth Northward from the Ocean, and Southward it extendeth to the Riuer of *Tensift*, and diuideth *Hea* from *Duccala* and *Maroco*. The inhabitants are called *Regraga*. Vpon this hill are waste Defarts, cleare Fountaines, and abundance of hony, and of Oyle Arganick, but of Corne and Pulse great scarcitie, vnlesse they make prouision thereof out of *Duccala*. Few rich men are here to bee found, but they are all most deuout and religious after their manner. Vpon the top of this mountaine are many Hermites, which liue onely vpon the fruites of certaine trees, and drinke water. They are a most faithfull and peaceable Nation. Whosoever among them is apprehended for theft or any other crime, is forthwith banished the countrey for certaine yeares. So great is their simplicitie, that whatsoever they see the Hermites doe, they esteeme it as a miracle. They are much oppressed with the often inuasions of their neighbours the *Arabians*; wherefore this quiet Nation choose rather to pay yearely tribute, then to maintaine warre.

Now comes the Region of *Sns* to be considered of, being situate beyond *Atlas*, ouer against the Territorie of *Hea*, that is to say, in the extreme part of *Africa*. Westward it beginneth from the Ocean Sea, and Southward from the Sandie Defarts: on the North it is bounded with the vtmost Towne of *Hea*; and on the East with that mightie Riuer whereof the whole Region is named. Wherefore beginning from the West, we will describe all those Cities and places which shall seeme to be worthy of memorie.

Three small Townes were built by the ancient *Africans* vpon the Sea shoare (each being a mile distant from other) in that very place where *Atlas* takes his beginning: all which three are called by one onely name, to wit, *Messa*; and are inuironed with a wall built of white stones. Through these three runneth a certaine great Riuer, called *Sns*, in their language: this Riuer in Summer is so destitute of water, that a man may easily without perill passe ouer it on foote; but it is not so in the Winter-time. They haue then certaine small barkes, which are not meete to saile vpon this Riuer. The place where the foresaid three Townes are situate, aboundeth greatly with Palme trees, neither haue they in a manner any other wealth; and yet their Dates are but of small worth, because they will not last about one yeare. All the inhabitants exercise husbandry, especially in the moneths of September and Aprill, what time their Riuer encreaseth.

And in May their Corne groweth to ripenesse. But if in the two foresaid moneths the Riuer encreaseth not according to the wonted manner, their haruest is then nothing worth. Cattell are very scarce among them. Not farre from the sea-side they haue a Temple, which they greatly esteeme and honour. Out of which, Historiographers say, that the same Prophet, of whom their great *Mahumet* foretold, should proceed. Yea, some there are which sticke not to affirme, that the Prophet *Iudas* was cast forth by the Whale vpon the shoare of *Messa*, when he was sent to preach vnto the *Ninuites*. The rafters and beames of the said Temple are of Whales bone. And it is a vsuall thing amongst them, to see Whales of an huge and monstrous bignesse cast vp dead vpon their shoare, which by reason of their hugenesse and strange deformitie, may terrifie and astonish the beholders. The common people imagine, that, by reason of a certaine secret power and vertue infused from heauen by God vpon the said temple, each Whale which would swim past it, can by no meanes escape death. Which opinion had almost perswaded me, especially when at my being there, I my selfe saw a mighty Whale cast vp, vnlesse a certaine *Iew* had told me, that it was no such strange matter: for (quoth he) there lie certaine rockes two miles

into the Sea on either side, and as the Sea moues, so the Whales moue also; and if they chance to light vpon a rocke, they are easily wounded to death, and so are cast vpon the next shoare. This reason more preuailed with me, then the opinion of the people. My selfe (I remember) being in this Region at the same time when my Lord the *Seriffo* bare rule ouer it, was inuited by a certaine Gentleman, and was by him conducted into a Garden, where he shewed me a Whales rib of so great a size, that lying vpon the ground with the connexe or bowing side vpward, in manner of an arch, it resembled a gate, the hollow or inward part whereof aloft we could not touch with our heads, as we rode vpon our Camels backs: this rib (he said) had laine there about an hundred yeares, and was kept as a miracle. Here may you find vpon the sea-shore great store of Amber, which the *Portugal* and *Fessan* Merchants fetch from thence for a verie meane price: for they scarcely pay a Duckat for a whole ounce of most choise and excellent Amber. Amber (as some thinke) is made of Whales dung, and (as others suppose) of their Sperma or Seede, which being consolidate and hardned by the Sea, is cast vpon the next shoare.

Teyent containeth foure thousand families, and standeth not farre from the Riuer of *Sns*. The soyle

soyle adiacent is most fruitfull for graine, for Barly, and for all kind of Pulse. They haue here likewise a good quantitie of Sugar growing; howbeit, because they know not how to presse, boyle, and trim it, they cannot haue it but blacke and vnfaurie: wherefore so much as they can spare, they sell vnto the Merchants of *Maroco*, of *Fez*, and of the land of *Negros*. Of Dates likewise they haue plentie; neither vse they any mony besides the Gold which is digged out of their own natiue soile. The women weare vpon their heads a piece of cloth worth a duckat. Siluer they haue none, but such as their women adorne themselves with. The least Iron-coin vfed amongst them, weigheth almost an ounce. No fruites take plentifully vpon their soile but onely Figgs, Grapes, Peaches, and Dates. Here is that excellent Leather dressed, which is called Leather of

Store of Sugar.

Iron Coyne.

Cordouan Leather of Maroco.

10 *Maroco*; twelue hides whereof are here sold for fixe Duckats, and at *Fez* for eight. That part of this Region which lieth toward *Atlas* hath many Villages, Townes, and Hamlets: but the South part thereof is vtterly destitute of inhabitants, and subiect to the *Arabians*, which border vpon it. In the midst of this Citie standeth a faire and stately Temple, which they call *The greatest*, and *The chiefest*, through the verie midst whereof they haue caused a part of the foresaid Riuer to runne. The inhabitants are sterne and vnciuill, being so continually exercised in warres, that they haue not one day of quiet. Each part of the Citie hath a feuerall Captaine and Gouvernour, who all of them together doe rule the Common-wealth: but their authoritie continueth neuer aboue three moneths, which being expired, three other are chosen in their roome.

A Temple through which a Riuer runneth.

20 The Towne of *Tarodant* built by the ancient *Africans*, containeth about three thousand households. For when the Family of *Marin* gouerned at *Fez*, part of them also inhabited *Sus*, and in those dayes *Sus* was the seate of the King of *Fez* his Vice-roy. All authoritie is committed vnto their Noble, or principall men, who gouerne foure by foure, fixe moneths onely.

Tarodant, a Towne of *Sus*.

Tedsi being a very great Towne, and built many yeares agoe in a most pleasant and fertile place by the *Africans*, containeth moe then foure thousand families; it is distant from *Tarodant*

Tedsi, a Towne of *Sus*.

Eastward thirtie miles, from the Ocean sea sixtie miles, and from *Atlas* twentie. Here groweth great abundance of Corne, of Sugar, and of wild Woad. You shall find in this Citie many Merchants, which come out of the land of *Negros* for trafficks sake. The Citizens are great louers of peace, and of all ciuilitie: and they haue a flourishing Common-wealth. The whole Citie

Store of Sugar and of Woad.

30 tie is gouerned by fixe Magistrates which are chosen by lots: howbeit, their gouernment lasteth for sixteene moneths onely. The Riuer of *Sus* is distant three miles from hence. Here dwell many Iewes, which are most cunning Gold-smiths, Carpenters, and such like Artificers. They haue a very stately Temple, and many Priests and Doctors of the Law, which are maintained at the publike charge. Euery Munday great numbers of *Arabians* both of the Plaines, and of the Mountaines come hither to Market.

The Citie of *Taganost*.

In all *Sus* there is no Citie comparable vnto that which is commonly called *Taganost*, for it containeth aboue eight thousand households; the wall thereof is built of rough stones. From the Ocean it is distant about threescore miles, and about fiftie miles Southward of *Atlas*: and the report is, that the *Africans* built this Citie. About ten miles from this place lieth the Riuer of

The Citie of *Taganost*.

40 *Sus*: here are great store of Artificers and of shops, and the people of *Taganost* are diuided into three parts. They haue continuall ciuill warres among themselves, and one part haue the *Arabians* alwaies on their side; who for better pay will take part sometime with one side, and sometime with the contrarie. Of Corne and Cattell here is great abundance; but their Wooll is exceeding course. In this Citie are made certaine kinds of apparell, which are vsually carried for merchandize once a yeere to *Tombuto*, to *Gualata*, and to other places in the land of *Negros*. Their Market is twice euery weeke: their attire is somewhat decent and comely: their women are beautifull: but their men are of a tawnie and swart colour, by reason they are descended of blacke fathers, and white mothers.

50 The Mountaine *Hanchisa* beginneth Westward from *Atlas*, and from thence stretcheth almost fortie mile as Eastward. The inhabitants of this Mountaine are such valiant foot-men, that one of them will encounter two Horsemen. The soile will yeeld no Corne at all but Barly; howbeit hony there is in great abundance. With snow they are almost at all times troubled: but how patiently and strongly they can endure the cold, a man may easily ghesse, for that the whole yeare throughout they weare one single garment onely.

The Mountaine of *Hanchisa*.

The Mountaine *Ilalem* beginneth Westward from the Mountaine afore said; on the East it abutteth vpon the region of *Guzula*, and Southward vpon the Plaines of *Sus*. The inhabitants are valiant, hauing great store of Horses. They are at continuall warre among themselves for certaine Siluer mines; so that those which haue the better hand, digge as much Siluer as they can, and distribute to euery man his portion, vntill such time as they bee restrained from digging

The Mountaine of *Ilalem*.

Mines of Siluer.

60 The region of *Maroco* beginneth Westward from the Mountaine of *Nefisa*, stretching Eastward to the Mountaine of *Hadime*, and Northward euen to that place where the most famous Riuer of *Tensift* and *Asfinual* meete together, that is to say, vpon the East-border of *Hea*. This region is in a manner three square, being a most pleasant Country, and abounding with many

The situation and estate of the Region of *Maroco*.

droues and flocks of Cattell : it is greene euery where, and most fertile of all things, which serue for foode, or which delight the senses of smelling or seeing. It is altogether a plaine country.

Tenessa.

Vpon a certaine hill of *Atlas* named *Ghedm* standeth a towne, which was built (as some report) by the ancient *Africans*, and called by the name of *Tenessa*, being a most strong and defensible place, and being distant about eight miles Eastward from the riuer of *Asfinuall*. At the foot of the said hill lieth a most excellent plaine, which, were it not for the lewd theewith *Arabians*, would yeeld an incomparable crop. And because the inhabitants of *Tenessa* are deprived of this notable commodity, they till onely that ground which is vpon the side of the mountaine, and which lieth betweene the towne and the riuer. Neither doe they enioy that gratis; for they yeerely pay vnto the *Arabians* for tribute the third part of their corne.

The new towne of Delgumuba.

Vpon the top of a certaine high mountaine was built in our time a most large and impregnable Fort, being inuironed on all sides with diuers other mountaines, and called by the inhabitants *New Delgumuba*. Beneath the said mountaine springeth *Asfinuall*, which word signifieth the *African* tongue, the Riuer of Rumor, because that breaking forth by the side of the hill with a monstrous noise, it maketh a most deepe gulfe, much like vnto that, which the *Italians* call *Inferno di Truoli*. The said Fort containeth almost a thousand families. They haue alwayes beene great louers of ciuility, and haue worne neat and decent apparell; neither shall you find any corner in the whole towne which is not well peopled. In this towne are plentie of Artificers, for it is but fiftie miles from the City of *Maroco*.

The Citie of Imizmizi.

Vpon a certaine part of *Atlas* standeth a Citie called *Imizmizi*. Westward it is distant from new *Delgumuba* about fourteene miles: and this citie the *Arabians* are reported to haue built. Neere vnto this Citie lieth the common high way to *Guzula* ouer the mountaines of *Atlas*, being commonly called *Burris*, that is, *A way strewed with feathers*: because snow falls often there vpon, which a man would thinke rather to be feathers then snow. Not farre from this towne likewise there is a very faire and large plaine, which extendeth for the space of thirtie miles, euen to the territory of *Maroco*. This most fertile plaine yeeldeth such excellent corne, as (to my remembrance) I neuer saw the like. Saying that the *Arabians* and souldiers of *Maroco* doe so much molest the said plaine countrey, that the greater part thereof is destitute of the inhabitants:

A most exact description of the great and famous City of Maroco, as it was 100. yeeres agoe. The first founder of Maroco.

Maroco in times past contained a-boue 100000. families. In later times before the late ciuill broyles, it is likely to haue beene much greater: one plague is said to haue consumed 700000. persons.

Foolish emulation. Mansor the king of Maroco.

A stately Temple.

* Obscurum.

This noble City of *Maroco* in *Africa* is accounted to be one of the greatest cities in the world. It is built vpon a most large field, being about fourteene miles distant from *Atlas*. One *Ioseph* the sonne of *Tesfin*, and king of the tribe or people called *Luntuna*, is reported to haue beene the founder of this Citie, at that very time when he conducted his troupes into the region of *Maroco*, and settled himselfe not farre from the common high-way, which stretcheth from *Agmeg* ouer the mountaines of *Atlas*, to those desarts where the foresaid tribe or people doe usually inhabit. Heere may you behold most stately and wonderfull workmanship: for all their buildings are so cunningly and artificially contriued, that a man cannot easily describe the same. This huge & mighty City, at such time as it was gouerned by *Hali* the son of King *Ioseph*, contained moe then one hundred thousand families. It had foure and twenty gates belonging therto, and a wall of great strength and thicknes, which was built of white stone and lime. From this City the riuer of *Tensift* lieth about fixe miles distant. Heere may you behold great abundance of Temples, of Colledges, of Bath-stoues, and of Innes, all framed after the fashion and custome of that region. Some were built by the King of the tribe of *Luntuna*, and others by *Elmnochidin* his successor: but the most curious and magnificent Temple of all, is that in the midst of the City which was built by *Hali* the first King of *Maroco*, and the sonne of *Ioseph* aforesaid, being commonly called the Temple of *Hali ben Ioseph*. Howbeit one *Abdul-Mumen* which succeeded him, to the end he might vtterly abolish the name of *Hali*, and might make himselfe onely famous with posterity, caused this stately Temple of *Maroco* to be razed, and to be reedified somewhat more sumptuously then before. Howbeit he lost not onely his expences, but failed of his purpose also: for the common people euen till this day doe call the said Temple by the first and ancientest name.

Likewise in this City not farre from a certaine rocke was built a Temple by him that was the second vsurper ouer the kingdome of *Maroco*: after whose death his nephew *Mansor* enlarged the said Temple fiftie cubits on all sides, and adorned the same with many pillars, which he commanded to be brought out of *Spaine* for that purpose. Vnder this Temple he made a Cisterne or vault as bigge as the Temple it selfe: the rooffe of the said Temple he couered with lead: and at euery corner he made leaden pipes to conuay raine water into the Cisterne vnderneath the Temple. The turret or steeple is built of most hard and well framed stone, like vnto *Vespasian* his Amphitheatrum at *Rome*, containing in compasse moe then an hundreth elles, and in height exceeding the steeple of *Bononia*. The staires of the said turret or steeple are each of them nine handfuls in breadth, the vtmost side of the wall is ten, and the thicknes of the turret is sixe. The said turret hath seuen lofts, vnto which the staires ascending are very lightsome: for there are great store of windowes, which to the end they may giue more light, are made broader within then without. Vpon the top of this turret is built a certaine spire or pinnacle rising sharpe

sharpe in forme of a sugar-loafe, and containing five and twenty elles in compasse, but in height being not much more then two speares length: the said spire hath three lofts one aboue another; vnto euery of which they ascend with wooden ladders. Likewise on the top of this spire standeth a golden halfe moone, vpon a barre of Iron, with three spheares of gold vnder it; which golden spheares are so fastened vnto the said iron bar that the greatest is lowest, and the least highest. It would make a man giddie to looke downe from the top of the turret; for men walking on the ground, be they neuer so tall, seeme no bigger then a child of one yeere old. From hence likewise may you plainly escrie the promontory of *Azaphi*, which notwithstanding is an hundredth and thirtie miles distant. But mountaines (you will say) by reason of their huge bignesse

10 may easily be seene a farre off: howbeit from this turret a man may in cleere weather most easily see fiftie miles into the plaine countreys. The inner part of the said Temple is not very beautiful. But the rooffe is most cunningly and artificially vaulted, the timbers being framed and set together with singular workmanship, so that I haue not seene many fairer Temples in all *Italy*. And albeit you shall hardly find any Temple in the whole world greater then this, yet it is very meanly frequented; for the people doe neuer assemble there but onely vpon fridayer. Yea a great part of this City, especially about the aforesaid Temple lieth so desolate & void of inhabitants, that a man cannot without great difficulty passe, by reason of the ruines of many houses lying in the way. Vnder the porch of this Temple it is reported that in old time there were almost an hundredth shops of sale-bookes, and as many on the other side ouer against them: but at this time I thinke there is not one Book-seller in all the whole City to be found. And scarcely is the third

Great store of bookes in old time to be sold in *Maroco*.

20 part of this City inhabited.

Within the wals of *Maroco* are Vines, Palme-trees, great Gardens, and most fruitfull Cornefields: for without their wals they can till no ground, by reason of the *Arabians* often inrodes.

State of it 1526.

Know ye this for a certainty, that the said City is growen to vntimely decay and old age: for scarcely five hundredth and sixe yeeres are past, since the first building thereof, forasmuch as the foundations thereof were laid in the time of *Ioseph* the sonne of *Tesfin*, that is to say, in the foure hundredth twentieth and fourth yeere of the *Hegeira*. Which decay I can impute to none other cause, but to the iniurie of continuall warres, and to the often alterations of Magistrates and of the common-wealth. After King *Ioseph* succeeded his sonne *Hali*, and the sonne of *Hali* was ordained gouernour after his fathers decease. In whose time sprung vp a factious crue, by the

Causes of the decay of *Maroco*.

30 meanes of a certaine *Mahumetan* Preacher named *Elmaheli*, being a man both borne and brought vp in the mountaines. The said *Elmaheli* hauing leuied a great army, waged warre against *Abraham* his soueraigne Lord. Whereupon King *Abraham* conducting another armie against him, had marueilous ill successe: and after the battell ended, his passage into the City of *Maroco* was so stopped and restrained, that he was forced with a few souldiers, which remained yet aliue, to flee Eastward to the mountaines of *Atlas*. But *Elmaheli* not being satisfied with expelling his true Soueraigne out of his owne Kingdome, commanded one of the Captaines called *Abdul Mumen*, with the one halfe of his armie to pursue the distressed King, while himself with the other halfe laide siege to *Maroco*. The king with his followers came at length vnto *Oran*, hoping there to haue renewed his forces. But *Abdul Mumen* and his great armie pursued the said King so narrowly, that the Citizens of *Oran* told him in plaine termes, that they would not hazard

Elmaheli a factious preacher.

40 themselves for him. Wherefore this unhappie King being vtterly driuen to dispaire, set his Queene on horse-backe behind him, and so in the night time road forth of the Citie. But perceiving that hee was discried and knowen by his enemies, he fled forthwith vnto a certaine rocke standing vpon the sea-shore: where, setting spurs to his horse-side, he cast himselfe, his most deare spouse, and his horse downe headlong, and was within a while after found slaine among the rockes and stones, by certaine which dwelt neere vnto the place. Wherefore *Abdul Mumen* hauing gotten the victorie, returned in triumphant manner toward *Maroco*, where the foresaid *Elmaheli* was deceased before his comming, in whose place *Abdal* was chosen King and *Mahumetan* Prelate ouer the fortie disciples, and tooke ten persons to be of his priuy counsell, which was a new inuention in the law of *Mahumet*. This *Abdul Mumen* hauing besieged

The miserable death of *Abraham* King of *Maroco* and of his Queene.

50 the Citie of *Maroco* for the space of an whole yeere, at last ouercame it: and killing *Isaac* the onely sonne of King *Abraham* with his owne hand, he commanded all the souldiers, and a good part of the Citizens to be slaine. This mans posteritie reigned from the five hundred sixteenth, to the sixe hundred sixtie eight yeere of the *Hegeira*, and at length they were dispossessed of the Kingdome by a certaine King of the Tribe called *Marin*. The family of *Marin* after the said Kings decease bare rule till the yeere of the *Hegeira*, seven hundredth eightie and five. The principall court of this family was holden for the most part at *Fez*; but ouer *Maroco* were appointed Vice-royes and Deputies: insomuch that *Fez* was continually the head and Metropolitane Citie of all *Mauritania*, and of all the Westerne dominion.

New Sect.

60 In the said City of *Maroco* is a most impregnable Castle, which, if you consider the bignes, the walls, the towres, and the gates built all of perfect marble, you may well thinke it to be a City rather then a Castle. Within this Castle there is a stately Temple, hauing a most loftie and high steeple, on the top whereof standeth an halfe moone, and vnder the halfe moone are three golden

In later yeeres *Maroco* recovered the supremacy. A stronge Castle. A stately temple.

spheares

Three golden
spheares.

A great Col-
ledge.

spheares one bigger then another, which all of them together weigh one hundreth and thirty thousand ducates. Some Kings there were, who being allured with the value, went about to take downe the said golden spheares: but they had alwayes some great misfortune or other, which hindred their attempt: Likewise the said Castle containeth a noble Colledge, which hath thirtie Hals belonging thereunto. In the midst whereof is one Hall of a marvellous greatnesse, wherein publike Lectures were most solemnly read, while the studie of Learning flourished among them. Such as were admitted into this Colledge had their victuals and apparell freely giuen them. Of their Professours some were yearly allowed an hundred, and some two hundred Duckats, according to the qualitie of their profession: neither would they admit any to heare them read, but such as perfectly vnderstood what belonged to those Arts which they professed. The wals of this beautifull Hall are most stately adorned with painting and caruing, especially of that Hall where Lectures were woont publikely to be read. All their Porches and vaulted Roofes are made of painted and glittering stones, called in their Language *Ezzulleia*, such as are yet vsed in *Spain*. In the midst of the said building is a most pleasant and cleare Fountaine, the wall whereof is of white and polished Marble, albeit low built, as in *Africa* for the most part such wals are. I haue heard that in old time here was great abundance of Students, but at my being there I found but five in all: and they haue now a most senselesse Professour, and one that is quite void of all humanitie.

Moreover, the foresaid Castle (as I remember) hath twelue Courts most curiously and artificially built by one *Mansor*. In the first lodged about five hundred Christians, which carryed Crosse-bowes before the King whither soeuer he went. Not farre from thence is the lodging of the Lord Chancellour and of the Kings Priue Counsell, which House is called by them, The House of Affaires. The third is called, The Court of Victorie; wherein all the Armour and Munition of the Citie is layed vp. The fourth, belongeth to the great Master of the Kings Horse. Vpon this Court three Stables adioyne, each one of which Stables will containe two hundred Horses. Likewise there are two other Ostleries, whereof one is for Mules, and the other for an hundred of the Kings Horses onely. Next vnto the Stables were two Barnes or Garners adioynning in two seuerall places, in the lower of which Barnes was layed Straw, and Barley in the other. There is also another most large place to lay vp Corne in, euery Roome whereof will containe more then three hundred Bushels. The couer of the said Roome hath a certaine hole whereunto they ascend by staires made of stone. Whither the beasts laden with Corne being come, they powre the said Corne into the hole. And so when they would take any Corne from thence, they doe but open certaine holes below, suffering so much Corne to come forth as may serue their turnes, and that without any labour at all. There is likewise a certaine other Hall, where the Kings Sonne, and the Sonnes of Noblemen are instructed in Learning. Then may you behold a certaine foure-square building, containing diuers Galleries with faire Glasse Windowes, in which Galleries are many Histories most curiously painted: heere likewise the glittering and gilt Armour is to be seene. Next vnto this building is another, wherein certaine of the Kings Guard are lodged: then followes that wherein State-matters are discussed: whereunto adioyneth also another, which is appointed for Ambassadors to conferre with the Kings Priue Counsell in. Likewise the Kings Concubines and other Ladies of Honour haue a most conuenient place assigned them: next vnto which standeth the Lodging of the Kings Sonnes. Not farre from the Castle wall, on that side which is next vnto the fields, may you behold a most pleasant and large Garden, containyng almost all kind of Trees that can be named.

Moreover, there is a sumptuous and stately Porch built of most excellent square Marble: in the midst whereof standeth a Pillar with a Lion very artificially made of Marble, out of the mouth of which Lion issueth most cleere and Christall water, falling into a Cisterne within the Porch: at each corner of the said Porch standeth the Image of a Leopard framed of white Marble, which is naturally adorned with certaine blacke spots: this kind of parti-coloured Marble is nowhere to be found but onely in a certaine place of *Atlas*, which is about an hundred and fiftie miles distant from *Maroco*. Not farre from the Garden stands a certaine Wood or Parke walled round about: And here I thinke no kind of wild beasts are wanting: for heere you may behold Elephants, Lions, Stagges, Roes, and such like: howbeit the Lions are separated in a certaine place from other beasts, which place euen to this day is called *The Lions Den*. Wherefore such Monuments of Antiquitie as are yet extant in *Maroco*, albeit they are but few, doe notwithstanding sufficiently argue, what a Noble Citie it was in the time of *Mansor*.

At this present all the Courts and Lodgings before described lye vtterly voyd and desolate: except perhaps some of the Kings Ostlery which tend his Mules and Horses do lye in that Court, which we said euen now was to lodge Archers and Crosse-bow-men: all the residue are left for the Fowles of the Aire to nestle in. That Garden which you might haue named a Paradise in old time, is now become a place where the filth and dung of the whole Citie is cast forth. Where the faire and stately Librarie was of old, at this present there is nothing else to be found, but Hens, Doves, and other such like Fowles, which build their Nests there. Certaine it is, that

This King called
Mansor, was
he vnto whom
Rasis that fa-
mous Physi-
cian dedicated
his Booke.

the

the foresaid *Mansor*, whom we haue so often mentioned, was a most puissant and mighty Prince: for it is well knowne that his Dominion stretched from the Towne of *Messa* to the Kingdome of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*, which is the most excellent Region of *Africa*, and so large, that a man can hardly trauell the length thereof in fourescore and ten dayes, or the breadth in fiftene. This *Mansor* likewise was in times past Lord of all the Kingdome of *Granada* in *Spaine*. Yea, his Dominion in *Spaine* extended from *Tariffa* to *Aragon*, and ouer a great part of *Castilia* and of *Portugall*. Neither did this *Iacob*, surnamed *Mansor*, only possesse the foresaid Dominions; but also his Grand-father *Abdul Mumen*, his father *Ioseph*, and his Sonne *Mahumet Enasir*, who beeing vanquished in the Kingdome of *Valentia*, lost threescore thousand Souldiers, Horsemen and

The huge Dominions of King *Mansor*.

10 Footmen: howbeit himselfe escaped and returned to *Maroco*. The Christians being encouraged with this victorie, refrayned not from Warre, till, within thirtie yeares space, they had wonne all the Townes following, to wit, *Valentia*, *Denia*, *Alcauro*, *Murcia*, *Cartagena*, *Cordona*, *Similia*, *Iaen*, and *Vbeda*. After which vnhappy warre succeeded the decay of *Maroco*. The said *Mahumet* deceasing, left behind him ten Sonnes of a full and perfect age, who contended much about the Kingdome. Hereupon it came to passe, while the Brethren were at discord, and assailed each other with mutuall warres, that the people of *Fez* called *Marini*, and the Inhabitants of other Regions adiacent, began to vsurpe the Government. The people called *Habdulwad* enioyed *Tremizen*, expelling the King of *Tunis*, and ordaining some other, whom they pleased, in his stead. Now haue you heard the end of *Mansor* his Progenie and Successors. The Kingdome therefore was translated vnto one *Iacob* the Sonne of *Habdulach*, who was the first King of the Family called *Marin*. And at length the famous Citie of *Maroco* it selfe, by reason of the *Arabians* continuall out-rages, fell into most extreme calamitie: so great is the inconstancie of all earthly things. That which we haue here reported as touching *Maroco*, partly wee saw with our owne eyes, partly we reade in the Historie of one *Ibnu Abdul Malich*, a most exact

The Christians happie successe against the Moores.

The Towne of *Agmet* built of old by the *Africans* vpon the top of a certaine hill which be-
ginneth almost from *Atlas*, is distant from *Maroco* about foure and twentie miles. In times past, when *Myachidin* was Prince thereof, it containd more then fixe thousand Families: at what time the people were very ciuill, and had such plentie and magnificence of all things, that
30 many would not sticke to compare this Towne with the Citie of *Maroco*. It had on all sides most pleasant Gardens, and great store of Vines, whereof some grew vpon the Mountaine it selfe, and others on the Valley. By the foot of this Hill runneth a faire Riuer, which springing forth of *Atlas* falleth at length into *Tensift*. The field which lyeth neere vnto this Riuer is said to be so fruitfull, that it yeeldeth euery yeere fiftie fold increase. The water of this Riuer looketh alwaies white.

Ibnu Abdul an Historian of *Africa*.
The Towne of *Agmet*.

Howbeit the Citie of *Agmet*, which I haue now described vnto, hath at this day no other Inhabitants but Woolues, Foxes, Deere, and such other wilde beasts. Except onely at my being there I found a certaine Hermite, who was attended vpon by an hundred persons of his owne Sect: all of them were well-horsed, and did their best endeour to become Gouvernours and
40 Commanders; but their forces were insufficient. With this Hermite I staid (as I remember) for the space of ten dayes, and found one amongst his followers, with whom I had old acquaintance, and familiaritie: for we were certaine fellow-students together at *Fez*, where beeing of one standing and senioritie, we heard that Booke of the *Mahumetan* Religion expounded which is commonly called the Epistle of *Nensesi*.

The desolation of *Agmet*.
Hermite.

Having before described all the Cities and Townes of *Maroco*, it now remayneth that wee briefly declare the situation and qualitie of the Mountaines there. Wherefore wee will beginne with the Mountaine of *Nifisa*, from whence the Region of *Maroco* it selfe beginneth Westward, and is thereby diuided from the Prouince of *Hsa*. The said Mountaine hath great store of Inhabitants: and albeit the tops thereof are continually couered with Snow; yet doth it
50 yearely affoord maruellous increase and abundance of Barley. The rude people there are so destitute of all humanitie and ciuill behauiour, that they doe admire not onely all Strangers, but also doe euen gaze and wonder at their apparell. I my selfe remayned two dayes among them, in which space all the people of the Towne came flocking about mee, greatly wondring at the white Garment which I wore (being such as the learned men of our Countrey are vsually clad in) so that euery one being desirous to handle and view this Garment of mine, in two dayes it was turned from white to blacke, and became all greasie and filthy.

Iohn Leo student at *Fez*.

The Mountaine of *Nifisa*.

At the bounds of *Nifisa*, a certaine other Mountaine called by the Inhabitants *Semedé*, taketh his originall: and these two Mountaines are separated by the Riuer of *Sesaua*. *Semedé* extendeth East-ward almost twentie miles, the Inhabitants whereof are most base and witlesse people. Great store of Springs and Fountaines are here to be found; the Snow is perpetuall; all good Lawes, Ciuitie and honestie are quite banished from hence, except perhaps the people be moued thereunto by the aduice of some stranger, whom they find to be of a modest and sober disposition. Here being entertayned by a certaine religious man of the same place (who was had in great reputation by the people) I was constrained to eate of such grosse meats as the said
60 people

Learned men clothed in white.
Semedé.

people are accustomed vnto, to wit, of Barley meale mingled with water, and of Goats-flesh, which was extremely tough and hard by reason of the staleness and long continuance. After Supper we had no other Bed but the bare ground to lye vpon.

Strange tryals
in Law.

John Leo con-
strayned to
play the Iudge.

The next morning being readie to take Horse, and desirous to depart, fiftie of the people came about me, laying open each man their Causes and Suites vnto me, as our people vse to do before a Iudge. Vnto whom I answered, that I had neuer in all my life either knowne or heard of the manners and customes of that Region. Forth-with comes one of the chiefe men amongst them, affirming that it was their custome neuer to dismisse any Stranger, till hee had both heard and thoroughly decided all the Quarrels and Controuersies of the Inhabitants. Which words he had no sooner vttered, but immediately my Horse was taken from me. Wherefore I was constrayned for nine dayes, and so many nights, longer to abide the penurie and miserie of that Region. Moreouer, my trouble was the greater, for that, in such abundance of Suites and Affaires, there was not one man present, which could set downe so much as a word in writing: wherefore I my selfe was fayne to play both the Iudge and the Notarie.

Vpon the eight day they all of them promised to bestow some great Reward vpon mee. Wherefore the night following seemed vnto me a yeare long: for I was in good hope, the next morrow to haue receiued a masse of Gold from my Clients. So soone as the next day began to dawne, they placed me in a certaine Church-porch: whither, after an vsuall and short Prayer ended, each man full reuerently presented his gift vnto me. Here some offered me a Cocke, others brought me Nuts and Onions, and some others bestowed a handfull of Garlicke vpon me. The principall and head-men amongst them presented mee with a Goat; and so by reason that there was no money in all the said Mountayne, they proffered mee not one farthing for my paines: wherefore all the said gifts I bequeathed vnto mine Host for his worthy entertayning of me. And this was all the notable reward which I reaped in regard of so great and intolerable paines. All things being thus dispatched, they sent fiftie Horsemen to accompany and guard me from Theeues in that dangerous way.

The Mountain
called *Sensana*.

This Mountaine of *Sensana* taketh his beginning where *Semedé* endeth, out of which springeth a certaine Riuer, hauing one name with the said Mountaine from whence it proceedeth. Neuer were the tops of this Mountaine seene destitute of Snow. The Inhabitants leade a brutish and sauage life, waging continuall warre with their next Neighbours: for which purpose they vse neither Swords, lauelins, nor any other Warlike Instruments, but onely certaine Slings, out of which they discharge stones after a strange and wonderfull manner. Their victuals consist of Barley, Honey, and Goates flesh. In the same Mountaine great multitudes of *Iewes* exercising Handie-crafts, doe inhabit: likewise they make Sope, Iron-hookes, and Horse-shoes. Diuers Masons are here to be found also. They build their wals of no other matter but onely of rough stone and lime, and the roofes of their houses they vse to couer with thatch: neither haue they any other kind of lime or bricke. They haue among them also abundance of learned men and of skilfull Lawyers, whose counsell they vse at all times. Among whom I found some, who had heretofore beene my fellow-students at *Fez*, and for our old acquaintance sake, gaue me most courteous entertaynement: and, to the end I might escape the danger of Theeues, they conducted me a good part of my way.

The Moun-
tains *Sensana*,
Teumella, and
Gedmena are com-
mitted.
Hanteta.

Neuer did I see (to my remembrance) an higher Mountayne, then that which the *Africans* call *Hanteta*.

Carrain *Iewes*.

Many *Iewes* exercising diuers Handie-crafts doe here inhabit, and doe yearly pay vnto the Governour of this Mountayne great summes of money. As concerning Religion, they follow them especially which are called *Carrain*. The top of this Mountayne is continually couered with Snow. When I first beheld this Mountayne, I thought it had beene Cloudes, so great is the height thereof. The sides of this Mountayne being altogether destitute of Herbs and Trees, are in many places stored with excellent white Marble, which the people might digge, and make a good commoditie thereof, were they not so sluggish and so ignorant in hewing and polishing of the same. In this place are many Pillars and Arches which were most artificially and sumptuously built by those mightie Princes whom wee haue often before made mention of: which Pillars they would haue vsed for the building of Water-conduits, had they not beene hindered by the violence of warres.

Guzzula.

Iron and Cop-
per Mines.

Continuall
wars in *Guz-
zula*.
Weekly Truces

This Region is exceeding populous: Westward it abutteth vpon *Ilda* a Mountayne of *Sus*; Northward it ioyneth vnto *Atlas*, and Eastward it stretcheth vnto the Region of *Hea*. It is inhabited with sauage and fierce people, being most needie of money, and yet abounding greatly in Cattell. Great store of Copper and Iron is here digged out of Mines. Great Villages they haue, which containe many of them, more then a thousand Families a piece. They haue neyther King nor Governour to prescribe any Lawes vnto them: but every one is his owne Capitaine and Commander; whereupon they are at continuall warres among themselves, neither haue they any truce at all, but three dayes onely every weeke; during which time every man may safely and freely bargain with his Enemy, and may trauell whither hee listeth. But these dayes of Truce being past, the wretched people of this Region doe continually commit most hor-

horrible slaughters. The foresaid dayes of truce a certaine Hermite appointed vnto them, whom they honoured and reuerenced like a god. This Hermite with one eye, I my selfe saw, and found him to be a trusty, sincere, courteous, and most liberall person. Once every yeere they haue a Faire of two months long: all which time (though the number of Merchants be neuer so great) they giue free entertainment vnto all such as either bring wares with them, or come thither to fetch away their wares. When the time of their Faire approacheth, they forthwith make truce, and each faction appointeth a Captaine ouer an hundred souldiers, to the end they may keepe themselves in safety, and may defend their said Faire from the inuasion and iniury of all lewd persons. If any offence be committed, the Captaines immediately giue sentence vpon the guilty person: and whosoever be conuicted of theft, is forthwith slaine like a brute beast, and his theenes carkasse is throwne out to bee deuoured of dogges, wilde beasts, and rauenous fowles.

Venerable
Hermite.
Free enter-
tainment for
Merchants.

Cruell exe-
cutions.

Azapi was built by the *Africans*, and standeth vpon the shore of the Ocean sea, containing foure thousand families: inhabitants there are great store, being for the most part very vnciuill and barbarous. In times past there dwelt many *Jewes* in this Towne, which exercised diuers Handicrafts. Their soyle is exceeding fertile; but so grosse is their owne vnskilfulnesse and negligence, that they know neither how to till their ground, to sow their Corne, or to plant Vineyards.

Of the Region
of *Duccala*, in
which is *Azafi*
and the rest
following: it
was won by
the *Portugals*,
A. H. 920. by

The Towne *Centumputei* is built vpon a rocke of excellent marble: in the Suburbs whereof are certaine caues, wherein the inhabitants vse to lay vp their Corne: which is there so wonderfully preserved, that it will continue an hundreth yeares without any ill saour or corruption. Of the number of which caues, resembling pits or wels, the Towne it self is called *Centumputei*. The inhabitants are of small reckoning or account, hauing no artificers dwelling among them but certaine *Jewes*.

reason of ciuill
broiles, one
Hali hauing
slaine the King
being at a Ser-
mon in the
Church. The
Portugals about
this time
brought a new
face on the
Townes of
these parts, as
ye may see in
Leo himselfe.

Azamur, a Towne of *Duccala*, was built by the *Africans* vpon that part of the Ocean sea-shore, where the Riuer of *Ommirabib* disemboueth, being distant from *Elmadina* Southward, about thirtie miles. Very large it is, and well inhabited, and containeth to the number of five thousand families. Here doe the *Portugall* Merchants continually reside. The inhabitants are very ciuill, and decently apparelled. And albeit they are diuided into two parts, yet haue they continuall peace among themselves. Pulse and Corne they haue great plentie, though their Gardens and Orchards bring forth nought else but figs. They haue such plentie of fishes, that they receiue yearely for them sometime sixe thousand, and sometime seven thousand duckats. And their time of fishing dureth from October to the end of Aprill. They vse to drie fishes in a certaine pan with oyle, whereby they gather an incredible quantitie of trane: neither vse they any other oyle to put into their lampes. The *Jewes* compounded with the King of *Portugall*, to yeeld the Citie to him, on condition, that they should sustaine no iniurie) with a generall consent opened the Gates vnto them: and so the Christians obtained the Citie, and the people went to dwell part of them to *Sala*, and part to *Fez*. Neither doe I thinke that God for any other cause brought this calamitie vpon them, but onely for the horrible vice of Sodomie, whereunto the greatest part of the Citizens were so notoriously addicted, that they could scarce see any young stripling, who escaped their lust.

Centumputei.
Corne preser-
ued one hun-
dred yeares.
* Or *Marbea*.
Traine Oyle.

Azamur wonne
by the *Por-
tugals*.
Sodomie:
Greene Mountaine.

The *Greene Mountaine* is of an exceeding height, beginning Eastward from the Riuer of *Ommirabib*, and extending Westward to the Hills, called in their language *Hafara*; and it diuideth *Duccala* from some part of *Tedles*. Likewise this Mountaine is very rough and full of Woods, affording great store of Acornes and Pine-apples, and a certaine kind of red fruit which the *Italians* commonly call *Africano*. Many Hermites also doe inhabite vpon this Mountaine, liuing with no other kind of victuals, but such as the Woods yeeld vnto them: for they are about five and twenty miles distant from all Townes and Cities. Here are great store of fountaines and of Altars built after the *Mahometan* fashion, and many ancient houses also erected by the *Africans*.

The fruit cal-
led by the *Ita-
lians*, *Frutto
Africano*.
Religious
Hermits.

Tagodast is built vpon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, hauing foure other high Mountaines round about it. Betweene which foure Mountaines and the said Towne, are diuers most large and beautiful Gardens replenished with all kind of fruits: Quinces here are of an incredible bignesse. Their Vines dispersing themselves vpon the boughes of trees, doe make most pleasant Bowers and Walkes; the Grapes whereof being red, are for their bignesse called in the language of that people, *Hennes eggs*. They haue here great abundance of Oyle, and most excellent Honey: some of their Honey being white, and some yellow. This Towne hath many fountaines about it, which ioyning into one streame, doe serue for many Water-mills thereabouts. Here are likewise great store of Artizans, who exercise themselves onely about things necessary. The inhabitants are somewhat ciuill, their women are most beautifull, being most gorgeously decked with siluer Jewels. Their Oyle they carry vnto the next Cities Southward of them on this side *Atlas*: but they send their Leather vnto *Fez* and *Mecnasa*. Their Plaine is almost sixe miles long, the soyle being most fruitful for Corne: in regard whereof, the Townesmen pay certaine yearely tribute vnto the *Arabians*. This Towne hath Iudges, Priests, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Tagodast.

Grapes of
maruelous
bignesse.
Whitehoney.

Neere

Elgiumuba.

Neere vnto the foresaid Towne, within five miles, standeth *Elgiumuba*. It was in our time built vpon the top of an high Mountaine, and containeth to the number of five hundred families, besides so many families comprised in the Villages of that Mountaine. Here are innumerable Springs and Fountaines, and most pleasant and fruitfull Gardens in all places. Here are likewise Walnut-trees huge and tall. The little Hills enuironing this Mountaine, doe yeeld Barly and Oliues in great abundance. In the said Towne are great numbers of Artizans, as Smiths, Leather-dressers, and such like. And because they haue here notable Yron-mines, they make plentie of Horse-shooes.

In the Mountaine of *Tennenes*, being but sixteene yeares old, I trauelled with mine Vncle, Ambassadour from the King of *Fez* to the King of *Tombuto*; and the Prince here gaue mee in recompence of *Arabia Verles* wherewith I presented him, fiftie duckats, and a good Horle. 10

Tefza.

Marble wals.

Tefza, the chiefe Towne of all *Tedles*, was built by the *Africans* vpon the top of Mount *Atlas*, some five miles from the Plaine. The Towne-walls are built of most excellent Marble, which is called in their language *Tefza*, and hereupon the Towne was so called likewise. Heere doe reside most rich Merchants of all sorts: of *Iewes* here are two hundred families, who exercise Merchandise and diuers other trades. And heere you shall finde many Outlandish Merchants which buy from hence certaine blacke Mantles with hoods, commonly called *Ilbernus*: of these there are great numbers both in *Italy* and *Spaine*. They haue Golden Coine without any Image or superscription: their apparell is decent: and their women are beautifull and of good behauiour. In this towne are diuers *Mahumetan* Temples, and many Priests and Iudges. The King recei- 20 ueth from that City, euen at this present twenty thousand Ducats for yeerely tribute.

Ilbernus.

His Captaine extorted.

84000. Ducats of the Citi-

zens & more from one Jew.

The Mountain called *Magran*.

These people line like the

Tartars.

Somewhat beyond the foresaid Mountaine of *Seggheme* standeth Mount *Magran*. Southward it bordereth vpon the Region of *Farcali*, neere vnto the *Lybian* desert: Westward it beginneth at *Seggheme*, and extendeth Eastward to the foot of Mount *Dedes*. It is continually couered with snow. The inhabitants haue such abundance of small & great cattell that they cannot long remaine in one place together. They build their houses of the Barke of certaine trees, the rooffe whereof dependeth on slender sparres, fashioned like vnto the hoopes inuironing the lids of such Chests or Trunks, as the women of *Italy*, when they trauell, carry vpon their Mules. So likewise these people transport their whole houses vp and downe by the strength of Mules, till they haue found a fit place of aboad; where, so soone as they arriue, they plant their sayd houses, remaining there with their whole families, so long as they haue grasse sufficient to feede their cattell. Howbeit all the spring time they settle themselues in one place, making certaine low Stables or Cottages, and couering them with the boughs of trees, which serue for their cattell to lie in a nights: and to the end that the cold may not pinch them ouermuch, they kinde certaine huge fires neere vnto their said Stables, whereupon sometimes the wind so violently driueth the fire, that vnlesse the cattell escape by flight, they are in great danger to be consumed: and as their houses are destitute of walls, so are their Stables. They are continually molested and haunted with Lions and Woolues. In their apparell and customes they wholly agree with the foresaid people of *Seggheme*, sauing that these haue houses of Barke and Wood, and the other of Stone. I my selfe, in the nine hundreth and seuenteenth yeere of the *Hegeira*, was in this Moun- 40 taine, as I trauelled from *Dara* to *Fez*.

A description of Mount *Dede*.*Serisso Essacalli* an Historian.

*Or Salt-pe-ter.

The high and cold Mountaine of *Dedes* greatly aboundeth with Fountaines and Woods. Westward it beginneth at Mount *Magran*, extending thence almost as far as the Mountaine of *Adesan*; and Southward it bordereth vpon the plaines of *Todga*. The length thereof is almost fourescore miles. Vpon the very top of this Mountaine there was a City built in ancient time, whereof a few ruinous Monuments are to be seene at this present; namely, certaine walses of white Stone, wherein are diuers letters and words grauen, which the inhabitants themselues doe not vnderstand. Many are of opinion, that this City was built long agoe by the *Romanes*: howbeit I my selfe could neuer finde so much affirmed by an *African* writer, nor yet the City it selfe mentioned. Sauing that *Serisso Essacalli* in a certaine Story of his maketh mention of *Tedsi*, which he saith is neere vnto *Segelmesse* and *Dara*: but he declareth not whether it bee built vpon Mount *Dedes* or no. Howbeit for mine owne part I thinke it to be the very same: for there is no other City in the whole Region. The inhabitants of *Dedes* are in very deed most base people; of whom the greater part dwell in Caues vnder the ground: their food is Barly and *Elhasid*, that is to say, Barly meale sodden with water and salt, which we mentioned before in our description of *Hea*: For heere is nothing but Barly to be had. Goates and Asses they haue in great baundance. The Caues wherein their cattell lodge are exceedingly full of * Nitre: so that I verily thinke if this Mountaine were neere vnto *Italy*, the said Nitre would yeerely be worth five and twenty thousand Ducats. But such is their negligence and vnskilfulnesse, that they are truly ignorant to what purposes Nitre serueth. Their garments are so rude, that they scarce couer halfe their nakednesse. Their houses are so loathsome, being annoyed with the stinking smell of their Goats. In all this Mountaine you shall finde neither Cattle nor walled Towne: when they build an house, they pile one stone vpon another without any mortar at all, the rooffe whereof they make of certaine rubbish, like as they doe in some places of *Sisa* and *Fab-* 60 *brtano*:

briano : the residue (as we haue said) doe inhabite in Caues, neither saw I euer, to my remembrance, greater swarms of fleas then among those people. Moreover, they are trecherous and strong theeuers, so giuen to stealing and quarrelling, that for one vnkind word they will not only contend, but seeke also the destruction one of another. They haue neither Iudge, Priest, nor any honest Governour among them. No Merchants resort vnto them : for being giuen to continuall idlenesse, and not exercising any trades or handie-crafts, they haue nothing meete for Merchants to buy. If any Merchant bring any wares into their Region, vnlesse he be safe conducted by their Captaine, he is in danger to be robbed of altogether. And if the wares serue not for their owne necessary vses, they will exact one fourth part of them for custome. Their women are most forlorne and sluttish, going more beggerly apparelled then the men. So continuall and slauish are the toiles of these women, that for misery, the life of Asses is not comparable to theirs. And, to be briefe, neuer was I so weary of any place in all *Africa*, as I was of this : howbeit in the yeere of the *Hegeira*, nine hundred and eightene, being commanded by one, to whom I was in duty bound, to trauell vnto *Segelmesse*, I could not choose but come this way.

§. III.

Collections of things most remarkable in *IOHN LEO* his third Booke of the Historie of *Africa*.



60 **T**he kingdome of Fez beginneth Westward at the famous riuer *Ommirabih*, and extendeth eastward to the riuer *Mulnia*; Northward it is enclodeth partly with the Ocean, and partly with the Mediterran sea. The said Kingdome of Fez is diuided into seven Prouinces; to wit, *Temesna*, the Territory of Fez, *Azgar*, *Elhabet*, *Erna*, *Garet*, and *Elchaur*: euery of which Prouinces had in old time a feuerall Governour: neither indeed hath the City of Fez alwayes beene the Kings Royall Seate, but being built by a certaine *Mahumetan* Apostata, was gouerned by his posteritie almost an hundred and fiftie yeeres. After which time

A most exact description of the Kingdome of Fez.
* Habar.
* Chauror.
* Cheuz.

T t t t

the

Of Temesne
one of the
Prouinces of
Fez.

A dangerous
seducer.

Differences in
Religion and
the effects.

The horrible
desolation of
Temesne.

Anfa a Towne
in Temesne.

the familie of *Marin* got the vpper hand, who here setling their aboad, were the first that euer called *Fez* by the name of a Kingdome.

Westward it beginneth at the Riuer *Ommirabih*, and stretcheth to the Riuer *Buragrag* Eastward; the South Frontire thereof bordereth vpon *Atlas*, and the North vpon the Ocean Sea. It is all ouer a plaine Countrey, contayning in length from the West to East almost fourescore miles, and in breadth from *Atlas* to the Ocean Sea about threescore. This Prouince hath euer almost bene the principall of the seuen before named: for it contained to the number of forty great Townes, besides three hundred Castles, all which were inhabited by *Barbarian Africans*. In the three hundred three & twentieth yeer of the *Hegira*, this Prouince was by a certaine heretike against the *Mahumetan* Religion, called *Chemim* the sonne of *Mennall*, freed from paying of tribute. This bad fellow perswaded the people of *Fez* to yeeld no tribute nor honour vnto their Prince, and himselfe he professed to be a Prophet: but a while after he dealt not onely in matters of Religion, but in common-wealth affaires also. At length waging warre against the King of *Fez* (who was himselfe then warring with the people of *Zenete*) it so befell, that a league was concluded betweene them, conditionally that *Chemim* should enioy *Temesne*, and that the King should containe himselfe within his Signiorie of *Fez*, so that from thencefoorth neither should molest other. The said *Chemim* gouerned the Prouince of *Temesne* about fve and thirtie yeeres: and his successours enioyed it almost an hundred yeeres after his decease. But King *Ioseph* hauing built *Maroco*, went about to bring this Prouince vnder his subiection. Whereupon he sent sundry *Mahumetan* Doctors, and Priests to reclaime the gouernour thereof from his heresie, and to perswade him, if it were possible, to yeeld vnto the King by faire meanes. Whereof the inhabitants being aduertised, they consulted with a certaine kinsman of the foresaid Gouernour, in the Citie called *Anfa*, to murder the King of *Maroco* his Ambassadors: and so they did. Soone after leuying an army of fifty thousand men, he marched towards *Maroco*, intending to expell thence the family of *Luntuna*, and *Ioseph* their King. King *Ioseph* hearing of this newes, was driuen into wonderfull perplexity of mind. Wherefore preparing an huge and mighty army, he stayed not the comming of his enemies: but on the sudden within three dayes, hauing conducted his forces ouer the Riuer of *Ommirabih*, he entred *Temesne*, when as the foresaid fifty thousand men were so dismayed at the Kings army, that they all passed the Riuer *Buragrag*, and so fled into *Fez*. But the King so dispeopled and wasted *Temesne*, that without all remorse he put both man, woman, and child to the sword. This army remayned in the Region eight dayes, in which space they so razed and demolished all the Townes and Cities thereof, that there scarce remaine any fragments of them at this time. But the King of *Fez* on the other side hearing that the people of *Temesne* were come into his Dominions, made a truce with the Tribe of *Zenete*, and bent his great army against the said *Temesnites*. And at length hauing found them halfe famished neere vnto the Riuer of *Buragrag*, he so stopped their passages on all sides, that they were constrained to run vp the craggie mountaines and thickets. At last being enuironed with the Kings forces, some of them were drowned in the Riuer, others were throwne downe headlong from the rockes, and the residue were miserably slaine by their enemies. And for the space of ten moneths there was such hauocke made among the *Temesnites*, that a silly remnant of them was left aliue. But King *Ioseph* Prince of the *Luntunes* returned foorthwith to *Maroco* for the repaying of his forces, to the end he might bid the King of *Fez* a battell. Howbeit *Temesne* being bereft of her people, was left to be inhabited of wilde beasts. Neither had that Prouince any new Colony, or supply of inhabitants, till that about one hundred and fifty yeeres after, King *Mansor* returning from *Tunis*, brought thence certaine *Arabians* with him, vnto whom he gaue the possession of *Temesne*. And these *Arabians* enioyed the said Prouince for fifty yeeres, till such time as King *Mansor* himselfe was expelled out of his Kingdom: & then were they also expelled by the *Luntunes*, & were brought into extreme miserie. Afterward the Kings of the familie of *Marin* bestowed the said Prouince vpon the people of *Zenete* and *Haoara*. Hence it came to passe that the said people of *Zenete* & *Haoara*, were alwayes great friends vnto the *Marin* family, and were thought to haue defended them from the fury of the King of *Maroco*. From which time they haue peaceably enioyed *Maroco*, and now they are grown in lesse then an hundred yeers so mighty, that they stand not in feare of the King of *Fez*. For they are able to bring threescore thousand horsemen into the field, & haue two hundred Castles at their commaund. My selfe had great familiarity and acquaintance with them, and therefore I will not sticke to record all memorable things which I saw among them.

This famous Towne was built by the *Romanes* vpon the Ocean Sea shoare, Northward of *Atlas* sixtie, Eastward of *Azamur* sixty, and Westward *Rebat* forty miles. The Citizens thereof were most ciuill and wealthy people: the fields thereto adioyning are exceeding fruitfull for all kind of graine: neither doe I thinke, that any Towne in all *Africa* is for pleasant situation comparable thereto. The plaine round about it (except it be to the Sea Northward) is almost fourescore miles ouer. In old time it was fraught with stately Temples, rich ware-houses and shops, and beautifull palaces: which the monuments as yet remayning doe sufficiently testifie. They had also most large and faire gardens, out of which they gather great abundance of fruit, especially

especially of Melons, & Pome-citrons euen at this day: all which are perfectly ripe by mid-Aprill. So that the inhabitants vsually carry their fruits vnto Fez, by reason that the fruits of Fez are not so soone ripe. Their attire is trim and decent, and they haue alwayes had great traffique with the Portugals and the English. Likewise they haue many learned men among them. But is now desolate and destroyed by Portugals.

English traf-
fique.
Ansa destroyed
by the Portu-
gals.
A description
of Rebat.

This great and famous Towne was built not many yeers ago by *Mansor* the King & *Mahumetan* Patriark of *Maroco*, vpon the Ocean Sea shoare. By the East part thereof runneth the Riuer *Buragrag* before-named, and there dischargeth it selfe into the maine Sea. The rocke whereon this Towne is founded, standeth neere the mouth of the said Riuer, hauing the Riuer on the one side thereof, and the Sea on the other. In building it much resembleth *Maroco*, which *Mansor* willed to be a patterne thereof: sauing that it is a great deale lesse then *Maroco*. Some say that the reason why it was built in this place was, for that King *Mansor* possessing the Kingdome of *Granada*, and a great part of *Spaine* besides, and considering that *Maroco* was so farre distant, that if any warres should happen, he could not in due time send new forces against the Christians, determined to built some Towne vpon the Sea shoare, where he and his army might remaine all summer time. Some perswaded him to lie with his army at *Centa* a Towne vpon the streights of *Gibraltar*: but *Mansor* seeing that by reason of the barrennes of the soile he could not maintain an army Royall for three or foure moneths in the Town of *Centa*; he caused this Town of *Rebat* in short space to be erected, & to be exceedingly beautified with Temples, Colledges, Palaces, Shops, Stones, Hospitals, and other such buildings. Moreouer, on the South side without the wals he caused a certaine high Tower like the Tower of *Maroco* to be built, saying that the winding staires were somewhat larger, insomuch that three horses a-breast might well ascend vp: from the top whereof they might escry ships an huge way into the Sea. So exceeding is the height thereof, that I thinke there is no where the like building to be found. And to the end that greater store of Artificers and Merchants might hither from all places make resort, he appointed, that euery man according to his trade and occupation should be allowed a yeerely stipend, whereupon it came to passe that within few moneths, this Towne was better stored with all kind of Artificers and Merchants, then in any Towne in all *Africa* besides, and that because they reaped a double gaine. Heere vsed *Mansor* with his Troupes to remaine from the beginning of Aprill, till the month of September. And whereas there was no water about the Town meer to be drunke (for the Sea runneth ten miles vp into the Riuer, and the wels likewise yeeld salt-water) *Mansor* caused fresh water to be conueied to the Towne by certaine Pipes and Channels, from a fountaine twelue miles distant. And the Conduits hee made arch-wise, like vnto the Conduits of *Italy* in many places, and specially at *Rome*. So soone as the said water-conduit was deriued vnto the Towne, he caused it to be diuided and sent into sundry places, as namely, some pipes thereof to the Temples, some to the Colledges, others to the Kings Palace, and the rest into the common Cisternes, throughout all the City. Howbeit after King *Mansors* death this Towne grew into such decay, that scarce the tenth part thereof now remaineth. The said notable water-conduit was vtterly fordone in the warre betweene the *Marin* familie and the successors of *Mansor*.

Why King
Mansor built
the Towne of
Rebat vpon the
Sea shoare,

Conduits of
fresh water 12
miles.

Also King *Mansor* caused *Sella* to be walled round about, and built therein a faire Hospitall, & a stately Palace, into which his souldiers might at their pleasure retire themselves. Here likewise he erected a most beautifull Temple, wherein he caused a goodly Hall or Chappell to be set vp, which was curiously carued, and had many faire windows about it: and in this Hall (when he perceiued death to seaze vpon him) he commanded his subiects to burie his corps. Which being done, they laid one Marble-stone ouer his head, and another ouer his feete, whereon sundry Epitaphes were engrauen. After him likewise all the honourable personages of his family and blood, choose to be interred in the same Hall. And so did the Kings of the *Marin* family, so long as their Common-wealth prospered. My selfe on a time entring the same Hall, beheld there thirty Monuments of noble and great personages, and diligently wrote out all their Epitaphes: this I did in the yeere of the *Hegera* nine hundred and fiteene.

Sella.

Where King
Mansor was
buried.

In *Thagia* is visited the Sepulchre of one accounted for a most holy man, who is reported in the time of *Habdulmumen*, to haue wrought many miracles against the fire of Lions: where vpon he was reputed by many as a great Prophet. I remember that I read in a certaine writer of that Nation commonly called *Erdedle*, a whole Catalogue of the said holy mans miracles: which whether he wrought by Arte-magicke, or by some wonderfull secret of nature, it is altogether vncertaine. Howbeit his great fame and honourable reputation is the cause why this Towne is so well fraught with inhabitants. The people of *Fez* hauing solemnized their Easter, do yeerely frequent this Towne to visite the said Sepulchre, and that in such huge numbers, that you would esteeme them to be an whole armie; for euery principall man carries his Tent and other necessities with him: and so you shall see sometime an hundred Tents, and sometimes more in that company. Fiteene dayes they are in performing of that Pilgrimage; for *Thagia* standeth from *Fez* almost an hundred and twenty miles. My selfe being a child, went thither on Pilgrimage oftentimes with my Father; as likewise being grown vp to mans estate, I repaired

Sepulchre vi-
sited for seare
of Lions.

Pilgrimage
farre and fre-
quent.

The Territory
of Fez.

* Or *ceba*.

Sella.

English traf-
fique.

1526.

The occasion of
the bloody
warres moued
by *Sahid*.

The City of
Fez besieged
for seven yeeres
together.

* This number
(as I take it)
should rather
be 819.

Fez the prin-
cipall City of
all *Barbarie*,
and of the
founders
thereof.

Idris the first
founder of
Fez.

red thither as often, making supplication to bee deliuered from the danger of Lions.

Westward it beginneth at the Riuer of *Buragrag*, and stretcheth Eastward to the riuer called *Inanen*: which two Riuers are almost a hundred miles distant asunder. Northward it bordereth vpon the Riuer * *Sabu*, and Southward vpon the foote of *Atlas*. The soile both for abundance of Corne, Fruits, and Cattell seemeth to be inferiour to none other.

The buildings of *Sella* carry a shew of Antiquity on them, being Artificially carued and state-ly supported with Marble pillars. Their Temples are most beautifull, and their are shops built vnder large Porches. And at the end of euery row of shops is an Arch, which (as they say) is to diuide one occupation from another. And (to say all in a word) here is nothing wanting, which may be required either in a most honourable City, or a flourishing Common-wealth. Moreouer hither resort all kind of Merchants, both Christians and others. Heere the *Genowayes*, *Venetians*, *English* and low *Dutch* vsed to traffique. The grounds adioyning vpon this Towne are sandy: neither are they fit for Corne, but for Cotten-wooll in diuers places very profitable. The inhabitants, diuers of them doe weaue most excellent Cotten. Heere likewise are made very fine Combes, which are sold in all the Kingdome of *Fez*, for the Region thereabout yeeldeth great plenty of Boxe, & of other wood fit for the same purpose. Their gouernment is very orderly and discreet euen vntill this day: for they haue most learned Iudges, Vmpires, and deciders of doubtfull cases in Law. This Towne is frequented by many rich Merchants of *Genoa*, whom the King hath alwayes had in great regard; because he gaineth much yeerely by their traffique.

In the time of *Abusaid* the last King of the *Marin* family, his Cousin, called *Sahid*, was taken by *Habdilla* the King of *Granada*; whereupon by letters he requested his Cousin the King of *Fez* to send him a certaine summe of money, required by the King of *Granada* for his ransome. Which when the *Fessan* King refused to yeeld vnto, *Habdilla* restored his prisoner to libertie, and sent him towards *Fez* to destroy both the City and the King. Afterward *Sahid*, with the helpe of certaine wilde *Arabians* besieged *Fez* for seven yeeres together; in which space most of the Townes, Villages, and Hamlets throughout the whole Kingdome were destroyed. But at length such a Pestilence inuaded *Sahids* forces, that himsele, with a great part of his army, in the * nine hundred and eighteenth yeere of the *Hegeira*, died therof. Howbeit those desolate Towns neuer receiued from thenceforth any new inhabitants, especially *Fanzara*, which was giuen to certaine *Arabian* Captaines, that came to assist *Sahid*. Whatsoeuer commodity ariseth out of *Banibasil* redoundeth to the Priests of the principall *Mahumetan* Temple in *Fez*, and it amounteth almost yeerely to twenty thousand *Dukats*. Heere also in times past were most large, pleasant, and fruitfull Gardens, as appeareth by the Monuments and reliques thereof, howbeit, they were like other places, laid waste by the warre of *Sahid*. The Towne it selfe remaineth destitute of inhabitants an hundred and ten yeeres; but as the King of *Fez* returned home from *Duccala*, he commanded part of his people to inhabite the same: albeit their inciuilitie made them loth so to doe.

Fez was built in the time of one *Aron* a *Mahumetan* Patriarke, in the yeere of the *Hegeira* one hundreth eighty and siue, and in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred eightie sixe, by a certaine hereticke against the Religion of *Mahumet*. But why it should so be called, some are of opinion, because when the first foundations thereof were digged, there was found some quantity of Gold, with mettall in the *Arabian* language is called *Fez*.

The Founder of this City was one *Idris*, being the foresaid *Aron* his neere kinsman. This *Idris* ought rather to haue bene an *Mahumetan* Patriarke, because he was nephew vnto *Hali* the Cousin-german of *Mahumet*, who married *Falerna*, *Mahumets* owne daughter, so that *Idris* both by Father and Mother was of *Mahumets* Linage: but *Aron* being nephew vnto one *Habbus* the Vncle of *Mahumet*, was of kinred onely by the Fathers side. Howbeit both of them were excluded from the said Patriarkship for certaine causes mentioned in the *African* Chronicles, although *Aron* vsurped the same by deceit. For *Arons* Vncle being a most cunning and crafty man, and faining himsele to beare greatest fauour vnto the family of *Hali*, and to be most desirous, that the Patriarkship should light thereon, sent his Ambassadors almost throughout the whole world. Whereupon the dignity was translated from *Vmene* to *Habdulla Seffec* the first Patriarke. Which, *Vmene* being informed of, waged warre against the family of *Hali*, and so preuailed, that some of them he chased into *Asia*, and some into *India*. Howbeit, an ancient Religious man of the same family remained still alieue at *Elmadina*, who being very old, no whit regarded the dignity. But this ancient sire left behind him two sonnes, who when they were come to mans estate, grew into so great fauour with the people of *Elmadin*, that they were chased thence by their enemies; the one being taken and hanged; and the other (whose name was *Idris*) escaping into *Mauritania*. This *Idris* dwelling vpon Mount *Zaron*, about thirtie miles from *Fez*, gouerned not onely the Common-wealth, but matters of Religion also: and all the Region adjacent paid him tribute. At length *Idris* deceasing without lawfull issue, left one of his maydes big with child, which had bene turned from the *Gothes* Religion to the *Moores*. Being deliuered of her sonne, they called him after his Fathers name, *Idris*. This child the inhabitants chusing for their Prince, caused him to be most carefully brought vp: and as he grew in yeeres,

yeeres, to the end they might trayne him vp in feates of Chiuallrie; they appointed one *Rasid* a most valiant and skilfull Captaine to instruct him. Infomuch, that while hee was but fifteene yeeres of age, he grew famous for his valiant Acts and Stratagems, and beganne wonderfully to inlarge his Dominions. Wherefore his Troupes and Family increasing euery day more and more, he set his minde vpon building of a Citie, and changing of his habitation. And so hee sent for cunning builders into all Nations, who hauing diligently perused all places in the Region, at last made choise of that where the Citie of *Fez* now standeth. For heere they found great store of Fountaines, and a faire Riuer, which springing forth of a plaine not farre off, runneth pleasantly almost eight miles amidst the little Hills, till at length it casteth it selfe vpon another
 10 plaine. Southward of the place they found a wood, which they knew would be right commodious for the Towne. Here therefore vpon the East banke of the said Riuer, they built a Towne contayning three thousand Families: neither omitted they ought at all which might bee required in a flourishing Common-wealth. After the decease of *Idris*, his Sonne erected another Towne directly ouer against the foresaid, on the other side of the Riuer. But in proceſſe of time either Towne so increased, that there was but a small distance betweene them: for the Gouernours of each laboured might and mayne to augment their owne Iurisdiccions. An hundred and fourescore yeeres after, there fell out great dissention and Ciuill warre betweene these two Cities, which by report continued an hundred yeeres together.

Idris his great valour at fifteene yeeres of age.

At length *Ioseph* King of *Mareco* of the *Luntune* Family, conducting an huge Armie against
 20 both these Princes, tooke them Prisoners, carryed them home vnto his Dominions, and put them to a most cruell death. And he so vanquished the Citizens, that there were slaine of them thirtie thousand. Then determined King *Ioseph* to reduce those two Townes into firme vnitie and concord: for which cause, making a bridge ouer the Riuer, and beating downe the wals of either Towne right against it, he vnited both into one, which afterward he diuided into twelue Regions or Wards. Now let vs make report of all such memorable things as are there to bee seene * at this day.

* 1526.

A most exact description of the Citie of *Fez*.

A World it is to see, how large, how populous, how well fortified and walled this Citie is. The most part thereof standeth vpon great and little Hills: neither is there any plaine ground but onely in the midst of the Citie. The Riuer entreth the Towne in two places, for it is diu-
 30 ded into a double branch, one whereof runneth by new *Fez*, that is, by the South-side of the Towne, and another commeth in at the West-side. And so almost infinitely dispersing it selfe into the Citie, it is deriued by certaine conduits and chanelles vnto euery Temple, Colledge, Inne, Hospitall, and almost to euery priuate house. Vnto the Temples are certaine square conduits adioyned, hauing Cels and Receptacles round about them; each one of which hath a Cock, whereby water is conueyed through the wall into a Trough of Marble. From whence flowing into the Sinkes and Gutters, it carryeth away all the filth of the Citie into the Riuer. In the midst of each square conduit standeth a low Cisterne, beeing three Cubits in depth, foure in breadth, and twelue in length: and the water is conueyed by certaine Pipes into the foresaid square conduits, which are almost an hundred and fiftie in number. The most part of the hou-
 40 ses are built of fine bricke and stones curiously painted. Likewise their bay-windowes and portals are made of partie-coloured bricke, like vnto the stones of *Maiorica*. The Roofes of their Houses they adorne with Gold, Azure, and other excellent Colours, which Roofes are made of wood, and plaine on the top, to the end that in Summer-time Carpets may be spred vpon them, for here they vse to lodge by reason of the exceeding heate of that Countrey. Some houses are of two and some of three Stories high, whereunto they make fine staires, by which they passe from one roome to another vnder the same rooffe: for the middle part of the house is alwayes open or vncovered, hauing some Chambers built on the one side, and some on the other. The Chamber doores are very high and wide: which in rich mens houses are framed of excellent and carued wood. Each Chamber hath a Presse curiously painted and varnished belonging thereun-
 50 to, being as long as the Chamber it selfe is broad: some will haue it very high, and others but fixe handfuls in height, that they may set it on the Tester of a Bed. All the portals of their houses are supported with bricke Pillars finely playstered ouer, except some which stand vpon Pillars of Marble. The Beames and Transomes vpholding their Chambers are most curiously painted and carued. To some houses likewise belong certaine square Cisternes, contayning in breadth fixe or seuen Cubits, in length ten or twelue, and in height but fixe or seuen handfuls, being all vncovered, and built of bricke trimly playstered ouer. Along the sides of these Cisternes are certaine Cokes, which conuay the water into Marble Troughs, as I haue seene in many places of *Europe*. When the foresaid Conduits are full of water, that which floweth ouer, runneth by certaine secret pipes and conueyances into the Cisternes: and that which ouer-
 60 floweth the Cisternes, is carryed likewise by other passages into the common Sinkes and Gutters, and so into the Riuer. The said Cisternes are alwayes kept sweete and cleane, neyther are they couered but onely in Summer-time, when Men, Women, and Children bathe themselves therein.

Moreover, on the tops of their houses they vsually build a Turret with many pleasant roomes

T t t t 3

there.

therein, whither the women for recreations sake, when they are wearie of working, retyre themselves; from whence they may see wel-nigh all the Citie ouer.

The number
and stateliness
of the *Mahumetan*
Temples
in Fez.

Of *Mahumetan* Temples and Oratories there are almost seuen hundred in this Towne, fiftie whereof are most stately and sumptuously built, hauing their Conduits made of Marble and other excellent stones vnknowne to the *Italians*; and the Chapiters of their Pillars beartificially adorned with painting and caruing. The tops of these Temples, after the fashion of Christian Churches in *Europe*, are made of Ioyes and Plankes: but the pauement is couered with Mats which are so cunningly sowed together that a man cannot see the breadth of a finger vncouered. The wals likewise on the inner side are lined a mans height with such Mats. Moreover, each Temple hath a Turret or Steeple, from whence certaine are appointed with a lowd voice to call the people at their set-time of Prayer. Euery Temple hath one onely Priest to say Seruice therein; who hath the bestowing of all Reuenues belonging to his owne Temple, as occasion requireth: for thereby are maintayned Lampes to burne in the night, and Porters to keepe the doores are paid their wages out of it, and so likewise are they that call the people to ordinarie Prayers in the night season: for those which cry from the said Towres in the day time haue no wages, but are onely released from all Tributes and Exactions.

The principall
Temple of Fez
called *Caruuen*.

The chiefe *Mahumetan* Temple in this Towne is called *Caruuen*, beeing of so incredible a bignesse, that the circuit thereof and of the buildings longing vnto it, is a good mile and a halfe about. This Temple hath one and thirtie gates or portals of a wonderfull greatnesse and height. The Roofe of this Temple is in length one hundred and fiftie, and in breadth about fourescore *Florentine* Cubits. The Turret or Steeple, from whence they cry amayne to assemble the people together, is exceedingly high; the breadth whereof is supported with twentie, and the length with thirtie Pillars. On the East, West, and North-sides, it hath certaine Walkes or Galleries, fortie Cubits in length, and thirtie in breadth. Vnder which Galleries there is a Cell or Storehouse, wherein Oyle, Candles, Mats, and other such necessities for the Temple are layd vp. Euery night in this Temple are burnt nine hundred Lights; for euery arch hath a seuerall Lampe, especially those which extend through the mid-quire. Some Arches there are that haue one hundred and twentie Candles a piece: there are likewise certaine Brasse Candlestickes so great and with so many Sockets, as they will hold each one fiftene hundred Candles: and these Candlestickes are reported to haue beene made of Bels, which the King of *Fez* in times past tooke from Christians.

Pulpits and
preaching.

About the wals of the said Temple are diuers Pulpits, out of which those that are learned in the *Mahumetan* Law instruct the people. Their Winter Lectures beginne presently after Sunrise, and continue the space of an houre. But their Summer Lectures hold on from the Sunne going downe, till an houre and a halfe within night. And here they teach as well Morall Philosophie as the Law of *Mahumet*. The Summer Lectures are performed by certaine priuate and obscure persons; but in Winter such onely are admitted to read, as bee reputed their greatest Clerkes. All which Readers and Professours are yearely allowed most liberall Stipends. The Priest of this great Temple is enioyned onely to read Prayers, and faithfully to distribute almes among the poore. Euery Festiuall day he bestoweth all such Corne and Money as he hath in his custodie, to all poore people according to their need.

The Treasuror or Collector of the Reuenues of this Church hath euery day a Duckat for his pay. Likewise he hath eight Notaries or Clerkes vnder him; euery one of which gayneth fixe Duckats a moneth: and other fixe Clerkes who receiue the rent of houses, shops, and other such places as belong to the Temple, hauing for their wages the twentieth part of all such Rents and Duties as they gather.

Moreover, there belong to this Temple twentie Factors or Baylies of Husbandry, that without the Citie wals haue an eye to the Labourers, Ploughmen, Vine-planters, and Gardeners, and that prouide them things necessarie: there gaine is three Duckats a moneth. Not farre from the Citie are about twentie Lime-kils, and as many Bricke-kils, seruing for the reparation of their Temple, and of all houses thereto belonging.

The Reuenues
of the great
Temple, and
how they are
bestowed.

The Reuenues of the said Temple daily receiued, are two hundred Duckats a day; the better halfe whereof is layd out vpon the particulars aforesaid. Also if there bee any Temples in the Citie destitute of liuing, they must all be mayntayned at the charges of this great Temple: and then that which remayneth after all expenses, is bestowed for the behoote of the Commonwealth: for the people receiue no Reuenues at all. In our time the King commanded the Priest of the said Temple to lend him an huge summe of money, which he neuer repayed againe.

Colledges of
Fez.

Moreover, in the Citie of *Fez* are two most stately Colledges, of which diuers roomes are adorned with curious painting; all their beames are carued, their wals consisting both of Marble and Freestone. Some Colledges heere are which contayne an hundred studies, some more, and some fewer, all which were built by diuers Kings of the *Marin* Family. One there is among the rest most beautifull and admirable to behold, which was erected by a certaine King called *Habu Henon*. Here is to be seene an excellent Fountaine of Marble, the Cisterne whereof containeth two Pipes. Through this Colledge runneth a little streame in a most cleere and pleasant

pleasant chancell, the brimmes and edges whereof are workmanly framed of Marble, and stones of *Maiorica*. Likewise heere are three Cloysters to walke in, most curiously and artificially made, with certaine eight square Pillars of diuers colours to support them. And betweene Pillar and Pillar the arches are beautifully ouer-cast with Gold, Azure, and diuers other Colours; and the Roofe is very artificially built of wood. The sides of these Cloysters are so close, that they which are without cannot see such as walke within. The wals round about as high as a man can reach, are adorned with Playster-worke of *Maiorica*. In many places you may find certaine Verses, which declare what yeare the Colledge was built in, together with many Epigrams in the Founders commendation. The Letters of which Verses are very great and black, so that they may be read a farre off. This Colledge gates are of Brasse most curiously carued, and so are the doores artificially made of wood. In the Chappell of this Colledge standeth a certaine Pulpit mounted nine stayres high, which staires are of Iuorie and Ebonie. Some affirme, that the King hauing built this Colledge, was desirous to know how much money hee had spent in building it; but after he had perused a leafe or two of his Account-booke, finding the summe of fortie thousand Duckats, he rent it asunder, and threw it into the foresaid little Riuer, adding this Sentence out of a certaine *Arabian* Writer: *Each precious and amiable thing, though it costeth deare, yet if it be beautifull, it cannot choose but bee good cheape: neither is any thing of too high a price, which pleaseth a mans affection.* Howbeit a certaine Treasurer of the Kings, making a particular account of all the said expenses, found that this excellent building stood his Master in foure hundred and eightie thousand Duckats. The other Colledges of *Fez* are somewhat like vnto this, hauing euery one Readers and Professors, some of which read in the forenoone, and some in the afternoone.

A Colledge cost 480000 Duckats the building.

In times past the Students of these Colledges had their apparell and victuals allowed them for seuen yeares, but now they haue nothing gratis but their Chamber.

For the warre of *Sahid* destroyed many possessions, whereby Learning was maintayned; so that now the greatest Colledge of all hath yeerely but two hundred, and the second but an hundred Duckats for the maintenance of their Professors. And this perhaps may bee one reason, among many, why the gouernment not onely of *Fez*, but of all the Cities in *Africa*, is so base.

The suppression of Learning and learned men, a principal cause of disorderly and base gouernment.

Now these Colledges are furnished with no Schollers but such as are strangers, and liue of the Citie Almes: and if any Citizens dwell there, they are not aboue two or three at the most. The Professor being readie for his Lecture, some of his Auditors readeth a Text, whereupon the said Professor dilateth, and expalayneth obscure and difficult places. Sometimes also the Schollers dispute before their Professor.

Many Hospitals there are in *Fez*, no whit inferiour, either for building or beautie, vnto the foresaid Colledges. For in them whatsoever strangers came to the Citie were entertayned at the common charge for three dayes together. There are likewise as faire and as stately Hospitals in the Suburbes. In times past their wealth was maruellous great; but in the time of *Sahids* warre, the King standing in need of a great summe of money, was counselled by some of his greedie Courtiers to sell the Liuinges of the said Hospitals. Which when the people would in no case yeeld vnto, the Kings Oratour or Speaker, perswaded them that all those Liuinges were giuen by his Maiesties Predecessours, and therefore (because when the warres were ended, they should soone recouer all againe) that it were farre better for them by that meanes to pleasure their Soueraigne, then to let his Kingly Estate fall into so great danger. Whereupon all the said Liuinges being sold, the King was preuented by vntimely and sudden death before he could bring his purpose to effect: and so these famous Hospitals were depriued of all their maintenance.

A description of the Hospitals and Bathes in the Citie of *Fez*.

Liuinges belonging to Hospitals.

The poore indeed and impotent people of the Citie are at this day relieued; but no strangers are entertayned, saue only learned men or Gentlemen. Howbeit there is another Hospitall for the reliefe of sicke and diseased strangers, who haue their dyet onely allowed them, but no Physician or Medicine: certaine women there are which attend vpon them, till they recouer their former health, or dye. In this Hospitall likewise there is a place for frantike or distracted persons, where they are bound in strong Iron Chaines; whereof the part next vnto their walkes is strengthened with mightie beames of Wood and Iron. The Gouernour of these distracted persons, when he bringeth them any sustenance, hath a Whip of purpose to chastise those that offer to bite, strike, or play any mad part.

Likewise this Hospitall hath many Roomes for the Purueyors, Notaries, Cookes, and other Officers belonging to the sicke persons; who each of them haue some small yeerely stipend. Being a young man, I my selfe was Notarie heere for two yeeres, which Office is worth three Duckats a moneth.

Iohn Leo in his youth a Notary of an Hospitall for two yeeres together.

In this Citie are moe then an hundred Bath-stoues very artificially and stately built; which though they bee not of equall bignesse, yet are they all of one fashion. Each Stoue hath foure Halls, without which are certaine Galleries in an higher place, with fve or sixe staires to ascend vnto them: here men put off their apparell, and hence they goe naked into the Bath. In the midst

Their Bathes and bathing.

Womens
Bathes.

Reuenues to
the Temple.

The Innes
of Fez.

The Mills
of Fez.
Like vnto our
Horse-mills.
A description
of the Occu-
pations, the
Shops, and the
Market.

midst they alwaies keepe a Cisterne full of water. First therefore, they that meane to bathe themselves, must passe through a cold Hall, where they vse to temper hot water and cold together, then they goe into a roome somewhat hotter, where the seruants clense and wash them; and last of all, they proceede into a third Hot-house, where they sweate as much as they thinke good. The fire that heateth their water is made of nought else but beasts dung: for which purpose many boyes are set on worke to run vp and downe to Stables, and thence to carrie all the dung, and to lay it on heapes without the Towne-walles; which being parched in the Sunne for two or three moneths together, they vse for fuell. Likewise, the women haue their Stoues apart from the men. And yet some Hot-houses serue both for men and women, but at sundrie times, namely, for men from the third to the fourteenth houre of the day, and the residue for women. While women are bathing themselves, they hang out a rope at the first entrance of the house, which is a signe for men, that they may then proceede no farther. Neither may husbands here be permitted to speake with their owne wiues; so great a regard they haue of their honestie. Here men and women both, after they haue done bathing, vse to banquet and make merrie with pleasant Musicke and singing. Young Striplings enter the Bath starke naked without any shame, but men couer their priuities with a linnen cloth. The richer sort will not enter the common Bath, but that which is adorned and finely set forth, and which serueth for Noble-men and Gentle-men. When any one is to be bathed, they lay him along vpon the ground, anointing him with a certaine oyntment, and with certaine instruments doing away his filth. The richer sort haue a Carpet to lie on, their head lying on a wooden Cushion, couered with the same Carpet. Likewise, here are many Barbers and Chyrurgions which attend to doe their office. The most part of these Baths pertaine to the Temples and Colledges, yeelding vnto them a great summe of money for yearly rent: for some giue an hundred, some an hundred and fiftie Duckats a yeare. Neither must I here omit the Festiuall-day which the Seruants and Officers of the Bathes celebrate; who with Trumpets and Pipes calling their friends together, goe forth of the Towne, and there gather a wild Onion, putting it in a certaine brazen vessell, and couering the same with a linnen cloth wet in Lee: afterward with a great noise of Trumpets and Pipes, they solemnely bring the said Onion vnto the Hot-house doore, and there they hang it vp in the little brazen vessell or Lauer, saying, That this is a most happy boading, or signe of good luck vnto their Stoue. Howbeit, I suppose it to be some such Sacrifice, as the ancient *Moors* were wont in times past, when they were destitute of Lawes and ciuilitie, to offer, and that the same custom hath remained till this very day. The like is to be seene euen among Christians, who celebrate many Feasts, wherof they can yeeld no reason. Likewise, euery *African* towne had their peculiar Feast, which, when the Christians once enioyed *Africa*, were vtterly abolished and done away.

In this Citie are almost two hundred Innes, the greatest whereof are in the principall part of the Citie neere vnto the chiefe Temple. Euery of these Innes are three stories high, and containe an hundred and twenty, or moe Chambers apiece. Likewise, each one hath a Fountaine, together with Sinks, and Water-pipes, which make auoidance of all the filth. Neuer, to my remembrance, did I see greater building, except it were the *Spanish* Colledge at *Bologna*, or the Palace of the Cardinall *di San Giorgio* at *Rome*; of which Innes all the Chamber-doores haue Walkes or Galleries before them. And albeit the Innes of this Citie are very faire and large, yet they affoord most beggerly entertainment to strangers; for there are neither Beds nor Couches for a man to lie vpon, vnlesse it be a course Blanket and a Mat. And if you will haue any victuals, you must goe to the Shambles your selfe, and buy such meate for your Host to dresse, as your stomack stands-to. In these Innes certaine poore Widdowes of *Fez*, which haue neither wealth nor friends to succour them, are relieved: sometimes one, and sometimes two of them together are allowed a Chamber; for which courtesie they play both the Chamberlaines and Cookes of the Inne. The Inne-keepers of *Fez* being all of one Family, called *Elcbena*, goe apparelled like Women, and shauie their Beards, and are so delighted to immitate Women, that they will not onely counterfeite their speech, but will sometimes also sit downe and spin. Each one of these hath his Concubine, whom hee accompanieth as if she were his owne lawfull Wife; albeit the said Concubines are not onely ill-fauoured in countenance, but, notorious for their bad life and behauior. They buy and sell wine so freely, that no man controles them for it. None resort hither but most lewd and wicked people, to the end they may more boldly commit vilany. The very company of these Inne-keepers is so odious, and detestable in the sight of all honest men, learned men, and Merchants, that they will in no wise vouchsafe to speake vnto them. And they are firmly enioyned not to enter into the Temple, into the Burse, nor into any Bath. Neither yet are they permitted to resort vnto those Innes which are next vnto the great Temple, and wherein Merchants are vsually entertained.

In this Citie are Mills in foure hundred places at least. And euery of these places containeth fve or fixe Mills; so that there are some thousands of Mills in the whole City. Euery Mill standeth in a large roome vpon some strong pillar or post, whereunto many Country-people vse to resort. All the said Mills pertaine either to the Temples or Colledges.

Each trade or occupation hath a peculiar place allotted thereto, the principall whereof are

next

next vnto the great Temple: for there first you may behold to the number of fourescore Notaries or Scriueners shops, whereof some ioyne vpon the Temple, and the residue stand ouer against them: euery of which Shops hath alwaies two Notaries. Then Westward there are about thirtie Stationers or Booke-sellers. The Shoo-merchants which buy Shooes and Buskins of the Shoo-makers, and sell them againe to the Citizens, inhabite on the Southside of the Temple: and ext vnto them, such as make Shooes for children onely, their Shops being about fiftie. On the East-side dwell those that sell vessels, and other commodities made of brasfe.ouer against the great Gate of the said Temple stands the Fruit-market, containing fiftie Shops, where no kind of fruit is wanting. Next vnto them stand the Waxe-merchants, very ingenious and cunning workmen, and much to be admired. Here are Merchants factors likewise, though they bee but few. Then followes the Herbe-market, wherein the Pome-citrons, and diuers kinds of greene Boughes and Herbes doe represent the sweete and flourishing Spring, and in this Market are about twenty Tauernes: for they which drinke Wine, will shrowd themselues vnder the shade and pleasant Boughes. Next vnto them stand the Milke-sellers: I thinke there passeth scarce one day ouer their heads, wherein they vtter not fve and twentie tunnes of Milke. Next vnto these are such as sell Cotton, and they haue about thirtie shops: then follow those that sell Hempe, Ropes, Halters, and such other hempen commodities. Then come you to the Girdlers, and such as make Pantofles, and Leather-bridles embrodered with silke: next their shops adioyne that make Sword-scabberds and Caparisons for Horses. Immediately after dwell those that sell Salt and Lime; and vpon them border an hundred Shops of Potters, who frame al kind of earthen vessels adorned with diuers colours. Then come you to the Sadlers Shops: and next of all to the streete of Porters, who (as I suppose) are about three hundred: these Porters haue a Confull or Gouvernour, who euery weeke allotteth vnto part of them some set businesse. The gaine which redoundeth thereof, they put into a Coffer, diuiding it at the weekes end among them, which haue wrought the same weeke. Strange it is to consider how exceedingly these Porters loue one another: for when any of them deceaseth, the whole company maintaineth his widow and fatherlesse children at their common charge, till either she die, or marieth a new Husband. The children they carefully bring vp, till they haue attained to some good Art or occupation. Next vnto the Porters companie dwell the chiefe Cookes and Victuallers. Here also stands a certaine square house couered with Reed, wherein Pease and Turnep-rootes are to bee sold, which are so greatly esteemed of in Fez, that none may buy them of the country people at the first hand, but such as are appointed, who are bound to pay tole & tribute vnto the Customers: and scarcely one day passeth, wherein moe then fve hundred sacks of Pease and Turneps are not sold. On the North-side of the Temple is a place whither all kind of Hearbs are brought to make Sallets withall: for which purpose there is fortie Shops appointed. Next whereunto is the place of Smoke, so called, by reason of continuall smoke: here are certaine Fritters or Cakes fried in Oyle, like vnto such as are called at Rome, *Pan Melato*. They roste their flesh not vpon a spit, but in an Ouen: for making two Ouens one ouer another for the same purpose, in the lower they kindle a fire, putting the flesh into the vpper Ouen when it is well het; you would not beleue how finely their meat is thus roasted; for it cannot be spoiled either by smoke or too much heate: for they are all night roasting it by a gentle fire, and in the morning they set it to sale. The foresaid Steakes and Fritters they sell vnto the Citizens in so great abundance, that they daily take for them moe then two hundred Ducats; for there are fiftene Shops which sell nothing else. Likewise, here are sold certaine Fishes and flesh fried, and a kind of excellent fauorie bread, tasting somewhat like a Fritter; which being baked with Butter, they neuer eate but with Butter and Honie. Here also are the feete of certaine beasts sodden, wherewith the Husbandmen betimes in the morning breake their fast, and then hie them to their labour. Next vnto these are such as sell Oyle, Salt, Butter, Cheese, Oliues, Pome-citrons and Capers: their shops are full of fine earthen vessels, which are of much greater value then the things contained in them. Then follow the Shambles, consisting of about forty Shops, wherein the Butchers cut their flesh a pieces, and sell it by weight. They kill no beasts within the Shambles, for there is a place allotted for this purpose neere vnto the Riuer, where hauing once dressed their flesh, they send it to the Shambles by certaine seruants appointed for that end. But before any Butcher dare sell his flesh vnto the Citizens, he must carrie it to the Gouvernour of the Shambles, who so soone as he seeth the flesh, he sets downe in a piece of paper the price thereof, which they shew together with their meate vnto the people; neither may they in any case exceed the said price. Next vnto the Shambles standeth the Market where course cloathes are sold, which containeth at least an hundred Shops: the said cloth is deliuered vnto certaine Criers (which are about threescore in number) who carrying the cloth from Shop to Shop, tell the price thereof. Then follow their Shops that scowre and sell Armour, Swords, Iauelings, and such like warlike instruments. Next vnto them stand the Fishmongers, who sell most excellent and great Fish. Next vnto the Fishmongers dwell such as make of a certaine hard Reed, Coopes and Cages for Fowles; their Shops being about fortie in number: for each of the Citizens vseth to bring vp great store of Hennes and Capons. And that their houses may not be defiled with Hennes-dung, they keepe them

Scriueners.

Book-sellers.
Shoo-merchants.
Brasiers.
Fruiterers.

Herb-women.

Tauernes.
Milk-sellers.

Cotton-sellers.
Rope-sellers.
Girdlers.
Sailers.
Potters.
Sadlers.
The Porters of Fez.

Cookes.

Pease and Turneps.
Sallet-shops.

Fritters.

Roasting in Ouens.

Tripe-wives.

Victualers.

Shambles.

The Gouvernour of the Shambles in Fez.
Course cloth.

Armourers.
Fishmongers.

Cage-makers.

Sopers.
Mea'men.

them continually in Coopes and Cages. Then follow their Shops that sell liquide Sope. Next of all are certaine of their Shops that sell Meale, albeit they are diuersly disperfed throughout the whole Citie. Next vnto them are such as sell Seede-graine and Seede-pulse. Then are there tenne Shops of them that sell Straw. Next them is the Market where Thread and Hempe is to be sold, and where Hempe vseth to bee kempt: which place is built after the fashion of great Houses, with foure Galleries, or spare-rooms round about it: in the first whereof they sell Linnen-cloth, and weigh Hempe: in two other sit a great many women, hauing abundance of sale-thread, which is there sold by the Criers.

Tankarders.

Taylor.

Landerers.

Spurres, &c.

Of the Station
or Burse of
Merchants
in Fez.

Or Baioco.

Of the Gro-
cers, Apothe-
caries, and
other Trade-
men and Ar-
tizans of Fez.

John Leo was at
Tauris in Persia.

Let vs now come to the West part, which stretcheth from the Temple to that Gate that leadeth to *Mecnase*. Next vnto the Smokie place before mentioned, their habitations directly stand, that make Leather-tankards to draw water out of Wells, of whom there are some foure-
teene Shops. Vnto these adioyne such as make Wicker-vessels, and other, to lay vp Meale and Corne in: and these enioy about thirty Shops. Next them are one hundred and fifty Shops of Taylors. And next the Taylors are those that make Leather-shields, such as I haue often seene brought into *Europe*. Then follow twenty Shops of Landresses or Washers, being people of a base condition; to whom the Citizens that haue not Maids of their owne, carry their Shirts and other foule linnen, which after few dayes are restored vnto them so cleane and white, as it is wonderfull. These Landresses haue diuers Shops adioyning together in the same place: but here and there throughout the Citie are about two hundred Families of such persons. Next vnto the Landresses are those that make Trees for Saddles; who dwell likewise in great numbers Eastward right in the way to the Colledge founded by King *Abuhinan*. Vpon these adioyne about fortie shops of such as worke Stirrops, Spurres, and Bridles, so artificially, as I thinke the like are not to be seene in *Europe*. Next standeth their streete, that first rudely make the said Stirrops, Bridles and Spurres. From thence you may goe into the streete of Sadlers, which couer the Saddles before mentioned threefold with most excellent Leather: the best Leather they lay vppermost, and the worst beneath, and that with notable Workmanship, as may bee seene in most places of *Italy*: and of them there are moe then an hundred Shops. Then follow their long Shops that make Pikes and Launces. Next standeth a Rocke or Mount, hauing two Walkes thereupon; the one whereof leadeth to the East-gate, and the other to one of the Kings Palaces, where the Kings Sisters, or some other of his Kindred are vsually kept. But this is by the way to be noted, that all the foresaid Shops, or Market, begin at the great Temple.

The Burse you may well call a Citie, which being walled round about, hath twelue Gates, and before every Gate an Iron-chaine, to keepe Horses and Carts from comming in. The said Burse is diuided into twelue seuerall Wards or parts: two whereof are allotted vnto such Shoo-makers as make Shooes onely for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and two also to Silke-merchants, or Haberdashers, that sell Ribands, Garters, Scarfes, and such other like ornaments; and of these there are about fittie Shops. Others there are that sell Silke onely for the embrodering of Shirts, Cushions, and other such furniture made of Cloth, possessing almost as many Shops as the former. Then follow those that make Womens Girdles of course Wooll (which some make of Silke) but very grossely, for I thinke they are moe then two fingers thicke, so that they may serue almost for Cables to a Ship. Next vnto these Girdlers are such as sell Woollen and Linnen-cloth brought out of *Europe*: which haue also Silke-stuffes, Caps, and other like commodities to sell. Hauing passed these, you come to them that sell Mats, Mattrailes, Cushions, and other things made of Leather. Next adioyneth the Customers Office; for their Cloth is sent about by certaine Criers to be sold, who before they can passe, must goe to the Customers to haue the said Cloth sealed, and to pay Toll vnto the Customers. Criers here are to the number of fixtie, which for the crying of euery Cloth haue one * *Liardo* allowed them. Next of all dwell the Taylors, and that in three seuerall streetes. Then come you to the Linnen-drapers, which sell Smocks and other apparell for women: and these are accounted the richest Merchants in all *Fez*, for their wares are the most gainefull of all others. Next vnto these are certaine Woollen garments to be sold, made of such Cloth as is brought thither out of *Europe*. Euery after-noone Cloth is sold in this place by the Criers, which is lawfull for any man to doe, when necessary occasion vrgeth him. Last of all is that place where they vse to sell wrought Shirts, Towels, and other embrodered works; as also where Carpets, Beds, and Blankets are to be sold.

Next vnto the said Burse, on the Northside, in a streight lane, stand an hundred and fifty Grocers and Apothecaries Shops, which are fortified on both sides with two strong Gates. These Shops are garded in the night-season by certaine hired and armed Watchmen, which keep their station with Lanthornes and Mastiues. The said Apothecaries can make neither Sirrups, Oyntments, nor Electuaries: but such things are made at home by the Physicians, and are of them to be bought. The Physicians houses adioyne for the most part vnto the Apothecaries: howbeit, very few of the people know either the Physician, or the vse of his Physick. The Shops here are so artificially built and adorned, that the like (I thinke) are no where else to be found. Being in *Tauris*, a Citie of *Persia*, I remember that I saw diuers stately Shops curiously built vnder certaine Galleries, but very darke, so that (in my iudgement) they be far inferiour vnto the Shops of *Fez*.

Next

Next the Apothecaries are certaine Artificers that makes Combes of Boxe and other wood. Comb makers
 Eastward of the Apothecaries dwell the Needle-makers, possessing to the number of fifty shops.
 Then follow those that turne Iuory, and such other matter, who (becaule their craft is practised Turners.
 by some other Artizans) are but few in number. Vnto the Turners adioyne certaine that sell
 Meale, Sope, and Broomes : who dwelling next vnto the Thread-market before mentioned, are Vpholsters.
 scarce twenty shops in all : for the residue are disperfed in other places of the City, as we will
 hereafter declare. Amongst the Cotten-merchants are certaine that sell ornaments for Tents and Beds. Next of all stand the Fowlers, who, though they be but few, yet are they stored with Poulters.
 all kind of choice and dainty Fowles : whereupon the place is called the Fowlers market. Then
 10 come you to their shops that sell Cords and Ropes of Hempe : and then to such as make high
 Coorke-slippers for Noblemen and Gentlemen to walk the streets in, when it is foule weather: Corkslippers.
 these Corke-slippers are finely trimmed with much silke, and most excellent vpper leathers, so
 that the cheapest will cost a Ducat, yea some there are of ten Ducats, & some of five and twenty
 Ducats price. Such slippers as are accounted most fine and costly are made of blacke and white
 Mulberie-tree, of blacke Walnut-tree, and of the Injuba tree, albeit the Corke-slippers are the
 most durable and strong. Vnto these adioyne ten shops of *Spanish Moores*, which make Crosse- Crosse-bowes.
 bowes : as also those that make Broomes of a certaine wilde Palme-tree, such as are dayly
 brought out of *Sicilie* to *Rome*. These Broomes they carry about the City in a great basket, ei- Broome-men,
 ther selling them, or exchanging them for Bran, Ashes, or old Shooes : the Bran they sell againe
 20 to Shepherds, the Ashes to such as white Thread, and old Shooes to Coblers. Next vnto them
 are Smithes that make Nailed; & Coopers which make certain great vessels in forme of a bucket, Smithes.
 hauing Corne-measures to sell also : which measures, when the Officer, appointed for the same
 purpose, hath made triall of, he is to receiue a farthing a-peece for his fee. Then follow the
 Wooll-chapmen, who hauing bought wooll of the Butchers, put it forth vnto others to Woolmen,
 be scowred and washed : the Sheepe-skinnes they themselves dresse : but as for Oxe-hides they
 belong to another occupation, and are tanned in another place. Vnto these adioyne such as
 make certaine Langols or Withs, which the *Africans* put vpon their horses feet. Next of all
 are the Brasiers : then such as make Weights and Measures ; and those likewise that make in- Weights and
 struments to carde Wooll or Flaxe. At length you descend into a long street, where men of di- Measures.
 30 uers occupations dwell together, some of which doe polish and enamell Stirops, Spurres, and Enamellers.
 other such commodities, as they receiue from the Smithes roughly and rudely hammered. Next
 whom dwell certaine Cart-wrights, Plow-wrights, Mill-wrights, and of other like occu- Fabri.
 pations. Diers haue their aboad by the Riuer side, and haue each of them a most cleere Foun- Diers.
 taine or Cisterne to wash their Silke-stuffes in.ouer against the Diers dwell makers of Bul-
 warkes or Trenches, in a very large place, which being planted with shady Mulberrie-trees is Farriers.
 exceeding pleasant in the Summer time. Next them are a company of Farriers, that shooe Mules
 and Horses : and then those that make the Iron-worke of Crosse-bowes. Then follow Smithes
 that make Horse-shooes ; and last of all, those that white Linnen-cloth : and here the west part
 40 of the City endeth, which in times past (as is afore said) was a City by it selfe, and was built af-
 ter the City on the East side of the Riuer.

The second part of *Fez* situate Eastward, is beautified with most stately Palaces, Temples, A Description
 Houses, and Colledges ; albeit there are not so many trades and occupations as in the part before of the second
 described. For here are neither Merchants, Taylors, Shoo makers, &c. but of the meaner sort. part of *Fez*.
 Heere are notwithstanding thirty shops of Grocers. Neere vnto the walles dwell certaine Grocers.
 Bricke-burners and Potters : and not farre from thence is a great Market of white Earthen Vef- Earthen ves-
 sels, Platters, Cups, and Dishes. Next of all stands the Corne-market, wherein are diuers Gra- sels.
 naries to lay vp Corne. ouer against the great Temple there is a broad street paved with Brick, Corn-market.
 round about which diuers handi-crafts and occupations are exercised. There are likewise many
 other trades diuersly disperfed ouer this East part of the City. The Drapers and Grocers haue Drapers.
 50 certaine peculiar places allotted vnto them. In the East part of *Fez* likewise there are five hun-
 dred and twenty Weauers houses, very stately and sumptuously built : hauing in each of them Weauers.
 many worke-houses and Loomes, which yeeld great rent vnto the owners. Weauers there are
 (by report) in this City twenty thousand, and as many Millers. Moreouer, in this part of *Fez* Millers.
 are an hundred shops for the whiting of thread ; the principall whereof being situate vpon the
 Riuer, are exceedingly well furnished with Kettles, Cauldrons, and other such vessels : here are
 likewise many great houses to sawe wood in, which worke is performed by Christian captiues, Sawyers.
 and whatsoeuer wages they earne, redoundeth vnto their Lords and Masters. These Christian
 captiues are not suffered to rest from their labours, but onely vpon Fridayes, and vpon eight seue- Christian cap-
 rall dayes of the yeere besides, wheron the *Moores* feasts are solemnized. Heere also are the tiues slavery.
 60 common stewes for Harlots, which are fauoured by great men, and sometime by the chiefe Go-
 uernours of the City. Likewise there are certaine Vintners, who are freely permitted to keepe
 Harlots, and to take filthie hire for them. Heere are also moe then sixe hundred cleere Foun- Stewes.
 taines walled round about and most charily kept, euery one of which is seuerally conueyed by Vintners.
 certaine pipes vnto each House, Temple, Colledge, and Hospitall : and this Fountaine water is Fountaines
 600.

Rivers dried
vp in Summer.

Gardens.

Kings Palaces.

Prison.

Of the Magi-
strates, the ad-
ministration
of Justice, and
of the apparell
vsed in Fez.

The punish-
ment of male-
factors in Fez.

No Officer by
Mahumets Law
to haue Fees.
Vnlearned
Lawyers.
But foure Ser-
ieants in Fez:
and those baw-
dy Knaues.

No Notaries.

Tribute, Sear-
chers & excise.

Two per cento
Custome.

accounted the best; for that which commeth out of the Riuer is in Summer oftentimes dried vp: as likewise when the Conduits are to be clenched, the course of the Riuer must of necessitie bee turned out of the City. Wherefore euery family vseth to fetch water out of the said Fountaines, and albeit in Summer-time the chiefe Gentlemen vse Riuer-water, yet they will often call for Fountaine-water, because it is more coole and pleasant in taste. But in the Spring-time it is nothing so. These Fountaines haue their Originall for the most part from the West and South, for the North part is all full of Mountaines and Marble Rockes, containing certaine Caues or Cels, wherein Corne may be kept for many yeeres; of which Caues some are so large, that they will hold two hundred bushels of Corne. The Citizens dwelling neere those Caues, and such as possesse them, do sufficiently maintaine themselues in taking yeerely euery hundred bushell for rent. The South part of East Fez is almost halfe destitute of Inhabitants; howbeit the gardens abound with Fruits and Flowres of all sorts. Euery Garden hath an house belonging thereunto, and a Christall-fountaine enuironed with Roses, and other odoriferous Flowres and Herbes; so that in the Spring-time a man may both satisfie his eyes, and solace his mind in visiting this part of the City: and well it may be called a Paradise, sithence the Noblemen doe here reside from the moneth of Aprill till the end of September. Westward, that is, toward the Kings Palace, standeth a Castle built by a King of the *Luntune* Familie, resembling in bignesse an whole towne: wherein the Kings of Fez, before the said Palace was built, kept their Royall residence. But after new Fez began to be built by the *Marin* Kings, the said Castle was left onely to the Gouvernor of the City. Within this Castle stands a stately Temple built (as aforesaid) what time it was inhabited by Princes and Nobles, many places being afterward defaced and turned into Gardens: howbeit certaine houses were left vnto the Gouvernour, partly to dwell in, and partly for the deciding of controuersies. Heere is likewise a certaine Prison for captiues supported with many pillars, and being so large, that it will hold (as diuers are of opinion) three thousand men. Neither are there any seuerall roomes in this prison: for at Fez one prison serueth for all. By this Castle runneth a certaine Riuer very commodious for the Gouvernour.

In the City of Fez are certaine particular Iudges and Magistrates: and there is a Gouvernour that defineth ciuill controuersies, and giueth sentence against Malefactors. Likewise there is a Iudge of the Canon Law, who hath to doe with all matters concerning the *Mahumetan* Religion. A third Iudge there is also, that dealeth about marriages and diuorcements, whose authoritie is to heare all witnesses, and to giue sentence accordingly. Next vnto them is the high Aduocate, vnto whom they appeale from the sentence of the said Iudges, when as they doe either mistake themselues, or doe ground their sentence vpon the authoritie of some inferiour Doctor. The Gouvernour gaineth a great summe of money by condemning of parties at seuerall times. Their manner of proceeding against a Malefactor is this: hauing given him an hundred or two hundred stripes before the Gouvernour, the Executioner putteth an Iron-chaine about his necke, and so leadeth him starke-naked (his priuities onely excepted) through all parts of the City: after the Executioner followes a Serieant, declaring vnto all the people what fact the guilty person hath committed, till at length hauing put on his apparell againe, they carry him backe to prison. Sometimes it falleth out that many offenders chained together are led about the Citie: and the Gouvernour for each Malefactor thus punished, receiueth one Ducat and one fourth part; and likewise at their first entrance into the Gaole, he demands of each one a certaine duety, which is paid particularly vnto him by diuers Merchants and Artificers appointed of purpose. And amongst his other liuings, he gathered out of a certaine Mountaine seuen thousand Ducats of yeerely Reuenue: so that when occasion serueth, he is at his proper costes to finde the King of Fez three hundred horses, and to giue them their pay.

Those which follow the Canon law haue neither stipend nor reward allowed them: for it is forbidden by the Law of *Mahumet*, that the Iudges of his Religion should reape any commoditie or Fees by their Office; but that they should liue onely by reading of Lectures, and by their Priesthood. In this faculty are many Aduocates and Proctors, which are extreme idiots, and vtterly voyd of all good learning. There is a place also in Fez whereinto the Iudges vse to cast the Citizens for debt, or for some light offence. In all this City are foure Officers or Serieants onely; who from midnight till two a clocke in the morning doe walke about all parts of the Citie; neither haue they any stipend, but a certaine Fee of such Malefactors as they lead about in chaines, according to the qualitie of euery mans crime; moreover, they are freely permitted to sell Wine, and to keepe Harlots. The said Gouvernour hath neither Scribes nor Notaries, but pronounceth all sentences by word of mouth. One onely there is that gathereth Customes and Tributes ouer all the City, who daily payeth to the Kings vse thirty Ducats. This man appointeth certaine substitutes to watch at euery Gate, where nothing, be it of neuer so small value, can passe before some Tribute be paid. Yea, sometime they goe forth of the City to meet with the Carriers & Muliters vpon the high wayes, to the end they may not conceale nor closely conuey any merchandize into the City. And if they be taken in any deceit, they pay double. The set order or proportion of their Custome is this, namely, to pay two Ducats for the worth

worth of an hundred: for Onix-stones, which are brought hither in great plentie, they pay one fourth part: but for Wood, Corne, Oxen, & Hens, they giue nothing at all. The said Gouvernor of the Shambles hath alwaies twelue men wayting vpon him, and oftentimes hee rideth about the Citie to examine the weight of bread, and finding any bread to faile of the duewaight, he causeth the Baker to be beaten with cudgels, and to bee led in contempt vp and downe the Citie.

The Citizens of *Fez* goe very ciuilly and decently attyred, in the Spring time wearing Garments made of out-landish cloth: ouer their Shirts they weare a Iacket or Caslock beeing narrow and halfe-sleeued, whereupon they weare a certayne wide Garment; close before on the brest. Their Caps are thinne and single, like vnto the Night-caps vsed in *Italie*, sauing that they couer not their eares: the se Caps are couered with a certayne Skarfe, which beeing twice wreathed about their head and beard, hangeth by a knot. They weare neither Hose nor Breeches, but in the Spring time when they ride a Iourney, they put on Boots: many, the poorer sort haue onely their Caslocke, and a Mantle ouer that called, * *Bannussi*, and a most course Cap. The Doctors and ancient Gentlemen weare a certayne Garment with wide sleeues, somewhat like to the Gentlemen of *Venice*. The common sort of people are for the most part clad in a kind of course white cloth. The women are not altogether vnseemely apparelled, but in Summer time they weare nothing saue their Smockes onely. In Winter they weare such a wide sleeued Garment, being close at the brest, as that of the men before mentioned. When they goe abroad, they put on certayne long Breeches, wherewith their legges are all couered, hauing also, after the fashion of *Syria*, a Veile hanging downe from their heads, which couereth their whole bodies. On their faces likewise they weare a Maske with two little holes, onely for their eyes, to peepe out at. Their eares they adorne with golden Eare-rings, and with most precious Iewels: the meaner sort weare Eare-rings of Siluer and gilt only. Vpon their armes the Ladies and Gentlewomen weare golden Bracelets, and the residue Siluer, as likewise Gold or Siluer-rings vpon their legs, according to each ones estate and abilitie.

Their apparel.

* Or *ilbermus*.

Let vs now speake somewhat of their victuals and manner of eating. The common sort set on the pot with fresh meate twice euery weeke: but the Gentlemen and richer sort euery day, and as often as they list. They take three meales a day: their Break-fast consisteth of certayne Fruits and Bread, or else of a kind of liquid Pap made like vnto *Fruementie*: in Winter they sup off the Broth of salt flesh thicken'd with course meale. To dinner they haue Flesh, Sallets, Cheese, and Oliues: but in Summer they haue greater cheere. Their Supper is easie of digestion, consisting of Bread, Melons, Grapes, or Milke: but in Winter they haue sodden flesh, together with a kind of meate called *Cuscusu*, which being made of a lump of Dow is set first vpon the fire in certayne Vessels full of holes, and afterward is tempered with Butter and Pottage. Some also vse often to haue Roste-meat. And thus you see after what sort both the Gentlemen and common people lead their liues: albeit the Noblemen fare somewhat more daintily: but if you compare them with the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Europe*, they may seeme to be miserable and base fellowes; not for any want or scarcitie of victuals, but for want of good manners and cleanness. The Table whereat they sit is low, vncovered, and filthy: seates they haue none but the bare ground, neyther Kniues or Spooones but only their ten Talons. The said *Cuscusu* is set before them all in one only Platter, whereout as well Gentlemen as others take it not with Spooones, but with their Clawes fiew. The meate and pottage is put all in one Dish; out of which euery one raketh with his greasie fists what hee thinkes good: you shall neuer see Knife vpon the Table, but they teare and greedily deuoure their meate like hungry Dogges. Neyther doth any of them desire to drinke before he hath well stuffed his panch; and then will he sup off a cup of cold water as bigge as a Milke-bowle. The Doctors indeed are somewhat more orderly at meales: but, to tell you the very truth, in all *Italie* there is no Gentleman so meane, which for fine Dyet and stately Furniture excelleth not the greatest Potentates and Lords of all *Africa*.

Their manner of eating and drinking.

A kind of meat called *Cuscusu*.

As touching their Marriages, they obserue these courses following. So soone as the Maydes Father hath espoused her vnto her Louer, they goe forth with like Bride and Bridegroom to Church, accompanied with their Parents and Kinsfolkes, and call likewise two Notaries with them, to make record before all that are present of the Couenants and Dowrie. The meaner sort of people vsually giue for their Daughters Dowrie thirtie Duckats and a woman-slaue of fifteen Duckats price; as likewise a parti-coloured Garment embroydered with Silke and certayne other Silke Skarfes, or Iags, to were vpon her head in stead of a Hood or Veile; then a paire of fine Shooes, and two excellent paire of Startups; and lastly, many prettie Knackes curiously made of Siluer and other Metals, as namely, Combes, Perfuming-pans, Bellowes, and such other Trinkets as Women haue in estimation. Which beeing done, all the Ghests present are invited to a Banquet, whereunto for great Dainties is brought a kind of Bread fried and tempered with Honey, which we haue before described; then they bring Rost-meat to the boord, all this being at the Bridegroomes cost: afterward the Brides Father maketh a Banquet in like sort. Who if he bestow on his Daughter some apparell besides her Dowrie, it is accounted a point of liberalitie. And albeit the Father promiseth but thirtie Duckats onely for a Dowrie, yet will he sometimes bestow, in apparell and other Ornaments belonging to Women

The manner of solemnizing Marriages.

Portion and householdstuffs.

men, two hundred, yea sometimes three hundred Duckats besides. But they seldome giue an House, a Vineyard, or a field for a Dowrie. Moreouer vpon the Bride they bestow three Gownes made of costly cloth; and three others of Silke Chamlet, or of some other excellent Stuffe. They giue her Smockes likewise curiously wrought, with fine Veiles, and other embroydered Vestures; as also Pillowes and Cushions of the best sort. And besides all the former gifts, they bestow eight Carpets or Couerlets on the Bride, foure whereof are onely for seemeliness to spread vpon their Presses and Cupboards: two of the courser they vse for their Beds; and the other two of Leather to lay vpon the floore of their Bed-chambers. Also they haue certaine Rugs of about twentie els compasse or length; as likewise three Quilts beeing made of Linnen and Woollen on the one side, and stuffed with flocks on the other side, which they vse in the night in manner following. With the one halfe they couer themselves, and the other halfe they lay vnder them: which they may easily doe, when as they are both waies about ten ells long. Vnto the former they adde as many Couerlets of Silke very curiously embroydered on the vpper-side, and beneath lined double with Linnen and Cotton. They bestow likewise white Couerlets to vse in Summer-time onely: and lastly, they bestow a Woollen hanging diuided into many parts, and finely wrought, as namely, with certaine pieces of gilt Leather; whereupon they sowe Iags of partie-coloured Silke, and vpon euery Iagge a little Ball or Button of Silke, whereby the said hanging may for Ornaments sake bee fastened vnto a wall.

Italians mistaken.
Fetching home the Bride.

Here you see what be the Appurtenances of their Dowries; wherein some doe strue so much to excell others, that oftentimes many Gentlemen haue brought themselves vnto Pouerty thereby. Some *Italians* thinke that the Husband bestowes a Dowrie vpon his Wife; but they altogether mistake the matter.

The Bridegroom being readie to carry home his Bride, causeth her to be placed in a wooden Cage or Cabinet eight square couered with Silke, in which shee is carryed by Porters, her Parents and Kinsfolkes following, with a great noyse of Trumpets, Pipes, and Drummes, and with a number of Torches; the Bridegroomes Kinsmen goe before with Torches, and the Brides Kinsfolkes follow after: and so they goe vnto the great Market place, and hauing passed by the Temple, the Bridegroom takes his leaue of his Father-in-law and the rest, hying him home with all speed, and in his Chamber expecting the presence of his Spouse. The Father, Brother, and Vncle of the Bride leade her vnto the Chamber-doores, and there deliuer her with one consent vnto the Mother of the Bridegroom: who, as soone as she is entred, toucheth her foot with his, and forth-with they depart into a seuerall roome by themselves. In the meane season the Banquet is comming forth: and a certaine woman standeth before the Bride-chamber doore, expecting till the Bridegroom hauing deflowered his Bride, reacheth her a Napkin stayned with blood, which Napkin she carryeth incontinent and sheweth to the Ghests, proclaiming with a lowd voyce, that the Bride was euer til that time an vnspotted & pure Virgine. This woman, together with other women her Companions, first the Parents of the Bridegroom, and then of the Bride, doe honourably entertayne. But if the Bride be found not to be a Virgine, the Marriage is made frustrate, and shee with great disgrace is turned home to her Parents.

Customs of fishes.

Minstrellie and dancing.

The Marriage of Widdowes.

The Circumcision of their Children.

But so soone as the new married man goeth forth of the house (which is for the most part on the seuenth day after the Marriage) hee buyeth great plenty of fishes, which hee causeth his Mother or some other woman to cast vpon his Wiues feet; and this they, from an ancient Superstitious custome take for a good boding.

The morrow after a company of women goe to dresse the Bride, to combe her Lockes, and to paint her Cheekes with Vermillion; her hands and her feet they dye blacke, but all this Painting presently loseth the fresh hue; and this day they haue another Banquet. The Bride they place in the highest Roome that she may be seene of all. The same night, which was spent in dancing, there are present at the Bridal-house certayne Minstrels and Singers, which by turnes sometimes vse their Instruments and sometimes Voyce-musick: they dance alwayes one by one, and at the end of each Galliard they bestow a Largeesse vpon the Musicians. If any one will honour the Dancer, he bids him kneele downe before him, and hauing fastened pieces of money all ouer his face, the Musicians presently take it off for their fee. The women dance alone without any men, at the noyse of their owne Musicians. All these things vse to bee performed when the Bride is a Mayde. But the Marriages of Widdowes are concluded with lesse adoe. Their cheere is boyled Beefe and Mutton, and stewed Hens, with diuers iuncating Dishes among. In stead of Trenchers, the Ghests being ten or twelue in number, haue so many great round Platters of wood set before them. And this is the common custome of Gentlemen and Merchants. The meaner sort present their Ghests with certaine sops or bruesle of Bread like vnto a Pancake, which being dipped in flesh-pottage, they eat out of a great Platter not with Spooones but with their fingers onely: and round about each great Platter stand to the number of ten or twelue persons.

Likewise they make a solemne Feast at the Circumcision of their male children, which is vpon the seuenth day after their birth; and at this Feast the Circumcisor, together with all their Friends and Kinsfolkes is present: which being done, each one, according to his abilitie, bestoweth a Gift vpon the Circumcisor in manner following. Euery man layes his money vpon a Lads face which the Circumcisor brought with him. Whereupon the Lad calling euery one by

by his name, giueth them thanks in particular: and then the Infant beeing circumcised, they spend that day with as great iollity as a day of Marriage. But at the birth of a Daughter they shew not so much alacritie.

Among the people of *Fez*, there haue remayned certaine Relikes of Festiuall Dayes instituted of old by the Christians, whereupon they vse certaine ceremonies which themselves vnderstand not. Vpon Christmas euen they eate a Sallet made of diuers Hearbs: they seeth likewise that night all kind of Pulse, which they feede vpon for great dainties. Vpon New-yeeres day the children goe with Maskes and Vizards on their faces to the houses of Gentlemen and Merchants, and haue Fruites giuen them for singing certaine Carols or Songs. When as the Feast of Saint *Iohn* Baptist is hallowed among Christians, you shall here see all about great store of fires made with Straw. And when their childrens teeth begin to grow, they make another feast called, according to the *Latines*, *Dentilla*. They haue also many other Rites and Customes of Diuining, or Southsaying, the like whereof I haue seene at *Rome*, and in other Cities of *Italy*: As touching their Feasts prescribed by the *Mahumetan* Law, they are at large set downe in that briefe Treatise which we haue written concerning the same Law.

The women hauing by death lost their husbands, fathers, or any other of their deare friends, assemble forth-with a great multitude of their owne Sexe together, who stripping themselves out of their owne attire, put on most vile sack-cloth, and defile their faces with much durt: then call they certaine men clad in womens attire, bringing great foure-square Drums with them, at the noyse of which Drums the women-mourners sing a Funerall-song, tending as much as may be, to the commendation of the partie deceased; and at the end of euery Verse, the said women utter most hideous shrieks and out-cries, tearing their haire, and with much lamentation beating their cheekes and breasts, till they be all-imbrued with blood: and so these Heathenish superstitions continue for seuen whole dayes together. At which seuen daies end they surcease their mourning for the space of forty daies, and then they begin anew to torment themselves for three daies together in manner aforesaid: howbeit, these kinds of Obsequies are obserued only by the baser people, but the Gentlemen and better sort behaue themselves more modestly. At this time all the widowes friends come about her to comfort her, and send diuers kinds of meats vnto her: for in the mourning-house they may dresse no meate at all, till the dead corps bee carried forth. The woman her selfe that looseth her husband, father, or brother, neuer goeth forth with the funerall. But how they wash and burie the dead corps, and what superstitions they vse thereabout, you shall find recorded in my little Treatise aboue mentioned.

The Citizens vse most of all to play at Chesse, and that from ancient times. Other Games there are also, but very rude, and vsed onely by the common people.

In *Fez*, there are diuers most excellent Poets, which make Verses in their owne Mother-tongue: most of their Poems and Songs intreate of Loue. Euery yeare they pen certaine Verses in the commendation of *Mahumet*, especially vpon his Birth-day: for then betimes in the morning they resort vnto the Palace of the chiefe Iudge or Gouvernour, ascending his Tribunall seate, and from thence reading their Verses to a great audience of people: and he whose Verses are most elegant and pithy, is that yeare proclaimed Prince of the Poets. But when as the Kings of the *Marin* Family prospered, they vsed to inuite all the learned men of the Citie vnto their Palace; and honourably entertaining them, they commanded each man in their hearing to recite their Verses to the commendation of *Mahumet*: and hee that was in all mens opinions esteemed the best Poet, was rewarded by the King with an hundred Duckats, with an excellent Horse, with a Woman-slave, and with the Kings owne Robes wherewith hee was then apparelled: all the rest had fifty Duckats apiece giuen them, so that none departed without the Kings liberalitie: but an hundred and thirtie yeares are expired since this custome, together with the Maiestie of the *Fezzan* Kingdome decayed.

Of Schooles in *Fez*, for the instructing of Children, there are almost two hundred, euery one of which is in fashion like a great Hall. The Schoole-masters teach their Children to write, and reade not out of a Booke, but out of a certaine great Table. Euery day they expound one sentence of the Alcoran: and hauing read quite through, they begin it againe, repeating it so often, till they haue most firmly committed the same to memorie: which they doe right well in the space of seuen yeeres. Then reade they vnto their Scholers some part of Orthography: howbeit, both this and the other parts of Grammar are farre more exactly taught in the Colledges, then in these triuiall Schooles. The said Schoole-masters are allowed a very small stipend; but when their Boyes haue learned some part of the Alcoran, they present certaine gifts vnto their Master, according to each ones abilitie. Afterward so soone as any Boy hath perfectly learned the whole Alcoran, his Father inuiteth all his sonnes Schoole-fellowes vnto a great Banquet: and his soune in costly apparell rides through the streete vpon a gallant Horse, which Horse and apparell the Gouvernour of the Royall Citadell is bound to lend him. The rest of his Schoole-fellowes beeing mounted likewise on Horse-backe accompany him to the Banqueting-house, singing diuers Songs to the praise of God, and of *Mahumet*. Then are they brought to a most sumptuous Banquet, whereat all the Kinsfolks of the

Of their Rites
obserued vpon
Festiuall daies,
and their man-
ner of mour-
ning for the
dead.
Reliques of
Christians Ce-
remonies ob-
serued among
the *Moors*:
some of which
seeme also to
haue remained
from the Hea-
then.
S. Nicholas.
Bon-fires.
A booke lost.
Their funerals;

Their manner
of gaming
at *Fez*.
Chesse-play.
Of the *African*
Poets.
Mahumets
Birth-day.
Rewards for
Poets in *Fez*.
*Honor alit artes
omnesque in
cenduntur ad
studio gloria.*

A description
of the Gram-
mar Schooles
in *Fez*.
Two hundred
Schooles.
The Alcoran
learned by
heart.

Torches on
Mahumets
birth-day.

The For-
tune tellers.
Three sorts of
Diuiners
in Fez.

Witches.

Fricatrices.

Among many
bad, some
good Coniu-
rers.

Of the Coniu-
rers, Inchan-
ters, and Iug-
lers in Fez.

Cabalists.

foresaid Boyes Father are vsually present: euery one of whom bestoweth on the Schoole-ma-ster some small gift, and the Boyes Father giues him a new suite of apparell. The said Scholers likewise vse to celebrate a Feast vpon the birth-day of *Mahumet*, and then their Fathers are bound to send each man a Torch vnto the Schoole: whereupon euery Boy carrieth a Torch in his hand, some of which weigh thirtie pound. These Torches are most curiously made, being adorned round about with diuers fruits of Waxe, which being lighted betimes in the morning, doe burne till Sun-rise; in the meane while certaine Singers resound the prayes of *Mahumet*; and so soone as the Sunne is vp, all their solemnitie ceaseth: this day vseth to be very gainefull vnto the Schoole-masters, for they sell the remnant of the Waxe vpon the Torches for an hundred Duckats, and sometimes for more. None of them payes any rent for his Schoole: for all their Schooles were built many yeeres agoe, and were freely bestowed for the training vp of youth. Both in these common Schooles, and also in the Colledges they haue two dayes of recreation euery weeke, wherein they neither teach nor studie.

Now let vs speake of the Fortune-tellers and Diuiners, of whom there is a great number, and three kinds. For one sort vseth certaine Geomanticall figures. Others powring a drop of Oyle into a viall or glasse of water, make the said water to be transparent and bright, wherein, as it were in a mirror, they affirme that they see huge swarmes of Deuils that resemble an whole Armie, some whereof are traouelling, some are passing ouer a Riuer, and others fighting a Land-battell, whom when the Diuiner seeth in quiet, he demandeth such questions of them as he is desirous to be resolu'd of; and the Deuils giue them answere with beckning, or with some gesture of their hands or eyes; so inconsiderate and damnable is their credulitie in this behalfe. The foresaid Glasse-viall they will deliuer into childrens hands scarce of eight yeeres old, of whom they will aske whether they see this or that Deuill. Many of the Citie are so besotted with these vanities, that they spend great sums vpon them. The third kind of Diuiners are Women-witches, which are affirmed to haue familiaritie with Deuils: some Deuils they call red, some white, and some blacke Deuils: and when they will tell any mans fortune, they perfume themselues with certaine Odours, saying, That then they possesse themselues with that Deuill which they called for: afterward changing their voyce, they faine the Deuill to speake within them: then they which come to enquire, ought with great feare and trembling aske these vild and abominable Witches such questions as they meane to propound; and lastly, offering some fee vnto the Deuill, they depart. But the wiser and honestest sort of people call these women *Sahacat*, which in Latin signifieth *Fricatrices*, because they haue a damnable custome to commit vnlawfull Venerie among themselues, which I cannot expresse in any modestest termes. If faire women come vnto them at any time, these abominable Witches will burne in lust towards them, no otherwise then lustie Younkers doe towards young Maides, and will in the Deuils behalfe demand for a reward, that they may lie with them: and so by this meanes it often falleth out, that thinking thereby to fulfill the Deuils command they lie with the Witches. Yea, some there are, which being allured with the delight of this abominable vice, will desire the company of these Witches, and faining themselues to be sicke, will either call one of the Witches home to them, or wil send their husbands for the same purpose: and so the Witches perceiuing how the matter stands, will say, That the Woman is possessed with a Deuill, and that she can no way be cured, vnales she be admitted into their society. With these words her silly husband being perswaded, doth not only permit her so to do, but makes also a sumptuous banquet vnto the damned crew of Witches: which being done, they vse to dance very strangely at the noyse of Drums: and so the poore man commits his false wife to their filthy disposition. Howbeit, some there are that will soone coniure the Deuill with a good cudgell out of their wiues: others faining themselues to be possessed with a Deuill, will deceiue the said Witches, as their wiues haue been deceiued by them.

In Fez likewise there are a kind of Iuglers, or Coniurers called *Muhazimin*, who of all others are reported to be most speedie casters out of Diuels. And because their Negromancie sometimes taketh effect, it is a wonder to see into what reputation they grow thereby: but when they cannot cast forth a Deuill, they say, *It is an Airie Spirit*. Their manner of adiuring Deuils, is this: First, they draw certaine Characters and Circles vpon an ash-heape, or some other place; then describe they certaine signes vpon the hands and fore-head of the partie possessed, and perfume him after a strange kind of manner. Afterward they make their Inchantment or Coniuration, enquiring of the Deuill, which way, or by what meanes he entred the party, as likewise what he is, and by what name he is called; and lastly, charging him to come forth. Others there are that worke by a certaine Cabalisticall rule, called *Zamagis*: this rule is contained in many Writings, for it is thought to be Naturall Magique: neither are there any other Negromancers in all Fez, that will more certainly and truly resolute a doubtfull question: howbeit, their Art is exceeding difficult, for the Students thereof must haue as great skill in Astrologie, as in Cabala. My selfe in times past hauing attained to some knowledge in this facultie, continued (I remember) an whole day in describing one figure onely: which kind of figures are described in manner following. First, they draw many circles within the compasse of a great circle: in the first circle they make a crosse, at the foure extremities whereof, they set downe the foure quarters of the

World,

World, to wit, East, West, North and South: at each end of one of the said crosse lines they note either Pole: likewise about the circumference of the first circle, they paint the foure Elements: then diuide they the same circle and the circle following into foure parts, and euery fourth part they diuide into other seuen, each one being distinguished with certaine great *Arabian* Characters, so that euery Element containeth eight and twenty Characters. In the third circle they set downe the seuen Planets: in the fourth, the twelue Signes of the Zodiack: in the fifth, the twelue *Latine* names of the moneths: in the sixth, the eight and twentie Houses of the Moone: in the seuenth, the three hundred sixty five dayes of the yeare; and about the conuexitie thereof, the foure Cardinall or principall Windes. Then take they
10 one onely letter of the question propounded, multiplying the same by all the particulars aforenamed, and the product or summe totall they diuide after a certaine manner, placing it in some roome, according to the quality of the character, and as the Element requireth wherein the said Character is found without a figure. All which being done, they marke that figure which seemeth to agree with the foresaid number, or summe produced, wherewith they proceed as they did with the former, til they haue found eight and twenty Characters, whereof they make one word, and of this word the speech is made that resolueth the question demanded: this speech is alwaies turned into a verse of the first kind, which the *Arabians* call *Etbaul*, consisting of eight *Stipites*, and twelue *Chordi*, according to the Meeter of the *Arabian* Tongue, whereof we haue intreated in the last part of our *Arabian Grammer*. And the Verse consisting
20 of those Characters, comprehendeth alwaies a true and infallible answer vnto the question propounded, resoluing first that which is demanded, and then expounding the sense of the question it selfe. These Practitioners are neuer found to erre, which causeth their Art of Cabala to bee had in great admiration: which although it bee accounted Naturall, yet neuer saw I any thing that hath more affinitie with supernaturall and Diuine knowledge. I remember that I saw in a certaine open place of King *Abulunan* his Colledge in *Fez*, vpon a floore paved with excellent smoothe Marble, the description of a figure. Each side of this floore or court was fifty ells long, and yet two third parts thereof were occupied about the figure, and about the things pertaining thereto: three there were that made the description, euery one attending his appointed place, and they were an whole day in setting it downe. Another such figure I saw at *Tunis*, drawne by one that was maruelous cunning in the Art, whose father had written two volumes of Commentaries or expositions vpon the precepts of the same Art, wherein whosoever hath exact skill,
30 is most highly esteemed of by all men. I my selfe neuer saw but three of this Profession, namely, one at *Tunis*, and two other at *Fez*: likewise I haue seene two Expositions vpon the precepts of the said Arte, together with a Commentarie of one *Margian*, father vnto the foresaid Cabalist which I saw at *Tunis*: and another written by *Ibnu Caldun* the Historiographer. And if any were desirous to see the Precepts and Commentaries of that Art, he might doe it with the expence of fiftie Duckats: for sayling to *Tunis*, a Towne neere vnto *Italy*, hee might haue a sight of all the particulars aforesaid. I my selfe had fit oportunitie of time, and a Teacher that offered to instruct me gratis in the same Art: howbeit, I thought good not to accept his offer, because the said Art is forbidden and accounted hereticall by the Law of *Mahumet*: for *Mahumet's* Law affirmeth all kind of Diuinations to be vaine, and that God onely knoweth secrets, and things to
40 come: wherefore sometimes the said Cabalists are imprisoned by the *Mahumetan* Inquisitors, who cease not to persecute the Professors of that Art.

Here also you may find certaine learned men, which will haue themselves called Wizards, and Morall Philosophers. They obserue certaine Rules which *Mahumet* neuer prescribed. By some they are accounted Catholique, or true *Mahumetans*, and by others they are holden for heretiks: howbeit, the greatest part of the common people reuerence them as if they were Gods, notwithstanding they commit many things vnlawfull and forbidden by the *Mahumetan* Law; as namely, whereas the said Law forbiddeth any loue-matters to be expressed in any muscicall Ditties, or Songs, these Morallists affirme the contrary. In the foresaid *Mahumetan* Religion are a great number of Rules or Sects, euery of which hath most learned Patrons and Protectors. The
50 foresaid Sect sprang vp fourescore yeares after *Mahumet*, the first Author thereof being called *Elhesen Ibnu Abilhasen*, and being borne in the Towne of *Basora*: this man taught his Disciples and followers certaine Precepts, but Writings hee left none behind him. About an hundred yeares after there came another notable Doctor of that Sect from *Bagaded*, called *Elharit Ibnu Esed*, who left volumes of Writings vnto his Disciples. Afterward those that were found to be his followers, were all condemned by the *Mahumetan* Patriarkes and Lawyers. Howbeit, fourescore yeares after, that Sect began to reuiue againe vnder a certaine famous Professor, who drew after him many Disciples, vnto whom he published his Doctrine. This man at length, and
60 all his followers, were by the Patriarke and Lawyers condemned to die. Which he vnderstanding, wrote forthwith vnto the Patriarke, requesting that he might be licenced to dispute with the Lawyers, as touching his Doctrine, of whom if he were conuicted, he would most willingly suffer death; otherwise that it would be against al equity, that so many innocents should perish vpon an vniust accusation. The Patriarke thinking his demand to be reasonable, condescended
Vuuu 3 wholly

An *Arabian*
Grammer written
 by *Iohn*
Leo.

Bookes of that
 Art.

Diuination
 and Southsay-
 ing forbidden
 by the Law of
Mahomet.

Of certaine
 Rules and su-
 perstitions ob-
 serued in the
Mahumetan
 Law.
 Diuers *Mahumetan*
 Sects.

Bagdet sacked
by the Tartars.

Of diuers
other Rules
and Sects, and
of the supersti-
tious credulity
of many.

wholly thereunto. But when the matter came to disputation, the partie condemned, soone put all the Lawyers to silence. Which when the Patriarke perceiued, he reuoked the sentence as vniust, and caused many Colledges and Monasteries to be erected for the said partie and his followers. After which time this Sect continued about an hundred yeeres, till the Emperour *Malicfah* of the *Turkish* race came thither out of *Asia* the greater, and destroyed all the maintainers thereof. Whereupon some of them fled vnto *Cairo*, and the rest into *Arabia*, being disperfed here and there for the space of twenty yeeres, till the reigne of *Caselsah*, Nephew vnto *Malicfah*, *Nidam Elmule*, one of his Counsellors, and a man of an high spirit, being addicted vnto the said Sect, so restored, erected, and confirmed the same, that by the helpe of one *Elgazzuli*, a most learned man (who had written of the same argument a notable Worke, diuided into seuen parts) he reconciled the Lawyers with the Disciples of this Sect, conditionally, that the Lawyers should be called Conseruers of the Prophet *Mahumet* his Lawes, and the Sectaries Reformers of the same. This concord lasted betweene them, till *Bagaded* was sacked by the *Tartars*; which befell in the yeare of the *Hegeira* 756. at what time those Sectaries so increased, that they swarmed almost ouer all *Africa* and *Asia*. Neither would they admit any into their societie, but such as were very learned, and trained vp in all kind of liberall Sciences; to the end they might the better defend their owne opinions, and confute their aduersaries: but now adayes they admit all kind of rude and ignorant persons, affirming all sorts of learning to be needlesse; for the holy spirit (say they) reuealeth the knowledge of the truth vnto such as are of a cleane heart; and they alleage many reasons for the confirmation of this their opinion, though not very forcible. Wherefore despising their ancestors Rites, and the strict obseruations of the Law, they addit themselves to nought else but delights and pleasures, feasting often, and singing lasciuious Songs. Sometimes they will rend their garments, either alluding thereby to the Verses that they sing, or being moued thereunto by their corrupt and vile disposition, saying falsely, That they are then rauished with a fit of diuine loue: but rather impute it to their abundance of meat, and gluttony. For each one of them will deuoure as much meate, as may well suffice three. Or (which is more likely) they vtter those passionate clamours and out-cries, because they are inflamed with vnlawfull and filthy lust. For sometimes it happeneth that some one of the principal of them, with all his Scholers and Disciples, is inuited to the marriage of some Gentleman, and at the beginning of the banquet they will rehearse their deuout Orizons and Songs, but so soone as they are risen from the Table, the elder of the companie being about to dance, teare their garments: and if any one in the midst of their dancing, that hath drunke immoderately, chanceth to fall downe, he is taken vp forthwith by one of the Scholers, and too too lasciuiously kissed. Whereupon this Prouerbe grew among the people of *Fez*, *The Hermits banquet*. Which they vse in reproch of those Matters, that make their Scholers their Minions.

Amongst these Sects there are some, that haue not onely a diuers Law, but also a different beliefe from the residue; whereupon by some others they are called Heretikes. Some there are also which hold, that a man by good Works, by Fasting, and Abstinence, may attaine vnto the nature of an Angell, which good Works, Fastings, &c. doe (say they) so purge and free the mind from all contagion of euill, that by no meanes it can sinne any more, though it would neuer so faine. Howbeit, they thinke themselves not capable of this felicitie, before they ascended thereunto by the degrees of fiftie Disciplines or Sciences: and although they fall into sinne before they be come to the fiftieth degree, yet they say that God wil not impute that sinne vnto them. These fellowes indeed in the beginning led a most strict life, and do euen macerate and consume themselves with fasting: but afterward they giue themselves to all licentiousnesse and pleasure. They haue also a most seuer forme of liuing set downe in foure Bookes, by a certaine learned man of their faction, called *Essebranaur de Sebrauard*, and borne in the Citie of *Corasan*. Likewise there was another Authour called *Ibnul Farid*, that described all their Religion in witty Verses, which being fraught with Allegories, seemed to intreate of nought but Loue: wherefore one *Elfargani* expounded the said Verses with a Commentarie, and thereout gathered the Canons and Orders of the Sect, and shewed the degrees to the attainment of felicitie. Moreouer, the said Verses are so sweet and elegant, that the maintainers of this Sect will sing and repeate none other in their Banquets: for these three hundred yeeres no Author hath so adorned their language as the said *Ibnul*. These Sectaries take the Heauens, the Elements, the Planets, and the fixed Starres to be one God, and that no Law nor Religion is erroneous: for euery man (say they) may lawfully worship that which his mind is most addicted to worship. They thinke that all the knowledge of God was infused into one man, whom they call in the language *Elcorb*; this man, they say, was elect by God, and was made equall in knowledge to him. Forty there are among them called all by the name of *Elanted*, which signifieth in our language, a block, or stock of a tree: out of this number, when their *Elcorb* deceaseth, they create another in his roome, namely, seuentie persons that haue the authority of election committed vnto them. There are likewise seuen hundred sixty five others (whose names I doe not well remember) who are chosen into the said electors roomes, when any of them decease. These seuen hundred sixtie five being bound thereunto by a certaine Canon or Rule of their Order, are constrained alwaies to goe vnknowne

vnknowne, and they range almost all the world ouer in a most vile and beggerly habite, so that a man would take them for mad men, and estranged from all sense of humanitie: for these lewde miscreants vnder pretence of their religion, run like rogues naked and sauage throughout all *Africa*, hauing so little regard of honestie or shame, that they will like brute beasts rauish women in publike places; and yet forsooth the grosse common people reuerence them as men of wonderfull holinesse. Great swarmes of these filthie Vagabonds you may see in *Tunis*, but many more in *Egypt*, and especially at *Alcair*, where as in the Market called *Bain Elcafrain*, I saw one of these Villaines with mine owne eyes, in the presence of much people, defloure a most beautifull woman as she was comming forth of the Bath: which being done, the fond people came flocking about the said woman, struiuing to touch her garment as a most holy thing, saying, That the Adulterer was a man of great sanctitie, and that he did not commit the sin, but onely seemed to commit it: which when the silly cuckold her husband vnderstood, he shewed himselfe thankfull to his false God with a solemne Banquet, and with liberall giuing of Almes. The Magistrates of the Citie would haue punished the Adulterer, but they were in hazard to be flaine of the people for their labours, who (as is before said) adore these Varlets for Saints, and men of singular holinesse. Other more vilanous acts I saw committed by them, which I am ashamed to report.

Horrible villany, and more horrible blindness.

Likewise there is another sort of men, which wee may fitly call Cabalists. These fast most strictly, neither doe they eate the flesh of any liuing creature, but haue certaine meates and garments allotted vnto them: they rehearse likewise certaine set-prayers appointed for euery houre of the day and for the night, according to the varietie of dayes and moneths, and they vse to carrie about certaine square Tables with characters and numbers engrauen therein. They faine themselves to haue daily conference with the *Angels*, of whom they learne (they say) the knowledge of all things. They had once a famous Doctor of their Sect, called *Boni*, who was Author of their Canons, Prayers, and square Tables. Which when I saw, mee thought their Profession had more affinitie with Magique then with Cabala. Their Art was diuided into eight parts, whereof the first was called *Elumha Enormita*, that is, the demonstration of light, the which contained Prayers and Fastings. The second called *Semful Meharif*, that is, the Sunne of Sciences, contained the foresaid square Tables, together with their vse and profit. The third part they call *Sirru Lafmei Elchusne*; this part contained a catalogue of those ninetie nine Vertues, which (they say) are contained in the names of God, which I remember I saw at *Rome* in the custodie of a certaine *Venetian Jew*. They haue also a certaine other Rule, called *Suvach*, that is, the Rule of Hermites: the Professors and followers whereof inhabit Woods, and solitarie places; neither haue they any other food, but such as those wild Desarts will afford: the conuersation of these Heremites no man is able exactly to describe, because they are estranged from all humane societie. But if I should take vpon me to describe the varietie of *Mahumetan Sects*, I should digresse too farre from my present purpose. He that desireth to know more of this matter, let him reade ouer the booke of *Elefacni*, who discourseth at large of the Sects belonging to the *Mahumetan Religion*, the principall whereof are seuentie two, euery one of which defend their opinions to be true and good, and such as a man may attaine saluation by. At this day you shall find but two principall Sects onely, the one of *Leshari* being dispersed ouer all *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Turkie*: the other of *Imamia*, which is authorized throughout the whole Kingdome of *Persia*, and in certaine Townes of *Corasan*; and this Sect the great *Sophi* of *Persia* maintaineth, insomuch that all *Asia* had like to been destroyed thereabout. For whereas before they followed the sect of *Leshari*, the great *Sophi* by force of Armes established his owne of *Imamia*: and yet one onely Sect stretcheth ouer all the *Mahumetans* Dominions.

Of the Cabalists, and certaine other Sects.

Pythagoreans, or *Barians*.

Boni.

Seuentie two principall Sects in the religion of *Mahumet*.

Moreouer, in the Citie of *Fez* there are certaine men called *Elcanesin*, who supposin gto finde treasure vnder the foundations of old houses, doe perpetually search and delue. These grosse fellows vse to resort vnto certaine dennes and caues without the Citie-walles, certainly perswading themselves, that when the *Romans* were chased out of *Africa*, and driuen into *Batica* or *Granada* in *Spaine*, they hid great abundance of treasure in the bowels of the earth, which they could not carry with them, and so enchanted the same by Art-Magique, that it can by no meanes be attained vnto but by the same Art; wherefore they seeke vnto Inchanters to teach them the Art of digging vp the said treasures. Some of them there are that will stedfastly affirme, that they saw Gold in this or that Caue: others, that they saw Siluer, but could not digge it out, by reason that they were destitute of Perfumes and Enchantments fit for the purpose; so that being seduced with this vaine opinion, and deeply deluing into the earth, they turne vpside-downe the foundations of Houses and Sepulchers, and sometimes they proceede in this manner tenne or twelue dayes iourney from *Fez*: yea, so fond they are, and so besotted, that they esteeme those Bookes that profess the Art of digging of Gold, as diuine Oracles. Before my departure from *Fez*, these fantastick people had chosen them a Consull, and getting licence of certaine owners to digge their grounds, when they had digged as much as they thought good, they paid the said owners for all dammages committed.

Of such as search for treasures in *Fez*.

In this Citie likewise there are great store of Alchymists, which are mightily addicted to that vaine practice: they are most base fellowes, and contaminate themselves with the steame of Sulphur,

Of the Alchymists of *Fez*.

Geber an Al-
chymie writer.

A Booke writ-
ten by Iohn Leo
of the liues of
the Arabian
Philosophers.

Charmers and
Inchanters of
Snakes.

A Description
of the Suburbs
without the
foresaid City
of Fez.

The habitati-
on of Lepers
in Fez and
their Gouver-
nour.

A Description
of the com-
mon place of
buriall without
the City.

The Sepul-
chers of the
Kings of Fez.

New Fez.

Sulphur, & other stinking smels. In the euening they vse to assemble themselues at the great Temple, where they dispute of their false opinions. They haue of their Arte of Alchymie many Bookes written by learned men, amongst which one *Geber* is of principall account, who liued an hundred yeeres after *Mahomet*, and being a *Greeke* borne, is said to haue renounced his owne Religion. This *Geber* his workes and all his precepts are full of Allegories or darke borrowed speeches. Likewise they haue another Author, that wrote an huge Volume of the same Arte, intituled by the name of *Attogrehi*: this man was secretary vnto the *Soldan* of *Bagaded*, of whom we haue written in the liues of the *Arabian* Philosophers. Also the Songs or Articles of the said Science were written by one *Mugairibi* of *Granada*, whereupon a most learned *Mamuluch* of *Damasco* wrote a Commentary: yet so, that a man may much more easily vnderstand the Text 10
then the exposition thereof. Of Alchymists here are two sorts; whereof the one seeke for the *Elisir*, that is, the matter which coloureth brasse and other Metals; and the other are conuer-
sant about multiplication of the quantities of Metals, whereby they may conueniently temper the same. But their chiefeft drift is to coine counterfeit money; for which cause you shall see most of them in *Fez* with their hands cut off.

In this City likewise there is a great swarme of base people, such as there *Italians* commonly call *Ciurmatori*: these sing foolish Songs & Rimes in all the streets of the City, & broching meere trifles with the Musicke of Drums, Harpes, and Citterns, they sell vnto the rude people cer-
taine scrowles or brieft Charms in stead of preseruatiues. Vnto these you may adde another kinde of reffuse people of one Family and disposition with the former, who carry dauncing 20
Apes vp and downe, and haue their Neckes and Armes all entwined with crawling Snakes. These also professe Geomancy, and perswade women that they can foretell them their fortune. Likewise they carry stone-horses about with them, which for a certaine Fee, they will let others haue to couer their Mares. Their Gentlemen are very stately and high minded, and will haue little or no familiarity at all with the Citizens: so likewise the Doctors and Iudges of princi-
pall account will admit but few vnto their acquaintance. This City it selfe is most beautiful and right commodiously situate; where albeit in winter time the streets are so mirie, that you cannot walke in them without startups, yet they let passe such abundance of water out of their Con-
duits, that all the filth is washed cleane away. Where Conduits are wanting, they carry all the durt in Carts vnto the next part of the Riuer. 30

Without the wals of this City Westward standeth a Suburbe containing almost fise hun-
dred Families, the houses whereof are but meane, and the Inhabitants base, as namely, diuers of Camels, Water-bearers, and Cleauers of Wood for the Kings Palace. Yet heere you may finde diuers shops, and all kinds of Artificers. Heere likewise dwell all the Charmers and Roguish Minstrels before named; as also great swarmes of fluttish and filthie harlots. In the principall street of this Suburbe, you shall find certaine Caues most Artificially hewen out of excellent Marble, wherein the Noble men of *Fez* were wont to lay vp their Corne: for the least of them will containe more then a thousand Measures of Corne, there being aboue an hundred and fifty of them in all, but now they lie waste and open, insomuch that diuers fall into them at vna-
wares, for which cause their brims are inuironed with wals. Heere euery one may play the Vintner and the Bawd; so that this Suburbe may iustly be called the sinke of *Fez*. From the 40
twentieth houre you shall see none at all in their shops: for then euery man runs to the Tauerne to disport, to spend riotously, and to be drunken. Another Suburbe there is allotted vnto the Le-
pers, of whom there are two hundred Families: these leprous persons haue a Gouvernour, which gathereth certaine yeerely Reuenues from the Noble men, and taketh such care of the said Le-
pers, that they want no necessary thing. He is bound by his Office to discharge the City of all leprous persons, and to compell all such as hee vnderstands to be infected with that disease, to depart into the foresaid Suburbs. If any Leper chanceth to die without issue, part of his goods are imployed to the common benefite of the Lepers, and part fall to the Gouvernours share: but if he hath children, they inioy his goods. 50

Many fields there are without the City, which haue beene giuen by certaine Noblemen for the buriall of the dead. Vpon their Sepulchers for the most part they lay a long three-square stone. When any Noble man or any principall Citizen deceaseth, they lay one stone ouer his head, and another ouer his feet, whereon vsed to be engrauen some Epitaph, with the day and yeere when the party deceased. I my selfe bestowed much labour in gathering of Epitaphs, which I saw both about *Fez* and in other places of *Barbary*; all which being set downe in a Booke, I gaue vnto the Kings Brother. The manner of their Epitaphs is diuers, some tending to consolation, and others to sorrow.

Northward of the City vpon a certaine high Hill stands a Palace, wherein are the Monu-
ments of diuers *Marin* Kings, being most Artificially hewen out of Marble with Epitaphs vp- 60
on them, so that I cannot condignely expresse the Maiestie and Beauty thereof.

King *Iacob* the Founder diuided New *Fez* into three parts, whereof the first contained his Royall Palace, and diuers Noblemens houses, vnto euery one of which he allotted a most plea-
sant Garden. Not farre from his Palace he built a most stately and sumptuous Temple. In ano-
ther

ther part of this Citie hee built a large and faire Stable for the Kings Horses to stand in. Then also he caused other Palaces to be erected for his Captaines and principall Courtiers. From the West gate to the East he appointed the Market place, the distance betweene which Gates is a mile and an halfe, and on both sides he placed Artificers and Merchants shops.

In Fez, neither Ring nor any other Jewell or Commoditie can bee made of Siluer or Gold, before the Metall be sealed, for the Offenders are most severely punished. And the Metall being sealed, whatsoever is made thereof is weighed as if it were money. The greatest part of Gold-smiths dwelling in new Fez are *Jewes*, who carry their Vessels of Gold and Siluer vnto a certaine place of old Fez, neere vnto the Grocers shops, and there sell them. For in olde Fez neither Gold nor Siluer is coyned; nor any *Mahumetans* are suffered to bee Gold-smiths, because they haue Vsurers among them, which will sell any piece of wrought Siluer or Gold dearer then the waight requireth; albeit the same priuiledge is by the Gouvernours of the Citie granted vnto the *Jewes*. Some there are also that onely make Plate for the Citizens, who are payed hire onely for their worke. That part of the Citie which the Kings Attendants or Guard once possessed, is now inhabited by *Jewes*: for now a dayes the Kings vse no such Guard.

The *Jewes* indeed first dwelt in old Fez, but vpon the death of a certaine King they were all robbed by the *Moores*: whereupon King *Abusabid* caused them to remooue into new Fez, and by that meanes doubled their yearely Tribute. They therefore euen till this day doe occupie a long street in the said new Citie, wherein they haue their Shoppes and Synagogues, and their number is maruellously increased euer since they were driuen out of *Spain*. These *Jewes* are had in great contempt by all men, neytlier are any of them permitted to weare shooes, but they make them certaine Sockes of Sea-rushes. On their heads they weare a blacke * *Dulipan*, and if any will goe in a Cap, he must fasten a Red cloth thereunto. They pay vnto the King of Fez monethly foure hundred Duckats.

At length, within the space of an hundred and forty yeares this new Citie was enuironed with most impregnable wals, and adorned with Temples, Colledges, Palaces, and other such building as serue to beautifie a Citie, so that I thinke there was more bestowed in garnishing of the Citie, then in building of the wals. Without the Citie-wals are built many huge Wheelles or Engins, for the conuaying of Riuer-water ouer the said wals into Cisternes, from whence it is conuayed in certayne Channels and Pipes vnto the Temples, Gardens, and Palaces. The said Wheelles were built not fully an hundred yeares past, before which time water was brought vnto the Citie by a certayne Conduit, from a Fountayne ten miles distant. Of which artificiall Conduit a certaine *Genouese*, being then in great fauour with the King, is reported to haue beene the Author: but the Wheelles (they say) were intuented by a *Spaniard*: and in them there is maruellous cunning Workmanship: for to the conuayance of so huge a quantitie of water, each Wheele is turned about but foure and twentie times onely in a day and a night. To conclude, here are but few Gentlemen in this Citie, except such as attend vpon the Court, for the residue are base and Mechanicall people: but such as carry any shew of honestie, doe so hate and disdain the Kings Courtiers and Gentlemen, that they will by no meanes vouchsafe to marrie their Daughters vnto them.

Amongst all the Princes of *Africa*, I neuer read of any that was created by the common suffrages and consent of the people vnto his Kingdome or Princedome, or that was called from any strange Prouince or Citie to beare rule. Also by the Law of *Mahumet* no man may beare any Secular Authoritie, which may be called lawfull, saue onely the *Mahumetan* Patriarkes and Prelates: howbeit the said Patriarkes Authoritie decreasing daily more and more, the Ring-leaders of such people as ranged vp and downe the Desarts, began to invade places inhabited and ciuiled, and by force of Armes, against *Mahumets* Law, and maugre his Prelates, to ordayne sundry Princes: As for example in the East, whereas the *Turkes*, *Cordians*, and *Tartars*, haue vsurped dominion ouer such as were not able to repell them. So likewise in West parts first the Families of *Zeneta* and *Luntuna*, then the seditious *Mahumetan* Preachers, and afterward the Family of *Marin* got the vpper hand. Howbeit, the Family of *Luntuna* is reported to haue ayded the Westerne Regions, and to haue released them from the furie of the seditious Heretikes, wherein they shewed themselves Friends and not Enemies: but afterward their tyranny began to shew it selfe. And this is the reason why they doe not now a dayes attayne vnto Government by Hereditarie Succession or by Election of the people, or of the Nobilitie.

But the Prince himselfe when he feelles death seazing vpon him, calleth about him all his Peeres and Nobles, and bindeth them by Oath, to establish his Sonne, Brother, or any other whom he most fauoureth, in his Kingdome. But they after the Princes decease neglecting their Oath, will choose any other whom they list. And this is ordinarily the Election of the King of Fez, who, so soone as he is proclaymed King, chooseth forth with some one of his Nobles to be his Chiefe Counsellour, and on him he bestoweth the third part of all his Kingly Reuenues. Then chooseth another to be his *Secretarie*, *Treasurer*, and *High Steward* of his Household. Then is created the *Captaine of the Horsemen* appointed for the Kings Guard, and these Horsemen with their Horses liue most commonly in the fields.

Lastly,

Gold-smiths.

Jewes.

Their contempt.

* Or Turbant.

Engins for the conuayance of water.

The fashions and customes used in the Kings Court. No Electiue Princes in *Africa*; chosen by the people. No Rulers *Mahumetan* but Prelates.

This was before the *Xeriffe* Family preuayled. The manner of choosing Officers in the Court of Fez.

Lastly, he appointeth a new *Gouernour ouer euery Citie*, vnto whom all the Tributes and Reuenues of the same place redound, with condition that as often as any warres betyde, hee shall maintayne a certayne company of Horses to the Kings seruice. After a while also hee placeth certayne Deputies and Commissioners ouer his people inhabiting the Mountaynes, and ouer the *Arabians* subiect vnto him. The *Gouernours* of Cities diuersly administer Iustice, according to the custome of the place. Some there are also appointed by the King to collect all the *Tributes and Reuenues* of his Kingdome, and duly to pay the same vnto him. Likewise there are others chosen, whom they call in their Language, *Keepers or Guardians*, and vnto euery one of these the King giueth some Castle or Village, whereby hee may procure his owne mayntenance, and be able to serue the King in time of warre.

Moreover, the King of *Fez* mayntayneth a Troupe of *Light Horsemen*, who so long as they serue the King in his Campe, haue their Dyet allowed them out of the Kings Prouision: but in time of peace, he findeth them Corne, Butter, and pouldered flesh for the whole yeare, but money they haue very seldome. Once a yeare they are apparellled at the Kings cost; neither doe they prouide for their Horses either within the Citie or without, for the King furnisheth them with all necessities. Those that giue attendance to their Horses are *Christian Captiues*, which go shackled in great Chaines and Fetters. But when the Armie remooueth any whither, the said *Christians* are carryed vpon Camels backes. Another Officer there is that giueth attendance onely to the *Camels*, assigning certayne Pastures vnto the Heardsmen, and diuiding fields among them, and making such prouision for the Kings Camels, as himselfe shall thinke expedient. Each Camel-driuer hath two Camels, which are laden with the Kings Furniture, according to the appointment of the *Gouernour*. Likewise the King hath a certayne *Purueyor or Steward*, whose office is to prouide, keepe, and distribute Corne both to the Kings Household and to his Army. This man in time of warre hath ten or twelue Tents to lay vp Corne in, and euery day with change of Camels he sendeth for new Corne, least the Army should be vnprouided of victuals: he hath also Cookes at his command.

Moreover, there is a *Gouernour, or Master Groome of the Stables*, who prouideth for the Kings Horses, Mules, and Camels, and is furnished with all necessities by the Steward. There is another also appointed, *Over-seer of the Corne*, whose dutie it is to prouide Barley and other Prouender for the beasts: and this man hath his *Scribes and Notaries* about him, who diligently set downe all particular expenses, for they must giue vp a perfect account vnto the chiefe Steward. They haue also a certayne Captaine ouer fittie Horsemen, which Horsemen may well be called *Pursuants*, for they are sent by the Secretarie in the Kings name to doe his businesse. Likewise the *Fez* King hath another Captaine of great name, being as it were, *Gouernour of his Guard*, who in the Kings name, may compell the Iudges to doe Iustice, and to put their sentences in execution. This mans authoritie is so great, that sometimes he may commit principall Noblemen to Ward, and may seuerely punish them, according to the Kings commandement.

Moreover, the said King hath a most trusty *Chancellor*, who keepeth the great Seale, and writeth and signeth the Kings Letters. He hath also a great number of *Footmen*, the *Gouernour* of whom accepteth and dismisseth whom hee thinkes good, and giueth to euery one wages according to his agilitie and desert. And whensoever the King commeth in place of Iudgement, the said *Gouernour* alwayes attendeth vpon him, and is in a manner his *High Chamberlaine*. Also there is another that taketh charge of the *Carriages and Baggage of the Armie*, and causeth the Tents of the *Light Horsemen* to be carryed vp and downe on Mules, and the Tents of the other Souldiers on Camels. There are likewise a Company of *Ensigne-bearers*, who in marching on a Iourney carry their Colours wrapped vp: but he that goeth before the Armie hath his Banner displayed, and of a great height. And euery one of the said Standard-bearers knoweth most exactly alwayes, fords of Riuers, and passages thorow Woods, wherefore they are for the most part appointed to guide the Army.

The *Drummers* (of whom there are great store in the Kings Host) play vpon certayne Drums of *Brasse* as bigge as a great Kettle, the lower part whereof is narrow, and the vpper broad, being couered with a skinne. These Drummers ride on Horseback, hauing alwayes on the one side of their Horses a great waight hanging downe, to counterpoize the heauinesse of their Drums on the other side. They are allowed most swift Horses, because the *Moors* account it a great disgrace to loose a Drumme. The said Drummes make such a loude and horrible noyse, that they are not onely heard a farre off, but also strike exceeding terroure both vpon men and Horses, and they are beaten onely with a *Bull-pizzle*. The *Musicians* are not maintayned at the Kings charge, for the Cities are bound at their costs to send a certayne number of them to the warres, who, according to their demeanour in the warres, are admitted or not admitted vnto the Kings Table. This King hath also a certayne *Master of Ceremonies*, who sitteth at his feet in the Senate House, and commandeth each man to sit downe, and to speake according to his dignitie.

All the Mayde seruants in the Kings Family are *Negro-slaues*, which are partly Chamberlaines, and partly Wayting Maydes. And yet his Queene is alwayes of a white skinne. Likewise

wife in the King of Fez his Court are certaine Christian Captiues, being partly *Spanish*, and partly *Portugall* women, who are most circumspectly kept by certaine Eunuches, that are *Negro* slaues.

The King of Fez hath very large Dominions, but his Reuenues are small, to wit, scarce three hundred thousand Duckats, the fift part whereof redoundeth not to the King: for the remainder is diuided into sundry portions, as wee haue before signified. Yea, the greater part of the said Reuenues is payd in Corne, Cattle, Oyle and Butter, all which yeeld but small store of money. In some place they pay a Duckat and one fourth part, Tribute for euery Acre; but in other places a whole Family payeth but so much. In some other Regions each man aboue fifteen years of age payeth as much Tribute also. Neither are the people of this great Citie more vexed with any thing then with paying of their Tributes and Impositions: Heere also is to be noted, that the *Mahumetan* Gouvernours (the Priests onely excepted) may not exact greater Reuenues then those that *Mahumet* hath allotted vnto them, namely, of euery of their subjects which possesseth an hundred Duckats in ready money, they are to haue two Duckats and an halfe for yeerely Tribute.

Euery husbandman likewise is bound to pay for Tribute the tenth part of all his Corne. And all the said Tributes he appointed to be paid vnto the Patriarke, who should bestow that which was superfluous for the Prince to haue, vpon common vses; namely, for the releewing of poore impotent people and widowes, and for maintaining of warres against the enemie. But since the Patriarkes began to decay, the Princes (as we haue before-said) exercised tyranny. For it was not sufficient for them to exact all the forenamed Tributes, and riotously to consume the same, but also to vrge people vnto greater contributions; so that all the Inhabitants of *Africa* are so oppressed with daily exactions, that they haue scarcely wherewithall to feed and apparel themselves: for which cause there is almost no man of learning or honesty, that will seeke any acquaintance with Courtiers, or will inuite them to his Table, or accept any gifts (bee they neuer so pretious) at their hands: thinking that whatsoeuer goods they haue, are gotten by theft and bribery.

The King of Fez continually maintaineth sixe thousand Horsemen, five hundred Crosse-bowes, and as many Harquebusiers, being at all assayes prepared for the warres, who in time of peace, when the King goeth on Progresse, lie within a mile of his person: for being at home in Fez, he needeth not so strong a Guard. When he wageth warre against the *Arabians* that bee his enemies, because the fore-named Garison is not sufficient, he requireth ayde of the *Arabians* his Subjects, who at their owne costs find him a great army of men better trained to the wars, then his owne Souldiers before-mentioned. The pompe and Ceremonies of this King are but meane, neither doth he willingly vse them, but onely vpon Festiuall dayes, and when meere necessitie requireth. When the King is to ride forth, the master of Ceremonies signifieth so much vnto certaine *Herbengers* or *Postes*, whereupon the *Herbengers* giue notice thereof vnto the Kings * Parents, vnto his Nobilitie, his Senators, Captaines, Guardians, and Gentlemen, who presently arrange themselves before the Palace gate. At the Kings comming forth of the Palace, the *Herbengers* appoint vnto each man his place and order of riding. First and fore-most go the Standard-bearers, next the Drummers, then followeth the chiefe Groome of the Stable with his seruants and family; after him comes the Kings pensioners, his Guard, his master of Ceremonies, his Secretaries, his Treasurer, and last of all his chiefe Iudge and his Captaine Generall, at length comes the King accompanied with his principall Counseller, or with some other great Peere. Before the King also ride certaine Officers belonging to his person, whereof one carries his Sword-royall, another his Shield, and the third his Crosse-bow. On each side of him march his Foot-men, one carrying a payre of Stirups, another the Kings Partizan, the third a couering for his Saddle, and the fourth a halter for his horse. And so soone as the King is dismounted, they forthwith couer the Saddle, and put the foresaid halter vpon his Horse-head. Likewise there is another footman that carrieth the Kings Pantofles most Artificially wrought. After the King followeth the Captaine of the footmen, then the Eunuches, the Kings Family, the light Horsemen, and last of all the Crosse-bowes and Harquebusiers. The apparell of the King is then very moderate and plaine: insomuch that a man knew him not, he would thinke him to be absent: for the attendants be farre more sumptuously attired. Moreouer no *Mahumetan* King or Prince may weare a Crowne, Diademne, or any such like ornament vpon his head, for that is forbidden by the law of *Mahumet*. When the King lyeth with his army in the fields, first his owne great tent is pitched in a foure-square forme like vnto a Castle, each side of the said square being fifty elles in length. At euery of the foure corners standeth a little sharpe Turret made of Cloth, and a gallant Spheare on the top which glistereth like gold. This Royall Pauilion hath foure gates, euery one of which is kept by Eunuches. Within the said Pauilion are contained diuers other tents, among which is the Kings lodging, being framed in such wise, that it may easily bee remooued from place to place. Next vnto it stand the Tents of the Noblemen, and of such as are most in the Kings fauour; then the lodgings of the principall Guard being made of Goats-skinnes, after the *Arabian* fashion; and in the midst of all stands the Kings Kitchen and his Pantry. Not farre from hence the light Horsemen haue their

The King of Fez his Reuenues then small

Tribute how much.

Tithes paid to *Mahumetan* Princes, because they were Priests, and by his law none other.

Note:

The King of Fez his Guards

How the King of Fez rideth on Progresse.

* Or kinse-folke

No *Mahumetan* crowned.

The King of Fez his manner of warfare.

aboard,

abode, who all of them are victualled out of the Kings Store-house; notwithstanding their attire be very base. Next of all are the Stables, wherein their Horses are maruelous well tended. Without this circuit keepe such as carry the Tents and the Kings Furniture from place to place. Here are also Butchers, Victualers, and such like, All Merchants and Artificers that resort hither, take vp their abode next vnto the Tent-carriers: so that the Kings Pauillion is pitched like a strong City, for it is so enuironed with the lodgings of the Guard, and with other Tents adioyning, that there is very difficult passage to the King. Round about the said Royall Pauillion, there are certaine appointed to watch and ward all night long, howbeit, they are base and vnarmed people. In like sort there is a watch kept about the Stables, but sometime so negligently, that not onely some Horses haue beene stolne, but there haue beene found enemies in the Kings owne Pauillion, that came to murther him. The King liueth the greatest part of the yeere in the fields, both for the safegard of his Kingdome, and also that he may keepe his *Arabian* subiects in obedience, and sometimes he recreateth himselfe with hunting, and sometime with playing at Chesse. I know right well how tedious I haue beene in the description of this Citie: but because it is the Metropolitan not onely of *Barbarie*, but of *Africa*, I thought good most particularly to decypher euery parcell and member thereof.

Then began
Xeriffe to peep
forth, which
after obtained
Fez and Maro-
co, &c. and
Maroco the
principall Ci-
tie.
Mount Zarhon.

Hunting of
Lyons vsed by
the King of
Fez.

Fight betwixt
a Lyon and a
Bull.

Gualili a Town
of Mount Zar-
hon.

The Towne
called Pietra
Rossa, or the
Red Sea.
Tame Lyons.
The Castle of
Shame.

Naturam expel-
las furca licet,
&c.

The occasion
of a prouerbe.

This Mountaine beginneth from the Plaine of *Esais* lying ten miles distant from the Citie of *Fez*; Westward it extendeth thirty miles, and is almost ten miles broad. This Mountaine is all couered with waste and Desert woods, being otherwise still stored with Oliues. In this Mountaine there are of Sheepe-folds and Castles, to the number of fiftie, and the Inhabitants are very wealthy, for it standeth betweene two flourishing Cities, that is to say, *Fez* on the East, and *Mecnase* on the West. The women weaue Woollen cloth, according to the custome of that place, and are adorned with many siluer Rings and Bracelets. The men of this Mountaine are most valiant, and are much giuen to pursue and take Lyons, whereof they send great store vnto the King of *Fez*. And the King hunteth the said Lyons in manner following: In a large field, there are certaine little Cels made, being so high, that a man may stand vpright in them: each one of these Cells is shut fast with a little doore; and containe within euery of them an armed man, who opening the doore presents himselfe to the view of the Lyon: then the Lyon seeing the doores open, comes running toward them with great furie, but the doores being shut againe, he waxeth more furious then before: then bring they forth a Bull to combate with the Lyon, who enter a fierce and bloody conflict, wherein if the Bull kill the Lyon, that dayes sport is at an end; but if the Lyon get the victory, then all the armed men, being ordinarily twelue, leape forth of their Cels, and inuade the Lyon: each one of them hauing a lauelin with a pike of a cubite and a halfe long. And if these armed men seeme to be too hard for the Lyon, the King causeth their number to be diminished: but perceiuing them too weake, the King with his company from a certaine high place, where he standeth to behold the sport, kill the Lyon with their Crosse-bowes. And oftentimes it falleth out, that before the Lyon be slaine, some one of the men dies for it, the residue being sore wounded. The reward of those that encounter the Lyon is ten Ducats apeece, and a new garment: neither are any admitted vnto this combat but men of redoubted valour, and such as come from Mount *Zelagi*: but those that take the Lyons first are inhabitants of Mount *Zarhon*.

This Towne when the Scismatike *Idris* came into this Region, he began to repaire *Gualili*, and to replant it so with Inhabitants, that within short time it grew very populous: howbeit after his decease it was neglected by his sonne, being wholly addicted (as is before said) vnto the building of *Fez*. And yet *Idris* lieth buried in this Towne, whose Sepulchre is visited with great reuerence almost by all the people of *Barbary*, for he is as highly esteemed as if he had been some Patriarke, because he was of the lineage of *Mahumet*.

Pietra Rossa, is a small Towne built by the *Romanes* vpon the side of the foresaid Mountaine, beeing so neere the Forrest, that the Lyons will come daily into the Towne and gather vp bones in the streets, yea, they are so tame and familiar, that neither women nor children are afraid of them.

Shame is an ancient Castle built at the foot of the said Mountaine neere vnto the high way from *Fez* to *Mecnase*: and it was called by this name, because the Inhabitants are most shamefully addicted to couetise, like vnto all the people thereabouts. In old time it is reported that a certaine King passed by, whom the Inhabitants of the Castle inuited to dinner, requesting him to change the ignominious name of the place: which when the King had condescended vnto, they caused, according to their custome, a company of Rams to be slaine, and certaine bladders and vessels to be filled with milke, to serue for the Kings breakfast the morrow after. But because the said vessels were very large, they consulted together to put in halfe milke and halfe water, hoping that the King should neuer perceiue it. The day following, albeit the King was not very hasty of his breakfast, yet, his seruants vrging him thereunto, he perceiued the milke to be halfe water; whereat smiling, he said: *Friends, that which nature hath giuen, no man can take away.*

About *Agla* keepe great store of Lyons, but they are by nature so tearefull, that they will flee at the voyce of a child: hence commeth the Prouerbe so rife in *Fez*, *A Lyon of Agla*, which they

they apply vnto such a one as maketh great bragges, and is but a meere Daftard.

The great Citie of *Arzilla* called by the *Africans* *Azella*, was built by the *Romanes* vpon the Ocean Sea shoare, about seuentie miles from the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and an hundred and fortie miles from *Fez*. It was in times past subiect vnto the Prince of *Septa* or *Centa*, who was tributary to the *Romanes*, and was afterward taken by the *Gothes*, who established the said Prince in his former Government: but the *Mahumetans* wanne it in the yeere of the *Hegeira* 94. and held the same for two hundred and twenty yeeres, till such time as the *English* at the perswasion of the *Gothes* besieged it with an huge Armie; and albeit the *Gothes* were Enemies to the *English*, because themselves were Christians, and the *English* worshippers of Idols, yet
10 the *Gothes* perswaded them to this attempt, hoping by that meanes to draw the *Mahumetans* out of *Europe*. The *English* hauing good successe tooke the Citie, and so wasted it with fire and sword, that scarce one Citizen escaped, so that it remayned almost thirtie yeeres void of Inhabitants.

A description
of the Citie of
Arzilla.

But afterward when the *Mahumetan* Patriarkes of *Cordona* were Lords of *Mauritania*, it was againe re-edified, and by all meanes augmented, enriched and fortified. The Inhabitants were rich, learned, and valiant. The fields adiacent yeeld Graine and Pulse of all sorts in great abundance, but because the Towne standeth almost ten miles from the Mountaynes, it sustayneth great want of wood; howbeit, they haue coles brought them from *Harais*, as is aforesaid. In the yeere of the *Hegera* 882. this Citie was suddenly surprized and taken by the *Portugals*, and all the Inhabitants carried prisoners into *Portugall*, amongst whom was *Mahumet* the King of *Fez* that now is, who together with his Sister being both children of seuen yeeres old, were taken and led captiue. For the Father of this *Mahumet* seeing the Prouince of *Habat* reuolt from him, went and dwelt at *Arzilla*, the very same time, when *Esserif* a great Citizen of *Fez*, hauing slaine *Habdulac* the last King of the *Marin* Family, was by the fauour of the people aduanced vnto the *Fezzan* Kingdom. Afterward, one *Saie Abra* being pricked forward with ambition, went about to conquer the Citie of *Fez*, and to make himselfe King; howbeit, *Esserif* by the aduise of a certaine Connfessor of his, being Cousin vnto *Saie*, vanquished and put to flight the said *Saie* to his great disgrace.

The taking of
Arzilla by the
Engl. sh.

These seeme
Danes which
infested Eng-
land, Germanie,
France, and Ita-
lie in those
times: and
comming from
England about
that time bea-
ren by *Alfred*,
&c. were called
English.
Arzila taken
by the *Portu-
gals*.
Habdulac the
last King of the
Marin Family.

Moreouer, while *Esserif* had sent his said Counsellor to *Temesna*, to pacifie the people of that
30 Prouince being about to rebell, *Saie* returned, and hauing for one whole yeere besieged new *Fez*
with eight thousand men, at length by Treason of the Townesmen hee easily wanne it, and
compelled *Esserif* with all his Family, to flye vnto the Kingdome of *Tunis*. The same time
therefore that *Saie* besieged *Fez*, the King of *Portugall* (as is aforesaid) sending a Fleet into *A-*
frica, took *Arzilla*, and then was the King of *Fez* that now is with his yong Sister, carryed cap-
tue into *Portugall*, where he remayned seuen yeeres, in which space hee learned the *Portugall*
Language most exactly. At length, with a great summe of money his Father ransomed him out
of *Portugall*, who afterward being aduanced to the Kingdome, was by reason of his long con-
tinuance in *Portugall*, called King *Mahumet* the *Portugall*. This King afterward attempted very
often to be auenged of the *Portugals*, and to recouer *Arzilla*. Wherefore suddenly encountering
40 the said Citie, he beate downe a great part of the wall, and entring the breach, set all the cap-
tue *Moores* at libertie. The Christians retyred into the Castle, promising within two dayes to
yeeld vnto the King. But *Pedro de Nauarro* comming in the mean season with a great Fleet, they
compelled the King with continuall discharging of their Ordnance, not onely to relinquish the
Citie, but also to depart quite away with his whole Armie: afterward it was so fortified on all
sides by the *Portugals*, that the said King attempting often the recouerie thereof, had alwayes
the repulse. I my selfe seruing the King in the foresaid expedition, could find but five hundred
of our company slaine. But the warre against *Arzilla* continued from the yeere of the *Hegeira*
914. to the yeere 921.

Reade Oforius
lib. 5. de rebus
gestis, Eman.

John Leo serued
the King of Fez
in his warres a-
gainst Arzilla.

The great and ancient Citie of *Tangia*, called by the *Portugals*, *Tangiara*, according to the fond
50 opinion of some Historiographers, was founded by one *Sedded* the sonne of *Had*, who (as they
say) was Emperour over the whole World. This man (say they) determined to build a Citie,
which for beautie might match the Earthly Paradise. Wherefore, hee compassed the same with
wals of Brasse, and the Roofe of the Houses hee couered with Gold and Siluer, for the bulding
whereof he exacted great Tributes of all the Cities in the World. But the Classial and approved
Authours affirme, that it was built by the *Romanes* vpon the Ocean Sea shoare, at the same time
when they subdued the Kingdome of * *Granada*.

The Citie of
Tangia.

Septa, called by the *Latines*, *Ciuitas*, and by the *Portugals*, *Seupta*, was (according to our most approved Authors) built by the *Romanes* vpon the Streights of *Gibraltar*, beeing in olde time the head Citie of all *Mawritania*; wherefore the *Romanes* made great account thereof, insomuch that it became very ciuill, and was throughly inhabited. Afterward it was wonne by the *Gothes*, who appointed a *Gouernour* there, and it continued in their possession, till the *Mahumetans* inuading *Mawritania* surprized it also. The occasion whereof was one *Iulian* Earle of *Septa*; who being greatly iniured by *Roderigo* King of the *Gothes* and of *Spaine*, ioyned with the *Infidels*, conducted them into *Granada*, and caused *Roderigo* to lose both his life and his Kingdome.

XXXX

The

The entrance
of the *Moors*
into *Granada*.

The

X x x x

The *Mahumetians* therefore hauing taken *Septa*, kept possession thereof on the behalfe of one *Elgnalid*, Sonne of *Habdulmalic* their Patriarke, who then was resident at *Damasco*, in the yeere of the *Hegera* 92. From thence-forth till within these few yeeres, this Citie grew so ciuill and so well stored with Inhabitants, that it proued the most worthy and famous Citie of all *Mauritania*. It contayned many Temples & Colledges of Students, with great numbers of Artizans, and men of Learning and of high spirit. Their Artizens excelled especially in Workes of Brasle, as namely, in making of Candlestickes, Basons, Standishes, and such like Commodities, which were as pleasant to the eye, as if they had beene made of Siluer or Gold. The *Italians* haue great cunning in making of the like, but their Workmanship is nothing comparable to theirs of * *Septa*.

* Or *Ceuta*.

The Streights of *Gibraltar* from *Septa*, but twelue miles broad.

Septa taken by the *Portugals*. *Abu Sahid* King of *Fez* and his sixe Sonnes slaine all in one night.

Without the Citie are diuers faire Villages and Granges, especially in that place which for the abundance of Vines is called, The Vineyards: howbeit, the fields are very barren and fruitles, for which cause their Corne is exceeding deere. Both without and within the Citie there is a pleasant and beautifull prospect to the shoare of *Granada* vpon the Streights of *Gibraltar*, from whence you may discern living creatures, the distance being but twelue miles. Howbeit, this famous Citie noe many yeeres since was greatly afflicted by *Habdulmumen* the King and Patriarke: who hauing surprized it, razed the buildings, and banished the principall Inhabitants thereof. And not long after it sustayned as great damage by the King of *Granada*, who (besides the foresaid harmes) carried the Nobles & chiefe Citizens Captiues into *Granada*. And lastly, in the yeere of *Mahumet* his *Hegera* 818. being taken by a *Portugall* Armada, all the Citizens did abandon it. *Abu Sahid* being then King of *Fez*, and a man of no valour, neglected the recouerie thereof: but in the midst of his dancing and disport being aduertised that it was lost, he would not so much as interrupt his vaine pastime: wherefore by Gods iust iudgement, both himselfe and his sixe Sonne were all slaine in one night by his Secretarie, in whom hee reposed singular trust, because he would haue deflowered the said Secretaries Wife. These things came to passe in the yeere of the *Hegera* 824.

Afterward, the Kingdome of *Fez* being eight yeeres destitute of a King, a Sonne of the murdered King whom he begot of a Christian woman, and who the same night that his Father was slaine fled vnto *Tunis*, succeeded in the Government: this was *Habdulac*, the last King of the *Marin* Family, who likewise (as is aforesaid) was slaine by the people.

Quadres.

Threescore thousand *Moors* slaine.

Vpon the Mountaine *Quadres*, was borne one called by them *Hellul*: this *Hellul* atchieued many worthy exploits against the *Spaniards*; the History whereof is set downe partly in verse and partly in prose, and is as rise in *Africa* and *Granada*, as is the Storie of *Orlando* in *Itale*. But at length in the *Spanish* warre (wherein *Ioseph Enesir* King and Patriarke of *Maroco* was vanquished) this *Hellul* was slaine in a Castle of *Catalonia*, called by the *Moors*, The Castle of the Eagle. In the same battell were slaine threescore thousand *Moors*, so that none of them escaped saue the King and a few of his Nobles. This was done in the yeere of the *Hegera* 609. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1160. From thenceforth the *Spaniards* had alwayes good successe in their warres, so that they recovered all those Cities which the *Moors* had before taken from them.

Bedis, otherwise called *Velles de Gumer*.

This ancient Towne built vpon the Meditteran Sea shoare, and called by the *Spaniards*, *Velles de Gumer*, contayneth about sixe hundred Families. Heere is also a very stately Temple to bee seene. Water for drinke is exceeding scarce among them, for they are all constrained to resort vnto one Pit or Well, being in the Suburbs, neere vnto the Sepulchre of a certayne man, that was in times past very famous among them. Howbeit in the night it is dangerous to fetch water from thence, because it is so full of Bloud-suckers or Horse-leeches. They haue such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw vp a Net; wherefore whosoeuer will assist the Fishermen in that businesse, are rewarded with good store of fishes for their labour: yea, sometimes they will freely bestow fishes vpon such as passe by. They salt the foresaid *Sardelli*, and send them to the Mountaines to be sold. In this Towne there is a long street inhabited with *Iewes*, wherein dwell sundry Vintners that sell excellent Wines. So that in calme euening the Citizens vse to carry Wine aboard their Barks in the Sea, and to spend their time in drinking and singing.

Ferdinando King of *Spaine* taking a certaine Iland within a mile of the Towne, built a Fort thereon, and so planted it with Ordnance and Souldiers, that neyther their Temples nor themselves walking in the streets were free there from, but were daily slaine. Wherefore the Gouvernour of the Towne was constrained to craue aide from the King of *Fez*, who sent out a great Armie against the Christians; but they were partly taken, and partly slaine, so that very few escaped backe vnto *Fez*. The Christians kept this Ile almost two yeeres and then it was betrayed by a false trecherous *Spaniard* (who slue the Gouvernour of the Ile, because hee had taken his Wife from him) into the *Moors* possession, and all the Christians were slaine: not a man of them escaped, saue onely the *Spanish* Traytor, who in regard of his Treason was greatly rewarded, both by the Gouvernour of *Bedis*, and also by the King of *Fez*. Being at *Naples* I heard the whole relation of this matter from a certaine man that was present at all the former

Ex.

Exploits, who said, that they were done about the yeere of our Lord 1520.

In Mount *Benigual*, there is a certaine Towne indifferently well peopled, and furnished with all kind of Artificers; whereunto the fields belonging maruellously abound with Grapes, Quinces, and Pome-citrons, all which are sold at *Fez*; heere are likewise great store of Linnen Weauers, and many Iudges and Lawyers. They haue also a good Market, whereunto the Inhabitants of the Neighbour Mountaynes resort. Vpon the top of this Mountayne there is a certaine Caue or hole that perpetually casteth vp fire. Some wondring greatly at the matter, haue cast in wood, which was suddenly consumed to ashes: I my selfe neuer saw the like Miracle in any other place, so that a great many thinke it to be hel-mouth.

A caue or hole that perpetually casteth vp fire.

In Mount *Beni Masgald* are many Doctors of the *Mahumetan* Law, and diuers inferiour Students: who put the Inhabitants to great damage. Themselues forsooth, will drinke wine, and yet they perswade the people that it is vnlawfull for them to drinke it, albeit some doe giue them little credit. The Inhabitants of this Mountayne pay in respect of others no great Tribute, and that perhaps, because they maintayne the foresaid Doctors and Students.

In my time the King of *Spaine* sent a great Armie against *Melela* in *Garet*: before the arriual whereof, the Townesmen sent vnto the King of *Fez* for ayde, who making warre as then against the people of *Temefna*, could send but small forces to succour them. Which the Townesmen being aduertised of, and fearing least their small forces would proue too weake for the *Spaniards* great Armada, they tooke all the bagge and baggage that they could carrie, and fled vnto the Mountaynes of *Buthoia*. Howbeit, the Captaine of the *Fessan* Souldiers, both to bee reuenged vpon the Townesmens cowardize, and also to leaue nothing for the *Spaniards* to enioy,

burnt downe all the Houses, Temples, and Buildings. This was done in the yeere of the *Hegira* 896. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1487. But the *Spaniards*, for all they found the Citie so wasted, would not depart thereupon, but first built a strong Castle, and afterward by little and little repayred the Towne wals, and by that meanes haue kept possession thereof euen till this day. They tooke also *Chasafa*.

Melela enioied and re-edified by the *Spaniards*.

The Prouince of *Garet* is diuided into three parts: the first whereof containeth the Cities and Townes, the second the foresaid Mountaynes, (the Inhabitants whereof are called *Bottoia*) and the third comprehendeth the Desarts, which beginning Northward at the Mediterranean Sea, and extending South to the Desart of *Chauz*, are bounded Westward with the foresaid Mountaynes, and Eastward with the Riuer of *Muluia*. The length of these Desarts is sixtie miles, and the breadth thirtie. They are vnpleasant and dry, hauing no water but that of the Riuer *Muluia*. There are many kinds of beasts in this Desart, such as are in the *Lybian* Desart next vnto *Numidia*. In Summer time many *Arabians* take vp their abode neere vnto the Riuer *Muluia*; and so doe another kind of fierce people called *Batalisa*, who possesse great abundance of Horses, Camels, and other Cattell, and maintayne continuall warre against the *Arabians* that border vpon them.

The extreme part of the Desart of *Garet*.

The Towne of *Dubdu* was in possession of one *Mahumet* who beautified it exceedingly with store of faire houses and buildings: likewise, he greatly altered and reformed the gouernment of this Towne; and shewed such extraordinary courtesie vnto all Strangers, that hee grew very famous.

Moreouer, the said *Mahumet* consulted how to get *Tezza* from the King of *Fez*, and offered great matters to the performance of his intent: and that he might the easilier attayne his purpose, he determined to goe to the Market of *Tezza* in a simple habite, and so to make an assault vpon the Captaine of the Towne: for he hoped that a great part of the Townesmen, whom hee knew to bee his friends, would assist him in that enterprize. Howbeit this practice was at length discovered vnto the King of *Fez* (which King was called *Saich*, and was the first of the Family of *Quattas*, and Father vnto the King that now reigneth) who presently assembled an huge Armie, and marched of purpose against *Dubdu*, vtterly to destroy it: and so comming vnto the foot of the Mountayne hee there encamped. The people of the Mountayne hauing gathered an Armie of sixe thousand men, hid themselues craftily behind the Rockes, suffering their Enemies to ascend by certayne difficult and strait passages, from whence they were sure they could hardly escape, and so at length they brake forth on the sodaine and encountred their said Enemies being weary of ascending; and because the way was very troublesome and narrow, the King of *Fez* his Souldiers could not endure their assaults, but being constrained to giue backe, were moe then a thousand of them throwne downe head-long and slaine. In this skirmish were slaine in all to the number of three thousand *Fessan* Souldiers: and yet the King not being dismayed with so great an ouerthrow, prepared forth-with a band of five hundred Crosse-bowes, and three hundred Harquebuziers, and determined to make a new assault vpon the Towne. But *Mahumet* seeing that he could no longer withstand the King, resolved to go himselfe vnto him, that he might, if it were possible, obtaine peace, & to release his Country from the fury of the Enemy. Wherefore putting on the habit of an Ambassador, he went & deliuered a Letter with his own hand vnto the King. Which the King hauing perused, asked him what he thought concerning the Gouernor of *Dubdu*? Mary I thinke (quoth *Mahumet*) he is not well in his wits, in

The great courtesie of *Mahumet* toward Strangers.

1526.

that he goeth about to resist your Maiestie. Then said the King, if I had conquered him, (as I hope to do within these few daies) I would cause him to be dismembred and torne in peeces. But what if he should come hither (saith *Mahumet*) to submit himselfe; and to acknowledge his offence; might it then please the King to admit him into fauour? Then the King answered: I sweare vnto thee by this my head, that if he will come and acknowledge his fault in manner as thou hast said, I will not onely receiue him into fauour, but will espoule my daughters vnto his sonnes, and will bestow most ample and Princely dowries vpon them. But I am sure, being distracted of his wits (as thou hast said) that he will by no meanes come, and submit himselfe. Then said *Mahumet*: he would soone come (I assure you) if it pleased the King to protest this for a certaintie vnto the Nobles. I thinke (said the King) it hath bene sufficiently protested 10 and affirmed, sithence I haue bound it with a solemne oath in the presence of these foure; for here stand my chiefe Secretary, the Generall of my Forces, my Father in-law, and the chiefe Iudge and Patriarke of *Fez*; the testimony of which foure may well satisfie you. Whereupon *Mahumet* humbly falling at the Kings feete: loe, heere the man (quoth he) that submissely acknowledged his fault, and craueth the King gracious pardon. With that the King himselfe lifted him from the ground, embraced him, and saluted him with friendly speeches. Then caused he both his daughters to be called, which he bestowed vpon *Mahumets* sonnes: all which being done, he remooued his armie from that Mountaine, and returned conquerour vnto *Fez*. This was done in the yeere of the *Hegeira* 904. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1495. And in the yeere of the *Hegeira* 921. I my selfe was at the City of *Dubdu*, where I was most curteously 20 entertained by the foresaid *Mahumet*.

The Citie of
Teza or *Tezza*.

Teza was built by the *Africans*, five miles from Mount *Atlas*, being distant from *Fez* fiftie, from the Ocean an hundred and thirty, and from the Mediterran Sea seuten miles, and standing in the way from *Garet* to *Chasafar*. It contained in times past about five thousand families: the buildings of this Towne are not very stately, except Noblemens Palaces, Colledges, and Temples, which are somewhat beautifull. Out of *Atlas* springeth a little Riuer which runneth through the chiefe Temple of this Citie: and sometimes it falleth out, that certaine people bordering vpon the Citie: vpon some quarrel with the Citizens will cut off this Riuer from the Citie, and turne the course thereof some other way, which breedeth great inconueniences vnto the Citizens: for then they can neither build houses, nor get any water to drinke, but onely 30 corrupt water which they take out of certaine Cisternes, for which cause they are often constrained to make a league with those borderers. This Citie both for wealth, ciuilitie, and abundance of people, is the third Citie of all the Kingdome, and hath a greater Temple then that of *Fez*: heere are likewise three Colledges, with diuers Bath-stoues, and a great number of Hospitals. Each trade and occupation hath a seuerall place in this Citie, like as they haue in *Fez*: the Inhabitants are of a more valiant and liberall disposition, then they of *Fez*: here are also great store of learned and rich men: and the fields adiacent are exceeding fruitfull. Without the Citie walls are very large Plaines, and many pleasant streames, that serue to water their Gardens which are replenished with all kind of fruits: here are abundance of Vines also yeelding very sweet Grapes, whereof the *Iewes* (being five hundreth Families) make excellent wine, such as 40 I thinke all *Africa* scarce affordeth better. I my selfe was acquainted in this Citie with a certaine aged fire, whom the Townesmen adored as if he had bene a god: he was merueilous rich both in Fruits, Grounds, and other Commodities, which the people bestowed vpon him in great abundance. The Citizens of *Fez* vsed to come fiftie miles (for so farre is *Fez* distant) onely to visite the said old man. My selfe conceived some great opinion of this aged fire: but after I had scene him, I could find no such superexcellency in him, saue onely that he deluded the fond people with strange deuises.

Veneration of
an old man.

Mount *Beni*
Iesseten.

The Mountaine of *Beni Iesseten* is subiect vnto the Gouvernour of *Dubdu*, being inhabited with most base and beggerly people. Their houses are made of Sea-rushes, and so likewise are their shooes made of such rushes when they trauell any Iourney, where by a man may conie- 50 cture the miserable estate of this people. The Mountaine yeedeth nought but panicke, whereof they make bread and other victuals: but at the foot thereof are certaine Gardens replenished with Grapes, Dates, and Peaches. Their Peaches they cut into foure quarters, and casting away the Nuts or Stones, they dry them in the Sunne, and keepe them an whole yeere, which they esteeme for great dainties. Vpon this Mountaine are Iron-mines: and they frame their Iron in manner of horse-shooes, which serueth them sometimes in stead of money, whereof they haue great want in this Mountaine, vnlesse the Smithes by their Arte keepe this money in store: who, besides horse-shooes, make certaine daggers with blunt points. Their women weare Iron-rings vpon their fingers and eares for a great brauery, but they are more basely apparelled then the men, and remaine continually in the woods, both to keepe Goats, and to gather fewell. They haue neither ciuilitie nor learning, but liue after a brutish manner without all discretion 60 and humanitie.

Iron-mines.

Mount *Selego*.

This woodie Mountaine is full of Pine-trees and Fountaines. Their houses are not made of stone, but of Sea-rushes, so that they may easily be remooued from place to place, which is very com-
mmo-

commodious to the Inhabitants, for euery spring they leaue the Mountaine and descend into the Vallies, from whence about the end of May they are expelled by the *Arabians*, which inhabit the Desarts: who by reason of their abundance of Goats and other Cartell, forsaking the said Desarts, seeke vnto the Fountaines and moist places: but in winter, because their Camels are so impatient of cold, they resort vnto the woods, and warme Regions. In this Mountaine are great store of Lyons, Leopards, and Apes. And from the said Mountaine runneth a certaine streame of water with such violence, that I haue seene a stone of an hundred pound weight carried with the force thereof: and here *Subu* taketh his beginning, which is the greatest Riuer of all *Mauritania*.

Lyons, Leopards, and Apes.

10 The Inhabitants of Mount *Beni Isaga* are rich, and ciuill people: it standeth so neere the Mountaine *Seletgo*, that they are onely separated with the foresaid Riuer: and to the end they may easilier passe from one Mountaine to another, they haue made a certaine strange bridge in the midst, and that in manner following: on either side stand certaine Posts, through the which runneth a rope vpon a truckle or pulley, vnto which rope is fastened a great basket; that will containe ten persons, and that in such sort, that so often as they will passe ouer to the opposite Mountaine, they enter into the basket, and drawing the rope whereon it hangeth, they are easily carried aloft in the aire ouer the Riuer by the helpe of the foresaid pulleyes, but sometimes with great hazard of their liues, especially if the basket or the rope be worne in any place: yea, and the distance of place is often an occasion of great terrour. In this Mountaine there is
20 great store of cattell, but little wood. It aboundeth likewise with most excellent fine wooll, whereof their women make cloth comparable vnto silke, which is sold at *Fez* for a great price. Here also is great plenty of oyle.

Mount *Beni Isaga*.
A wonderfull bridge.

There is no memorable thing in all *Sofroi* Towne, saue onely a certaine Temple, through the midst whereof runneth a large Riuer; and at the doores standeth a Fountaine of most pure water.

In the Forrests about this Towne, as also about *Mezdaga*, are marueilous store of Lyons, being not very hurtfull, for any man may driue them away with a little sticke.

Tame Lyons.

At the same time while the *Africans* were as yet Idolaters, they had a Temple standing neere vnto *Ham Lisnan*, whither at certaine times of the yeere, resorted in the night great multitudes of people both men and women: where hauing ended their sacrifices, they vsed to put
30 out their lights, and euery man to commit adultery with that woman which he first touched. But the women which were present at this abominable sport, were forbidden to lie with any man for a yeere after: and the children begotten in the said adultery, were kept and brought vp by the Priest of the Temple, as being dedicated to sacred vses.

The Towne called *Ham Lisnan*.

Sacerrima sacra.

Vpon Mount *Centopozzi* are great store of most ancient buildings, neere vnto the which there is a hole or drie pit of so great a depth, that the bottome thereof can in no wise be seene. Into this pit some mad fellowes will haue themselues let downe by ropes, carrying a Candle or Torch in their hands: and beneath, they say, it is diuided into many roomes, and as it were, chambers; and last of all, they come to a most large place hewen out of the Rocke with Instruments, and
40 compassed about as it were with a wall, in which wall are foure doores, which lead to other more narrow places, where, they say, that Fountaines of Springing water are. And sometimes it falleth out that some miserably end their liues here: for if their lights chance to be blowen out with any sudden blast of wind, they can by no meanes find the place where the rope hangeth, but are there constrained to die for extreame famine. It was told me by a certaine Nobleman of *Fez*, that there were ten persons, who being desirous to see the wonders of this pit, and being prepared for the same purpose, went first three of them downe, who when they were come to the foresaid foure doors, two of them went one way, & the third went alone another way. And being thus diuided, after they had proceeded almost a quarter of a mile, there came great swarmes, of *Bats* flying about their lights, insomuch that one light was put out; at length being come
50 to the springing fountaines, they found there certaine white bones of men, and five or sixe Candles, whereof some were new, and others were old and worne with long lying there: but hauing found nothing but water in the said Fountaines, they returned backe againe the same way that they came: and they had scarce gone halfe way, but their owne light also was blowen out with a sudden blast. Afterward seeking earnestly vp and downe, and being weary of many falles that they caught among the Rockes, they found that there was no hope of returne: wherefore in this desperate case committing themselues with teares into the hands of God, they vowed, if they once escaped this danger, neuer to aduenture any more. They that stood at the Caves mouth being ignorant of their companions mishap, expected their returne, and hauing staid ouer long, at length they let downe themselues by the rope, and began with lights to seeke their fellowes, making a great noise, and at length found them heavy and sad. But the
60 third, who was wandring vp and downe those darke places, they could by no meanes finde, wherefore leauing him, they returned foorth of the Cae. And he that was left behind heard at length a noyse like the barking of little dogges, and shaping his course toward them, he found immediatly foure strange, and (as it should seeme) new-borne beasts, after which followed the

Mount *Centopozzi*.

* The beast
called *Dabab*.

* Damme, being not much vnlike to a shee-wolfe, sauing that she was bigger : wherefore hee began exceedingly to feare ; howbeit, there was no danger, for being about to flee, the beast came towards him, fawning gently vpon him with her taile. And so at length, after long seeking, he found the holes mouth with great ioy, and escaped the danger : for within a while he said, that he began to see some glimmering of light, as they doe which haue long been in the darke. But after a certaine time this Caue was filled with water vp to the top.

The Mountaine of
Rauens
called *Gunnai-
gell Gherben*.

Gunnai-gell Gherben, standeth very neere the former, and is full of Woods and Lions. Here is no Citie, nor any other place of habitation, perhaps by reason of the extreme coldnesse of the place. From this Mountaine runneth a certaine little Riuer : and here is a Rocke of an exceeding height, whereupon keepe infinite swarmes of Crowes and Rauens, which some thinke to haue been the occasion of the name of this Mountaine. Sometime the terrible Northerly winds bring such abundance of Snow vpon this Mountaine, that such as trauell from *Numidia* towards *Fez* loose their liues thereby, as hath been signified in the first Booke. Euery Summer, the *Arabians* next inhabiting, being called *Beni Essen*, vsually resort vnto this Mountaine, in regard of the coole water and pleasant shadowes, notwithstanding they know it to bee haunted with great store of Lions and Leopards.

Dancing way.

There lyeth a way neere the towne of *Vmen Giunnaibe*, which a man may not passe without dancing and leaping, vnlesse he will fall into an Ague: the certainty whereof I haue heard many auouch.

Of Mount *Ziz*.

The Inhabitants are a most lewde and villanous generation, being wholly addicted to theft and robbie. They are at continuall dissension with the *Arabians*, and practise daily mischiefs and inconueniences against them, and to the end they may prouoke them to greater furie, they will sometimes throw their Camels downe headlong from the top of some high Mountaine. In these Mountaines there happeneth a certain strange and incredible matter, for there are Serpents so familiar with men, that at dinner-time they wil come like Dogs and Cats, and gather vp the crumbs vnder the Table, neither will they hurt any body, vnlesse they bee offered some iniurie.

Domesticall
and tame
Serpents.
The like is re-
ported of
Lapland.

§. II II.

The most remarkable things of *IOHN LEO*, in his fourth Booke of
the Historie of Africa.

A description
of the King-
dome of *Telen-
sin*, or *Tremizea*.
Casaria.

THis Kingdome beginneth Westward from the Riuers of *Zha* and *Muluia*: Eastward it bordereth vpon the great Riuer, Southward vpon the Desart of *Numidia*, and Northward vpon the Meditteran Sea. This Region was called by the *Romans*, *Casaria*, and was by them inhabited : howbeit, after the *Romans* were expelled, it was fully possessed by the ancient *Gouernours* thereof, called *Bien Habdulnauad*, and being a generation of the Family of *Magraua*. And it remained vnto them and their successors three hundred yeeres, vntill such time as a certaine mighty man, called *Ghamrazen*, the sonne of *Zeijen*, tooke possession thereof. His posteritie changing at length their ancient name, were called *Beni Zeijen*, that is, the Sons of *Zeijen* : and they enioyed this Kingdome for the space almost of three hundred and eighty yeeres. At length the Kings of *Fez* of the *Marin* Family greatly molested them, so that those ten Kings which succeeded *Zeijen* were some of them vnfortunate in battell, some slaine, some taken Captiue, and others expelled their Kingdome, and chased to the next Mountaines. Neither were they free from vexation of the Kings of *Tunis* : howbeit, the Kingdome of *Telenfin* remained still to this Familie, and they continued in peace for almost an hundred and twenty yeeres, being endamaged by no forren power ; sauing that one *Abu Feris* King of *Tunis*, and his sonne *Hutmen*, made them to pay tribute for certaine yeeres vnto *Tunis*, till the decease of the said *Hutmen*. This Kingdome stretcheth in length from East to West three hundred and eighty miles ; but in breadth from North to South, that is, from the Meditteran sea, to the Desarts of *Numidia* not aboue fise and twenty miles: which is the occasion that it is so often oppressed by the *Arabians* inhabiting the *Numidian* Desarts. The Kings of *Telenfin* haue alwaies endeouored by great gifts to gaine the good will and friendship of the *Numidians*, but they could neuer satisfie their insatiable couetise. A man shall seldome trauell safely through this Kingdome : howbeit, here are great store of Merchants, perhaps either because it adioyneth to *Numidia*, or else for that the way to the land of *Negros* lieth through it. It hath two most famous and frequented Hauens-townes, the one called *Horam*, and the other *Marsa Elcabir*, whither vse to resort great store of *Genoueses*, and *Venetians*. But afterward both these Townes were taken by *Don Ferdinando* the Catholike King, to the great inconuenience of all this Kingdome : for which cause the King then reigning, called *Abuchemmen*, was expelled his Kingdome, and put to flight by his owne subiects : afterward *Abuzeijen* was restored to the Kingdome, who had for certaine yeeres been imprisoned by his Nephew *Abuchemmen* : howbeit, he enioyed the Kingdome but a very short space : for he was at length miserably slaine by *Barbarossa*.

Numidians
couetise.

* Or *Oran*.
* Or *Mersal-
cabir*.

Barbarossa the Turke, who conquered the Kingdome of Tremizen by force of warre. Whereof Abuchemmen, that was expelled by his owne subiects, hauing intelligence, sent to craue aide of the Emperour Charles the fifth, whereby he hoped to recouer his Kingdome. Which request being granted, he leuied a puissant Armie, and made warre against Barbarossa, and hauing druen him out, he recouered his Kingdome, and seuerely punished them that had conspired his banishment. And then he gaue the Spanish souldiers their pay, sent the Captaines home with great rewards, and allowed Charles the Emperour a large yearely reuenue so long as he liued. After his decease succeeded his brother Haddulla, who neglecting the league made before betweene the Emperour and his brother, and relying vpon Solymán the great Turke, refused to pay any more tribute vnto the Emperour Charles, and hath kept possession of the Kingdome, till * this present. The greater part of this Region is vntilled, drie, and barren, especially towards the South. Howbeit, the sea coast is somewhat more fertill. The territorie adiacent to the Citie of Telenfin is full of woods, sauing that the Westerne part towards the Sea is mountainous. Likewise, the Regions of Tenez and Alger containe Mountaines abounding with all kind of commodities. In this part are but few Cities and Castles; howbeit, it is a most fruitfull and blessed place, as we will hereafter declare in particular.

Abuchemmen
King of Tremi-
zen, restored to
his Kingdome
by the Empe-
ror Charles
the fifth.

* 1526.

1526

The Desart of
Angad.
Great store of
Ostriches.
The Citie cal-
led Ned Roma.

1526

1526

The great Citie
of Telenfin,
otherwise cal-
led Tremizen.

1526

1526

1526

The King of
Telenfin taken
pri-oner, and
beheaded.

1526

1526

Temples and
Colledges.

This barren, dry, and vntilled Desart, being vtterly destitute of Water and Wood, is situate vpon the Westerne frontier of the Kingdome of Telenfin, and extendeth in length fourescore, and in breadth almost fiftie miles. Here are great store of Roes, Deere, and Ostriches. This ancient Towne built by the Romans, while they were Lords of Africa, standeth vpon a large Plaine, almost two miles from a certaine Mountaine, and about twelue miles from the Mediterranean Sea, and neere vnto it runneth a little Riuer. The Historiographers of those times report, that this Towne was in all respects built after the fashion of Rome, whereupon they say, it borrowed the name: for Ned in the Arabian tongue signifieth, like. The Wall of this Towne is as yet to be seene: but all the ancient buildings of the Romans are so destroyed, that now there scarcely remaine any ruines thereof. It began in some places to be repaired and reedified anew, but nothing comparable to the former buildings. The fields adiacent are exceeding fruitfull, and containe many Gardens replenished with such trees as beare Carobs (being a fruite like vnto Cassia Pistula) which in the Suburbs they vse for food. This Towne is indifferently well inhabited, especially with Weauers, who make great store of Cotton-cloth, and are free from all tribute.

Telenfin, is a great Citie, and the Royall seate of the King; and then it was an honourable and well-gouerned Citie: howbeit, Ioseph King of Fez continually molested it, and with an huge Armie besieged it for seuen yeares together. This Ioseph hauing built a Fort vpon the East side of the Towne, put the besieged Citizens to such distresse, that they could no longer endure the extreme famine: wherefore with one accord they all went vnto their King, beseeching him to haue compassion vpon their want. The King, to make them acquainted with his daintie fare, which he had to supper, shewed them a dish of sodden Horse-flesh and Barly. And then they well perceiued, how little the Kings estate was better then the estate of the meanest Citizen of them all. Soone after the King hauing procured an assembly, perswaded his people that it was much more honourable to die in battell for the defence of their Countrie, then to liue so miserable a life. Which words of the King so inflamed all their minds to the battell, that the day following they resolued to encounter the enemye, and valiantly to fight it out. But it fell out farre better for them then they expected; for the same night King Ioseph was slaine by one of his owne people: which newes being brought vnto the Citizens, with greater courage they marched all out of the Towne, easily vanquishing and killing the confused multitude of their enemies; after which vnexpected victorie, they found victuals sufficient in the enemies Campe to relieue their long and tedious famine. About fortie yeares after, the fourth King of Fez of the Marin Familie, called Abulhesen, built a Towne within two miles Westward of the Citie of Telenfin. Then hee besieged Telenfin for thirty moneths together, making daily and fierce assaults against it, and euery night erecting some new Fort, so that at length the Fezzan forces next vnto Telenfin easily entred the Citie, and hauing conquered it, carried home the King thereof Captiue vnto Fez, where he was by the King of Fez beheaded, and his carcase was cast forth among the filth of the Citie: and this was the second and the greater damage that Telenfin sustained. After the decay of the Marin Familie Telenfin began in many places to be repaired, and replenished with new inhabitants, insomuch that it increased to twelue thousand Families. Here each Trade and Occupation hath a peculiar place, after the manner of Fez, sauing that the buildings of Fez are somewhat more stately. Here are also many, and beautifull Temples, hauing their Mahumetan Priests and Preachers. Likewise here are five Colledges most sumptuously built, some by the King of Telenfin, and some by the King of Fez. Here also are store of goodly Bathes and Hot-houses, albeit they haue not such plentie of water as is at Fez. Also here are very many Innes built after the manner of Africa: vnto two of which Innes the Merchants of Genoa and Venice doe vsually resort.

A great part of this Citie is inhabited with Iewes, who were in times past all of them exceeding

* Or Turbant. ding rich : vpon their heads they weare a * Dulipan, to distinguish them from other Citizens : but in the yeare of the *Hegeira* 923. vpon the death of King *Abuhabdilla*, they were all so robbed and spoyled, that they are now brought almost vnto beggerie. Moreouer, in this Citie there are many Conduits, the Fountaines whereof are not farre from the Citie walles, so that they may easily be stopped by any forren Enemy. The Citie wall is very high and impregnable, hauing five great Gates vpon it, at euerie one of which there is placed a guard of Souldiers, and certaine Receiuers of the Kings Custome. On the South-side of the Citie standeth the Kings Palace, enuironed with most high Walls, and containing many other Palaces within it, which are none of them destitute of their Fountaines and pleasant Gardens : This Royall Palace hath two Gates, one leading into the Fields, and the other into the Citie, and at this Gate standeth the Captaine of the Guard. The Territorie of *Telenfin* containeth most pleasant habitations, whither the Citizens in Summer-time vse to retire themselves : for besides the beautifull Pastures and cleare Fountaines, there is such abundance of all kind of fruits to delight both the eyes and taste, that to my remembrance I neuer saw a more pleasant place : their Figges they vse to drie in the Sunne, and to keepe vntill Winter : and as for Almonds, Peaches, Melons, and Pome-citrons, they grow here in great plentie. Three miles Eastward of this Citie are diuers Mills vpon the Riuer of *Seffif*; and some other there are also not far from the Citie vpon the Mountaine of *Elcalba*. The South part of the Citie is inhabited by *Iemes*, Lawyers, and Notaries : here are also very many Students, and Professors of diuers Arts, which haue maintenance allowed them out of the five forenamed Colledges. The Citizens are of foure sorts, to wit, some Artificers, some Merchants, other Schollers and Doctors, and all the residue Souldiers. The Merchants are men most iust, trustie, liberall, and most zealous of the common good, who for the most part exercise traffique with the *Negros*. The Artificers liue a secure, quiet, and merrie life. The Kings Souldiers being all of a comely personage, and of great valour, receiue verie large and liberall pay, for they are monthly allowed three pieces of the Gold-coyne of *Telenfin*, which are worth three *Italian* Duckats, and one second part. All Students before they attaine to the degree of a *Doctor*, liue a bare and miserable life : but hauing attained thereunto, they are made either *Professors*, or *Notaries*, or *Priests*. The Citizens and Merchants of this Citie are so neate & curious in their apparel, that sometimes they excel the Citizens of *Fez* in brauerie.

Pleasant place. A Wonder it is to see how stately and magnificently the King of *Telenfin* behaueth himselfe: for no man may see him, nor be admitted to parle with him, but onely the principall Nobles of his Court, each one of whom are assigned to beare Offices according to their place and dignitie. In this Court are sundry Offices and dignities, and the Kings Lieutenant being principall Officer, allotteth vnto each one such places of dignitie, as may bee correspondent to their honour : and this Lieutenant leuieth the Kings Armies, and sometime conducteth them against the Enemy. The second Officer is the Kings chiefe *Secretarie*, who writeth and recordeth all things pertaining to the King. The third, is the *High Treasurer*, who is bound by his Office to receiue Tributes and Customes, The fourth, is the Kings *Dispensator* or *Almoner*, who bestoweth such liberalitie as the King vouchsafeth. The fifth, is the *Captaine of the Kings Guard*, who so often as any Nobles are admitted to the Kings presence, conducteth the garde vnto the Palace Gate. Then are there other meaner Officers, as namely, the *Master of the Kings Stable*, the *Quer-seer of his Saddles and Stirrops*, and his *Chiefe Chamberlaine*, who giueth attendance onely at such times as any Courtiers are admitted vnto the Kings audience. For at other times the Kings Wiues, with certaine Christian Captiues, and Eunuches doe performe that dutie. The King sometimes in sumptuous and costly apparell rideth vpon a stately Steed richly trapped and furnished. In riding hee obserueth not much pompe, nor many ceremonies ; neither indeed doth hee carrie so great a traine ; for you shall scarcely see a thousand Horsemen in his company, except perhaps in time of Warre, when as the *Arabians* and other people giue attendance. His dominions are but slenderly inhabited : howbeit, because the way from *Europe* to *Ethiopia* lieth through his Kingdome, he reapeth much benefit by the wares that passe by, especially since the time that *Oran* was surprised by the Christians.

Schollers. Hubbed containeth store of Inhabitants, who are for the most part Dyers of Cloath. In this Towne was buried one *Sidi Bu Median*, being reputed a man of singular holinesse, whom they adore like a God, ascending vp to his Monument by certaine steps. Here is likewise a stately Colledge, and a faire Hospitall to entertaine strangers in ; both which were built by a King of *Fez* of the *Marin* Family, as I find recorded vpon a certaine Marble stone.

The customes and rites obserued in the King of *Telenfin* his Court. The Plaine of *Batha* was vtterly destitute of Inhabitants, till a certaine Hermite with his followers, whom they reuerenced as a man of singular holinesse, repaired thither. This Hermite in short time grew so rich in Oxen, Horses, and other Cattell, that no man almost throughout the whole Region was comparable vnto him. Neither he nor his followers pay any tribute at all, when as notwithstanding (as I heard of his Disciples) he reapeth yearly eight thousand bushels of Corne, and at this time possesseth five hundred Horses, tenne thousand small Cattell, and two thousand Oxen ; and besides all the former hath yearly sent vnto him from diuers parts of the world foure or five thousand Duckats : so greatly hath the fame of his false holines spread

A passage from *Europe* to *Ethiopia* through the Kingdome of *Tremizen*. Hubbed.

Batha. A famous Hermite.

spread ouer all *Africa* and *Asia*. Disciples he hath to the number of five hundred, whom hee maintaineth at his owne cost: neither imployeth he them to ought else, but daily to read a few prayers: for which cause many resort vnto him, desiring to be of the number of his Disciples, whom after he hath instructed in certaine Ceremonies, he sendeth them thither from whence they first came. He hath about an hundred Tents pitched, whereof some are for strangers, others for Shepheards, and the residue for his owne Family. This holy Heremite hath foure wiues, and a great many women-slaves, wearing most sumptuous apparell. His sonnes likewise haue their wiues and Families: insomuch that the whole Familie of this Heremite and of his sonnes containeth five hundred persons. He is greatly honoured by all the *Arabians*, and by the King of *Telenfin* himselfe. My selfe was once desirous to trie what manner of man this Heremite was: and for threedayes I was entertained by him in the most secret places of his habitation, where amongst other things, he shewed me certaine Bookes intreating of Art-Magique, and of Alchymie: and hee endeouored by all meanes to perswade me, that Magique was a most true and vndoubted Arte, whereby I perceiued that himselfe was a Magician, albeit he neuer vsed nor regarded the Arte, except it were in inuocating of God by certaine names.

Oran containing about fixe thousand Families, and built many yeeres agoe by the *Africans* vpon the *Mediterran Sea* shoare, is distant from *Telenfin* an hundred and fortie miles. Heere may you see great store of stately buildings, as namely of Temples, Colledges, Hospitals, Bath-stoues, and Innes. The Towne is compassed with most high and impregnable walles, hauing on the one side a faire plaine, and on the other side diuers Mountaines. The greatest part of the Inhabitants were Weauers, and the residue liued of their yeerely Reuenues. The Territorie of this Towne yeeldeth but small store of Corne, so that the Townesmen make all their bread of Barley: howbeit, they are most courteous and friendly to all strangers. This Towne was greatly frequented with Merchants of *Catalonia*, and of *Genoa*: and one street thereof is at this present called, the streete of the *Genoueses*. They were at perpetuall enmitie with the King of *Telenfin*, neither would they euer accept of any Gouvernour, but one which receiued the Kings Tribute. But the Townsman chose one of their chiefe Burgo-masters to iudge of Cases Ciuil and Criminall. The Merchants of the Towne, maintained at their owne costs, certaine Foists and Brigandines of warre, which committed many Piracies vpon the coast of *Catalonia*, *Genusa*, *Maierica*, and *Minorica*, insomuch, that *Oran* was full of Christian Captiues. Afterward, *Don Ferdinando* King of *Spaine* encountering *Oran* with a great Armada, determined to release the said Christians out of Captiuitie: but he had very hard successe. Howbeit, within a few moneths after being ayded by the *Biscaines* and the Cardinall of *Spaine*, he tooke *Oran*. For the *Moores* issuing forth with great furie vpon the Christians armie, left the Towne vtterly destitute of Souldiers, which the *Spaniards* perceiuing, began to assaile the Towne on the other side; where being resisted by none but by women, they had easie entrance. Whereupon the *Moores* seeing the Christians Banners aduanced vpon their wals, they returned backe into the Towne, and were there put to so great a slaughter, that few of them escaped. Thus was *Oran* taken by the *Spaniards* in the yeere of *Mahumet* his Hegeira 916.

Mersalcabir in the *Moores* language signifieth, a great or large Hauen; for I thinke there is not the like Hauen to be found in the whole world besides: so that here infinite numbers of Ships and Gallies may finde most safe harbour in any tempestuous weather. Hither the *Venetians* ships made often resort, when they perceiued any tempest to approach: and from hence they would cause all their wares to be transported to *Oran* in other vessels. This Towne also was at length taken by the *Spaniards* as well as *Oran*.

Bresch standeth many miles distant from *Mustaganin*. It containeth great store of Inhabitants, which are many of them Weauers. The people of this Towne vse to paint a blacke crosse vpon their cheeke, and two other blacke crosses vpon the Palmes of their hands: and the like custome is obserued by all the Inhabitants of the Mountaines of *Alger*, and *Bugia*: the occasion whereof is thought to be this, namely, that the *Goths* when they first began to invade these Regions, released all those from paying of Tribute (as our *African* Historiographers affirme) that would imbrace the Christian Religion. But so often as any Tribute was demaunded, every man to eschew the payment thereof, would not sticke to professe himselfe a Christian: wherefore it was then determined, that such as were Christians indeed, should be distinguished from others by the foresaid crosses. At length the *Goths* being expelled, they all reuolted vnto the *Mahumetan* Religion; howbeit, this custome of painting crosses remained still among them neither doe they know the reason thereof. Likewise the meaner sort of people in *Mauritania* vse to make such crosses vpon their faces, as we see vsed by some people of *Europe*.

Sersell, built by the *Romanes* vpon the *Mediterran Sea*, was afterward taken by the *Goths*; and lastly by the *Mahumetans*. The wall of this Towne is exceeding high, strong, and stately built, and containeth about eight miles in circuit. In that part of the Towne next vnto the *Mediterran Sea*, standeth a most beautifull and magnificent Temple built by the *Romanes*, the inward part whereof consisteth of Marble.

Gezeir, in the *Moores* language signifieth an Iland, which name is thought to haue beene giuen gar.

The Towne of Oran.

Oran taken by the Spaniards.

The Towne of Mersalcabir.

Mersalcabir surprised by the Spaniards.

Bresch.

Blacke crosses.

The Towne of Sersell.

Statly Temple.

Gezeir, otherwise called Al-gar.

Alger become
Tributary to
the King of
Spaine.

3000. Arabian
bookes.
A Voyage per-
formed by Iohn
Leo.

This Alger is
now the cage
of vncleane
birds, the next
of Turkish vn-
christian Py-
rars.
Medua.

The Towne of
Temendrust.
His discourse
of the Moun-
taines is omit-
ted.

uen vnto this Citie, because it lyeth neere vnto the Iles of *Maiorica*, *Minorica*, and *Ieuiza*: howbeit, the *Spaniards* call it *Alger*. It was founded by the *Africans* of the Family of *Mesgana*, wherefore in old time it was called by the name of *Mesgana*. It is a large Towne, containing Families to the number of foure thousand, and is enuironed with most stately and impregnable walles. The buildings thereof are very Artificiall and sumptuous: and euery trade and occupation hath heere a seuerall place. Innes, Bath-stoues, and Temples heere are very beautifull; but the stateliest Temple of all standeth vpon the Sea-shoare. Next vnto the Sea there is a most pleasant walke vpon that part of the Towne wall, which the waues of the Sea beat vpon. In the Suburbs are many Gardens replenished with all kind of Fruits. On the East side of the Towne runneth a certaine Riuer hauing many mills thereupon: and out of this Riuer 10 they draw water fit for drinke, and for the seruices of the Kitchen. It hath most beautifull Plaines adioyning vpon it, and especially one called *Metteggia*, which extendeth forty fiue miles in length, and almost thirty miles in breadth, and aboundeth mightily with all kinds of Graine. This Towne for many yeeres was subiect vnto the Kingdome of *Telenfin*: but hearing that *Bugia* was also gouerned by a King, and being neerer thereunto, they submitted themselues vnto the King of *Bugia*. For they saw that the King of *Telenfin* could not sufficiently defend them against their enemies, and also that the King of *Bugia* might doe them great damage, wherefore they offered vnto him a yeerly Tribute of their own accord, and yet remained almost free from all exaction. But certaine yeeres after, the inhabitants of this Citie building for themselues Gallies, began to play the Pirats, and greatly to molest the foresaid Ilands. Whereupon King 20 *Ferdinando* prouided a mighty Armada, hoping thereby to become Lord of the Citie. Likewise vpon a certaine high Rocke standing opposite against the Towne, he caused a strong Fort to be built, and that within Gun-shot of the Citie, albeit the Citie walles could not bee endamaged thereby. Wherefore the Citizens immediately sent Ambassadors into *Spaine*, to craue a league for ten yeeres, vpon condition that they should pay certaine yeerely Tribute; which request was granted by King *Ferdinando*. And so they remained for certaine Moneths free from the danger of warre: but at length, *Barbarossa* hastning to the siege of *Bugia*, and hauing wonne one Fort built by the *Spaniards*, determined to encounter another, hoping if he could obtaine that also, that he should soone conquer the whole Kingdome of *Bugia*. Howbeit, all matters fell not out according to his expectation: for a great part of his Souldiers being husbandmen, 30 when they perceiued the time of sowing corne to approach, without any leaue or licence they forsooke their Generall, and returned home to the Plough-taile. And many *Turkes* also did the like, so that *Barbarossa* failing of his purpose, was constrained to breake vp the siege. Howbeit, before his departure, he set on fire with his owne hands twelue Gallies, which lay in a Riuer but three miles from *Bugia*. And then with forty of his Souldiers, he retired himselfe to the Castle of *Gegel*, being from *Bugia* aboute sixtie miles distant, where hee remained for certaine dayes. In the meane while, King *Ferdinando* deceasing, the people of *Alger* released themselues from paying any more Tribute: for seeing *Barbarossa* to be a most valiant warriour, and a deadly enemy vnto Christians, they sent for him, and chose him Captaine ouer all their Forces; who presently encountred the Fort, but to little effect. Afterward, this *Barbarossa* secretly mur- 40 red the Gouvernour of the Citie in a certaine Bath. The said Gouvernour was Prince of the *Arabians* dwelling on the Plaines of *Metteggia*; his name was *Selim Etteumi*, descended of the Familie of *Telaliba*, and created Gouvernour of *Alger*, at the same time when *Bugia* was taken by the *Spaniards*: this man was slaine by *Barbarossa*, after he had gouerned many yeeres. And then *Barbarossa* vsurped the whole gouernment of the Citie vnto himselfe, and coined money, and this was the first entrance into his great and princely estate. At all the foresaid accidents I my selfe was present, as I trauelled from *Fex* to *Tunis*, and was entertained by one that was sent Ambassadour from the people of *Alger* into *Spaine*, from whence he brought three thousand bookes written in the *Arabian* tongue. Then I passed on to *Bugia*, where I found *Barbarossa* besieging the foresaid Fort: afterward I proceeded to *Constantina*, and next to *Tunis*. In the 50 meane while I heard that *Barbarossa* was slaine at *Tremizen*, and that his brother called *Carradin* succeeded in the gouernment of *Alger*. Then we heard also that the Emperour *Charles* the fift had sent two armies to surprize *Alger*; the first whereof was destroyed vpon the plaine of *Alger*, and the second hauing assailed the Towne three dayes together, was partly slaine, and partly taken by *Barbarossa*, in somuch, that very few escaped backe into *Spaine*. This was done in the yeere of the *Hegira* 922. The Inhabitants of *Medua* being themselues vnlearned, so often as any learned man comes amongst them, they entertaine him with great honour, and cause him to decide all their contro- uersies. For the space of two moneths, while I remained with them, I gained aboute two hundred Ducats, and was so allured with the pleasantness of the place, that had not my dutie enforced me 60 to depart, I had remained there all the residue of my life. Vnto *Temendrust* belongeth a faire Hauen, where the Ships of *Alger* are safely harboured, for they haue no other Hauen so commodious. This Towne was at length destroyed by the *Goths*, and the greatest part of the wall of *Alger* was built with the stones which came from the wall of this Towne.

Q. V.

The most remarkable things in Iohn Leo his fifth Booke of the
Historie of Africa, and a description of the Kingdomes
of Bugia and Tunis.

10 **B**ugia was subiect to the King of Tunis, and albeit, for certaine yeares the
King of Telenfin was Lord thereof, yet was it at length recovered againe
by the King of Tunis, who committed the Gouvernment of the Citie vn-
to one of his Sonnes, both for the tranquillitie of Bugia, and also that no
discord might happen among his Sonnes after his decease. Hee left behind him three
Sonnes, the eldest whereof was called *Habdulbaziz*, and vnto him he bequeathed the Kingdome
of Bugia, as is aforesaid: vnto the second, whose name was *Hutmen*, hee left the Kingdome of
Tunis: and the third, called *Hammare*, he made Gouvernour of the Region of Dates. This *Ham-*
mare began forth-with to wage warre against his Brother *Hutmen*, by whom beeing at length
taken in the Towne of *Asfacos*, and deprived of both his eyes, hee was carryed Captiue vnto
Tunis, where he liued many yeares blind: but his Brother *Hutmen* gouerned the Kingdome of
Tunis full forty yeares. The Prince of Bugia beeing most louing and dutifull to his Brother,
20 raigned for many yeares with great tranquillitie, till at length hee was by King *Ferdinand* of
Spaine, and by the meanes of one *Pedro de Nauarra*, cast out of his Kingdome.

This ancient Citie of Bugia was built (as some think) by the Romans, vpon the side of an high
Mountayne, neere vnto the Mediterran Sea, is enuironed with wals of great height, and most
stately in regard of their Antiquitie. The part thereof now peopled contayneth aboue eight
thousand Families: but if it were all replenished with buildings, it were capeable of more then
four and twentie thousand Housholds, for it is of a great length. The Houses, Temples, and
Colledges of this Citie are most sumptuously built. Professors of liberall Sciences heere are
great store, whereof some teach matters pertayning to the Law, and others professe naturall
Philosophie. Neyther *Monasteries*, *Innes*, nor *Hospitalls* erected after their manner are heere wan-
ting: and their Market place is very large and fayre: their streetes either descend or ascend,
30 which is very troublesome to them that haue any businesse in the Towne. In that part of the
Citie next vnto the top of the Mountayne standeth a strong Castle, most sumptuously and beau-
tifully walled: and there are such notable Letters and Pictures most artificially earned vpon the
Playster-worke and Timber, that they are thought to haue cost much more then the building
of the wall it selfe.

The Citizens were exceeding rich, and vsed with their Warlike Gallies continually to mo-
lest the Coasts of Spaine; which was the occasion of the vtter ouerthrow of their Citie. For
Pedro de Nauarra was sent against them with a Fleet of foureene Sayles onely. The Citizens
being addicted wholly to pleasure and ease, and being terrified with the rumour of Warre, be-
40 cause they were neuer exercised therein, were no sooner aduertised of *Pedro de Nauarra* his ap-
proch, but all of them together with their King betooke themselues to flight, and left their Ci-
tie abounding with all kind of riches and wealth, to be spoyled by the Spaniards, so that it was
easily taken, in the yeere of *Mahumet* his Hegeira 917. Soone after *Pedro de Nauarra* hauing
sacked the Citie, built a strong Fort vpon the Sea shoare, and repayed another which had lien a
long time waste, furnishing them both with Souldiers and Munition.

The Inhabitants of *Gegel*, haue in despight of the Kings of Bugia and Tunis continued al-
wayes free from Tribute: for that impregnable Mountayne can be surprized by no siege nor en-
counter of the Enemy. At length they yeelded themselues vnto *Barbarossa*, who demanded none
other Tribute of them, but onely the tenths of certaine Fruits and Corne.

50 The Inhabitants of *Necans* are very rich, liberall, and curious in their apparell. Heere is an
Hospitall maintayned at the common charges of the Towne, to entertayne Strangers that passe
by. Here is a Colledge also, the Students whereof are allowed their Dyet and apparell. Nei-
ther is this Towne destitute of a most stately and wel-furnished Temple. Their women are
white, hauing blacke haies and a most delicate skinne, because they frequent the Bath-stones so
often. Most of their houses are but of one story high, yet are they very decent, and haue each
one a Garden thereto belonging, replenished with Damaske Roses, Myrtles, Cammomill, and
other herbs and flowers, and beeing watred with most pleasant Fountaines. In these Gardens
likewise there are most stately Arbours and Bowres, the coole shaddow whereof in Summer
time is most acceptable.

60 No man can deny the *Romanes* to haue beene Founders of this Citie, that shall consider the
great strength, height and antiquitie of the wals, and how curiously they are beset and adorned
with blacke stones. This Citie standeth vpon the South side of an exceeding high Mountayne,
and is enuironed with steepe Rockes, vnder which Rockes and within the compasse whereof
runneth the River called *Sufegmare*, so that the said deepe River with the Rockes on either side,
serueth

Radgumit
Arch.

Not Satis
Spine Dens.

A description
of the great
Citie of Bugia.

Scholars.
Lawyers.
Philosophers.

The Citie of
Bugia taken by
Pedro de Na-
uarra.

The Citie of
Bugia taken by
Pedro de Na-
uarra.

Necans

The Citie of
Bugia taken by
Pedro de Na-
uarra.

The Citie of
Constantina.

serueth in stead of a Towne-ditch to *Constantina*. The North part is compassed with a wall of great thicknesse : and there are two extreme narrow passages onely to enter into the Citie, one on the East part, and another on the West. The Citie gates are very large and stately. The Citie it selfe containeth aboue eight thousand Families. Buildings it hath very sumptuous, as namely, the *Chiefe Temple*, two *Colledges*, three or foure *Monasteries*, and other such like. Here euery Trade and Occupation hath a seuerall place assigned : and the Inhabitants are right honest and valiant people. Here is likewise a great Company of Merchants, whereof some sell Cloth and Wooll, others send Oyle and Silke into *Numidia*, and the residue exchange Linnen-cloth and other Wares for Slaues and Dates. Neyther are Dates so cheape in any Region of all *Barbarie* besides. The Kings of *Tunis* vsually commit the *Gouernment* of *Constantina* vnto their eldest Sonnes. 10

Triumphall
Arch.

Also without the Citie stand many fayre and ancient buildings. About a mile and a halfe from the Citie standeth a ceraine triumphall Arch, like vnto the triumphall Arches at *Rome*, which the grosse common people thinke to haue bene a Castle, where innumerable Deuils remayned, which (they say) were expelled by the *Mahumetans*, when they came first to inhabit *Constantina*. From the Citie to the Riuer they descend by certaine staires hewen out of the Rocke: and neere vnto the Riuer standeth a little house so artificially cut out of the mayne Rock, that the Roofe, Pillars and Wals are all of one continued substance, and here the women of *Constantina* wash their Linnen. Neere vnto the Citie likewise there is a certaine Bath of hot water dispersing it selfe among the Rockes : in this Bath are great store of Snails, which the fond women of the Citie call Deuils : and when any one falleth into a Feuer or any other Disease, they suppose the Snails to be the Authours thereof. And the onely remedie that they can apply vpon such an occasion, is this : first, they kill a white Hen, putting her into a Platter with her feathers on, and then very solemnely with Wax-candles they carry her to the Bath, and there leaue her : and many good fellowes there are, which so soone as the filly women haue set downe their Hens at the Bath, will come secretly thither, and conuay away the Hens to their owne Kitchens. Somewhat farther from the Citie Eastward, there is a Fountayne of extreme cold water, and neere vnto it standeth a certaine building of Marble adorned with sundry Hieroglyphicall Pictures or Emblemes, such as I haue seene at *Rome*, and at many other places of *Europe*. But the common people imagine that it was in times past a Grammar Schoole, and because both the Masters and Schollers thereof were most vicious, they were transformed (say they) into Marble. 20

Hot Baths.
Snail Deuils.

A fond and
senselesse Su-
perstition.

The ancient
Towne of *Bona*,
Saint *Augustine*
in times past
Bishop of
Hippo.

Bona, was in ancient times called *Hippo*, where the Reuerend Father Saint *Augustine* was once Bishop. It was in proesse of time subdued by the *Gothes*, and was afterward surprized and burnt to ashes by *Hutmen* the third Patriarke after *Mahumet*. And many yeeres after they built a new Towne within two miles, of the stones that were brought from the ruines of *Bona*: which new Towne they called *Beld Ethuneb*, that is, the Citie of the fruit called *Ziziphus* or *Inuba*, by reason of the great abundance of that fruit : the which they vse to dry in the Sunne, and to keepe till Winter. It containeth almost three hundred Families, and all the houses and buildings thereof are very base, saue one onely Temple which standeth next the Sea. The Inhabitants are all of an ingenuous disposition, some of them being Merchants, and the residue Artizans. Here is great store of Linnen-cloth wouen, the greatest part whereof is carryed to *Numidia*. 30

Great store of
Corall.

Euery Friday they haue neere vnto the Towne wals a Market, which is well frequented euen till night. Not farre from hence there is a certaine place in the Sea, abounding with great store of Corall : and because the Townesmen know not how to fish for the same, the King of *Tunis* licensed certaine Merchants of *Genoa* to fish for it : who in regard of the continuall assaults of Pirates, because they could not speed of their purpose, they obtayned leaue also of the King to build a Castle neere vnto the place : but that the Townesmen would in no case permit, saying, that the *Genoueses* in times past tooke their Towne by such a wile, and that it was afterward recovered againe by the King of *Tunis*. 40

The Citie of
Tebessa.

Tebessa, compassed with an high wall made of such stones, as are to be seene vpon the *Colosso* at *Rome* : neither saw I, to my remembrance, any such wals in all *Africa* or *Europe*; and yet the houses and other buildings are very base. Through part of this Citie runneth a great Riuer : and in the Market, and diuers other places stand certaine Marble Pillars, hauing Epigrams and Sentences with *Latine* Letters engrauen vpon them : there are also other square Pillars of Marble couered with Roofes. The Plaines adjacent, albeit, very dry, yet are they most fruitfull for Corne. Fiue miles from hence, grow such abundance of Wall-nut-trees, as you would take them to be some thicke Forrest. Neere vnto this Towne standeth a certaine hill full of mighty Caues, wherein the common people say, that Giants inhabited of old : but it is most eident, that those Caues were digged by the *Romanes* at the same time, when they built the Citie : for certaine it is that the stones whereof the Citie wals consist, were taken out of those Rockes. The Inhabitants are people of a couetous, inhumane, and beastly disposition ; neither will they vouchsafe to looke vpon a stranger in somuch, that *Eldabag* a famous Poet of the Citie of *Malaga* 50

Eldabag.

in *Granada*, having in his travell this way receiued some discourtesie, wrote in disgrace of *Tebessa* certaine Satyricall Verses, which my selfe likewise haue thought good here to set downe in the dispraise thereof.

*Within this place here's nought of any worth,
Sane worthlesse Nuts, which Tebessa affords.
Soft, I mistake, the Marble walles are worth
Your earnest view, so are the Christall Foords:
But hence are banisht vertues all diuine,
The place is Hell, the People worse then Swine.*

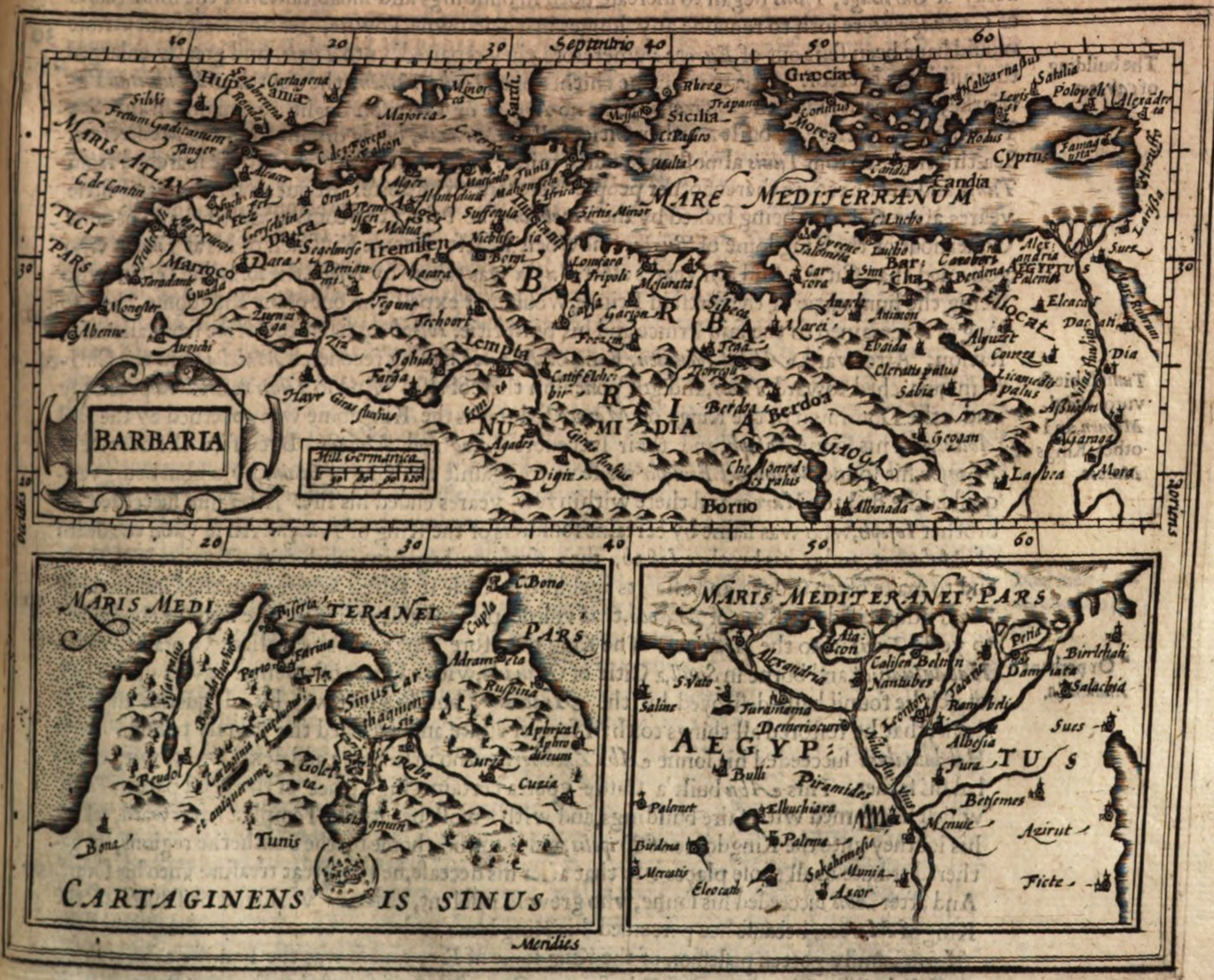
10 This *Eldabag* was a most learned and elegant Poet in the *Arabian* Tongue, and out of measure Satyricall, and bitter in his inuectiues. But to returne to our former purpose, these *Tebessians* haue alwaies rebelled against the King of *Tunis*, and haue slaine all the *Gouernours* that he hath sent. Wherefore the King that now is, traueiling vpon a time towards *Numidia*, sent certaine Ambassadors into the Citie, to know how the Citizens stood affected towards him: vnto whom they (in stead of *God save the King*) made answer; *God save our Citie walles*. Whereat the King waxing wroth, sacked the Citie forthwith, beheaded and hanged diuers of the inhabitants, and made such hauock, that euer since it hath remained desolate. This was done in the yeare of the *Hegeira* 915.

In the Towne of *Urbs*, are to be seene sundry Monuments of the *Romans*, as namely, Images of Marble, and euery where vpon the Walles are sentences in *Latin* letters engrauen: the Towne Walles are most artificially and sumptuously built. This Towne the *Goths*, being assisted by the *Moors*, surprised, when as it contained the chiefe treasure and wealth that the *Romans* enioyed in all *Africa*. Afterward, it remained for certaine yeares desolate, being at length notwithstanding inhabited anew; yet so, that it deserueth rather the name of a Village, then of a Towne.

The Towne called *Urbs*. *Urbs* full of *Roman* antiquities.

We haue here given the Reader, with a small generall Map of *Barbary* and *Egypt*, a description of the Ruines of *Carthage*, with the *Goletta* and Bay of *Tunis*.

HONDIVS his Map of Barbaric and Egypt.



The great Citie of Carthage.
* Both may be true of Queen Dido, which came from Phenicia in Syria.

Ruines of Carthage.

* 1526.

A description of the mighty Citie of Tunis.

The famous and ancient City *Carthage* was built at the first by a certaine people that came out of *Syria*. But others say that it was founded by a * *Queene*. The *African* Chronicler *Ibnu Rachich* is of opinion, that it was built by a certaine people that came from *Barca*. *Tripolis* of *Barbaria* and *Capis* being taken by the *Mahumetans*, the Inhabitants of them both went vnto *Carthage*, whither the principall *Romans* and *Goths* had retired themselves, who endeauored by all meanes to withstand the *Mahumetans*: and after many skirmishes the *Romans* fled to *Bona*, and the *Goths* left *Carthage* for a pray vnto the *Mahumetans*; so that it remained desolate many yeares after, till a certaine *Mahumetan* Patriarke, called *Elmahdi* brought in new Colonies: howbeit, he could scarce furnish the twentieth part with Inhabitants. There are to be seene at this day certaine ruines of the Citie walls, till you come to a deepe and large Cisterne. And there remaineth as yet also a certaine Conduit, which conueyeth water to the Citie from a Mountaine thirtie miles distant, being like vnto the Conduit of the great Palace at *Rome*. Neere vnto *Carthage* likewise are certaine great and ancient buildings, the description whereof is out of my remembrance. On the West and South part of this Citie, are diuers Gardens replenished with all kind of fruits, which are carried from thence to *Tunis* in great abundance. The plaines adioyning to this Citie are exceeding fruitfull, though not very large: for vpon the North part thereof lieth a Mountaine, the Sea, and the Gulfe of *Tunis*: on the East and South parts it ioyneth to the Plaines of *Benfart*. But * now this Citie is fallen into extreme decay and misery: Merchants Shops there are not aboue twenty or five and twenty at the most: and all the houses of the Towne being scarce five hundred, are most base and beggerly. In my time here was a stately Temple, and a faire Colledge also, but no Students were therein. The Townesman, though verie miserable, yet are they exceeding proud withall, and seeme to pretend a great shew of Religion. And the greater part of them are either Gardiners or Husbandmen, and are grievously oppressed with the Kings daily exactions.

This Citie is called by the *Latines*, *Tunetum*, and by the *Arabians* *Tunus*, which name they thinke to be corrupt, because it signifieth nought in their language: but in old time it was called *Tarfis*, after the name of a Citie in *Asia*. At the first it was a small Towne built by the *Africans* vpon a certaine Lake, about twelue miles distant from the Mediterranean Sea. And vpon the decay of *Carthage*, *Tunis* began to increase both in buildings and inhabitants: for the inhabitants of *Carthage* were loth to remaine any longer in their owne Towne, fearing least some Armie would haue been sent out of *Europe*: wherefore they repaired vnto *Tunis*, and greatly enlarged the buildings thereof. Afterward came thither one *Hueba Vimen*, the fourth *Mahumetan* Patriarke, who perswaded the Citizens, that no Armie or Garrison ought to remaine in any Sea Townes: wherefore he built another Citie, called *Cairaoan*, being distant from the Mediterranean Sea thirtie, and from *Tunis* almost an hundred miles: vnto which Citie the Armie marched from *Tunis*, and in the roome thereof other people were sent to inhabite. About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, *Cairaoan* being sacked by the *Arabians*, the Prince thereof was expelled, and became Governour of the Kingdome of *Bugia*: howbeit, he left certaine Kinsmen of his at *Tunis*, who governed that Citie. And ten yeares after, *Bugia* was taken by *Ioseph*, the sonne of *Tesfin*, who seeing the humanitie of the foresaid Prince, would not expell him out of his Kingdome: but so long as it remained to the said Prince and his posteritie, *Ioseph* caused it to be free from all molestation. Afterward, *Abdul Mumen*, King of *Marocco*, hauing recovered *Mahdia* from the Christians, marched toward *Tunis*, and got possession thereof also. And so *Tunis* remained peaceably vnder the Dominion of the Kings of *Marocco*, so long as the Kingdome was gouerned by the said *Abdul*, and his sonne *Ioseph*, and their successors *Iacob* and *Mansor*. But after the decease of *Mansor*, his sonne *Mahumet Ennasir* made warre against the King of *Spaine*, by whom being vanquished, he fled to *Marocco*, and there within few yeares ended his life. After him succeeded his brother *Ioseph*, who was slaine by certaine souldiers of the King of *Telenfin*. An so vpon the death of *Mahumet*, and of his brother *Ioseph*, the *Arabians* began to inhabite the Territorie of *Tunis*, and to make often sidges, and assaults against the Citie it selfe: whereupon the Governour of *Tunis* aduertised the King of *Marocco*, that vnlesse present aide were sent, he must be constrained to yeeld *Tunis* vnto the *Arabians*. The King therefore sent a certaine valiant Captaine, called *Habduhabidi*, and borne in *Simill*, a Citie of *Granada*, with a Fleete of twentie Sayles vnto *Tunis*, which he found halfe destroyed by the *Arabians*: but so great was his eloquence and wisdom, that he restored all things to their former estate, and receiued the yearely tribute. After *Habduhabidi* succeeded his sonne *Abu Zachheria*, who in learning and dexteritie of wit, excelled his father. This *Abu* built a Castle vpon a certaine high place of the West part of *Tunis*, which he adorned with faire buildings, and with a most beautifull Temple. Afterward, taking his iourney vnto the Kingdome of *Tripolis*, and returning home by the Southerne regions, he gathered tribute in all those places: so that after his decease, he left great treasure vnto his sonne. And after *Abu* succeeded his sonne, who grew so insolent, that hee would not be subject to the King of *Marocco*, because hee perceiued his Kingdome to decay: at the same time also had the *Marin* Family gotten possession of the Kingdome of *Fez*, and so was the Familie of *Beni Zeijen* possessed of the Kingdomes of *Telenfin* and *Granada*. And so while all those Regions were at

The building of Cairaoan.

Tunis subiect vnto Abdul Mumen and other Kings of Marocco.

* Or perhaps Andalusia.

U T

at mutuall dissention, the Dominions of *Tunis* began mightily to encrease; insomuch, that the King of *Tunis* marched vnto *Telensin*, and demanded tribute of the inhabitants. Wherefore the King of *Fez*, who as then laid siege against *Maroco*, craued by his Ambassadors the King of *Tunis* his friendship, and with great gifts obtained the same. Then the King of *Tunis* returning home Conquerour from *Telensin*, was receiued with great triumph, and was saluted King of all *Africa*, because indeed there was no Prince of *Africa* at the same time comparable vnto him. Wherefore he began to ordaine a Royall Court, and to choose Secretaries, Counsellors, Captaines, and other Officers appertaining to a King; after the very same manner that was vsed in the Court of *Maroco*. And from the time of this King euen till our times, the Kingdome of *Tunis* hath so prospered, that now it is accounted the richest Kingdome in all *Africa*. The said Kings sonne reigning after his fathers death, enlarged the Suburbs of *Tunis* with most stately buildings. Without the Gate called *Bed Suwaica* he built a freete, containing to the number of three hundred Families: and he built another street at the Gate, called *Bed el Manera*, consisting of more then a thousand Families. In both of these streetes dwell great store of Artificers, and in the street last mentioned, all the Christians of *Tunis*, which are of the Kings Guard, haue their abode. Likewise, there is a third freete built at the Gate next vnto the Sea, called *Beb el Bahar*, and being but halfe a mile distant from the Gulfe of *Tunis*. Hither doe the *Genoueses*, *Venetians*, and all other Christian Merchants resort, and here they repose themselues out of the tumult and concourse of the *Moores*: and this street is of so great bignesse, that it containeth three hundred Families of *Christians* and *Moores*; but the houses are very low, and of small receipt. The Families of the Citie, together with them of the Suburbs, amount almost to the number of ten thousand. This stately and populous Citie hath a peculiar place assigned for each Trade and Occupation. Here dwell great store of Linnen-weauers, and the Linnen that they weaue is exceeding fine, and sold at a great price ouer all *Africa*. The women of this Towne vse a strange kind of spinning: for standing vpon an high place, or on the vpper part of the house, they let downe their Spindles at a window, or through a hole of the plancher into a lower roome, so that the weight of the Spindle makes the thread very equall and euen. The apparell of their Merchants, Priests, and Doctors is very decent. Vpon their heads they were a Dulipan, which is couered with a great Linnen-cloath: the Courtiers likewise and the Souldiers weare all of them Dulipans, but not couered with Linnen. Rich men here are but few, by reason of the exceeding scarcitie of all kind of graine: for a man cannot till a piece of ground, be it neuer so neere the Citie, in regard of the manifold inuasions of the *Arabians*. Corne is brought vnto them from other Regions and Cities, as namely, from *Vrbs*, from *Beggi*, and from *Bona*. Some of the Citizens of *Tunis* haue certaine Fields in the Suburbs walled round about, where they sow some quantitie of Barley, and of other Corne: howbeit, the soyle is marueilous dry, and standeth in need of much watring: for which purpose euery man hath a pit, whereout with a certaine wheele turned about by a Mule or a Camell, and through certaine conueyances and passages made for the nonce, they water all the vpper part of their ground. Now consider (I pray you) what great crop of Corne can be reaped out of so little a Field, walled round about, and watred by such cunning and industrie. Bread they make very excellent, albeit they leaue the Bran still among the Flower, and they bake their Loaves in certaine Mortars, such as the *Egyptians* vse to beate Flaxe in. In this Citie they haue no Fountaines, Riuers, nor Wells of fresh water: but they all vse raine water taken out of Cisterns, sauing that there is a Fountaine in the Suburbs, from whence certaine Porters bring salt water into the Citie to sell, which they thinke to bee more wholesome and fit for drinke then raine water. Other Wells there are that affoord most excellent water, which is reserued only for the King and his Courtiers. In this Citie there is one most stately Temple, furnished with sufficient number of Priests, and with rich reuenues. Other Temples there be also, but not endowed with so ample reuenues: here are Colledges likewise and Monasteries built after their manner, all which are maintained vpon the common beneuolence of the Citie. There are certaine people in this Citie, whom a man would take to bee distracted, which goe bare-headed and bare-footed, carrying stones about with them, and these are reuerenced by the common people for men of singular holinesse. Moreouer, on the behalfe of one of these mad fellowes, called *Sidi el Dabi*; and for the residue of his fond Societie, the King of *Tunis* built one of the foresaid Monasteries, and endowed the same with most ample reuenues. All the houses of this Citie are indifferently beautifull, being built of excellent stones, and adorned with much painting and caruing. They haue very artificiall pargettings or plaister-works, which they beautifie with Orient colours; for Wood to carue vpon is very scarce at *Tunis*. The floores of their Chambers are paued with certaine shining and faire stones: and most of their houses are but of one storie high: and almost euery house hath two Gates or entrances; one towards the street, and another towards the Kitchin and other back-rooms, betweene which Gates they haue a faire Court, where they may walke and conferre with their friends. Povertie constraineth some of their women to leade an vnchast life: they are decently apparellled, and going forth of the house, they weare vailles or maskes before their faces, like vnto the women of *Fez*: for with one Linnen-cloth they couer their fore-heads, and ioyned thereto another

Yyyy 2

which

A strange
kind of spinning.

Mad men, reuerence mad men.

which they call *Setfari*: but about their heads they lap such fardels of Linnen, as they seeme comparable to the heads of Giants. Most part of their substance and labour they bestow vpon Perfumes and other such vanities. They haue here a Compound, called *Lhasis*, whereof whosoever eateth but one Ounce, falleth a laughing, disporting, and dallying, as if he were halfe drunken, and is by the said Confection maruellously prouoked vnto lust.

Of the King of
Tunis his
Court, and of
the Rites and
Ceremonies
there vsed.

So soone as the King of *Tunis* hath by inheritance attained to his Kingdome, all his Nobles, Doctors, Priests, and Iudges, bind themselves by solemne Oath vnto him. Immediately after any Kings death, his sonne and heire apparent succeedeth in the Kingdome: then the chiefe Officer of the Court (called the *Munafid*, because he is the Kings Vice-Roy or High Deputie) presenteth himselfe forthwith vnto the new King, and giueth vp an account of all things which hee did while the old King liued: and then at the Kings appointment, euerie of the Nobles receiue Offices from the *Munafid* according to their seuerall places of dignitie. Another principall Officer there is, called the *Mesnare*, that is, the Great Commander and Gouvernour of the warlike forces: who hath authority to increase or diminish the number of Souldiers, to giue them their pay, to leuie Armies, and to conduct the same whither he thinketh good. The third Officer in dignitie, is the *Castellan*, who with his Souldiers taketh charge of the Castle, and looketh to the safeguard of the Kings owne person: and he allotteth punishments vnto such prisoners, as are brought into the said Castle, as if he were the King himselfe. The fourth Officer, is the *Gouvernour of the Citie*, whose dutie is to administer Iustice in the Common-wealth, and to punish Malefactors. The fifth Officer, is the Kings *Secretarie*, who hath authoritie to write, and to giue answer in the Kings name: he may open also, and reade any Letters whatsoever, except such as are sent vnto the *Castellan* and *Gouvernour of the Citie*. The sixth, is the Kings *Chiefe Chamberlaine*, who is to furnish the Walles with Hangings, to appoint vnto euery man his place, and by a Messenger to assemble the Kings Counsellors; and this man hath great familiaritie with the King, and hath access to speake with him, as often as he pleaseth. The seuenth in dignitie, is the *Kings Treasurer*, who receiueth all Customes, Tributes, and yearely reuenues, and payeth them, with the Kings consent, vnto the *Munafid*. These are the chiefe Officers vnder the King; of the residue (lest I should seeme tedious to the Reader) I haue of purpose omitted to intreate of. I could here make a large discourse of the Kings vices that now reigneth (at whose hands I confesse my selfe to haue receiued great benefits) but that is not my purpose at this present: this one thing I can affirme, that he is marvellous cunning to procure money out of his subiects purses. But he himselfe liueth sometimes in his Palace, and sometimes in Gardens, in the company of his Concubines, Musicians, Stage-plaiers, and such like. When he calleth for any Musician, he is brought in blindfold or hoodwinked in manner of a Hawke.

Musician
blindfold.

The Towne of
El Mahdia,
otherwise cal-
led *Africa*.

El Mahdia, founded in our time by *Mahdi* the first Patriarke of *Cairaoan* vpon the Mediterranean sea, and fortified with strong Walls, Towers, and Gates, hath a most noble Hauens belonging thereto. *Mahdi* when he first entred into this Region, fained himselfe in an vnknowne habite to be descended of the lineage of *Mahumet*, whereby growing into great fauour of the people, hee was by their assistance made Prince of *Cairaoan*, and was called *El Mahdi Califa*: afterward trauellling fortie dayes iourney Westward into *Numidia* to receiue tribute due vnto him, he was taken by the Prince of *Segelmesse*, and put in prison; howbeit, the said Prince of *Segelmesse* being presently moued with compassion toward him, restored him to his former libertie, and was for his good will not long after slaine by him: afterward tyrannizing ouer the people, and perceiving some to conspire against him, he erected this Towne of *Mahdia*, to the end hee might there find safe refuge when need required. At length one *Beiezid*, a *Mahumetan* Prelate (whom they called the *Canalleir*, or *Knight of the Asse*, because that riding continually vpon an Asse, hee conducted an Armie of fortie thousand men) came vnto *Cairaoan*: but *Mahdi* fled vnto his new Towne, where with thirtie Sayle of ships, sent him by a *Mahumetan* Prince of *Cordona*, he so valiantly encountred the Enemy, that *Beiezid* and his sonne were both slaine in that battell; afterward returning to *Cairaoan*, hee grew in league and amitie with the Citizens, and so the government remained vnto his posteritie for many yeares.

Of the great
Citie of
Cairaoan.

The famous Citie of *Cairaoan*, otherwise called *Caroen*, was founded by *Hucba*, who was sent generall of an Armie out of *Arabia Deserta* by *Hutmen*, the third *Mahumetan* Califa. From the Mediterranean Sea, this Citie is distant fixe and thirtie, and from *Tunis* almost an hundred miles: neither was it built (they say) for any other purpose, but onely that the *Arabian* Armie might securely rest therein with all such spoiles, as they wonne from the *Barbarians*, and the *Numidians*. He enuironed it with most impregnable Walls, and built therein a sumptuous Temple, supported with stately Pillars. The said *Hucba* after the death of *Hutmen* was ordained Prince of *Muchania*, and gouerned the same till the time of *Qualid* Califa, the sonne of *Habdul Malic*, who as then reigned in *Damasco*. This *Qualid* sent a certaine Captaine, called *Muse*, the sonne of *Nosair*, with an huge Armie vnto *Cairaoan*; who hauing staid a few dayes with his Armie not farre from *Cairaoan*, marched Westward, sacking and spoyling Townes and Cities, till hee came to the Ocean Sea shore, and then hee returned towards *Cairaoan* againe. From whence hee sent as his Deputie a certaine Captaine into *Mauritania*, who there also conquered many

many Regions and Cities: insomuch that *Muse* being moued with a iealous emulation, commanded him to stay till himselfe came. His said Deputie therefore, called *Tarich*, encamped himselfe not farre from *Andaluzia*, whither *Muse* within foure moneths came vnto him with an huge Armie; from whence both of them with their Armies crossing the Seas, arriued in *Granada*, and so marched by land against the *Goths*. Against whom *Theodoricus*, the King of *Goths*, opposing himselfe in battaile, was miserably vanquished. Then the foresaid two Captaines with all good successe proceeded euen to *Castilia*, and sacked the Citie of *Toledo*, where amongst much other treasure, they found many Reliques of the Saints, and the very same Table whereat *Christ* sate with his blessed *Apostles*; which being couered with pure Gold, and adorned with great store of precious stones, was esteemed to bee worth halfe a million of Ducats, and this Table, *Muse* carrying with him, as if it had been all the Treasure in *Spaine*, returned with his Armie ouer the Sea, and bent his course toward *Cairoan*. And being in the meane space sent for by the Letters of *Qualid Califa*, hee sayled into *Egypt*: but arriuing at *Alexandria*, it was told him by one *Hescian*, brother vnto the said *Califa*, that the *Califa* his brother was fallen into a most dangerous disease: wherefore hee wilhed him not to goe presently vnto *Damasco*, for feare least if the *Califa* died in the meane season, those rich and sumptuous Spoyles should be wasted and dispersed to no end. But *Muse* little regarding this counsell, proceeded on to *Damasco*, and presented all his Spoyles to the *Califa*, who within five dayes after deceased. After whom his brother succeeding *Califa*, deprived *Muse* of his dignitie, and substituted one *Iezul* into his roome, whose sonne, brother, and nephewes succeeding, gouerned the Citie of *Cairoan*, till such time as the Familie of *Qualid* was deprived of that dignitie, and one *Elagleb* was appointed Lieutenant, who gouerned not the Towne as a *Califa*: from that time the *Mahumetan Califas* leauing *Damasco*, remoued vnto *Bagaded*, as wee find recorded in a certaine Chronicle. After the decease of *Elagleb*, succeeded his sonne, and the gouernment remained vnto his posteritie for an hundred threescore and tenne yeares, till such time as they were deprived thereof by one *Mabdi Califa*. But at the same time when *Elagleb* was Gouernour, the Citie of *Cairoan* was so increased, both with inhabitants and buildings, that a Towne, called *Recheda*, was built next vnto it, where the Prince with his Nobles vsed to remaine. In his time also the Ile of *Sicilia* was wonne: for *Elagleb* sent thither a certaine Captaine, called *Halcama*, who built vpon the said Iland a Towne in stead of a Fort, calling it according to his owne name, *Halcama*; which name is vsed by the *Sicilians* euen till this present. Afterward this new Towne was besieged by certaine people that came to aide the *Sicilians*. Whereupon one *Ased* was sent with an Armie, and to the *Moore*s Forces being augmented, they conquered the residue of *Sicilia*, by which meanes the Dominions of *Cairoan* began wonderfully to increase. The Citie of *Cairoan* standeth vpon a Sandie and Desart Plaine, which beareth no Trees, nor yet any Corne at all. In this Citie for certaine yeares the studie of the *Mahumetan Law* mightily flourished, so that here were the most famous Lawyers in all *Africa*. It was at length destroyed, and replanted againe with new inhabitants, but it could neuer attaine vnto the former estate. At this present it is inhabited by none but Leatherdressers, who send their Leather vnto the Cities of *Numidia*, and exchange it also for Cloath of *Europe*.

Reliques:

The Ile of Sicilia subdued by the Gouernour of *Cairoan*.

A Riuer of hot water.

The Lake of Leapers.

A mile and a half to the South of *El Hamma* beginneth a certain Riuer of hot water to Spring, which being brought through the midst of the Citie by certaine Channells, is so deepe that it will reach vp to a mans nauell: howbeit, by reason of the extreme heate of the water, there are but few that wil enter thereinto. And yet the inhabitants vse it for drinke, hauing set it a cooling almost an whole day. At length this Riuer not far from the Towne maketh a certain Lake, which is called the Lake of Leapers: for it is of wonderfull force to heale the disease of leprosie, and to cure leprous sores: wherefore neere vnto it are diuers Cottages of Leapers, some of whom are restored to their health. The said water tasteth in a manner like Brimstone, so that it will nothing at all quench a mans thirst, whereof I my selfe haue had often triall.

Gerbi being neere vnto the firme land of *Africa*, and consisting of a Plaine and Sandy ground, aboundeth exceedingly with Dates, Vines, Oliues, and other fruits, and containeth about eightene miles in compasse.

Old *Tripolis* built also by the *Romans*, was after wonne by the *Goths*, and lastly by the *Mahumetans*, in the time of *Califa Hemar* the second. Which *Mahumetans* hauing besieged the Gouernour of *Tripolis* sixe moneths together, compelled him at length to flee vnto *Carthage*. The Citizens were partly slaine, and partly carried captiue into *Egypt* and *Arabia*, as the most famous African Historiographer, *Ibnu Rachich* reporteth.

After the destruction of old *Tripolis*, there was built another Citie of that name: which Citie being inuironed with most high and beautifull walls, but not very strong, is situate vpon a Sandy Plaine, which yeeldeth great store of Dates. The houses of this City are most stately, in respect of the Houses of *Tunis*; and here also euery trade and occupation hath a seuerall place. Weauers here are many. They haue no Wells nor Fountaines; but all their water is taken out of Cisterns. Corne in this Citie is at an exceeding rate; for all the Fields of *Tripolis* are

Of the Ile of *Gerbi* or *Zerbi*, where *Iohn Leo* the Author of this Historie was taken by Italian Pirates, and carried thence to Rome.The old Citie of *Tripolis*. The new Citie of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*. Plenty of Dates.

Tripolis taken
by a Fleete of
Genouaies.

Tripolis surprized
by Pedro
de Nauarra.

The Moun-
taines are o-
mitted.

The Arabians
of Barca most
cruell and
bloody
theeues.

Tesset.

as sandy and barren as the fields of *Numidia*. In this Citie were many faire Temples and Col-
ledges built, and an Hospitall also for the maintenance of their owne poore people, and for the
entertainment of strangers. Their fare is very base and homely, being onely *Belis*, or Dump-
lings made of Barley meale: for that Region affoordeth so small quantitie euen of Barley, that he
is accounted a wealthy man that hath a bushell or two of corne in store. The Citizens are most
of them Merchants; for *Tripolis* standeth neere vnto *Numidia* and *Tunis*, neither is there any
Citie or Towne of account betweene it and *Alexandria*: neither is it farre distant from the
Iles of *Sicilia* and *Malta*: and vnto the Port of *Tripolis* Venetian Ships yeerely resort, and bring
thither great store of Merchandize. This Citie hath alwayes beene subiect vnto the King of
Tunis: but when *Abulhasen* the King of *Fez* besieged *Tunis*, the King of *Tunis* was constrained 10
with his *Arabians* to flee into the Desarts. Howbeit, when *Abulhasen* was conquered, the King
of *Tunis* returned to his Kingdome: but his subiects began to oppose themselves against him:
and so that Common-wealth was afterward grievously turmoyled with ciuill dissensions and
warres. Whereof the King of *Fez* hauing intelligence, marched the fifth yeere of the said
ciuill warre with an armie against the Citie of *Tunis*, and hauing vanquished the King thereof,
and constrained him to flee vnto *Constantina*, he so straitly besieged him, that the Citizens of
Constantina seeing themselves not able to withstand the King of *Fez*, opened their Citie gates
to him and to all his armie. Whereupon the King of *Tunis* was carried captiue vnto *Fez*, and
was afterward kept a while prisoner in the Castle of *Septa*. In the meane season *Tripolis* was
by a *Genouese* Fleete of twenty sailes surprised and sacked, and the Inhabitants carried a- 20
way captiue. Whereof the King of *Fez* being aduertised, gaue the *Genoueses* fiftie thousand
Ducats, vpon condition, that he might enioy the Towne in peace. But the *Genoueses* hauing
surrendred the Towne, perceiued after their departure, that most part of their Ducats were
counterfeit. Afterward, the King of *Tunis* beeing restored vnto his former libertie by *A-*
buselim King of *Fez*, returned home vnto his Kingdome, and so the gouernement thereof re-
mained vnto him and his posteritie, till *Abubar* the sonne of *Hutmen* together with his young
sonne was slaine in the Castle of *Tripolis* by a nephew of his, who afterward vsurped the King-
dome: but he was slaine in a battell which he fought against *Habdul Mumen*, who presently
thereupon became Lord of *Tripolis*. After him succeeded his sonne *Zacharias*, who within a 30
few moneths dyed of the pestilence. After *Zacharias*, *Mucamen* the sonne of *Hesen*, and cou-
sin to *Zacharias* was chosen King; who beginning to tyrannize ouer the Citizens was by them
expelled out of his Kingdome: and afterward a certaine Citizen was aduanced vnto the Royall
Throne, who gouerned very modestly. But the King which was before expelled, sent an army
of Souldiers against *Tripolis*, who loosing the field, were all of them put to flight. Afterward,
the King that began to Raigne so modestly, prooued a very tyrant, and being murdered by his
kinsmen, the people made choise of a certaine Nobleman, leading as then a Heremits life, and
in a manner against his will appointed him their Gouverneur: and so the gouernment of the
Citie of *Tripolis* remained vnto him and his posteritie, till such time as King *Ferdinando* sent
Don Pedro de Nauarra against it: who on the sudden encountring this City, carried away ma-
ny captiues with him. The Gouverneur of *Tripolis* and his sonne in-law were sent prisoners vn- 40
to *Messina*. Where, after certaine yeeres imprisonment, they were restored by the Emperour
Charles the fift, vnto their former liberty, and returned vnto *Tripolis*, which Towne was after-
ward destroyed by the Christians. The Castle of *Tripolis* being enuironed with most strong
walles, begin (as I vnderstand) to be replanted with new Inhabitants.

LIB. VI.

Collections taken out of IOHN LEO his sixt Booke of the Historie of Africa.



IN *Barca* they haue not any Corne growing at all. But Corne and other necessities
are brought vnto them by Sea from *Sicilia*, which that euery of them may purchase,
they are constrained to lay their sonnes to gage, and then goe rob and rife trauellers
to redeeme them againe. Neuer did you heare of more cruell and bloody theeues:
for after they haue robbed Merchants of all their goods and apparell, they powre warme milke
downe their throats, hanging them vp by the heeles vpon some tree, and forcing them to
cast their gorge, wherein the lewd varlets search diligently for gold, suspecting that the Mer-
chants swallowed vp their Crownes before they entred that dangerous Desart.

Being about to describe all the Cities and Townes of *Numidia*, I will first begin with *Tesset*: 60
which ancient Towne built by the *Numidians*, neere vnto the *Libyan* Desarts, and enuironed
with walles of Sun-dried Bricke, deserueth scarcely the name of a Towne; and yet containeth
four hundred Families. It is compassed round about with sandy Plaines, sauing that neere vn-
to the Towne grow some store of Dates, of Mill-seed, and of Barley, which the miserable
Towni-

Townesmen vse for food. They are constrained also to pay large Tribute vnto the *Arabians* Inhabiting the next Desarts. They exercise traffique in the land of *Negroes* and in *Guzula*, in-
somuch, that they spend most of their time in forren Regions. They are of a blacke colour, and
destitute of all learning. The women indeed teach their young children the first rudiments of
learning, but before they can attaine to any perfection, they are put to labour, and to the Plough-
tayle. The said women are somewhat whiter then other women: some of them get their li-
uing by spinning and carding of wooll, and the residue spend their time in idlenesse. Such as are
accounted richest in this Region, possesse but very few Cattell. They Till their ground with
an Horse and a Camell, which kind of Plowing is obserued throughout all *Numidia*.

10 *Guaden* situate vpon the *Numidian* Desart, neere vnto *Libia*, is Inhabited by most miserable
and grosse people. Heere groweth nothing but Dates: and the Inhabitants are at such enmitie
with their neighbours, that it is dangerous for them to goe abroad. Howbeit, they giue them-
selues to hunting, and take certaine wilde Beasts called *Elamth*, and *Ostriches*, neither doe they
eate any other flesh. All their Goats they reserue for milke. And these people also are blacke of
colour.

The Prouince of *Dara* beginneth at Mount *Atlas*, extendeth it selfe Southward by the De-
sarts of *Libia*, almost two hundred and fiftie miles, and the breadth thereof is very narrow. All
the Inhabitants dwell vpon a certaine Riuer which is called by the name of the Prouince.
This Riuer sometime so ouerfloweth, that a man would thinke it to be a Sea, but in Summer it
so diminisheth, that any one may passe ouer it on foot. If so be it ouerfloweth about the begin-
ning of Aprill, it bringeth great plenty vnto the whole Region: if not, there followeth great
20 scarcitie of Corne. Vpon the banke of this Riuer there are sundry Villages and Hamlets, and
diuers Castles also, which are enuironed with walles made of Sunne-dried Bricke and Mortar.
All their Beames and Planchers consist of Date-trees, being notwithstanding vsit for the pur-
pose; for the wood of Date-trees is not solid, but flexible and spungie. On either side of the said
Riuer for the space of fise or sixe miles, the fields abound exceedingly with Dates, which with
good keeping will last many yeeres: and as heere are diuers kinds of Dates, so they are sold at
sundry prices: for a bushell of some is woorth a Ducat, but others wherewith they feede their
Horses and Camels, are scarce of a quarter so much value. Of Date-trees some are male and fe-
male: the male bring forth flowers onely, and the female fruit: but the flowers of the female
will not open, vnlesse the boughes and flowers of the male be ioyned vnto them: And if they
30 bee not ioyned, the Dates will prooue starke naught, and containe great stones. The Inhabi-
tants of *Dara* liue vpon Barley and other grosse meate: neither may they eate no bread but one-
ly vpon Festiuall dayes. Their Castles are Inhabited by Gold-smithes and other Artificers, and
so are all the Regions lying in the way from *Tombuto* to *Fez*: in this Prouince also there are
three or foure proper Townes, frequented Merchants and strangers, and containing many
Shops and Temples. But the principall Towne called *Beni Sabih*, and Inhabited with most va-
liant and liberall people, is diuided into two parts, either part hauing a seuerall Captaine or
Gouernour: which Gouernours are oftentimes at great dissension, and especially when they
moisten their arable Grounds, by reason that they are so skanted of water. A Merchant they
will most courteously entertaine a whole yeere together, and then friendly dismissing him, they
40 require nought at his hands, but will accept such liberality as he thinkes good to bestow vpon
them. The said Gouernours so often as they fall a skirmishing, hire the next *Arabians* to aide
them, allowing them daily halfe a Ducat for their pay, and sometimes more, and giuing them
their allowance euery day. In time of peace they trim their Harquebuzes, Hand-guns, and o-
ther weapons: neither saw I euer (to my remembrance) more cunning Harquebuziers then at
this place. In this Prouince groweth great store of Indico, being an herbe like vnto the wilde
woad, and this herbe they exchange with the Merchants of *Fez* and *Tremisen* for other wares.
Corne is very scarce among them, and is brought thither from *Fez* and other Regions, neither
haue they any great store of Goats or Horses, vnto whom in stead of Prouender they giue
Dates, and a kind of herbe also which groweth in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and is called by the

50 *Neapolitans Farfa*. They feed their Goats with the Nuts or Stones of their Dates beaten to
powder, whereby they grow exceeding fat, and yeeld great quantity of milke. Their owne
food is the flesh of Camels and Goats, being vnsauory and displeasing in taste. Likewise they
kill and eate *Ostriches*, the flesh whereof tasteth not much vnlike to the flesh of a dunghill-
cocke, sauing that it is more tough and made of a stronger smell, especially the *Ostriches* legges:
which consisteth of slime fleshi. Their women are faire, fat, and courteous: and they keepe diuers
slaves which are brought out of the land of *Negroes*.

This Territory extending it selfe along the Riuer of *Ziz* from North to South almost twentie
60 miles, containeth about three hundred and fiftie Castles, besides Villages and Hamlets: three
of which Castles are more principall then the rest. The first called *Tenegent*, and consisting of a
thousand and moe Families, standeth neere vnto the Citie of *Segelmesse*, and is inhabited with
great store of Artificers. The second called *Tebuhasan*, standeth about eight miles to the South
of *Tenegent*, being furnished also with great numbers of Inhabitants, and so frequented with

Plowing with
a Horse and a
Camell.
The village of
Guaden.
The beast cal-
led *Elamth*.

The Prouince
of *Dara*.

Dara Riuer.

The quality
thereof.

The strange
propertie of
the Palme or
Date tree.

Bread daintie.

Indico.

Goats fed with
Dates.

The flesh of
the *Ostrich*.

The Prouin-
ces of *Segel-*

messe, *Cheneg*,

Matgara, &c.

are omitted.

The Territory
of *Segelmesse*.

Merchants

Merchants, that there is not in that respect the like place to bee found in all the whole Region besides. The third called *Mammun*, is resorted vnto by sundry Merchants, both *Jewes* and *Moores*.

Infinite numbers of Scorpions.

These three Castles haue three seuerall Gouvernours, who are at great dissention among themselves. They will oftentimes destroy one anothers Channells, whereby their fields are watered, which cannot without great cost be repayed againe. They will stow the Palme-trees also to the very stockes: and vnto them a company of lewd *Arabians* associate themselves. They Coyne both Silver and Gold money: but their Gold is not very speciall. Their Silver Coyne weigheth foure graines a piece, eightie of which pieces are esteemed to bee worth one piece of their Gold Coyne. The *Jewes* and *Arabians* pay excessive Tribute here. Some of their principall men are exceeding rich, and vse great Traffique vnto the Land of *Negros*: whither they transport Wares of *Barbarie*, exchanging the same for Gold and Slaues. The Territory of *Segelmesse* liue vpon Dates, except it be in certaine places where some Corne grew. Here are infinite numbers of Scorpions, but no Flies at all. In Summer time this Region is extremely hot, and then are the Riuer so destitute of water, that the people are constrained to draw salt water out of certaine Pits. The said Territory containeth in circuit about eighty miles, all which, after the destruction of *Segelmesse*, the Inhabitants with small cost walled round about, to the end they might not be molested by continuall inrodes of Horsemen. While they liued all at vnitie and concord, they retayned their libertie: but since they fell to mutuall debate, their wall was razed, and each faction inuited the *Arabians* to helpe them, vnder whom by little and little they were brought in subiection.

The Towne or Citie of Segelmesse.

The common people together with one of our *African* Cosmographers, called *Bicri*, suppose that the Towne of *Segelmesse* was built by *Alexander* the Great, for the reliefe of his sicke and wounded Souldiers. Which opinion seemeth not probable to me: for I could neuer reade that *Alexander* the Great came into any part of these Regions. This Towne was situate vpon a Plaine neere vnto the Riuer of *Ziz*, and was enuironed with most stately and high wals, euen as in many places it is to be seene at this present. When the *Mahumetans* came first into *Africa*, the Inhabitants of this Towne were subiect vnto the Family of *Zeneta*; which Family was at length dispossessed of that authority by King *Ioseph* the Sonne of *Tesfin*, of the Family of *Luntuna*. The Towne it selfe was very gallantly built, and the Inhabitants were rich, and had great Traffique vnto the Land of *Negros*. Here stood stately Temples and Colledges also, and great store of Conduits, the water whereof was drawne out of the Riuer by Wheelles. The Ayre in this place is most temperate and holesome, sauing that in Winter it aboundeth with ouermuch moysture.

The Castle of Ummelhesen.

Ummelhesen is a forlorne and base Castle, founded by the *Arabians* also, fise and twentie miles from *Segelmesse* vpon a Desert, directly in the way from *Segelmesse* to *Dara*. It is enuironed with blacke wals, and continually garded by the *Arabians*. All Merchants that passe by, pay one fourth part of a Duckat for euery Camels lode. My selfe traueiling this way vpon a time in the company of fourteene *Jewes*, and being demanded how many there were of vs, wee said thirteene, but after I began particularly to reckon, I found the fourteenth and the fifteenth man amongst vs, whom the *Arabians* would haue kept Prisoners, had wee not affirmed them to bee *Mahumetans*: howbeit not crediting our words, they examined them in the Law of *Mahumet*, which when they perceiued them indeed to vnderstand, they permitted them to depart.

The Castles of Fighig.

The three Castles of *Fighig* stand vpon a certaine Desert, maruellously abounding with Dates. The women of this place weaue a kind of cloth in forme of a Carpet, which is so fine, that a man would take it to be Silke, and this Cloth they sell at an excessive rate at *Fez*, *Telsenin*, and other places of *Barbarie*. The Inhabitants being men of an excellent wit, doe part of them vse Traffique to the Land of *Negros*, and the residue become Students at *Fez*: and so soone as they haue attayned to the degree of a Doctor, they returne to *Numidia*, where they are made either Priests or Senators, and proue most of them men of great wealth and reputation. From *Segelmesse*, the said Castles are distant almost an hundred and fiftie miles Eastward.

The Region of Tegarwin.

This great and large Region of *Tegarwin* in the *Numidian* Desert, standing about an hundred and twentie miles Eastward of *Tesebit*, containeth fiftie Castles, and aboue an hundred Villages; and yeeldeth great plentie of Dates. The Inhabitants are rich, and haue ordinarie Traffique to the Land of *Negros*. Their fields are very apt for Corne, and yet by reason of their extreme drought, they stand in need of continuall watering and dunging. They allow vnto strangers houses to dwell in, requiring no money for rent but onely their dung, which they keepe most charily: yea, they take it in ill part if any stranger easeth himselfe without the doores. Flesh is very scarce among them: for their soyle is so dry, that it will scarce nourish any Cattell at all: they keepe a few Goats indeed for their Milkes sake: but the flesh that they eate is of Camels, which the *Arabians* bring vnto their Markets to sell: they mingle their meate with salt Tallow, which is brought into this Region from *Fez* and *Tremizen*. There were in times past many rich *Jewes* in this Region, who by the meanes of a certaine *Mahumetan* Preacher, were at length expelled, and a great part of them slaine by the seditious people; and that in the very same year when the *Jewes* were expelled out of *Spaine* and *Sicily*. The

Jewes expelled.

The ancient Towne of *Techort* was built by the *Numidians* vpon a certaine Hill, by the foot whereof runneth a Riuer, vpon which Riuer standeth a draw-bridge. The wall of this Towne was made of free stone and lime, but that part which is next vnto the Mountayne hath instead of a wall an impregnable Rocke opposite against it: this Towne is distant fve hundred miles Southward from the Mediterran Sea, and about three hundred miles from *Tegorarin*. Families it containeth to the number of fve and twenty hundred: all the houses are built of Sunne dried Bricks, except their Temple which is somewhat more stately. Heere dwell great store both of Gentlemen and Artificers: and because they haue great abundance of Dates, and are destitute of Corne, the Merchants of *Constantina* exchange Corne with them for their Dates. All strangers they fauour exceedingly, and friendly difmiffe them without paying of ought. They had rather match their Daughters vnto strangers, then to their owne Citizens: and for a Dowry they giue some certaine portion of Land, as it is accustomed in some places of *Europe*. So great and surpassing is their liberalitie, that they will heape many gifts vpon strangers, albeit they are sure neuer to see them againe.

The Towne of *Techort*.Hospitalitie
and loue to
strangers.

The Gouvernour at this present called *Habdulla*, is a valiant and liberall yong Prince, and most courteous vnto strangers, whereof I my selfe conuersing with him for certayne dayes, had good experience.

This Region is extremely hot, sandie and destitute both of Water and Corne: which wants are partly supplied by their abundance of Dates. It containeth to the number of fve Townes and many Villages, all which we purpose in order to describe.

Their soyle in *Pescara*, yeeldeth nought but Dates. They haue beene governed by diuers Princes; for they were a while subiect vnto the Kings of *Tunis*, and that to the death of King *Hutmen*, after whom succeeded a *Mahumetan* Priest: neyther could the Kings of *Tunis* euer since that time recouer the Dominion of *Pescara*. Here are great abundance of Scorpions, and it is present death to bee stung by them: wherefore all the Townelmen in a manner depart into the Countrey in Summer time, where they remayn till the moneth of Nouember.

The Towne of *Pescara*.Deadly Scor-
pions.*Densen*.

Not farre from *Densen* are diuers Monuments of Antiquitie like vnto Sepulchres, wherein are found sundry pieces of Siluer Coyne, adorned with certayne Letters and Hieroglyphicall Figures, the interpretation whereof I could neuer find out.

The ancient Towne of *Caphsa* built also by the *Romanes*, had for certayne yeeres a Gouvernour of their owne: but afterward being sacked by one *Hucha* a Captaine of *Hutmen Califa*, the wals thereof were razed to the ground; but the Castle as yet remayneth, and is of great force; for the wall thereof being fve and twentie Cubits high, and fve Cubits thicke, is made of excellent stones, like vnto the stones of *Vespasians* Amphitheatre at *Rome*. Afterward the Towne wals were re-edified, and were destroyed againe by *Mansor*, who hauing slaine the Gouvernour of the Towne and all the Inhabitants, appointed a new Gouvernour ouer the same place. Now this Towne is very populous, all the houses thereof, except the Temple and a few other buildings, being very deformed and base, and the streets are paved with blacke stones, like vnto the streets of *Naples* and *Florence*. The poore Inhabitants are continually oppressed with the exactions of the King of *Tunis*. In the middest of the Towne are certaine square, large, and deepe Fountaines walled round about, the water whereof is hot and vnfit to be drunke, vnlesse it be set an houre or two a cooling. The Ayre of this place is very vnwholesome, insomuch that the greatest part of the Inhabitants are continually sicke of Feuers. People they are of a rude and illiberall disposition, and vnkind vnto strangers: wherefore they are had in great contempt by all other *Africans*. Not farre from this Towne are fields abounding with Dates, Oliues, and Pome-citrons: and the Dates and Oliues there are the best in all the whole Prouince: heere is likewise most excellent Oyle. The Inhabitants make themselves Shooes of Buckes Leather.

The Towne of *Caphsa*.The Towne of *Caphsa*.

Hauing hitherto described all the Regions of *Numidia*, let vs now proceed vnto the description of *Libya*; which is diuided into fve parts, as we signified in the beginning of this our Discourse. We will therefore beginne at the dry and forlorne Defart of *Zanhaga*, which bordereth Westward vpon the Ocean Sea, and extendeth Eastward to the Salt-pits of *Tegaza*, Northward it abutteth vpon *Sus*, *Haccha*, and *Dara*, Regions of *Numidia*; and Southward it stretcheth to the Land of *Negros*, adioyning it selfe vnto the Kingdomes of *Gualata* and *Tombuto*. Water is here to be found scarce in an hundred miles trauell, beeing salt and vnfaourie, and drawne out of deepe Wels, especially in the way from *Segelmesse* to *Tombuto*. Heere are great store of wilde beasts and creeping things, whereof wee will make mention in place conuenient. In this Region there is a barren Defart called *Azaoad*, wherein neyther water nor any Habitations are to be found in the space of an hundred miles; beginning from the Well of *Azaoad*, to the Well of *Araoan*, which is distant from *Tombuto* about one hundred and fiftie miles. Here both for lacke of water and extremitie of heate, great numbers of men and beast daily perish.

Water scarce.

Heate and
drought.

Not farre from *Agadez*, there is found great store of *Manna*, which the Inhabitants gather in certaine little Vessels, carrying it while it is new vnto the Market of *Agadez*: and this

Great store of
Manna.*Manna*

Manna beeing mingled with water they esteeme very daintie and precious Drinke. They put it also into their Pottage, and beeing so taken, it hath a marvellous force of refrigerating or cooling, which is the cause that here are so few Diseases; albeit, the Ayre of *Tombuto* and *Agadez* be most vnholosome and corrupt. This Desert stretcheth from North to South almost three hundred miles.

Leuata, Berdoa,
and others are
omitted.

The residue of the *Libyan* Desert, that is to say, from *Augela* to the Riuer of *Nilus* is inhabited by certayne *Arabians* and *Africans*, commonly called *Lenata*: and this is the extreme Easterly part of the Deserts of *Libya*.

The Region
of *Nun*.

This Region bordering vpon the Ocean Sea, containeth many Villages and Hamlets, and is inhabited with most beggerly people. It standeth betweene *Numidia* and *Libya*, but somewhat neerer vnto *Libya*. Here groweth neyther Barley nor any other Corne. Some Dates heere are, but very vnfaourie. The Inhabitants are continually molested by the *Arabians* inuasions: and some of them traffique in the Kingdome of *Gualata*.

The Region of
Tegaza.
Salt Mines.
Tombuto.

In the Region of *Tegaza*, is great store of Salt digged, being whiter then any Marble. This Salt is taken out of certaine Caues or Pits, at the entrance whereof stand their Cottages that worke in the Salt Mines. And these Workmen are all strangers, who sell the Salt which they digge vnto certaine Merchants, that carrie the same vpon Camels to the Kingdome of *Tombuto*, where there would otherwise be extreme scarcitie of Salt. Neyther haue the said Diggers of Salt any victuals but such as the Merchants bring vnto them: for they are distant from all inhabited places, almost twentie dayes Iourney, insomuch, that oftentimes they perish for lacke of food, when as the Merchants come not in due time vnto them: Moreover, the South-east wind doth so often blind them, that they cannot liue here without great perill. I my selfe continued three dayes amongst them, all which time I was constrained to drinke Salt water drawne out of certaine Wels not farre from the Salt Pits.

The Region
Berdeoa.
A whole Carauan
conducted
by a blind
Guide who
lead them by
scent onely; as
at this present
the Carauans
of *Maroco* are
conducted o-
uer the *Libyan*
Deserts to *Tom-
buto*.

Berdeoa, a Region situate in the midst of the *Libyan* Desert, and standing almost five hundred miles from *Nilus*, containeth three Castles and five or sixe Villages, abounding with most excellent Dates. And the said three Castles were discovered eightene yeeres agoe, by one *Hammar*, in manner following: the Carauan of Merchants wandring out of the direct way, had a certaine blind man in their company which was acquainted with all those Regions: this blind Guide riding foremost vpon his Camell, commanded some Sand to be giuen him at euery miles end, by the smell whereof hee declared the situation of the place: but when they were come within fortie miles of this Region, the blind man smelling of the Sand, affirmed, that they were not farre from some places inhabited; which some beleeued not, for they knew that they were distant from *Egypt* foure hundred and eightie miles, so that they tooke themselves to bee neerer vnto *Augela*. Howbeit, within three dayes they found the said three Castles, the Inhabitants whereof wondering at the approach of strangers, and being greatly astonied, presently shut all their Gates, and would giue the Merchants no water to quenck their extreme thirst. But the Merchants by mayne force entred, and hauing gotten water sufficient, betooke themselves againe to their Iourney.

The Region of
Algnechet.

Algnechet also being a Region of the *Libyan* Desert, is from *Egypt* an hundred and twentie miles distant. Here are three Castles and many Villages abounding with Dates. The Inhabitants are blacke, vile, and couetous people, and yet exceeding rich: for they dwell in the mid-way betweene *Egypt* and *Gaoga*. They haue a Gouvernour of their owne, notwithstanding they pay Tribute vnto the next *Arabians*.

¶ VII.

Extracts taken out of *IOHN LEO* his seventh Booke of the Historie of
Africa, wherein he intreateth of the Land of Negros, and of
the Confines of Egypt.

Bichri and
Mesludi.



Vr ancient Chroniclers of *Africa*, to wit, *Bichri* and *Mesludi*, knew nothing in the Land of *Negros*, but onely the Regions of *Guechet* and *Cano*: for in their time all other places of the Land of *Negros* were vndiscovered. But in the yeere of the *Hegeira* three hundred and eightie, by the meanes of a certaine *Mahumetan* which came into *Barbarie*, the residue of the said Land was found out, beeing as then inhabited by great numbers of people, which liued a brutish and sauage life, without any King, Gouvernour, Common-wealth, or knowledge of Husbandry. Clad they were in skinnies of beasts, neither had they any peculiar wiues: in the day time they kept their Cattell; and when night came they resorted ten or twelue, both men and women into one Cottage together, vsing hayrie skinnies in stead of beds, and each man choosing his *Leman* which hee had most fancie vnto. Warre they wage against no other Nation, nor yet are desirous to trauell out of their owne Coun-

*Negro, Barba-
rian Sauages.*
Religion.

Countrey. Some of them performe great adoration vnto the Sunne-rising : others, namely the people of *Gualata*, worship the fire : and some others, to wit, the Inhabitants of *Gaoga*, approach (after the *Egyptians* manner) neerer vnto the Christian Faith. These *Negros* were first subiect vnto King *Ioseph* the Founder of *Maroco*, and afterward vnto the five Nations of *Libya* ; of whom they learned the *Mahumetan* Law, and diuers needfull handi-crafts : a while after when the Merchants of *Barbarie* began to resort vnto them with Merchandize, they learned the *Barbarian* language also. But the foresaid five People or Nations of *Libya* diuided this land so among themselves, that euery third part of each Nation possessed one Region. Howbeit, the King of *Tombuto* that now reigneth, called *Abuacre Izchia*, is a *Negro* by birth : this

10 *Abuacre* after the decease of the former King, who was a *Lybian* borne, slue all his sonnes, and so vsurped the Kingdome. And hauing by warres for the space of fifteene yeere conquered many large Dominions, hee then concluded a league with all Nations, and went on Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in which Journey hee so consumed his Treasure, that he was constrained to borrow great summes of money of other Princes. Moreouer, the fifteene Kingdomes of the land of *Negros* knowen to vs, are all situate vpon the Riuer of *Niger*, and vpon other Riuer which fall therinto. And all the land of *Negros* standeth betweene two vast Desarts, for on the one side lyeth the maine Desart betweene *Numidia* and it, which extendeth it selfe vnto this very land : and the South side thereof adioyneth vpon another Desart, which stretcheth from thence to the maine Ocean : in which Desart are infinite Nations vnknownen to vs, both by reason of the huge

20 distance of place, and also in regard of the diuersitie of Languages and Religions. They haue no traffique at all with our people, but we haue heard oftentimes of their traffique with the Inhabitants of the Ocean Sea shoare.

The Region of *Gualata* in regard of others is very small : for it containeth onely three great Villages, with certaine Granges and fields of Dates. From *Nun* it is distant Southward about three hundred, from *Tombuto* Northward five hundred, and from the Ocean Sea about two hundred miles. In this Region the people of *Libya*, while they were Lords of the land of *Negros*, ordained their chiefe Princely seate : and then great store of *Barbarie* Merchants frequented *Gualata* : but afterward in the Raigne of the Mightie and rich Prince *Heli*, the said Merchants leauing *Gualata*, began to resort vnto *Tombuto* and *Gago*, which was the occasion that the Region of *Gualata* grew extreme beggerly. The language of this Region is called *Sungai*, and the Inhabitants are blacke people, and most friendly vnto strangers. In my time this Region was conquered by the King of *Tombuto*, and the Prince thereof fled into the Desarts, whereof the King of *Tombuto* hauing intelligence, and fearing least the Prince would returne with all the people of the Desarts, graunted him peace, conditionally that he should pay a great yeerely Tribute vnto him, and so the said Prince hath remained Tributarie to the King of *Tombuto* vntill this present. The people agree in manners and fashions with the Inhabitants of the next Desart. Heere groweth some quantity of Mil-seed, and great store of a round and white kinde of pulse, the like whereof I neuer saw in *Europe* ; but flesh is extreme scarce among them. Both the men and the women doe so couer their heads, that all their countenance is almost hidden. Heere

30 is no forme of a Common-wealth, nor yet any Gouvernours or Iudges, but the people lead a most miserable life.

The Kingdome called by the Merchants of our Nation *Gbeneoa*, by the naturall Inhabitants thereof *Genni*, and by the *Portugals* and other people of *Europe* *Ghinea*, standeth in the midst betweene *Gualata* on the North, *Tombuto* on the East, and the Kingdome of *Melli* on the South. In length it containeth almost five hundred miles, and extended two hundred and fifty miles along the Riuer of *Niger*, and bordereth vpon the Ocean Sea in the same place, where *Niger* falleth into the said Sea. This place exceedingly aboundeth with Barley, Rice, Cattell, Fishes, and Cotten : and their Cotten they sell vnto the Merchants of *Barbarie*, for cloth of *Europe*, for Brazen vessels, for Armour, and other such commodities. Their Coine is of Gold without any stampe or inscription at all : they haue certaine Iron-money also, which they vse about matters of small value, some peeces whereof weigh a pound, some halfe a pound, and some one quarter of a pound. In all this Kingdome there is no fruit to be found but only Dates, which are brought hither either out of *Gualata* or *Numidia*. Heere is neither Towne nor Castle, but a certaine great Village onely, wherein the Prince of *Ghinea*, together with his Priests, Doctors, Merchants, and all the principall men of the Region inhabite. The walles of their houses are built of Chalke, and the roofes are couered with Strawe : the Inhabitants are clad in blacke or blew Cotten, wherewith they couer their heads also : but the Priests and Doctors of their Law goe apparelled in white Cotten. This Region during the three moneths of July, August, and September, is yeerely enuironed with the ouerflowings of *Niger* in manner of an Iland ; all which time the Merchants of *Tombuto* conueigh their Merchandize hither in certaine Canoas or narrow Boats made of one tree, which they rowe all the day long, but at night they binde them to the shoare, and lodge themselves vpon the land. This Kingdome was subiect in times past vnto a certaine people of *Libya*, and became afterward Tributarie vnto King *Soni Heli*, after whom succeeded *Soni Heli Izchia*, who kept the Prince of this Region prisoner

The *Negros* subiect vnto *Ioseph* King of *Maroco*.

Abuacre Izchia.

Mecca.

Niger.

A description of the Kingdome of *Gualata*.

This round & white pulse is called *Maiz* in the West Indies.

A description of the Kingdome of *Ghinea*.

We extend the Countrey of *Guinie* further, by applying the name knowne to the remote Regions vnknowne.

The naturall commodities of *Ghinea*.

Priests, & Doctors clothed in white.

The Prince of *Guinea* kept prisoner by *Izchia*.

The Kingdom
of *Melli*.

Professors.

The Prince of
Melli subdued
by *Izchia*.

The Kingdom
of *Tombuto*.

Tombuto was
conquered by
the King of
Maroco 1589.

from whence
he had for
yeerely Tri-
bute mighty
sums of mo-
ney. But the
ciuil wars haue
altered that
state since.

* 1526.

The King of
Tombuto his
daughters mar-
ried vnto two
rich merchants.
Great scarcity
of salt in *Tom-
buto*, which
commodity
might be sup-
plied by our
English Mer-
chants to their
vnpeakeable
gaine.

Reuerence v-
sed before the
King of *Tom-
buto*.

Poysoned ar-
rowes.

Jewes hated.

Bookes.

Shels vsed for
Coine like as
in the King-
dome of *Congo*.

The Towne of
Cabra.

soner at *Gago*, where together with a certaine Nobleman, he miserably died.

The Region of *Melli* extending it selfe almost three hundred miles along the side of a Riuer which falleth into *Niger*, bordereth Northward vpon the Region last described, Southward vpon certaine Desarts and drie Mountaines, Westward, vpon huge Woods and Forrests, stretching to the Ocean Sea shoare, And Eastward vpon the Territorie of *Gago*. In this Kingdome there is a large and ample Village containing to the number of fixe thousand or moe Families, and called *Melli*, whereof the whole Kingdome is so named. And heere the King hath his place of Residence. The Region it selfe yeeldeth great abundance of Corne, Fleth, and Cotton. Heere are many Artificers and Merchants in all places: and yet the King honorably entertaineth all strangers. The Inhabitants are rich, and haue plenty of wares. Heere are great store of Temples, Priests, and Professors, which Professors read their Lectures onely in the Temples, because they haue no Colledges at all. The people of this Region excell all other *Negros* in wit, ciuility, and industry; and were the first that embraced the Law of *Mahumet*, at the same time when the Vncle of *Ioseph* the King of *Maroco* was their Prince, and the Gouvernment remained for a while vnto his posteritie: at length *Izchia* subdued the Prince of this Region, and made him his Tributarie, and so oppressed him with grieuous exactions, that he was scarce able to maintaine his Family.

Tombuto is so called of a certaine Towne so called, which (they say) King *Mense Suleiman* founded in the yeere of the *Hegeira* 610. and it is situate within twelue miles of a certaine branch of *Niger*, all the houses whereof are now changed into Cottages built of Chalke, and couered with Thatch. Howbeit, there is a most stately Temple to be seene, the walles whereof are made of stone and lime; and a Princely Palace also built by a most excellent workeman of *Granada*. Heere are many shops of Artificers, and Merchants, and especially of such as weaue Linnen or Cotten cloth. And hither doe the *Barbarie* Merchants bring cloth of *Europe*. All the women of this Region except Maid-seruants goe with their faces couered, and sell all necessary victuals. The Inhabitants, and especially strangers there residing, are exceeding rich, in somuch, that the King that now is, married both his daughters vnto two rich Merchants. Heere are many welles, containing most sweet water; and so often as the Riuer *Niger* ouerfloweth, they conueigh the water thereof by certaine sluces into the Towne. Corne, Cattell, Milke, and Butter, this Region yeeldeth in great abundance: but salt is very scarce heere; for it is brought hither by land from *Tegaza*, which is fise hundred miles distant. When I my selfe was heere, I saw one Camels load of Salt sold for eightie Duckats. The rich King of *Tombuto* hath many Plates and Scepters of Gold, some whereof weigh one thousand and three hundred pounds: and he keepes a magnificent and well furnished Court. When he trauellet any whither he rideth vpon a Camell, which is lead by some of his Noblemen; and so he doth likewise when hee goeth to warfare, and all his Souldiers ride vpon Horses. Whosoeuer will speake vnto this King must first fall downe before his feet, and then taking vp earth, must sprinkle it vpon his owne head and shoulders: which custome is ordinarily obserued by them that neuer saluted the King before, or come as Ambassadors from other Princes. He hath alwayes three thousand Horsemen, and a great number of footmen that shoot poysoned arrowes, attending vpon him. He so deadly hateth all *Jewes*, that he will not admit any into his Citie: and whatsoeuer *Barbarie* Merchants he vnderstandeth to haue any dealings with the *Jewes*, he presently causeth their goods to be confiscate. Heere are great store of Doctors, Iudges, Priests, and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the Kings cost and charges. And hither are brought diuers Manuscripts or written Bookes out of *Barbarie*, which are sold for more money then any other Merchandize. The Coine of *Tombuto* is of Gold without any stampe or superscription: but in matters of small value they vse certaiue shels brought hither out of the Kingdome of *Persia*, foure hundred of which shels are woorth a Duckat: and fixe peeces of their Golden Coine with two third parts weigh an ounce. The Inhabitants are people of a gentle and cheerefull disposition, and spend a great part of the night in singing and dancing through all the streets of the Citie: they keepe great store of men and women-slaues, and their Towne is much in danger of fire: at my second being there halfe the Towne almost was burnt in fise houres space. Without the Suburbs there are no Gardens nor Orchards at all.

Cabra a large Towne built without walles in manner of a Village, standeth about twelue miles from *Tombuto* vpon the Riuer *Niger*: and heere such Merchants as trauell vnto the Kingdomes of *Ghinea* and *Melli* embarke themselves. Neither are the people or buildings of this Towne any whit inferiour to the people and buildings of *Tombuto*: and hither the *Negros* resort in great numbers by water. In this Towne the King of *Tombuto* appointeth a Iudge to decide all controuersies: for it was tedious to goe thither so oft as need should require. I my selfe am acquainted with *Abu Bacr*, surnamed *Pargama*, the Kings Brother, who is blacke in colour, but most beautifull in mind and conditions. Heere breed many diseases which exceedingly diminish the people; that by reason of the fond and loathsome mixture of their meates; for they mingle Fish, Milke, Butter, and Fleth altogether. And this is the ordinary food also in *Tombuto*.

The

- The great Towne of *Gago* being vnwalled also, is distant Southward of *Tombuto* almost foure hundred miles, and enclineth somewhat to the South-East. The houses thereof are but meane; except those wherein the King and his Courtiers remaine. Here are exceeding rich Merchants: and hither continually resort great store of *Negros*; which buy Cloath here brought out of *Barbarie* and *Europe*. This Towne aboundeth with Corne and Flesh, but is much destitute of Wine, Trees, and Fruites. Howbeit, here is plenty of Melons, Citrons, and Rice: here are many Wells also containing most sweet and wholsome water. Here is likewise a certaine place where slaues are to be sold, especially vpon such dayes as the Merchants vse to assemble; and a young slaue of fifteen years age is sold for sixe Duckats, and so are children sold also. The King of this Region hath a certaine priuate Palace, wherein hee maintaineth a great number of Concubines and Slaues, which are kept by Eunuches: and for the guard of his owne person, he keepeth a sufficient troope of Horsemen and Footmen. Betweene the first Gate of the Palace and the inner part thereof, there is a place walled round about, wherein the King himselfe decideth all his subjects controuerfies: and albeit, the King be in this function most diligent, and performeth all things thereto appertaining, yet hath he about him his Counsellors, and other Officers; as namely, his Secretaries, Treasurers, Factors, and Auditors. It is a wonder to see what plenty of Merchandize is daily brought hither, and how costly and sumptuous all things be. Horses bought in *Europe* for ten Duckats, are here sold againe for forty, and sometimes for fifty Duckats a peece. There is not any Cloath of *Europe* so coarse, which will not here be sold for foure Ducats an ell; and if it be any thing fine, they will giue fifteen Duckats for an ell: and an ell of the Scarlet of *Venice*, or of *Turkie* Cloath is here worth thirty Duckats. A Sword is here valued at three or foure Crownes, and so likewise are Spurs, Bridles, with other like commodities; and Spices also are sold at an high rate: but of all other commodities, Salt is most extremely deare. The residue of this Kingdome containeth nought but Villages and Hamlets inhabited by Husbandmen and Shepherds, who in Winter couer their bodies with beasts skins; but in Summer they goe all naked saue their priue members: and sometimes, they weare vpon their feete certaine shooes made of Camels Leather. They are ignorant and rude people, and you shall scarce find one learned man in the space of an hundred miles. They are continually burthened with grieuous exactions, so that they haue scarce any thing remaining to liue vpon.
- Guber* standeth Eastward of the Kingdom of *Gago* almost three hundred miles; between which two Kingdomes lieth a vast Desart, being much destitute of water, for it is about forty miles distant from *Niger*. The Kingdom of *Guber* is enuironed with high Mountaines, and containeth many Villages inhabited by Shepherds, and other Heardsmen. Abundance of Cattell here are both great and small: but of a lower stature then the Cattell in other places. At the inundation of *Niger* all the fields of this Region are ouerflowed, and then the inhabitants cast their seed into the water onely. In this Region there is a certaine great Village containing almost sixe thousand Families, being inhabited with all kind of Merchants; and here was in times past the Court of a certaine King, who in my time was slaine by *Izchia* the King of *Tombuto*, and his sonnes were gale, and accounted among the number of the Kings Eunuchs.
- He which pleaseth the inhabitants of the Desart best, is sure to be King of *Agadez*. The residue of this Kingdome lying Southward is inhabited by Shepherds and Heardsmen, who dwell in certaine Cottages made of boughes, which cottages they carrie about vpon Oxen from place to place. They erect their Cottages alwaies in the same field where they determine to feede their cattell; like as the *Arabians* also doe.
- The great Prouince of *Cano* standeth Eastward of the Riuer *Niger* almost fve hundred miles. The greatest part of the inhabitants dwelling in Villages are some of them Heardsmen, and others Husbandmen. Here groweth abundance of Corne, of Rice, and of Cotton. Also here are many Desarts and wild woodie Mountaines containing many Springs of water. In these Woods grow plenty of wild Citrons and Lemons, which differ not much in taste from the best of all. In the midst of this Prouince standeth a Towne called by the same name, the walles and houses whereof are built for the most part of a kind of Chalke. The inhabitants are rich Merchants, and most ciuill people. Their King was in times past of great puissance, and had mighty troopes of Horsemen at his command; but he hath since been constrained to pay tribute vnto the Kings of *Zegzeg* and *Casena*. Afterward, *Ischia* the King of *Tombuto* faining friendship vnto the two foresaid Kings treacherously slew them both. And then hee waged warre against the King of *Cano*, whom after a long sledge he took, and compelled him to marrie one of his daughters, restoring him againe to his Kingdome, conditionally that he should pay vnto him the third part of all his tribute: and the said King of *Tombuto* hath some of his Courtiers perpetually residing at *Cano* for the receipt thereof.
- Casena* bordering Eastward vpon the Kingdome last described, is full of Mountaines, and drie fields, which yeeld notwithstanding great store of Barlie and Mill-seed. The inhabitants are all extremely blacke, hauing great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorne and base Cottages: neither shall you find any of their Villages containing aboue three hundred Families. And besides, their base estate they are mightily oppressed with famine: a King they had in

The Towne
and Kingdome
of Gago.

Rich sale for
Cloth.
Swords.
Salt deare.

Of the King-
dome of Guber.

Their manner
of lowing
Corne at the
Inundation of
Niger.

The King of
Guber slaine by
Izchia.
Cottages
moueable.

The Pro-
uince of Cano.

The Kings of
Zegzeg, of Cas-
sena, and of
Cano subdued
by Izchia the
King of Tom-
buto.

The Kingdome
of Casena.

Izchia.

The Kingdom
of Zegzeg.

times past whom the foresaid *Izchia* slew, since whose death they haue all beene tributarie vnto *Izchia*.

The South-east part of *Zegzeg* bordereth vpon *Cano*, and it is distant from *Casena* almost an hundred and fiftie miles. The inhabitants are rich, and haue great traffique vnto other Nations. Some part of this Kingdome is plaine, and the residue Mountainous, but the Mountaines are extremely colde, and the Plaines intollerably hot. And because they can hardly indure the sharpnesse of Winter, they kindle great fires in the midst of their houses, laying the coles thereof vnder their high bedsteads, and so betaking themselues to sleepe. Their fields abounding with water, are exceeding fruitfull, and their houses are built like the houses of the Kingdome of *Casena*. They had a King of their owne in times past, who being slaine by *Izchia* (as is aforesaid) they haue euer since beene subiect vnto the said *Izchia*.

Izchia.

The Region of
Zanfara.The King of
Zanfara slaine
by *Izchia*, and
the people
made tri-
butary.The Towne
and Kingdome
of *Guangara*.
Gold.

Izchia.

The Region of *Zanfara* bordering Eastward vpon *Zegzeg*, is inhabited by most base and Rusticall people. Their fields abound with Rice, Mill, and Cotton. The Inhabitants are tall in stature and extremely blacke, their visages are broad, and their dispositions most saluage and brutish. Their King also was slaine by *Izchia*, and themselues made tributarie.

These Kingdomes of *Guangara* adioyneth South-easterly vpon *Zanfara*. Southward thereof lyeth a Region greatly abounding with gold. But now they can haue no traffique with foreign Nations, for they are molested on both sides with most cruell enemies. For Westward they are opposed by *Izchia*, and Eastward, by the King of *Borno*. When I my selfe was in *Borno*, King *Abraham* hauing leuied an huge Armie, determined to expell the Prince of *Guangara* out of his Kingdome, had hee not been hindred by *Homar* the Prince of *Gaoga*, which beganne to assaile the Kingdome of *Borno*. Wherefore the King of *Borno* being drawne home into his owne Countrey, was enforced to giue ouer the conquest of *Guangara*. So often as the Merchants of *Guangara* trauell into the foresaid Region abounding with gold, because the wayes are so rough and difficult that their Camels cannot goe vpon them, they carry their wares vpon slaues backs; who being laden with great burthens, doe vsually trauell ten or twelue miles a day. Yea, some I saw that made two of those iournies in one day: a wonder it is to see what heauy burthens these poore slaues are charged withall; for besides the Merchandize, they carry victuals also for their Masters, and for the Souldiers that goe to guard them.

The Kingdom
of *Borno*.

Where no religious set Ceremonies are, men are said to haue no religion: yet vpon better notice of such parts, alway an obseruation of, and communication with the Deuil is found, where men acknowledge no God, as in *Brasil*, &c.

Also Sauages are said to haue no religion, hauing no Temples, &c. The Desart of *Sen*.

Fifteene or twentie slaues exchanged for one Horse. Vessels, &c. all Gold.

The Kingdom
of *Gaoga*.

The large Prouince of *Borno*, bordering Westward vpon the Prouince of *Guangara*, and from thence extending Eastward fise hundred miles, is distant from the Fountaine of *Niger* almost an hundred and fiftie miles, the South part whereof adioyning vnto the Desart of *Set*, and the North part vnto that Desart which lyeth towards *Barca*. The Inhabitants, in Summer goe all naked saue their priue members which they couer with a peece of leather: but all Winter they are clad in skinnies, and haue beds of skinnies also. They embrace no Religion at all, being neither Christians, *Mahumetans*, nor *Iewes*, nor of any other Profession, but liuing after a brutish manner, and hauing wiues and children in common: and (as I vnderstood of a certaine Merchant that abode a long time among them) they haue no proper names at all, but euery one is nicknamed according to his length, his fatnesse, or some other qualitie. They haue a most puissant Prince, being lineally descended from the *Libyan* people called *Bardoa*. He is at perpetuall enmitie with a certaine people inhabiting beyond the Desart of *Sen*; who in times past, marching with an huge army of footemen ouer the said Desart, wasted a great part of the Kingdome of *Borno*. Whereupon the King of *Borno* sent for the Merchants of *Barbarie*, and willed them to bring him great store of Horses: for in this Countrey they vse to exchange Horses for slaues, and to giue fifteene, and sometimes twenty slaues for one horse. And by this meanes there were abundance of horses brought: howbeit, the Merchants were constrained to stay for their slaues till the King returned home conquerour with a great number of Captiues, and satisfied his creditors for their Horses. The King seemeth to be marvellous rich; for his Spurres, his bridles, platters, dishes, pots, and other vessels wherein his meate and drinke are brought to the table, are all of pure gold: yea, and the chaines of his Dogs and Houndes are of gold also. Howbeit, this King is extremely couetous, for he had much rather pay his debts in slaues then in gold.

Gaoga bordering Westward vpon the Kingdome of *Borno*, and extending Eastward to the Confinies of *Nubia*, adioyneth Southward vnto a certaine Desart, situate vpon a crooked and winding part of *Nilus*, and is enclosed Northward with the frontiers of *Egypt*. It stretcheth from East to West, in length fise hundred miles, and as much in breadth. They haue neither humanitie nor learning among them, but are most rusticall and sauage people, and especially those that inhabite the Mountaines, who goe all naked sauing their priuities: Their houses are made of boughes and rafts, and are much subiect to burning, and they haue great abundance of Cattell, whereunto they giue diligent attendance. This Prince greatly honoreth all learned men, and especially such as are of the lineage of *Mahumet*. I my selfe being in his Court, a certaine Noble-man of *Damiata* brought him very rich and royall gifts; as namely, a gallant Horse, a Turkish Sword, and a Kingly robe, with certaine other particulars, that cost about an hundred and fiftie Duckats at *Carro*: in recompence whereof, the King gaue him fise slaues, fise Camels,

fise

five hundred Ducats of that Region, and an hundred Elephants teeth of wonderfull bignesse. Nubia bordering Westward vpon the Kingdome last described, and stretching from thence vnto Nilus, is enclosed on the South-side with the Desart of Goran, and on the North-side with the Confinnes of Egypt. Howbeit they cannot passe by water from this Kingdome into Egypt: for the Riuer of Nilus is in some places no deeper then a man may wade ouer on foot. The principall Towne of this Kingdome called Dangala, is exceeding populous, and contayneth to the number of ten thousand Families. The Kingdome of Nubia is most rich in Corne and Sugar, which notwithstanding they know not how to vse. Also in the Citie of Dangala there is great plentie of Ciuet and Sandal-wood. This Region aboundeth with Iuory likewise, because heere are so many Elephants taken. Heere is also a most strong and deadly poyson, one graine whereof being diuided amongst ten persons, will kill them all within lesse then a quarter of an houre: but if one man taketh a grain, he dyeth thereof out of hand. An ounce of this Poyson is sold for an hundred Duckats; neyther may it be sold to any but to forraine Merchants, and whosoever buyeth it is bound by an Oath not to vse it in the Kingdome of Nubia. All such as buy of this Poyson are constrayned to pay as much vnto the King, as to the Merchant: but if any man selleth Poyson without the Princes knowledge, he is presently put to death. The people themselves are called Bugiha, and are most base and miserable, and liue onely vpon Milke, Camels flesh, and the flesh of such beasts as are taken in those Desarts. Some times they receiue Tribute of the Gouvernour of Suachen, and sometimes of the Gouvernours of Dangala. They had once a rich Towne situate vpon the Red Sea called Zibid, whereunto belonged a commodious Hauen, being opposite vnto the Hauen of Zidem, which is fortie miles distant from Mecca. But an hundred yeares since it was destroyed by the Soldan, because the Inhabitants receiued certaine Wares which should haue beene carried to Mecca, and at the sametime the famous Port of Zibid was destroyed, from whence notwithstanding was gathered a great yeerely Tribute.

The Kingdome of Nubia. The Riuer of Nilus not Navigable betweene Nubia and Egypt. The rich Commodities of Nubia. Most strong Poyson.

§. VIII.

Notes of principall things in IOHN LEO his eight Booke of the Historie of Africa.

HONDIVS his Map of Egypt.



Egypt foure
hundred and
fiftie miles
long.
The Course of
Nilus.

Turbant.

A diuision of
Egypt.

The ancient
Pedigree and
Originall of
the Egyptians.
Gen. 10. 6.
* Mesraim is
recorded to be
the Brother of
Chus, and the
Sonne of Cham
Chibith.

He most noble and famous Prouince of *Egypt* bordering Westward vpon the Desarts of *Barca*, *Numidia*, and *Libya*; Eastward vpon the Desarts lying betweene *Egypt* it selfe and the Red Sea; and Northward vpon the Mediterran Sea; is inclosed Southward with the Land of the foresaid people called *Bugha*, and with the Riuer of *Nilus*. It stretcheth in length from the Mediterran Sea to the Land of the people called *Bugha*, about foure hundred and fiftie miles: but in breadth it is very narrow; so that it containeth nought but a small distance betweene both the bankes of *Nilus*, and the barren Mountaynes bordering vpon the foresaid Desarts, being inhabited onely in that place where *Nilus* is separate from the said Mountaynes: albeit, towards the Mediterran Sea it extendeth it selfe somewhat broader. For *Nilus* about fourescore miles from the great Citie of *Cairo* is diuided into two branches, one whereof running in his Chanell Westward, returneth at length into the mayne streame from whence hee tooke his originall, and hauing passed about threecore miles beyond *Cairo*, it diuideth it selfe into two other branches, whereof the one runneth to *Damiata*, and the other to *Rosetto*. And out of that which trendeth to *Damiata* issueth another branch, which discharging it selfe into a Lake, passeth through a certaine gullet or strait into the Mediterran Sea, vpon the banke whereof standeth the most ancient Citie of *Tenesse*: and this diuision of *Nilus* into so many streames and branches causeth *Egypt* (as I haue before said) to bee so narrow. All this Prouince is plaine, and is most fruitfull for all kind of Graine and Pulse. There are most pleasant and greene Medowes, and great store of Geese and other Fowles. The Countrey people are of a swart and browne colour: but the Citizens are white. Garments they weare which are strait downe to their waistes, and broad beneath, and the sleeues likewise are strait. They couer their heads with a round and high habit, called by the *Italians* a *Dulipan*. Their shooes are made according to the ancient fashion. In Summer they weare Garments of parti-coloured Cotton: but in Winter they vse a certayne Garment lined with Cotton, which they call *Chebre*: but the chiefe Citizens and Merchants are apparelled in cloth of *Europe*. The Inhabitants are of an honest, cheerefull, and liberall disposition. For their victuals they vse a kind of new and extreme salt Cheeses, and sowre Milke also artificially congealed: which fare albeit they account very daintie, yet cannot strangers digest it, and into euery Dish almost they put sowre Milke.

Since the *Mahumetans* were Lords of *Egypt*, it hath bene diuided into three parts. For the Region from *Cairo* to *Rosetto* is called the shoare of *Errif*: and from *Cairo* to the Land of *Bugha*, it is called *Sahid*, that is to say, The firme Land: but the Region adioyning vpon that branch of *Nilus*, which runneth towards *Damiata* and *Tenesse*, they call by the name of *Bechria* or *Maremma*. All *Egypt* is exceeding fertile: but the Prouince of *Sahid* excelleth the two other parts for abundance of Corne, Cattle, Fowles and Flaxe: and *Maremma* aboundeth with Cotton and Sugar. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of *Maremma*, and *Errif* are farre more ciuill then the people of *Sahid*: because those two Prouinces lye neerer vnto the Sea, and are more frequented by *European*, *Barbarian*, and *Assyrian* Merchants: but the people of *Sahid* haue no conuersation with strangers, except it be with a few *Ethiopians*.

The *Egyptians* (as *Moses* writeth) fetch their originall from * *Mesraim* the Sonne of *Chus*, the Sonne of *Cham*, the Sonne of *Noe*; and the *Hebrewes* call both the Countrey and the Inhabitants of *Egypt* by the name of *Mesraim*. The *Arabians* call *Egypt* it selfe *Mesre*, but the Inhabitants *Chibith*. And *Chibith* (they say) was the man, that first tooke vpon him the Gouvernement of this Region, and beganne first to build houses thereon. Also the Inhabitants call themselves by the same name: neither are there left any true *Egyptians*, besides a few Christians, which are at this present remayning. The residue embracing the *Mahumetan* Religion, haue mingled themselves amongst the *Arabians* and the *Moores*. This Kingdome was gouerned many yeares by the *Egyptians* themselves, as namely, by the Kings that were called *Pharao*, (who by their Monuments and admirable Buildings, seeme to haue bene mightie Princes) and also by the Kings called *Ptolomei*. Afterward, being subdued vnto the *Romane* Empire, this Kingdome since the comming of Christ was conuerred vnto the Christian Religion, vnder the said *Romane* Government: since the decay of which Empire, it fell into the possession of the Emperours of *Constantinople*; who being very carefull to maintayne this Kingdome, were at length depriued thereof by the *Mahumetans*, vnder the conduct of *Hamrus* the Sonne of *Hasi*, being appointed Captaine Generall ouer the *Arabian* Armie of *Homar*, the second *Califa* or *Mahumetan* Patriarke of that name: who permitting all men to haue their owne Religion, required nought but Tribute at their hands. The said Captaine built vpon the banke of *Nilus*, a certaine Towne called by the *Arabians* *Fustato*, which word signifieth in their Language a Tabernacle: for when he first vndertooke this Expedition, he marched through wild and desart places void of Inhabitants, so that his Armie was constrained to lye in Tents. The common people call this Towne *Mesre Hatichi*, that is to say, the ancient Citie; in comparison of which *Cairo* may not vnfittly be called the New Citie.

Neither *Cairo* nor any place neere vnto it, can by any likelihood challenge that they were at any time inhabited by the ancient *Pharaos*. But heere it is to be noted, that the Nobilitie of the

ancient

ancient *Egyptians* dwelt in times past in the Region of *Sabid* beyond *Cairo*, in the Cities of *Fium*, of *Manfichmin*, and in other such famous Cities. Howbeit, after *Egypt* was conquered by the *Romanes*, the *Egyptian* Nobilitie planted themselves in the Region of *Errif*, vpon the Sea shoare thereof, namely, about the Cities of *Alexandria*, *Rosetto*, and other famous Townes retayning as yet the *Latine* names. Also when the *Romane* Empire was translated into *Greece*, the said Nobilitie still inhabited vpon the Sea shoare, the Emperours Lieutenant residing at *Alexandria*: but after the *Mahumetans* got the Dominion of *Egypt*, the foresaid Nobilitie retyned themselves into the in-land, hoping thereby to reape a double commoditie: namely, first, in that they might bee a meanes to pacifie the Kingdome on both sides of them; and secondly, that they might bee

free from the inuasions of the Christians, whereof they should haue beene in danger, had they remayned any longer vpon the Sea Coast.

The Ayre of this Countrey is hot and vnwholesome: and it rayneth heere very seldome or neuer. And Raine is the cause of many Diseases in *Egypt*: for in raynie weather some of the *Egyptians* are subiect vnto dangerous Rheumes, and Feuers; and others vnto a strange kinde of swelling in ther priuy Members: which swelling the Physicians impute vnto Salt Cheese and Beefe, which are the common Dyet of the *Egyptians*. In Sommer time this Countrey is most extremely hot, for a remedie of which heat they build in euery Towne certaine high Towres, hauing one doore aloft, another beneath, right ouer against the houses, through the tops whereof the wind passing down-ward, doth somewhat coole and refresh the Ayre: otherwise in regard of the intolerable heat of the Sunne it were impossible for any man to liue there. Sometime the Pestilence is so hot among them, especially at *Cairo*, that sometimes there dye twelue thousand persons thereof on a day. But with the *French Poxe*, I thinke, that no other Countrey vnder Heauen is so molested, nor that contayneth so many people infected therewith. About the beginning of Aprill, they reape their Corne, and hauing reaped it, they presently thrash the same; neyther shall you see one eate of their Corne standing till the twentieth of May.

The inundation or overflow of *Nilus* beginneth about the middest of Iune, increasing afterward for the space of fortie dayes, and for the space of other fortie dayes also decreasing: during which time all the Cities and Townes of *Egypt* are like vnto Ilands, which none can come vnto but by Boats and Barges. At this time also *Nilus* is very fit to be sailed vpon with vessels of burthen; some whereof are so bigge that they will contayne fixe or seuen thousand bushels of Corne: and some hundreds of Cattell together: and in these Vessels they sayle onely downe the streame: for against the streame or without the ouer-flowing time they would scarcely passe emptie. The *Egyptians* according to the increase of *Nilus*, doe foresee the plentie or dearth of the yeere following: as wee will more at large declare, when wee come to speake of the Iland of *Nilus* ouer against the olde Citie, where the inundation of *Nilus* is measured. Neither is it our purpose in this place particularly to describe all the Cities of *Egypt*, because our *African* Writers are of diuers opinions thereabout; for some would haue *Egypt* to bee a part of *Africa*, but others are of a contray minde. Diuers there are that affirme, that part of *Egypt* adioyning vpon the Desarts of *Barbarie*, *Numidia* and *Libya*, to belong vnto *Africa*. Some others ascribe vnto *Africa* all those places that border vpon the principall and mayne Channell of *Nilus*: but as for other places, as namely, *Manf*, *Fium*, *Semenud*, *Damanhore*, *Berelles*, *Tenesse*, and *Damiata*, they thinke them not to be situate in *Africa*: which opinion, I my selfe, also vpon many and great reasons take to be true. Wherefore my purpose is to describe none other Cities but such as stand neere the mayne and principall Channell of *Nilus*.

The ancient Citie of *Bosiri* built by the *Egyptians* vpon the Mediterran Sea, and standing twentie miles Westward from *Alexandria*, was in times past enuironed with most strong wals, and adorned with most beautifull and stately Buildings. At this present, it is compassed with many possessions or grounds bearing Dates, whereof no man taketh charge nor reapeeth any commoditie: for when *Alexandria* was wonne by the Christians, the Inhabitants abandoned this Citie, and fled towards the Lake called *Buchaira*.

The great Citie of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, founded by *Alexander* the Great, not without the aduise of most famous and skilfull Architects, vpon a beautifull point of Land stretching into the Mediterran Sea, and being distant fortie miles Westward of *Nilus*, was in times past, till it grew subiect vnto the *Mahumetans*, most sumptuously and strongly built, as diuers and sundry Authors beare record. Afterward this Citie decaying, many yeares together, was depriued of the ancient renowne and honour, and remayned in manner desolate, because no Merchants of *Greece* nor of any other part of *Europe* exercised any longer Traffique therein. Howbeit, a certaine craftie *Mahumetan* Patriarke made the rude people beleue, that by the Prophecie of *Mahumet*, most ample Indulgences were granted vnto all such as would inhabit the Citie or guard it for certaine dayes, and would bestow some Almes for a publike benefit: by which wily stratageme the Citie was in short time filled with forraine people, which from all places resorted thereunto: by whom were built many houses neere vnto the Citie wals, and many Colledges of Students, and diuers Monasteries for the reliefe of Pilgrims.

The qualitie & temperature of the Ayre in *Egypt*.

Raine vnwholesome.

Extreame Pestilence.

The French Maladie most rise in *Egypt*.

The increase of *Nilus*.

Moggia.

The Citie of *Bosiri*.

The great Citie of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

Indulgences of *Mahumet*.

Searchers in-
deed.

Ancient traf-
fique of the
English vnto
Alexandria.

This in Leos
time 1526.

Alexandria sur-
prised and
sacked by the
king of Cyprus.

Pharos.

Warch Tower.

Alexandria
vaulted.
The water of
Nilus brought
by a sluice into
Alexandria.

Sickely fruits.

The pillar and
a pilld Fable
thereof.

Certain Chri-
stians called
Iacobites.

Alexanders Se-
pulchre refor-
ted to in Pil-
grimage.
Felix terrarum
prado: a Saint.

The Citie it selfe is foure square, and hath foure Gates to enter in at: one standing on the East side towards *Nilus*, another on the South side towards the Lake of *Buchaira*, the third Westward towards the Desert of *Barca*, and the fourth towards the Mediterranean Sea and the Hauen; whereat stand the Searchers and Customers, which ranfacke strangers euen to their very shirts: for they demand custome, not onely for wares and Merchandize, but also some allowance in the hundred for all kinde of money. Neere vnto this Citie-walles there are two other Gates also, being diuided asunder by a faire walke, and a most impregnable Castle, which standeth vpon the Scrand or Wharfe of the Port, commonly called *Marfa el Bargi*, that is to say, the Port of the Castle: in which Port ride the principall and best ships, namely, such as come from *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Ragusa*, with other Ships of *Europe*. For hither resort the *English*, the *Low Dutch*, the *Biscaines*, the *Portugals*, and men of all other Nations in *Europe* for traffique sake. Howbeit, this Port is most vially frequented by the Ships of *Appulia*, *Sicilia*, and of *Greece*, which are *Turkish* Ships; all which resort into this Harbour to saue themselves from Pyrats, and from tempestuous weather. Another Port there is also, called *Marfa Essil Sela*, that is to say, the Port of the Chaine, wherein the Ships of *Barbary*, namely, those of *Tunis* and of the Ile of *Gergi* harbour themselves. The Christians are constrained to pay about the tenth part of all wares that they bring in and carry out, but the *Mahumetans* pay but the twentieth part: and whatsoever wares are carried by land to *Cairo* pay no custom at all. And at this present that part of the Citie which is next vnto *Cairo*, is the most famous and best furnished with Merchandize brought by Merchants from all places of the world. The other parts of this Citie are destitute both of Ciuility and Inhabitants: for except one long street, and that part of the Citie next the Hauen which is full of Merchants shops, and inhabited by Christians, the residue is void and desolate. Which desolation happened at that time, when *Lewis* the fourth, King of *France*, being restored to liberty by the *Soldan*, the King of *Cyprus* with a fleet, partly of *Venetians*, and partly of *French-men* suddenly assailed *Alexandria*, and with great slaughter surprized and sacked the same. But the *Soldan* comming with an huge armie to rescue *Alexandria*, so discouraged the *Cyprians*, that they burnt downe the houses thereof, and betooke themselves to flight. Whereupon the *Soldan* repairing the walles, and building a Castle neere vnto the Hauen, the Citie grew by little and little into that estate, wherein it standeth at this present.

In the Citie of *Alexandria* there is a certaine high Mount, fashioned like vnto the place called *Testaccio* at *Rome*, whereon, although it hath no naturall situation, are found diuers earthen Vessels of great antiquity. Vpon the top of the said Mount standeth a Turret, where a certaine officer is appointed to watch for such Ships as direct their course towards the Citie, who for every ship that he giueth notice of vnto the Customers, receiueth a certain fee: but if he chanceth to fall asleepe, or to be out of the way at the arriual of any Ship, whereof he certifieth not the Customers, he paieth double for his negligence into the *Soldans* Exchequer. Vnder each house of this Citie there is a great vaulted Cisterne built vpon mighty Pillars and Arches: whereinto the water of *Nilus* at euery inundation is conueied vnder the walles of the Citie, by a certaine wonderfull and most artificiall sluice standing without the Citie it selfe. But these Cisternes growing sometime corrupt and foule, are often in Summer the occasion of many diseases and infirmities. This Citie standeth in the midst of a sandy Desert, and is destitute of Gardens and Vines, neither is the soile round about it apt to beare Corne; so that their Corne is brought them from places forty miles distant. Howbeit, neere the foresaid sluice, whereby the water of *Nilus* is conueied into the Citie, are certaine little Gardens, the fruits whereof being grown to ripenesse, are so vnwholesome, that they breed Feuers and other noysome diseases among the Citizens. Sixe miles Westward of *Alexandria*, among certaine ancient buildings, standeth a pillar of a wonderfull height and thicknesse, which the *Arabians* call *Hemadussaoar*, that is to say, the pillar of trees. Of this pillar there is a Fable reported, that *Ptolemey* one of the Kings of *Alexandria* built it vpon an extreme point of land stretching from the Hauen, whereby to the end he might defend the Citie from the inuasion of forraine enemies, and make it inuincible, he placed a certaine Steele-glasse vpon the top thereof, by the hidden vertue of which glasse, as many Ships as passed by while the glasse was vncovered should immediately be set on fire: but the said glasse being broken by the *Mahumetans*, the secret vertue thereof vanished, and the great pillar whereon it stood was remooued out of the place. But this is a most ridiculous narration, and fit for babes to giue credite vnto: at this present there are amongst the ancient Inhabitants of *Alexandria* many Christians called *Iacobites*, being all of shem Artizans and Merchants: these *Iacobites* haue a Church of their owne to resort vnto, wherein the body of *S. Marke* the Euangelist lay in times past interred, which hath since beene priuily stolne by the *Venetians*, and carried vnto *Venice*. And the said *Iacobites* pay Tribute vnto the Gouvernour of *Cairo*. Neither is it to be passed ouer in silence, that in the midst of the ruinous Monuments of *Alexandria*, there remaineth as yet a certaine little house built in forme of a Chappell, and containing a Sepulchre much honoured by the *Mahumetans*, wherein they affirme, out of the authoritie of their Alcoron, that the body of the High Prophet and King (as they terme him) *Alexander* the great lieth buried. And thither resort yeerely great multitudes of Pilgrimes from forraine Nations, to adore and reuerence the said Sepulchre, and oftentimes do bestow large Almes thereupon.

The Citie of *Rosetta* was built by a slaue of a certaine *Mahumetan* Patriarke and Gouvernour of *Egypt*, vpon the Easterne banke of *Nilus* three miles from the Mediterran Sea, not far from the place where *Nilus* dischargeth his streames into the said Sea. Heere is a stately Bath-stoue also, hauing fountaines both of cold and hot water belonging thereunto, the like whereof for stately and commodious building is not to be found in all *Egypt* besides. I my selfe was in this Citie when *Selim* the great *Turke* returned this way from *Alexandria*, who with his priuate and familiar friends beholding the said Bath-stoue, seemed to take great delight and contentment therein.

The Citie of *Rasid* called by the *Italians* *Rosetta*. *John Leo* was at *Rasid* the same time when *Selim* the great *Turke* passed that way. *Thebe*.

Thebe, at this present, containeth but three hundred Families in all, being most of them very stately and sumptuously built. It aboundeth with Corne, Rice, and Sugar, and with certaine fruits of a most excellent taste, called *Muse*. It is also furnished with great store of Merchants and Artificers: but the most part of the Inhabitants are husbandmen: and if a man walke the streets in the day-time, he shall see none but trim and beautifull women. The Territorie adiacent aboundeth with Date-trees, which grow so thicke, that a man cannot see the Citie, till he approacheth nigh vnto the walles. Here grow likewise store of Grapes, Figs, and Peaches, which are carried in great plentie vnto *Cairo*. Without the Citie there are many ancient Monuments, as namely, pillars, inscriptions in *Latine*, *Greeke*, and *Egyptian* Characters, and wals of a great thicknesse, built of excellent stone, and such a number of ruinous places, that this Citie seemeth, in times past, to haue beene very large.

The fruits called *Muse*.

The women of *Fuoa*, fortie miles South from *Rosetta*, liue in so great libertie, that they may goe whither they will at the day-time, returning home at night, without any controlement of their husbands. The fields adiacent abound greatly with Dates, and neere vnto them there is a certaine Plaine which is very apt for Sugar and Corne: howbeit, the Sugar Canes there bring not forth perfect Sugar, but in stead thereof a certaine kinde of Honie like sope, which they vse throughout all *Egypt*, becaule there is but little other Honie in the whole Countrey.

Fuoa.

Sugar.

Ouer against the foresaid Citie the Riuer of *Nilus* maketh an Ile, which being situate on an high place, bringeth forth all kinde of fruitfull trees except Oliues.

Gezirat Eddelheb, that is to say, the golden Ile.

They haue a most beautifull Temple at *Deretto*, and the Citizens are exceeding rich for their ground yeeldeth such abundance of Sugar, that they pay yeerely vnto the *Soldan* an hundred thousand peeces of Gold, called in their language *Saraffi*, for their libertie of making and refining thereof. In this Citie standeth a certaine great house like vnto a Castle, wherein are their Presses and Caldrons, for the boyling and preparing of their Sugar. Neither did I euer in all my life see so many workemen employed about that businesse, whose daily wages (as I vnderstood by a certaine publike officer) amounted to two hundred *Saraffi*.

Great abundance of Sugar.

* It was soone after in *Leos* time taken by the *Turke* and the *Soldans* extirpate.

Cairo is commonly reputed to be one of the greatest and most famous cities in all the whole world. But leauing the common reports and opinions thereof, I will exactly describe the forme and estate wherein it now standeth. And that I may begin with the Etymologie or deriuation of the name, *Cairo* is an *Arabian* word, corruptly pronounced by the people of *Europe*: for the true *Arabian* word is *El Chahira*, which signifieth an *inforcing or imperious Mistresse*. This City built in ancient times by one *Geboar Chetib* a *Dalmatian* slaue (as I haue before signified in the beginning of my Discourse) containeth within the walles not aboue eight thousand Families, being inhabited by Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants that sell wares brought from all other places. The famous Temple of *Cairo*, commonly called, *Gemih Hashare*, that is to say, the glorious Temple, was built also by the foresaid slaue, whom we affirmed to be the Founder of the City, and whose surname was *Hashare*, that is to say, Famous, being giuen him by the *Mahumetan* Patriarke that was his Prince. This Citie standeth vpon a most beautifull Plaine, neere vnto a certaine Mountaine called *Mucatum*, about two miles distant from *Nilus*, and is enuironed with stately walles, and fortified with Iron-gates: the principall of which gates is called *Babe Nansre*, that is, the gate of Victory, which standeth Eastward towards the Desart of the Red Sea; and the gate called *Beb Zuaila*, being next vnto the old Citie and to *Nilus*; and also *Bebel Futub*, that is to say, the gate of Triumph, standing towards the lake and the fields.

A Description of the huge & admirable Citie of *Cairo*. * 1526.

The Founder.

The Temple.

And albeit, *Cairo* aboundeth euery where with all kind of Merchants and Artificers, yet that is the principall street of the whole Citie which stretcheth from the gate of *Nansre*, to the gate of *Zuaila*, for in it are built most stately and admirable Palaces and Colledges, and most sumptuous Temples, among which is the Temple of *Gimih Elhechim*, the third Schismaticall *Califa* of *Cairo*. Other Temples there are of a maruellous bignes, which to describe in particular. I thinke it superfluous. Heere are many Bath-stoues also very artificially built. Next of all is the street called *Beinel Casrain*, containing to the number of threescore Cookes or Victuallers shops, furnished with vessels of Tinne: there are certaine other shops also, wherein are to be sold delicate waters or drinckes made of all kinds of fruits, being for Noblemen to drinke of, and these waters they keepe most charily in fine vessels, partly of glasse, and partly of Tinne: next vnto these are shops where diuers confections of Honie and Sugar, vnlike vnto the confections of *Europe*, are to be sold: then follow the Fruiterers shops, who bring out-landish fruits out of *Syria*, to wit,

Delicate drinckes made all kind of fruits.

Quinces,

Soldan Ghanri.

Quinces, Pomegranates, and other fruits which grow not in *Egypt*: next vnto them are the shops of such as sell Egges, Cheefe, and Pancakes fried with Oyle. And next of all there is a streete of the principall Artificers Shops. Beyond which streete standeth a Colledge built by the *Soldan*, called *Ghanri*, who was slaine in a battaile against *Selim* the great *Turke*. And next vnto the Colledge are diuers rankes of Drapers Shops. In the first ranke there is most excellent outlandish Linnen Cloth to be sold, as namely, fine Cloth of Cotten brought from *Balabach*, and Cloth called *Mosall*, that is, of *Ninon*, of a marvellous breadth and finenesse, whereof Noblemen and others of account, haue Shirts made them, and Scarffes to weare vpon their Dulipans. Besides these, there are certaine Mercers Shops where the rich Stuffles of *Italy*, namely, Silke, Damaske, Veluet, Cloth of Gold, and such like are to be bought, vnto which Stuffles I neuer saw any comparable (to my remembrance) in *Italy*, where they vse to be made. Next vnto the Mercers are the Woollen Drapers, which bring Cloth out of *Europe*, as namely, from *Florence*, *Venice*, *Flanders*, and other places. Next of all there are Chamblets to be sold: and from thence the way lieth to the Gate of *Zuaila*, at which Gate dwell great store of Artificers. Neere vnto the said way standeth the famous Burse, called *Canen Halili*, wherein the *Persian* Merchants dwell. It is built very stately in manner of a Kings Palace, and is of three stories high: beneath it are certaine conuenient roomes, whither Merchants for the exchange of rich and costly Wares doe resort: for here doe the principal and most wealthie Merchants abide, whose Wares are Spices, precious Stones, Cloth of *India*, & such like. Next vnto the Burse standeth a street of Shops, where all kind of Perfumes, namely, Ciuet, Muske, Amber, and such like are to be sold: which commodities are here in so great plenty, that if you ask for twenty pounds of Musk, they wil presently shew you an hundred. Next followeth the street of the Paper-Merchants, where you may buy most excellent and smooth Paper: here also are to be sold lewels and precious Stones of great value, which the Brokers carrie from one Shop to another. Then come you to the Gold-Smiths streete, being inhabited for the most part by *Jewes*, who deale for riches of great importance. And next vnto the Gold-Smithes are certaine streetes of Vpholsters or Brokers, who sell the apparell and rich furniture of Noblemen and other Citizens at the second hand, which are dot Cloakes, Coates, Napery, or such like, but things of exceeding price and value: amongst which I my selfe once saw a beautifull Pavilion embroydered with Needle-worke, and beset with Pearles that weighed fortie pounds, which Pearles being taken out of it, were sold for ten thousand *Saraffi*. In this Citie also there is a most stately Hospitall built by *Piperis* the first *Soldan* of the *Mamaluks* race: the yearely reuenues whereof amount vnto two hundred thousand *Saraffi*. Hither may any impotent or diseased persons resort, and bee well prouided of Physicians, and of all things necessarie for those that are sicke, who if they chance to die here, all their goods are due vnto the Hospitall.

A stately Hospitall.

The Suburbs.

The Suburbe, called *Bed Zuaila*, belonging vnto *Cairo*, and containing about twelue thousand Families, beginneth at the Gate of *Zuaila*, and extendeth Westward almost a mile and a halfe; Southward it bordereth vpon the Palace of the *Soldan*, and stretcheth Northward for the space of a mile vnto the Suburbe, called *Beb Elloch*. Here dwell as many Noblemen and Gentlemen almost, as within the Citie it selfe: and the Citizens haue Shops both here and in the Citie, as likewise many Inhabitants of this Suburbe maintaine Families in the Citie also. Amongst all the buildings of this Suburbe, the principall is that stately Colledge built by *Soldan Hesen*, being of such a wonderfull height and great strength, that oftentimes the Colledges haue presumed to rebell against the *Soldan*, and therein to fortifie themselves against the whole Citie, and to discharge Ordnance against the *Soldans* Castle, which is but halfe a Crosse-bow shot distant.

A stately Colledge.

Palace and Temple.

The Suburbe called *Gemeh Tailon*, confining Eastward vpon the foresaid Suburbe of *Beb Zuaila*, extendeth Westward to certaine ruinous places neere vnto the old Citie. Before the foundation of *Cairo* this Suburbe was erected by one *Tailon*, who was subiect vnto the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, and Gouvernour of *Egypt*, and was a most famous and prudent man. This *Tailon* leauing the old Citie, inhabited this Suburbe, and adorned the same with a most admirable Palace, and sumptuous Temple. Here dwell also great store of Merchants and Artificers, especially such as are *Moores* of *Barbary*.

Palace and Colledge.

The Suburbe, called *Beb Elloch*, being distant from the Wallles of *Cairo* about the space of a mile, and containing almost three thousand Families, is inhabited by Merchants and Artizans of diuers sorts, as well as the former. Vpon a certaine large place of this Suburbe standeth a great Palace, and a stately Colledge, built by a certaine *Mammaluck*, called *Iazbach*, being Counsellor vnto the *Soldan* of those times; and the place it selfe is called after his name, *Iazbachia*. Hither, after *Mahumetan* Sermons & deuotions, the common people of *Cairo*, together with the Bawds and Harlots, doe vsually resort; and many Stage-Players also, and such as teach Camels, Asies, and Dogs, to dance; which dancing is a thing very delightfull to behold, and especially that of the Asse: who hauing frisked and danced a while, his Master comes vnto him, and tells him with a loud voyce, That the *Soldan* being about to build some great Palace, must vse all the Asies of *Cairo* to carry Morter, Stones, and other necessary prouision. Then the Asse falling presently to the ground, and lying with his heeles vpward, maketh his belly to swell, and closeth his eyes as if

if he were starke dead. In the meane while his Master lamenting the misfortune of the Asse vnto the standersby, earnestly craueth their friendly assistance and liberalitie to buy him a new Asse. And hauing gathered of each one as much money as hee can get; You are much deceiued my Masters (quoth he) that thinke mine Asse to be dead: for the hungry Iade knowing his Masters necessity, hath wrought this sleight, to the end hee might get some money to buy him Prouender. Then turning about to the Asse, hee commandeth him with all speed to arise: but the Asse lyeth starke still, though hee command and beate him neuer so much: whereupon, turning againe to the people; Bee it knowne (quoth hee) vnto you all, that the Soldan hath published an Edict or Proclamation, that to morrow next all the people shall goe forth of the Citie to behold a Triumph, and that all the honourable and beautifull Ladies and Gentlewomen shall ride vpon the most comely Asses, and shall giue them Oates to eate, and Christall water of *Nilus* to drinke. Which words being scarce ended, the Asse suddenly starteth from the ground, prancing and leaping for ioy: then his Master prosecuting still his narration; But (saith he) the Warden of our streete hath borrowed this goodly Asse of mine for his deformed and old Wife to ride vpon. At these words the Asse, as though he were indued with humane reason, coucheth his eares, and limpeth with one of his legges, as if it were quite out of ioynt. Then saith his Master; What, sir Iade, are you so in loue with faire women? The Asse nodding his head seemeth to say, yea. Come on therefore Sirra (quoth his Master) and let vs see among all these pretty Damosels, which pleaseth your fancie best. Whereupon the Asse going about the company, and espying some woman more comely and beautifull then the rest, walketh directly vnto her and toucheth her with his head: and then the beholders laugh and crie out amaine: Loe, the Asses Paramour, the Paramour of the Asse. Whereupon, the fellow that shewed all this sport leaping vpon the backe of his Asse rideth to some other place. There is also another kind of Charmers or Iuglers, which keep certaine little Birds in Cages made after the fashion of Cupboords, which birds will reach vnto any man with their Beaks certaine skroules, containing either his good or euill successe in time to come. And whosoever desireth to know his fortune, must giue the Bird an half-penny; which shee taking in her bill, carrieth into a little Boxe, and then comming forth againe, bringeth the said skroule in her beake. I my selfe had once a skroule of ill fortune giuen me, which although I little regarded, yet had I more vnfortunate successe then was contained therein. Also, there are Masters of defence playing at all kind of weapons, and other that sing Songs of the Battels fought betweene the *Arabians* and *Egyptians*, when as the *Arabians* conquered *Egypt*, with diuers others that sing such Toyes and Ballads vnto the people.

These Asses are somewhat like to Banks his Curtall, that plaid his Prizes all England ouer.

South-saying Birds.

The Suburbe called *Bulach*, standing two miles distant from the Walles of the Citie vpon the banke of *Nilus*, containeth foure thousand Families. Vpon the way lying betweene the Suburbe and this Citie, stand diuers Houses, and Mills turned about by the strength of beasts. In this Suburbe dwell many Artificers and Merchants, especially such as sell Corne, Oyle and Sugar. Moreouer, it is full of stately Temples, Palaces, and Colledges: but the fairest buildings thereof stand along the Riuer of *Nilus*, for from thence there is a most beautifull prospect vpon the Riuer, and thither doe the Vessels and Barkes of *Nilus* resort vnto the common stathe of *Cairo*, being situate in this Suburbe: at which place you shall see at some times, and especially in the time of Haruest, aboue one thousand Barkes. And here the Officers appointed to receiue Custome for Wares, brought from *Alexandria* and *Damiata* haue their aboad: albeit, but little tribute be demanded for the said Wares, because it was paid before at the Port of their arriual: but those Wares that come out of the firme land of *Egypt* allow entire custome.

The Suburbe of *Carafa* built in manner of a Towne, and standing from Mount *Muccatim* a stones cast, and from the Walles of the Citie about two miles, containeth almost two thousand Households. But at this day the greatest part thereof lyeth waste and destroyed. Here are many Sepulchers built with high and stately Vaults and Arches, and adorned on the inner side with diuers Emblems and colours, which the fond people adore as the sacred Shrines and Monuments of Saints, spreading the pauement with sumptuous and rich Carpets. Hither euery Friday morning resort out of the Citie it selfe, and the Suburbs, great multitudes of people for deuotions sake, who bestow liberall and large almes.

The Suburbe called *Charafa*.

The Citie *Misrabelich* was the first that was built in *Egypt* in the time of the *Mahumetans*, founded by *Hamre*, Captaine Generall ouer the Forces of *Homar*, the second *Mahumetan* Patriarke vpon the banke of *Nilus*, resembling a Suburbe because it is vnwalled, and containing to the number of fise thousand Families. It is adorned, especially by the Riuer *Nilus*, with diuers Palaces and Houses of Noblemen, and also with the famous Temple of *Hamre*, being of an huge bignesse, and most stately built. It is also indifferently well provided of Tradesmen and Artificers. And here standeth the famous Sepulchre of a Woman, reputed most holy by the *Mahumetans*, and called by them Saint *Nafissa*, which was the daughter of one called *Zennulbebidin*, being the sonne of *Husein*, the sonne of *Heli*, who was Cousen-german vnto *Mahumet*. The said *Nafissa* seeing all of her Family to be depriued of the *Mahumetan* Patriarkship, left *Cusa*, a Citie of *Arabia Felix*, and came and dwelt in this Citie; vnto whom, partly because shee was of the

The old Citie, called *Misrabelich*.

Hamres huge Temple.

Saint *Nafissa*.

Linage

Pilgrimage
and Offerings.

Cofening
Priests.

Sepulchres of
the Soldans.

The onely
Balme-tree in
the world.
See P. Mart.
Legat. Babyl.
and Bellon. obs.

The manner of
measuring the
increase of
Nilus.
This Pillar is
called by Plinie
Niloscopium.

Linage of *Mahumet*, and partly for that she liued an innocent and blamelesse life, the people after her death ascribed diuine honours, canonizing her for a Saint. Wherefore the Schismaticall Patriarcks of her Kindred hauing got the vpper hand in *Egypt*, began to build for *Nafissa* a most beautifull Shrine or Sepulchre, which they adorned also with Siluer Lamps, with Carpets of Silke, and such like precious ornaments. So great is the renowne of this *Nafissa*, that there commeth no *Mahumetan* either by Sea or Land vnto *Cairo*, but he adareth this Sepulchre, and bringeth his Offering thereunto, as likewise doe all the *Mahumetans* inhabiting thereabout: insomuch that the yearely Oblations and Almes offered at this Sepulchre, partly for the reliefe of the poore Kinsfolks of *Mahumet*, and partly for the maintenance of the Priests which keepe the said Sepulchre, amount vnto one hundred thousand *Saraffi*; which Priests by fained and counterfeit Miracles doe daily delude the minds of the simple, to the end they may the more enflame their blind deuotion, and may stirre them to greater liberalitie. When *Selim* the Great Turke wonne the Citie of *Cairo*, his Ianizaries rifling this Sepulchre, found there the summe of five hundred thousand *Saraffi* in ready money, besides the Siluer Lampes, the Chaines and Carpets: but *Selim* tooke away a great part of that treasure from them. Such as write the *Liues* of the *Mahumetan* Saints, making very honourable mention of this *Nafissa*, say, that she was descended of the noble Familie of *Heli*, and that she was most famous for her vertuous and chaste life: but the fond people and the Priest of that execrable Sepulchre, haue deuised many fained and superstitious Miracles. In this Suburbe also, neere vnto the Riuer of *Nilus*, is the Customers Office, for such wares as are brought out of the Prouince of *Sabid*. Without the walled Citie stand the Magnificent and stately Sepulchres of the *Soldans*, built with admirable and huge Arches. But in my time a certaine *Soldan* caused a Walke to be built betweene two high Walls, from the Gate of the Citie to the place of the aforesaid Sepulchres, and at the ends of both Walls caused two Turrets of an exceeding height to be erected, for Markes and Directions vnto such Merchants as came thither from the Port of Mount *Sinai*.

About a mile and an halfe from the said Sepulchres, in a certaine place called *Amalthria*, there is a Garden containing the onely Balme-tree, (for in the whole world besides there is not any other tree that beareth true Balme) which Balme-tree growing in the midst of a large Fountaine, and hauing a short Stocke or Body, beareth leaues like vnto Vine-leaues, but that they are not so long: and this Tree (they say) would vtterly wither and decay, if the water of the Fountaine should chance to be deminished. The Garden is enuironed with a strong Wall, whereinto no man may enter, without the speciall fauour and licence of the Gouvernour.

In the midst of *Nilus*, ouer against the old Citie, standeth the Ile called *Michias*, that is to say, *The Ile of Measure*; in which Ile (according to the Inundation of *Nilus*) they haue a kind of deuice, inuented by the ancient *Egyptians*, whereby they most certainly foresee the plentie or scarcitie of the yeare following throughout all the Land of *Egypt*. This Iland is well inhabited, and containeth about fiftene hundred Families; vpon the extreme point or ende whereof standeth a most beautiful Palace, built in my remembrance by a *Soldan*, & a large Temple also, which is very pleasant, in regard of the coole Streames of *Nilus*. Vpon another side of the Iland standeth an house alone by it selfe, in the midst whereof there is a fouresquare Cisterne or Chanell of eightene cubits deepe, whereinto the water of *Nilus* is conueyed by a certaine Sluce vnder the ground. And in the midst of the Cisterne there is erected a certaine Pillar, which is marked and diuided into so many cubits, as the Cisterne it selfe containeth in depth. And vpon the seauenteenth of Iune when *Nilus* beginneth to ouerflow, the water thereof conueyed by the said Sluce into the Chanell, increaseth daily, sometimes two, and sometimes three fingers, and sometimes halfe a cubit in height. Vnto this place there daily resort certaine Officers appointed by the Senate, who viewing and obseruing the increase of *Nilus*, declare vnto certaine Children how much it hath increased; which children wearing yellow Skarffes vpon their Heads, doe publish the said increase of *Nilus* in euery streete of the Citie and the Suburbs, and receiue gifts euery day of the Merchants, Artificers, and Women, so long as *Nilus* increaseth. The foresaid deuice or experiment of the increase of *Nilus*, is this that followeth: If the water reacheth onely to the fifteenth cubit of the foresaid Pillar, they hope for a fruitfull yeare following: but if it stayeth betweene the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth, then the increase of the yeare will prooue but meane: if it resteth betweene the tenth and twelfth cubits, then is it a signe that Corne will be sold ten Duckats the bushell: But if it ariseth to the eighteenth cubite, there is like to follow great scarcitie, in regard of too much moysture: and if the eighteenth cubite be surmounted, all *Egypt* is in danger to be swallowed vp by the inundation of *Nilus*. The Officers therefore declare vnto the Children the height of the Riuer, and the Children publish the same in all streets of the Citie, charging the people to feare God, and telling them how high *Nilus* is increased. And the people being astonied at the wonderfull increase of *Nilus*, wholly exercise themselves in Prayers, and giuing of Almes. And thus *Nilus* continueth fortie dayes increasing, and fortie dayes decreasing; all which time Corne is sold very deare, because while the Inundation lasteth, euery man may sell at his owne pleasure: but when the eightieth day is once past, the Clerke of the Market appointeth the price of all Victuals, and especially of Corne, according as hee knoweth by the foresaid experiment

experiment, that the high and low grounds of *Egypt* haue receiued either too little, or too much or conuenient moysture: all which Customes and Ceremonies being duly performed, there followeth so great a Solemnitie, and such a thundering noyse of Drummes and Trumpets throughout all *Cairo*, that a man would suppose the whole Citie to be turned vpside downe. And then euery Family hath a Barge adorned with rich Couerings and Carpets, and with Torch-light, and furnished with most daintie meates and confections, wherewith they solace themselues. The *SOLDAN* also with all his Nobles and Courtiers resorteth vnto that Sluce or Conduit, which is called the great Conduit, and is compassed round about with a wall, who taking an Axe in his hand breaketh the said wall, and so doe his Nobles and Courtiers likewise: insomuch, that the same part of the wall being cast downe, which stopped the passage of the water, the River of *Nilus* is so swiftly and forcibly carryed through that Conduit, and through all other Conduits and Sluces in the Citie and the Suburbs, that *Cairo* at that time seemeth to be another *Venice*; and then may you row ouer all places of the Land of *Egypt*. Seuen dayes and seuen nights together the foresaid Festiuall Solemnitie continueth in *Cairo*; during which space the Merchants and Artificers of the Citie may (according to the custome of the ancient *Egyptians*) consume and spend in Torches, Perfumes, Confections, Musicke, and such like iollities, all their gaines that they haue gotten the whole yeere past. Without the Citie of *Cairo*, neere vnto the Suburbe of *BebZuaila*, standeth the Castle of the *Soldan* vpon the side of the Mountain called *Mochattan*. This Castle is enuironed with high and impregnable wals, and contayneth such stately and beautifull Palaces, that they can hardly be described. Paved they are with excellent Marble; on the Roofes they are gilt and curiously painted, their windowes are adorned with diuers colours, like to the windowes in some places of *Enrope*; and their gates be artificially carued and beautified with Gold and Azure. Some of these Palaces are for the *Soldan* and his Family; others for the Family of his Wife, and the residue for his Concubines, his Eunuches, and his Guard. Likewise the *Soldan* had one palace to keepe publike Feasts in; and another wherein to giue audience vnto forraine Ambassadors, and to exalt himselfe with great pompe and Ceremonies: and another also for the Gouvernours and Officials of his Court. But all these are at this present abolished by *Selim* the great *Turke*.

John Leo tooke these notes a little before the *Turke* had conquered *Egypt*, after which traueled thrice into *Egypt*. A solemne Feast of seuen dayes for *Nilus*.

The Inhabitants of *Cairo* are people of a merry, iocund; and cheerefull disposition, such as will promise much, but performe little. They exercise Merchandize and Mechanicall Arts, and yet trauell they not out of their owne native soyle. Many Students there are of the Lawes, but very few of other liberall Arts and Sciences. And their Colledges are continually full of Students, yet few of them attayne vnto perfection. The Citizens in Winter are clad in garments of cloth lined with Cotton: in Summer they weare fine shirts; ouer which shirts some put on linnen garments curiously wrought with silke, and others weare garments of Chamblet, and vpon their heads they carry great Turbants couered with cloth of India. The women goe costely attired, adorning their foreheads and neckes with frontlet and chaines of Pearle, and on their heads they weare a sharpe and slender bonet of a span high, being very precious and rich. Gownes they weare of woollen cloth with strait sleeues, being curiously imbroydered with needle-worke, ouer which they cast certaine veyles of most excellent fine cloth of *India*. They couer their heads and faces with a kind of blacke Skarfe, through which beholding others, they cannot bee seene themselues. Vpon their feet they weare fine shooes and pantofles, somewhat after the *Turkish* fashion. These women are so ambitious and proud, that all of them disdain eyther to spinne or to play the Cookes: wherefore their Husbands are constrained to buy victuals ready drest at the Cookes shops: for very few, except such as haue a great Family, vse to prepare and dresse their victuals in their owne houses. Also they vouchsafe great libertie vnto their Wiues: for the good man being gone to the Tauerne or Victualling house, his Wife tricking vp her selfe in costely apparell, and being perfumed with sweet and precious Odours, walketh about the Citie to solace her selfe, and parley with her kinsfolkes and friends.

The customes, rites, and fashions of the Citizens of *Cairo*.

The attyre of the women of *Cairo*.

The libertie of the women of *Cairo*.

They vse to ride vpon Asses more then horses, which are broken to such a gentle pace, that they goe easier then any ambling horse. These Asses they couer with most costely Furniture, and let them out vnto women to ride vpon, together with a Boy to lead the Ass, and certain Footmen to run by. In this City, like as in diuers others, great store of people carry about sundry kinds of victuals to be sold. Many there are also that sell water, which they carry vp and downe in certayne Leather bags vpon the backes of Camels: for the Citie (as I said before) is two miles distant from *Nilus*. Others carrie about a more fine and handsome Vessell with a Cocke or Spout of Brasse vpon it, hauing a Cup of Myrrhe or Christall in their hands, and these sell water for men to drinke, and for euery draught they take a farthing. Others sell young Chickens and other Fowles by measure, which they hatch after a wonderfull and strange manner. They put great numbers of Egges into certayne Ovens built vpon sundry lofts, which Ovens being moderately heat, will within seuen dayes conuert all the said Egges into Chickens. Their measures are bottomlesse, which being put into the basket of the buyer, and filled full of Chickens they lift it vp, and so let the Chickens fall into the basket. Likewise, such as buy those Chickens hauing kept them a few dayes, carry them about to sell againe. The Cookes shops stand open

Birds hatched after a strange manner in *Egypt*.

Thereward of
new and inge-
nious deuises.
One Marke Sea-
liot in London,
made a Locke
and Key and
Chaine, of 43.
linkes, all
which a Flea
did draw, and
weighed but a
graine and a
halfe, *Stow*
Chron. 1579.
Foure seuerall
Sects of the
Mahumetan
Religion, per-
mitted in the
Citie of *Cairo*.

open very late: but the shops of other Artificers are shut vp before ten of the clocke, who then walke abroad for their solace and recreation from one Suburbe to another. The Citizens in their common talke vse ribald and filthy speeches: and (that I may passe ouer the rest in silence) it falleth out oftentimes that the Wife will complaine of her Husband vnto the Iudge, that he doth not his dutie nor contenteth her sufficiently in the night season, wherupon (as it is permitted by the *Mahumetan* Law) the women are diuorced and maryed vnto other Husbands.

Among the Artizans whosoever is the first Inuentor of any new and ingenuous Deuice, is clad in a Garment of cloth of Gold, and carryed with a noyse of Musicians after him, as it were in triumph from shop to shop, hauing some money giuen him at euery place. I my selfe once saw one carryed about with solemne Musicke and with great pompe and triumph, because hee had bound a Flea in a Chaine, which lay before him on a piece of Paper for all men to behold.

Amongst the sundry Sects of Religion in this Citie, there is one Sect of the *Moore*s called *Chenesia*: and this Sect liueth vpon *Horse-flesh*, so that their Butchers when they can heare of any halting or lame Iade, buy him forth-with, and set him vp a fattening, and hauing killed him, the said Sect of *Chenesia* come and buy vp his flesh hand-smooth. This Sect is rite also among the *Turkes*, the *Mamaluks*, and the people of *Asia*; and albeit, the *Turkes* might freely vse the food before-mentioned, yet doe they not inure themselues thereunto.

In *Egypt* and in the Citie of *Cairo* there are permitted foure seuerall Sects, differing each from other both in Canon and Ciuill Lawes: all which Sects haue their originall from the Religion of *Mahumet*. For there were in times past foure men of singular Learning, who by subtiltie and sharpnesse of wit, found out a way to make particular deductions out of *Mahumets* generall Precepts. So that each of them would interpret the opinions of *Mahumet* according to their owne fancie, and would euery man apply them to his owne proper sense; and therefore they must needs disagree much betweene themselues: howbeit, growing famous among the common people in regard of their diuers Canons and Precepts, they were the first Authours and Founders of the said foure Sects: any one of which whatsoever *Mahumetan* professeth, cannot renounce the same at his pleasure and embrace another Sect, vnlesse hee be a man of deepe Learning, and knoweth the Reasons and Allegations of both parts. Also there are in the Citie of *Cairo* foure principall Iudges, who giue sentence onely vpon matters of great importance: vnder which foure are substituted other inferiour Iudges, in euery street of the Citie, which decide pettie contentions and brabbles. And if the parties which are at controuersie chance to be of diuers Sects, the Plaintiffe may summon and conuent the Defendant before the Iudge of his street: howbeit, the Defendant may, if he will, appeale from him vnto the highest Iudge of all, being placed ouer the foure principall Iudges aforesaid, and being gouernour of the Sect, called *Essafichia*; and this high Iudge hath authoritie to dispense withall, or to disanull the Decrees of the foure principall, and of all the other inferiour Iudges, according as hee shall see cause. Whosoever attempteth ought against the Canons and Precepts of his owne Religion, is seuerely punished by the Iudge of the same Religion. Moreouer, albeit the Priests of the foresaid Sects differ very much, both in their formes of Lyturgie or Prayer, and also in many other respects, yet doe they not for that diuersitie of Ceremonies hate one another, neyther yet doe the common people of sundry Sects fall to mutinie and debate: but men indeed of singular Learning and much reading conferre oftentimes together, and as in priuate each man affirmeth his owne Sect to be the best, so likewise doe they confirme their opinions by subtile Arguments, neither may any man vnder paine of grieuous punishment reproch any of the said foure ancient Doctors. And in very deed they all of them follow one & the same Religion, to wit, that which is prescribed in the Canons of *Hashari*, the principall Doctor of the *Mahumetans*, which Canons goe for currant oter all *Africa*, and most part of *Asia*, except in the Dominions of the *Great Sephi of Persia*; who because he reiecteth the said Canons, is accounted by other *Mahumetans* an Heretike, and a Schismaticke. But how such varietie of opinions proceeded from the foure Doctors aforesaid, it were tedious and troublesome to rehearse: he that is desirous to know more of this matter, let him read my Commentaries which I haue written concerning the Law and Religion of *Mahumet*, according to the Doctrine of *Malich*, who was a man of profound Learning, and was borne at *Medina Talnabi*, where the bodie of *Mahumet* lyeth buried: which Doctrine of *Malich* is embraced throughout all *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia*: wherewith if any be delighted, let him peruse my foresaid Commentaries, and they will satisfie him to the full.

Vpon Malefactors they inflict most grieuous and horrible punishment, especially vpon such as haue committed any heynous crime in the Court. Theeues they condemne to the Halter. A murther committed treacherously they punish in manner following: the Executioners assistants take the Malefactor one by the head, and another by the feet, and then comes the chiefe Executioner with a Two-hand-sword, and cutteth his bodie in twaine, the one part whereof adioyning to the head is put into a fire full of vn-slaked Lime: and it is a most strange and dreadful thing to consider, how the same dismembred and halfe bodie will remayne a liue in the fire for the space of a quarter of an houre, speaking and making answere vnto the standers by. But rebels or seditious persons they flea aliue, stuffing their skins with bran till they resemble mans shape, which being done, they carry the said stuffed skins vpon Camels backes through euery street

An horrible
kind of execu-
tion.

streete of the Citie, and there publish the crime of the partie executed: then which punishment I neuer sawe a more dreadfull, by reason that the condemned party liueth so long in torment: but if the tormenter once toucheth his nauell with the knife, he presently yeeldeth vp the Ghost: which he may not doe vntill he be commanded by the Magistrate standing by. If any be imprisoned for debt, not hauing where withall to satisfie the same, the Gouvernor of the prison payeth their creditors, and sendeth them, poore wretches, bound in chaines, and accompanied with certaine keepers, daily to begge almes from street to street, all which almes redoundeth to the Gouvernour, and hee alloweth the said prisoners very bare maintenance to liue vpon.

The Nauell being cut is present death.

- 10 Moreouer, there goe crying vp and downe this Citie certaine aged women, who (though that which they say in the streets cannot be vnderstood) are notwithstanding inioyned by their office to circumcise women according to the prescript of *Mahumet*: which Ceremonie is not obserued but in *Egypt* and *Syria*.

Women circumcised.

- The dignity and power of the *Soldan* was in times past exceeding great; but *Selim* the great *Turke* in the yeere of Christ (if I be not deceiued) 1517. vtterly abolished the saide dignity, and changed all the Customes and Lawes of the *Soldan*. And because it hath bene my hap thrise to trauell into *Egypt* since the said wonderfull alteration befell, I suppose, it will not bee much beside my purpole, if I set downe in this place such particulars as I know to be most certaine true concerning the Court of the *Soldan*. Vnto this high dignitie was wont to bee chosen some one of the most noble *Mamaluks*. These *Mamaluks* being all Christians at the first, and stolne in their child-hood by the *Tartars* out of the Prouince of *Circassia*, which bordereth vpon the *Euxin* Sea, and being sold at *Cussa*, a Towne of *Taurica Chersonesus*, were brought from thence by certaine Merchants vnto the Citie of *Cairo*, and were there bought by the *Soldan*; who constraining them forthwith to abiure and renounce their baptisme, caused them to bee instructed in the *Arabian* and *Turkish* Languages, and to bee trained vp in Militarie Discipline, to the end they might ascend from one degree of Honour to another, till at last they were aduanced vnto the high dignity of the *Soldan*. But this Custome whereby it was enacted: that the *Soldan* should be cholen out of the number of such as were *Mamaluks* and slaues by their condition, began about two hundred and fifty yeers sithence, when as the Family of the valiant *Saladin* (whose name was so terrible vnto Christians) being supported but by a few of the kindred, fell to vtter decay and ruine.

The manner of creating the *Soldan*, and of the orders, degrees, and offices in his Court.

John Leo was thrise in *Egypt*. The *Mamaluks*.

- At the same time when the last King of *Ierusalem* was determined to sacke the Citie of *Cairo*, which also in regard of the sloth and cowardize of the *Mahumetan* *Califa* then raigning ouer it, intended to make it selfe tributarie vnto the same King, the Iudges and Lawyers of the Citie with the consent of the *Califa*, sent for a certaine Prince of *Asia*, called *Azedudin*, of the Nation of *Curdu* (the people whereof liue in tents like the *Arabians*) which *Azedudin* together with his sonne *Saladin*, came with an armie of fiftie thousand horsemen. And albeit, *Saladin* was inferiour in age vnto his Father, yet in regard of his redoubted valour, and singular knowledge in Military affaires, they created him Generall of the field, and gaue him free liberty to bestow all the Tributes and Reuenues of *Egypt*, as himselfe should thinke expedient. And so marching at length against the Christians, he got the Victory of them without any bloodshed, and draue them out of *Ierusalem* and out of all *Syria*. Then *Saladin* returning backe with triumph vnto *Cairo*, had an intent to vsurpe the Gouvernement thereof: whereupon hauing slaine the *Califa* his guard (who bare principall sway ouer the *Egyptians*) hee procured the death also of the *Califa* himselfe, being thus bereft of his guard, with a poysoned cup, and then forthwith submitted himselfe vnto the patronage of the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, who was the true and lawfull *Mahumetan* Prelate of *Cairo*. Thus the iurisdiction of the *Califas* of *Cairo* (who had continued Lords of that Citie by perpetuall succession for the space of two hundred and thirty yeeres) surceased, and returned againe vnto the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, who was the true and lawfull Gouvernour thereof. And so the Schismaticall *Califas* and Patriarkes being suppressed, there grew a contention betweene *Saladin* and the *Soldan* of *Bagdet*, and *Saladin* made himselfe a soueraigne of *Cairo*, because the said *Soldan* of *Bagdet* being in times past Prince of the Prouinces of *Mazandran* and *Euarixin* situate vpon the Riuer of *Ganges*, and being borne in a certaine Countrey of *Asia*, laid claime notwithstanding vnto the Dominion of *Cairo*, and intending to wage warre against *Saladin*, hee was restrained by the *Tartars* of *Corasan*; who made inuasions and inrodes vpon him. *Saladin* on the other side fearing least the Christians in reuenge of the foresaid injury would make an expedition into *Syria*, and considering that his forces were partly slaine in the former warres, and partly consumed by pestilence, except a few which remained for the defence and lauegard of his Kingdome, began to imploy himselfe about buying of slaues that came from *Circassia*, whom the King of *Armenia* by those dayes tooke and sent vnto *Cairo* to be sold: which slaues he caused to abiure the Christian faith, and to be trained vp in feats of warre and in the *Turkish* Language, and being the proper Language of *Saladin* himselfe: and so the said slaues within a while increased so exceedingly both in valour and number, that they became not onely valiant Souldiers, and skilfull Commanders, but also Gouvernours of the whole

The original of the *Mamaluks*.

Kingdome. After the decease of *Saladin*, the Dominion remained vnto his Family one hundred and fifty yeeres, and all his successors obserued the Custome of buying slaues of *Circassia*: but the Family of *Saladin* growing at length to decay, the slaues by a generall consent elected one *Piperis* a valiant *Mamuluk* of their owne companie to be their Soueraigne Lord and *Soldan*: which Custome they afterward so inuiolably kept, that not the *Soldans* owne sonne nor any other *Mamuluk* could attaine vnto that high dignity, vnlesse first he had beene a Christian, and had abiured his faith, and had learned also exactly to speak the *Circassian* and *Turkish* Languages. Infomuch, that many *Soldans* sent their sonnes in their childhood into *Circassia*, that by learning the Language and fashions of the Countrey, they might proue in processe of time fit to beare Soueraigne authority; but by the dissension of *Mamalukes*, they were alwayes defeated of their purpose. 10

The principall
Peere next vn-
der the *Soldan*
called *Eddag-
nadare*.
The *Soldans*
officer, called
Amir Caber.

The *Eddagnadare* being in dignitie second vnto the *Soldan*, and being as it were, his Vice-roy or Lieutenant, had authoritie to place or displace any Magistrates or Officers; and maintained a Family almost as great as the Family of the *Soldan* himselfe.

The *Amir Cabir* hauing the third place of honour, was Lord Generall ouer the *Soldans* Militarie Forces; who was by office bound to leauy armies against the forraigne enemye, especially against the next *Arabians*, and to furnish the Castles and Cities with conuenient Garisons: and also had authoritie to dispend the *Soldans* Treasure, vpon such necessary affaires as hee thought good.

Nai Bessan.

The fourth in dignity after the *Soldan* called *Nai Bessan*, beeing the *Soldan* his Lieutenant in *Syria*, and gathering vp all the Tributes of *Assiria*, bestowed them at his owne discretion, and yet the *Soldan* himselfe was to place Garisons in the Castles and Forts of those Prouinces. This *Nai Bessan* was bound yeerely to pay certaine thousands of *Saraffi* vnto the *Soldan*. 20

The *Ostadar*.

The fift Magistrate called the *Ostadar*, was the great Master or Steward of the Palaces; whose duetie was to prouide apparell for the *Soldan*, with Victuals and other necessities for his whole family. And vnto this dignity the *Soldan* vsed to aduance some one of his most ancient, Honourable, and Vertuous Nobles, vnder whose tuition himselfe had in times past beene trained vp.

The *Amiri A-
chor*.

The sixt called the *Amiri Achor*, was Master of the Horse and Camels; and distributed them vnto each man in Court, according to his degree. 30

The *Amirals*.

The seuenth Office was performed by certaine principall *Mamalukes*, being like vnto the Colonels of *Europe*: euery of whom was Captaine of a thousand inferiour *Mamalukes*; and their Office was to conduct the *Soldans* Forces against the enemye, and to take charge of his armour.

The *Amirmda*.

The eight degree of Honour was allotted vnto certaine Centurions ouer the *Mamalukes*; who were continually to attend vpon the *Soldan*, either when he rood any whither, or when he exercised himselfe in armes.

The *Chazendare*.

The ninth person was the Treasurer, who made an account vnto the *Soldan* of all the Tributes and Customes of his Kingdome, disbursing money for the daily and necessary expenses of the *Soldans* Household, and laying vp the rest in the *Soldans* Castle. 40

The *Amirfleh*.

The tenth called the *Amirfleh*, had the armour of the *Soldan* committed to his charge, which being contained in a great Armory was to be scoured, furbished, and renewed at his direction, for which purpose he had sundry *Mamalukes* placed vnder him.

The *Testecana*.

The eleuenth called the *Testecana* was Master of the *Soldans* Wardrobe, and tooke charge of all such Robes and Apparell as were deliuered vnto him by the *Ostadar* or high Steward of the Household; which Robes he distributed according to the appointment of the *Soldan*; for whomsoever the *Soldan* promoted vnto any dignity, him he apparelled also. All the said garments were of cloth of Gold, of Veluet, or of silke.

The Citie of
Chanca.

The great Citie of *Chanca* situate about fixe miles from *Cairo*, at the very entrance of the Desert lying in the way to Mount *Sinai*, is replenished with most stately Houses, Temples, and Colledges. All the fields betweene *Cairo* and this Citie abound with great plenty of Dates: but from *Chanca* to Mount *Sinai*, which is an hundred and fortie miles, there are no places of habitation at all. Through this Citie lie two maine road-ways, the one leading to *Syria*, and the other to *Arabia*. This Citie hath no other water but such as remaine in certaine Channels after the inundation of *Nilus*; which channels being broken, the water runneth forth into the plaines, and there maketh a number of small lakes, from whence it is conueighed backe by certaine sluices into the Cisternes of the Citie. 50

The Citie of
Munia.

Vpon the same side of *Nilus*, standeth the faire Citie of *Munia*, which was built in the time of the *Mahumetans* by one *Chasib*, a Lieutenant and Courtier of the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, vpon an high place. Heere are most excellent Grapes, and abundance of all kind of fruit, which albeit they are carried to *Cairo*, yet can they not come thither fresh and new, by reason that this City is distant from *Cairo* one hundred and fourescore miles. It is adorned with most stately Temples and other buildings: and here are to be seene at this present, sundry ruines of the ancient *Egyptian*. 60

rian buildings. The Inhabitants are rich, for they trauell for their gaine as farre as *Gaoga*, a Kingdome of the Land of *Negros*.

At this present there are found at *Manf-Loth*, certaine huge and high Pillars and Porches, whereon are Verses engrauen in the *Egyptian* Tongue. Neere vnto *Nilus* stand the ruines of a stately building, which seemeth to haue been a Temple in times past; among which ruines the Citizens find sometimes Coyne of Siluer, sometimes of Gold, and sometimes of Lead; hauing on the one side Hielygraphick notes, and on the other side the pictures of ancient Kings. The fields adiacent being very fruitfull, are extremely scorched by the heate of the Sunne, and much haunted with Crocodiles, which was the occasion (as some thinke) why the *Romans* abandoned this

10 Citie. The Inhabitants are men of indifferent wealth, for they exercise Traffick in the Land of *Negros*.

Axiath founded by the *Egyptians* vpon the banke of *Nilus*, two hundred and fifty miles from *Cairo*, is most admirable in regard of the hugeness, and of the varietie of old buildings, and of Epitaphies engrauen in *Egyptian* Letters; although at this present the greatest part thereof lieth desolate. When the *Mahumetans* were first Lords of this Citie, it was inhabited by honourable personages, and continueth as yet famous, in regard of the Nobility and great wealth of the Citizens. There are in this Citie almost an hundred Families of Christians, and three or foure Churches still remaining: and without the Citie standeth a Monasterie, containing moe then an hundred Monks, who eat neither Flesh nor Fish, but onely Hearbs, Bread and Oliues. And yet haue

20 they dainty Cates without any fat among them. This Monasterie is very rich, and giueth three dayes entertainment to all strangers that resort thither, for the welcomming of whom they bring vp great store of Doves, of Chickens, and of such like commodities.

Ichmin being the most ancient Citie in all *Egypt*, was built by *Ichmin*, the sonne of * *Misraim*, the sonne of *Chus*, which was the sonne of * *Hen*, vpon the Banke of *Nilus*, next vnto *Asia*, and three hundred miles Eastward from *Cairo*. This Citie the *Mahumetans*, when they first began to vsurpe ouer *Egypt*, so wasted and destroyed, for certaine causes mentioned in Histories, that besides the foundations and rubbish, they left nought remaining: for, transporting the Pillars and principall Stones vnto the other side of *Nilus*, they built thereof the Citie called *Munfia*, euen as we will now declare.

30 *Georgia* was in times past a famous Monasterie of Christians, called after the name of Saint *George*, and being sixe miles distant from *Munfia*. It was inhabited by more then two hundred Monks, who enioying large Territories, Possessions and Reuenues, shewed themselves curteous and beneficiall vnto strangers; and the ouerplus of their yearly reuenues was sent vnto the Patriarke of *Cairo*, who caused the same to be distributed amongst the poore Christians: but about an hundred yeares agoe, all the Monkes of this Monasterie died of a Pestilence, which

40 spred it selfe ouer all the Land of *Egypt*. Whereupon the Prince of *Munfia* compassed the said Monasterie with a Wall, and erected diuers houses for Artificers and Merchants to dwell in. And being allured by the pleasant Gardens situate amidst the beautifull Hills, hee himselfe went thither to inhabite: but the Patriarke of the *Iacobites* making his mone vnto the *Soldan*, the *Soldan* caused another Monasterie to bee built in the same place, where in times past the old Citie stood; and assigned so much allowance thereunto, as might maintaine thirtie Monkes.

This little Citie of *Chian* was built in times past neere vnto *Nilus* by the *Mahumetans*, which notwithstanding is not now inhabited by them, but by the Christians called *Iacobites*, who employ themselves either in Husbandrie, or in bringing vp of Chickens, Geese, and Doves. There remaine as yet certaine Monasteries of Christians, that giue entertainment to Strangers. But *Mahumetans* (besides the Gouvernour and his Family) there are none at all.

Barbanda founded by the *Egyptians* vpon *Nilus*, about foure hundred miles from *Cairo*, was laid so waste by the *Romans*, that nothing but the ruines thereof remained, most of which ruines were carried vnto *Asna*, whereof wee will forthwith intreate. Amongst the said ruines are to

50 be found many pieces of Gold and Siluer Coyne, and sundry fragments of Smaragds or Emeralds.

The ancient Citie of *Cana*, built by the *Egyptians* vpon the banke of *Nilus* ouer against *Barbanda*, and enuironed with Walls of Sunne-dried Bricke, is inhabited with people of base condition, applying themselves vnto Husbandrie, by which meanes the Citie aboundeth with corne. Hither are the Merchandise brought against the streame of *Nilus*, which are sent from *Cairo* to *Mecca*: for the distance from hence ouer the wildernesse vnto the Red Sea, is at least 120 miles, all which way there is no water at all to bee found. And at the Hauen of *Chossir* vpon the shoare of the Red Sea, are diuers Cottages, whereinto the said Merchandises are vnladen. And ouer against *Chossir* on the side of *Asia* lieth *Iambub*, another Hauen of the Red Sea, where

60 at Travellers going on Pilgrimage to see the Tombe of *Mahumet* at *Medina*, must make their rendezvous or generall meeting. Moreover, *Chana* furnisheth *Medina* and *Mecca* with Corne, in which places they suffer great and continuall scarcitie.

Asna in times past was called *Siene*. Round about this Citie there are to bee seene diuers

The Citie of *Axiath*.

Christians.

The Citie of *Ichmin*.
* It is otherwise read in the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, vers. 6.
* *Dubium*.

The Monasterie called *Georgia*.

A Pestilence.

The Citie of *Chian*.

The Citie of *Barbanda*.

Emeralds.

The Citie of *Cana*.

Antonio Galvano maketh large mention of this Citie.

The Hauen of *Chossir*.

The Citie of *Asna*.

The Citie of
Assuan.

Snachen.

* Bugiba are
those which in
old time were
called Troglo-
dyte.

The great
Trauels of
John Leo.

huge buildings, and admirable Sepulchres, together with sundry Epitaphes engrauen both in Egyptian and Latine Letters.

The great, ancient, and populous Citie of *Assuan* was built by the *Egyptians* vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, about fourescore miles Eastward from *Asna*. The soyle adiacent is most apt and fruitfull for Corne. And the Citizens are exceedingly addicted vnto the Trade of Merchandise, because they dwell so neere vnto the Kingdome of *Nubia*, vpon the confines whereof standeth their Citie: beyond which Citie, *Nilus* dispersing himselfe ouer the Plaines through many small Lakes, becommeth innaugable. Also, the said Citie standeth neere vnto that Desart, ouer which they trauell vnto the Port of *Snachen* vpon the Red Sea, and it adioyneth likewise vpon the frontiers of *Ethiopia*. And here in Summer time the Inhabitants are extremely scorched with the heate of the Sunne, being of a swart or browne colour, and being mingled with the people of *Nubia* and *Ethiopia*. Here are to be seene also many buildings of the ancient *Egyptians*, and most high Towers, which they call in the language of that Countrey *Barba*. Beyond this place there is neither Citie nor habitation of any account, besides a few Villages of black people, whose speech is compounded of the *Arabian*, *Egyptian*, and *Ethiopian* languages. These being subiect vnto the people, called * *Bugiba*, liue in the Fields after the *Arabian* manner, being free from the *Soldans* iurisdiction, for there his Dominions are limited.

And thus much concerning the principall Cities standing along the maine Chanell of *Nilus*: Some whereof I saw, others I entred into, and passed by the residue: but I had most certaine intelligence of them all, either by the Inhabitants themselves, or by the Mariners which carried me by water from *Cairo* to *Assuan*, with whom returning backe vnto *Chana*, I trauelled thence ouer the Desart vnto the Red Sea, ouer which Sea I crossed vnto *Iambuth*, and *Ziddem*, two Hauens Townes of *Arabia Desarta*; of which two Townes, because they belong vnto *Asia*, I will not here discourse, lest I should seeme to transgresse the limits of *Africa*. But if it shall please God to vouchsafe me longer life, I purpose to describe all the Regions of *Asia* which I haue trauelled; to wit, *Arabia Desarta*, *Arabia Felix*, *Arabia Petraea*, the *Asian* part of *Egypt*, *Armenia*, and some part of *Tartaria*; all which Countries I saw and passed through in the time of my youth. Likewise, I will let downe my last Voyages from *Fez* to *Constantinople*, from *Constantinople* to *Egypt*, and from thence into *Italie*, in which I saw diuers and sundry Ilands. All which my Trauels I meane (by Gods assistance) being returned forth of *Europe* into mine owne Country, particularly to describe; deciphrring first the Religion of *Europe* and *Asia* which I haue seene, and thereunto annexing this my Discourse of *Africa*, to the end that I may promote the endeauours of such as are desirous to know the state of forraigne Countries.

¶ I X.

Principall occurrents in I O H N L E O his ninth Booke of the Historie of Africa.

Of the African
Beasts differ-
ring from the
European.
The manner
of taking Ele-
phants in
Ethiopia.

* As by a tame
Female draw-
ing him to an
inclosed place:
and by a tame
Male fighting
with the wilde
one in the
Wood, and
meane while
men with
ropes fastning
his hinder
legs.

The Beast cal-
led Giraffa.

* Here is a
word wanting
in the ori-
ginall.

The Camell.

THe Elephant keepeth in the Woods, and is found in great numbers in the Forrests of the Land of *Negros*. They vse to go many in one company, & if they chance to meet with any man, they either shun him, or giue place vnto him. But if the Elephant intendeth to hurt anyman, he casteth him on the ground with his long snout or trunke, and neuer ceaseth trampling vpon him till he be dead. And although it be a mighty and fierce beast, yet are there great store of them caught by the *Ethiopian* Hunters, in manner following. These Hunters being acquainted with the Woods and Thickets where they keepe, vse to make among the trees a round hedge of strong boughes and rafts, leauing a space open on the one side thereof, and likewise a doore standing vpon the plaine ground which may be lift vp with ropes, where with they can easily stoppe the said open place or passage. The Elephant therefore coming to take his rest vnder the shady boughes, entreth the hedge or inclosure, where the Hunters by drawing the said rope, and fastening the doore, hauing imprisoned him, descend downe from the trees, and kill him with their Arrowes, to the end they may get his Teeth, and make sale of them. But if the Elephant chanceth to breake through the hedge, he murthereth as many men as he can find. In *Ethiopia* the higher, and *India*, they haue other deuices * to take the Elephant, which, least I should seeme ouer-tedious, I passe ouer in silence.

The *Giraffa* so sauage and wild, that it is a very rare matter to see any of them: for they hide themselves among the Desarts and Woods, where no other beasts vse to come; and so soone as one of them espieth a man, it flieth forthwith, though not very swiftly. It is headed like a Camell, eared like an Oxe, and footed like a * : neither are any taken by Hunters, but while they are very young.

Camels are gentle and domesticall beasts, and are found in *Africa* in great numbers, especially in the Desarts of *Libya*, *Numidia*, and *Barbaria*. And these the *Arabians* esteeme to bee their principall possessions and riches: so that speaking of the wealth of any of their Princes, or Gouvernours, he bath (say they) so many thousands Camels, and not so many thousand Duckets.

Moreouer,

Moreover, the *Arabians* that possesse Camels liue like Lords and Potentates in great liberty, because they can remaine with their Camels in barren Desarts, whither no Kings nor Princes can bring armies to subdue them.

African Camels farre excell them of *Asia*; for traueilling fortie or fifty dayes together, without any prouender at all, they are vnladen in the euening, and turned loose into the next fields, where they feed vpon Grasse, Brambles, and the boughes of trees; which hardnesse the Camels of *Asia* cannot endure, but when they set forth any iourney, they must be well pampered and full of flesh. Experience hath taught, that our Camels hauing trauelled laden fifty dayes together without any prouender; haue so wasted; first, the flesh of their bunches; secondly, of

The *African* Camels are the best.

10 their bellies, and lastly, of their hips, that they haue scarce beene able to carry the weight of one hundred pounds. But the Merchants of *Asia* giue their Camels prouender, halfe of them being laden with wares, and the other halfe with prouender, and so their whole Carouan of Camels goeth forth and returneth home laden: by which meanes they keepe them in good plight. Of Camels there are three kinds; whereof the first being called *Huginn*, are grosse, and of a tall stature, and most fit to carrie burthens, but ere foure yeeres end they grow vnprofitable: after which time euery Camell but of meane stature will carry a thousand pounds of *Italian* weight. When any of the said Camels is to bee laden, being beaten vpon his knees and necke with a wand, he kneeleth downe, and when he feeleth his load sufficient, he riseth vp againe. And the *Africans* vse to geld their Camels which they keepe for the burthen, putting but one male

Three kinds of Camels.

20 Camell among ten femals. The second kinde of Camels called *Becheti*, and hauing a double bunch, are fit both to carrie burthens, and to ride vpon: and these are bred onely in *Asia*.

The third kind called *Raguabill*, are Camels of a slender and low stature, which albeit they are vnfit to carry burthens, yet doe they not excell the two other kinds in swiftnesse, that in the space of one day they will trauell one hundred miles, and will so continue ouer the Desarts for eight or ten dayes together with very little prouender: and these doe the principall *Arabians* of *Numidia*, and the *Moores* of *Libya* vsually ride vpon. When the King of *Tombuto* is desirous to send any message of importance vnto the *Numidian* Merchants with great celeritie, his post or messenger riding vpon one of these Camels, will runne from *Tombuto* to *Darba* or *Segelmesse*, beeing nine hundred miles distant, in the space of eight dayes at the farthest: but

Camels of a wonderfull swiftnesse, otherwise called Dromidaries.

30 such as trauell must be expert in the way through the Desarts, neither will they demand lesse then five hundred Duckats for euery iourney. The said Camels about the beginning of the spring inclining to their lust and venerie, doe not onely lust one another, but also will deadly wound such persons as haue done them any iniury in times past, not forgetting light and easie stripes: and whomsoeuer they lay hold on with their teeth, they lift vp on high, and cast him downe againe, trampling vpon him with their feete, and in this madde moode they continue fortie dayes together. Neither are they so patient of hunger as of thirst; for they will abstaine from drinke, without any inconuenience, for fifteene dayes together: and if their guides water them once in three dayes, they doe them great hurt, for they are not vsually watered but once in five or nine dayes, or at an vrgent necessity once in fifteene dayes. Moreover,

The Camels great abstinence from drinke.

40 the said Camels are of a gentle disposition, and are indued as it were with a kinde of humane reason: for when as betweene *Ethiopia* and *Barbarie* they haue a dayes iourney to trauell more then their woont, their masters cannot driue them on, being so tired, with whips, but are faine to sing certaine songs vnto them, wherewith being exceedingly delighted, they performe their iourney with such swiftnesse, that their said masters are scarce able to follow them. At my beeing in *Cairo* I saw a Camell dance; which arte of dancing how he learned of his master I will heere in few words report. They take a young Camell, and put him for halfe an houre together in a place like a Bath-stoue prepared for the same purpose, the floore whereof is heret with fire: then play they without vpon a drumme, whereat the Camell not so much in regard of the noyse, as of the hot pauement which offendeth his feet, and lifteth vp one legge after another in manner of a dance, and hauing beene accustomed vnto this exercise for the space

How the Camels of *Cairo* learne to dance.

50 of a yeere or ten moneths, they then present him vnto the publike view of the people, when as hearing the noyse of a drum, and remembring the time when he trode vpon the hot floore, he presently falleth a dancing and leaping: and so, vse being turned into a kind of nature, he perpetually obserueth the same custome.

The Horses of *Barbary* differ not in any respect from other Horses: but Horses of the same swiftnesse and agilitie are in the *Arabian* tongue called throughout all *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Asia*, *Arabia Felix*, and *Deserta*, by the name of *Arabian Horses*: and the Historiographers affirme, that this kind of wilde Horses ranging vp and downe the *Arabian* Desarts, and being broken and managed by the *Arabians* euer since the time of *Ismael*, haue so exceedingly multiplied and increased, that they haue replenished the most part of *Africa*: which opinion fauoureth of truth, for euen at this present there are great store of wild Horses found both in the *African* and *Arabian* Desarts. And I my selfe sawe in the *Numidian* Desart a wild Colt of a white colour, and hauing a curled maine. The most certaine triall of these Horses is when they can ouertake the beast called Lant, or the Ostrich in a race: which two, if they be able to performe, they are

Barbary or *Arabian* Horses.

Horses fed
with Camels
milke.

esteemed worth a thousand Duckats or an hundred Camels. Howbeit, very few of these Horses are brought vp in *Barbarie*, but the *Arabians* that inhabite the Desarts, and the people of *Lybia* bring vp great numbers of them, vsing them not for trauell or warfare, but onely for hunting, neither doe they giue them any other meate but the milke of Camels, and that twice e- uery day and night, to the end they may keepe them nimble, liuely, and of spare flesh; and in the time of Grasse they suffer them to feede in Pastures, but then they ride not vpon them.

The wilde
Horse.
Wild Horses
are vsuall with
the Tartars &
at the Riuer of
Plate (but of
Spanish bread.
Lant.

The wilde Horse is one of those beasts that come seldome in sight. The *Arabians* of the Desarts take the wild Horse and eate him, saying, that the younger the Horse be, the sweeter is his flesh: but he will hardly be taken either with Horses or Dogs. In the waters where this 10
beast keepeth, they lay certaine snares, couering them ouer with sand, wherein his foot being caught, he is intangled and slaine.

Targets made
of a skin.

The beast called Lant or Dant in shape resembleth an Oxe, sauing that he hath smaller legs, and comlier hornes. His haire is white, and his hoofs are as blacke as Iet, and he is so exceeding swift, that no beast can ouertake him, but onely the *Barberie* Horse, as is before said. He is easlier caught in Summer then in Winter, because that in regard of the extreme fretting heat of the sand his hoofs are then strained and set awry, by which meanes his swiftnesse is abated, like as the swiftnesse of Stagges and Roe-Deere. Of the hide of this beast are made Shields and Targets of great defence, which will not be pierced, but onely with the forcible shot of a bullet, but they are sold at an extreme price.

The wild Oxe.

The wild Oxe resembleth the tame Oxe, saue that it is lesse in stature, being of a gray or ash-colour, and of great swiftnesse. It haunteth either the Desarts, or the confines of the Desarts. And the flesh thereof (they say) is very sauoury.

The wild Asse.

The wilde Asse being found either in the Desarts, or vpon the borders thereof, is of an ash-colour. In swiftnesse they are surpassed onely by the *Barbarie* Horses, and when they see a man, they bray out aloud, kicking and wincing with their heeles, and standing stone-still, till one approacheth so neare them, that he may touch them with his hand, and then they betake themselues to flight. By the *Arabians* of the Desarts they are caught with Snares, and other Engins. They goe in companies either when they feede or water themselues. Their flesh is hot and vn sauoury, and hath a wilde taste: but being set a cooling two dayes after it is sodden, it be- 30
commeth very sauory and pleasant.

The Oxen vpon
the Mountaines
of Africa.

All the Oxen vpon the Mountaines of *Africa* being tame cattell, are of so meane a stature, that in comparison of other Oxen they seeme to be but Heifers of two yeeres old: but the Mountainers vsing them to the plough, say, that they are strong, and will indure much labour.

The beast cal-
led Adimmain.

Adimmain, is a tame beast, beeing shaped like a Ramme, and of the stature of an Asse, and hauing long and dangle eares. The *Libyans* vse these beasts in stead of Kine, and make of their milke great store of Cheese and Butter. They haue some Wooll, though it bee but short. I my selfe vpon a time beeing merrily disposed, roade a quarter of a mile vpon the backe of one of these beastes. Very many of them there are in the Desarts of *Libya*, and but fewe in other places: and it is a rare matter to see one of them in the *Numidian* 40
fields.

The African
Ramme.

There is no difference betweene these Rammes of *Africa* and others, saue onely in their tayles, which are of a great thicknesse, being by so much the grosser, by how much they are more fat, so that some of their tayles weigh ten, and other twenty pounds a peece, and they become fat of their owne naturall inclination: but in *Egypt* there are diuers that feed them fat with Bran and Barley, vntill their tayles growe so bigge that they cannot remouue themselues from place to place: insomuch that those which take charge of them are faine to bind little carts vnder their tayles, to the end they may haue strength to walke. I my selfe saw at a City in *Egypt* called *Asiot*, and standing vpon *Nilus*, about an hundred and fifty miles 50
from *Cairo*, one of the said Rams tayles that weighed foure-score pounds, and others affirmed, that they had seene one of those tayles of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. All the fat therefore of this beast consisteth in his tayle; neither is there any of them to be found but onely in *Tunis* and in *Egypt*.

Huge sayle.

The Lyon.

The Lion is a most fierce and cruell beast, being hurtfull vnto all other beasts, and excelling them both in strength, courage, and crueltie, neither is he onely a deuourer of beasts, but of men also. In some places one Lyon will boldly encounter two hundred Horsemen. They range without all feare among the flockes and droues of Cattell, and whatsoever beast they can lay hold on, they carry it into the next Wood vnto their Whelpes: yea, some Lyons there are (as I haue before said) that will vanquish and kill fise or sixe Horsemen in one Company. Howbeit, such 60
Lyons as liue vpon the cold mountaynes are not so outrageous and cruell: but the hotter the places be where they keepe, the more rauenous and bold are they, as namely, vpon the Frontiers of *Temefna*, and of the Kingdome of *Fez*, in the Desart of *Angad* neere *Telenfin*, and betweene the Citie of *Bona* and *Tunis*, all which are accounted the most famous and fierce Lyons in all *Africa*.

frica. In the Spring, while they are giuen to Lust and Venerie, they haue most fierce and bloudie conflicts one with an other, eight or twelue Lyons following after one Lyonesse. I haue heard many both men and women report, that if a woman chanceth to meet with a Lyon, and sheweth him her priuie parts, hee will with crying and roaring, cast his eyes vpon the ground and so depart. Beleeue it they that list. But this I am well assured of, that whatsoeuer a Lyon getteth in his pawes, though it be a Camell, he will carry it away.

The Leopard liuing in the Woods of *Barbarie*, will not for all their great strength and crueltye hurt any man, vnlesse it be very seldome, when as they meete with a man in a narrow passage, and cannot shunne him, or when they are checked and prouoked vnto fury: for then they will flye vpon a man, laying hold vpon his visage with their talents, and plucking off so much flesh as they can catch, insomuch that sometimes they will crush his braines in pieces. They inuade not any flockes or droues of tame Cattell, but are at deadly feude with Dogges, whom they will kill and deuoure.

The Mountayners of the Region of *Constantina* hunt them on Horse-backe, stopping all passages, where they might escape. The Leopard ranging vp and downe, and finding euery place so beset with Horsemen that he cannot get away, windeth and turneth himselfe on all sides, and so becommeth a fit marke for the Hunters to discharge their Darts and Arrowes vpon. But if the Leopard chanceth to escape, that man that lets him passe, is bound by an vsuall custome to inuite the residue of the Hunters vnto a Banquet.

The beast called by the *Arabians*, *Dabub*, and by the *Africans*, *Iesef*, in bignesse and shape resembleth a Woolfe, sauing that his legges and feet are like to the legges and feet of a man. It is not hurtfull vnto any other beast, but will rake the carkasses of men out of their graues, and will deuoure them, being otherwise an abiect and silly creature. The Hunters being acquainted with his Den, come before it singing and playing vpon a Drum, by which Melodie beeing allured forth, his legs are intrapped in a strong Rope, and so he is drawne out and slaine.

The Ciuet Cats are naturally wilde, and are found in the Woods of *Ethiopia*. The Merchants taking their young Whelpes or Kittes, feed them with Milke, Branne, and Flesh, and keepe them in Cages or Grates. But their odoriferous Excrement (which is nought else but their sweat) they gather twice or thrice euery day in manner following: first, they driue them vp and downe the Grate with a Wand, till they sweat, and then they take the said sweat from vnder their flankes, their shoulders, their neckes, and their tayles: which Excrement of sweat is commonly called Ciuet.

Of Apes there are diuers and sundry kinds, those which haue tayles, being called in the *African* Tongue, *Monne*, and those which haue none, *Babuni*. They are found in the Woods of *Mauritania*, and vpon the Mountaynes of *Bugia* and *Constantina*. They liue vpon Grasse and Corne, and goe in great companies to feed in the Corne fields, and one of their company which standeth Centinell, or keepeth watch and ward vpon the borders, when hee espyeth the Husbandman comming, he cryeth out and giueth, as it were, an alarme to his fellows, who euery one of them flee immediately into the next Woods, and betake themselues to the trees. The shee Apes carrie their Whelpes vpon their shoulders, and will leape with them in that sort from one tree to another.

The Sea Horse is commonly found in the Riuer of *Niger* and *Nilus*. In shape it resembleth an Horse, and in stature an Asse, but it is altogether destitute of haire. It liueth both in the water and vpon the Land, and swimmeth to the shoare in the night season. Barkes and Boates laden with Wares and sayling downe the Riuer of *Niger*, are greatly endangered by this Sea Horse, for often times he ouerwhelmeth and sinketh them.

The Sea Oxe being couered with an exceeding hard skinne, is shaped in all respects like vnto the Land Oxe; saue that in bignesse it exceedeth not a Calfe of sixe monethes old. It is found in both the Riuer of *Niger* and *Nilus*, and being taken by Fishers, is kept a long time alieue out of the water. I my selfe saw one at *Cairo* lead vp and downe by the necke in a Chaine, which (they say) was taken at the Citie of *Asna*, standing vpon the banke of *Nilus*, about foure hundred miles from *Cairo*.

In the *Libyan* Desarts are found very many Tortoyse as bigge as a Tunne. And *Bicri* the Cosmographer in his Booke of *the Regions and Iournies of Africa* reporteth, that a certaine man being weary of traouelling, ascended to his thinking, vpon an high stone lying in the Desart, to the end he might free himselfe from the danger of Serpents and venemous beasts; who hauing slept soundly thereupon all night, found himselfe in the morning remooued three miles from the place where he first lay downe, and thereby vnderstood that it was not a stone but a Tortoyse whereon he reposed himselfe, which lying still all the day long creepeth for food in the night-season, but so slowly, that her pace can hardly be perceiued.

The Crocodile commonly frequenteth the Riuer of *Niger* and *Nilus*, and containeth in length twelue Cubits and aboue, the tayle thereof being as long as the whole bodie besides, albeit, there are but few of so huge a bignesse. It goeth vpon foure feet like a Lizard, neither is it aboue a Cubit and an halfe high. The tayle of this beast is full of knots, and the skinne thereof

The Leopard.

The beast called Dabub.

The Ciuet Cat.

The manner of gathering Ciuet.

The Ape, Monkeyes and Baboones.

The Sea Horse.

The Sea Oxe.

The Tortoyse, Bicri his Booke of the Regions of Africa.

The Crocodile, The craft of the Crocodile in taking both men & beasts.

of is so exceeding hard, that no Crosse-bow will enter it. Some prey vpon fishes onely, but others vpon beasts and men. Which lurking about the bankes of the Riuer, doe craftily lay wait for men and beasts that come the same way, about whom suddenly winding their tayles, they draw them into the water, and there deuoure them. Howbeit, some of them are not so cruell by nature: for if they were, no Inhabitants could liue neere vnto the Riuer of *Nilus* and *Niger*. In eating they moue the vpper Iaw onely, their neather Iaw being ioyned vnto their brest-bone. Not many yeeres sithence, passing vp the Riuer of *Nilus* towards the Citie of *Cana*, standing in the vpper part of *Egypt*, foure hundred miles from *Cairo*, on a certaine night whilest we were in the midst of our Iourney, the Moone being ouer-shadowed with Clouds, the Mariners and Passengers all fast a sleepe, and the Barke vnder sayles, I my selfe studying by Candle-light in my Cabben, was called vpon by a deuout old man in the Barke, who bestowed the same night in watching and prayer, and said vnto me, call (I pray you) some of your company, who may helpe me to draw vp this piece of wood floting vpon the water, which will serue to morrow for the dressing of our Dinner. My selfe, Sir (quoth I) will come and helpe you, rather then wake any of our company in the dead of the night. Nay (quoth the old man) I will try whether I bee able to draw it vp alone or no. And so when the Barke was neere vnto the Wood, as he supposed, holding a Rope in his hand to cast into the water, hee was suddainly intangled with a Crocodiles long tayle, and was in a moment drawne vnder the water. Whereupon, I making a shoute, all the people in the Barke arose, and striking sayles we stayed for the space of an houre, diuers in the meane time leaping into the water to seeke the man, but altogether in vaine: and therefore all of them affirmed, that he was caught by a Crocodile. As we sayled further, we saw great numbers of Crocodiles vpon the bankes of the Ilands in the midst of *Nilus* lye beaking them in the Sunne with their Iawes wide open, whereinto certaine little Birds about the bignesse of a Thrush entring, came flying forth againe presently after. The occasion whereof was told me to be this: The Crocodiles by reason of their continuall deuouring of beasts and fishes, haue certaine pieces of flesh sticking fast betweene their forked teeth, which flesh being putrified, breedeth a kind of Worme wherewith they are cruelly tormented. Wherefore the said Birds flying about, and seeing the Wormes, enter into the Crocodiles Iawes, to satisfie their hunger therewith. But the Crocodile perceiuing himselfe freed from the Wormes of his teeth, offereth to shut his mouth, and to deuoure the little Bird that did him so good a turne, but being hindred from his vngratefull attempt by a pricke which groweth vpon the Birds head, hee is constrained to open his Iawes and to let her depart. The shee Crocodile laying Egges vpon the shoare couereth them with sand; and so soone as the young Crocodiles are hatched, they crawle into the Riuer. Those Crocodiles that forsake the Riuer and haunt the Desarts become venomous; but such as continue in *Nilus*, are destitute of Poyson. Of these beasts I saw about three hundred heads placed vpon the wals of *Cana*, with their Iawes wide open, being of so monstrous and incredible a bignesse, that they were sufficient to haue swallowed vp a whole Cow at once, and their teeth were great and sharpe.

Little Birds flying into the Crocodiles mouth to pick wormes from betweene their teeth.

The Dragon.

In the Caues of *Atlas* are found many huge and monstrous Dragons, which are heauie, of a slow motion, because the midst of their body is grosse, but their neckes and tayles are slender. They are most venomous creatures, insomuch, that whosoever is bitten or touched by them, his flesh presently waxeth soft and weake, neither can he by any meanes escape death.

The Hydra.

The Hydra being short in proportion of body, and hauing a slender tayle and necke, liueth in the *Libyan* Desarts. The poyson thereof is most deadly, so that if a man be bitten by this beast, he hath none other remedy, but to cut off the wounded part, before the Poyson disperseth it selfe into the other members.

The creature called Dub.

The Dub liuing also in the Desarts, resembleth in shape a Lizzard, sauing that it is somewhat bigger, and containeth in length a Cubite, and in breadth foure fingers. It drinketh no water at all, and if a man poure any water into the mouth thereof, it presently dieth. It layeth egges in manner of a Tortoyse, and is destitute of poyson. The *Arabians* take it in the Desarts: and I my selfe cut the throat of one which I tooke, but it bled a very little. Being flayed and roasted, it tasteth somewhat like a frogge. In swiftnesse it is comparable to a Lizzard, and being hunted, if it chanceth to thrust the head into a hole, it can by no force be drawn out, except the hole be digged wider by the hunters. Hauing bene slaine three dayes together, and then being put to the fire, it stirreth it selfe as if it were newly dead.

The Guarall.

The Guaral is like vnto the former, sauing that it is somewhat bigger, and hath poyson both in the head and tayle, which two parts being cut off, the *Arabians* will eate it, notwithstanding it be of a deformed shape and vgly colour, in which respects I loathed alwayes to eate the flesh thereof.

The Camelion

The Camelion being of the shape and bignesse of a Lizzard, is a deformed, crooked, and leane creature, hauing a long and slender tayle like a Mouse, and being of a slow pace. It is nourished by the Element of Ayre, and the Sun-beames, at the rising whereof it gapeth, and turneth it selfe vp and downe. It changeth the colour according to the varietie of places where it cometh, being sometimes blacke and sometimes greene, as I my selfe haue seene it. It is at great enmi-

It is observed to eate Flyes.

enmitie with venomous Serpents, for when it seeth any lie sleeping vnder a tree, it presently climeth vp the same tree, and looking downe vpon the Serpents head, it voydeth out of the mouth, as it were, a long thread of spittle, with a round drop like a Pearle hanging at the end, which drop falling wrong, the Camelion changeth his place, till it may light directly vpon the Serpents head, by the vertue whereof he presently dieth.

How the Camelion killeth the Serpent.

The Ostrich in shape resembleth a Goose, but that the neck and legges are somewhat longer, so that some of them exceede the length of two cubites. The body of this Bird is large, and the wings thereof are full of great feathers both white and blacke, which wings and feathers being vnfit to flie withall, doe helpe the Ostrich, with the motion of her traine, to runne a swift pace. This Fowle liueth in drie Desarts, and layeth to the number of ten or twelue Egges in the Sands, which being about the bignesse of great Bullets, weigh fiftene pounds a piece; but the Ostrich is of so weak of memorie, that she presently forgetteth the place where her Egges were laid. And afterward the same, or some other Ostrich-hen finding the said eggs by chance, hatcheth and fostereth them as if they were certainly her owne: the Chickens are no sooner crept out of the shell, but they prowle vp and downe the Desarts for their food: and before their feathers be growne, they are so swift, that a man shall hardly ouertake them. The Ostrich is a silly and deafe creature, feeding vpon any thing which it findeth, be it as hard and vndigestable as yron. The flesh, especially of their legs, is of a slymie and strong taste: and yet the *Numidians* vse it for food, for they take young Ostriches, and set them vp a fattening. The Ostriches wander vp and downe the Desarts in orderly troopes, so that a farre off a man would take them to be so many Horsemen, which illusion hath often dismaied whole Carouans.

The Ostrich.

Of Eagles there are diuers kinds, according to their naturall properties, the proportion of their bodies, or the diuersitie of their colours: and the greatest kind of Eagles are called in the *Arabian* Tongue, *Nesir*. The *Africans* teach their Eagles to prey vpon Foxes and Wolves, which in their encounter ceaze vpon the heads of the said Beasts with their bills, and vpon the backs with their talents, to auoid the danger of biting. But if the Beast turne his belly vpward, the Eagle will not forsake him, till she hath either peckt out his eyes, or slaine him. Many of our *African* Writers affirme, that the male Eagle oftentimes ingendring with a shee-Wolfe, begetteth a Dragon, hauing the beake and wings of a Bird, a Serpents taile, the feete of a Wolfe, and a skin speckled and partie coloured like the skin of a Serpent; neither can it open the eye-lids, and it liueth in Caves. This Monster, albeit my selfe haue not seene, yet the common report ouer all *Africa* affirmeth, that there is such an one.

Of Fowles, and first of the Eagle.

A strange narration.

The *Nesir* is the greatest Fowle in all *Africa*, and exceedeth a Crane in bignesse, though the bill, necke, and legs are somewhat shorter. In flying, this Bird mounteth vp so high into the Aire, that it cannot be discerned: but at the sight of a dead carcasse it will immediately descend. This Bird liueth a long time, and I my selfe haue seene many of them vnfeathered by reason of extreme old age: wherefore hauing cast all their feathers, they returne vnto their nest, as if they were newly hatched, and are there nourished by the younger Birds of the same kind. The *Italians* call it by the name of a Vulture: but I thinke it to be of another kind. They nestle vpon high Rocks, and vpon the tops of wilde and desert Mountaines, especially vpon mount *Atlas*: and they are taken by such as are acquainted with those places.

The Fowle called Nesir.

The best *African* Hawkes are white, being taken vpon certaine Mountaines of the *Numidian* Desarts, and with these Hawkes they pursue the Crane. Of these Hawkes there are diuers kinds, some being vsed to flie at Partridges and Quails, and others at the Hare.

Hawkes.

Parrats there are as big as a Doue of diuers colors, some red, some black, and some ash-coloured, which albeit they cannot so fitly expresse mans speech, yet haue they most sweet & shrill voices.

Parats or Poppiniay.

Of Locusts there are sometimes seene such monstrous swarmes in *Africa*, that in flying they intercept the Sunne-beames like a thicke Cloud. They deuoure trees, leaues, fruites, and all greene things growing out of the earth. At their departure they leaue egges behind them, whereof other young Locusts breede, which in the places where they are left, will eate and consume all things euen to the very barke of trees, procuring thereby extreme dearth of Corne, especially in *Mauritania*. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of *Arabia Desarta*, and of *Libya*, esteeme the comming of these Locusts as a fortunate boading: for, seething or drying them in the Sunne, they bruse them to powder, and so eate them.

The Locusts.

The greater part of *Africa* hath none other Salt but such as is digged out of Quarries and Mines, after the manner of Marble or Free-stone, being of a white, red, and gray colour. *Barbarie* aboundeth with Salt, and *Numidia* is indifferently furnished therewith: but the Land of *Negros*, and especially the inner part of *Ethiopia*, is so destitute thereof, that a pound of Salt is there sold for halfe a Duckat. And the people of the said Regions vse not to set Salt vpon their tables; but holding a crum of Salt in their hands, they lick the same at euery morsell of meate which they put in their mouthes. In certaine Lakes of *Barbarie* all the Summer time, there is faire and white salt congealed or kernalled, as namely, in diuers places neere vnto the Citie of *Fez*.

Of Minerals, and Fruits, Rootes, and first of Minerall Salt. One pound of Salt for halfe a Duckat.

Antimonie growing in many places of *Africa* in the Lead-mines, is separated from the Lead by the helpe of Brimstone. Great plenty of this Minerall is digged out of the bottome of Mount *Atlas*.

The Minerall called Antimonie.

- Atlas*, especially where *Numidia* bordereth vpon the Kingdome of *Fez*. Brimstone likewise is digged in great abundance out of other places of *Africa*.
- Of Euphorbium.** *Euphorbium* is the Iuyce or Gumme of a certaine Hearbe, growing like the head of a wilde Thistle, betweene the branches whereof grow certaine fruites as big in compasse as a greene cucumber; after which shape or likenesse, it beareth certaine little graines or seedes; and some of the said fruites are an elle long, and some are longer. They grow not out of the branches of the Herbe, but spring out of the firme ground, and out of one flag you shall see sometimes twentie, and sometimes thirtie of them issue forth. The people of the same Region, when the said fruites are once ripe, doe prick them with their knives, and out of the holes proceedeth a Liquor, or Iuyce much like vnto milke, which by little and little groweth thick and slimy. And so being growne thick, they take it off with their knives, putting it in Bladders, and drying it. And the Plant or Hearbe it selfe is full of sharpe prickles.
- Of Pitch.** Of Pitch there are two kinds, the one being naturall, and taken out of certaine Stones, which are in Fountaines; the water whereof retained the vsauorie smell and taste of the same; and the other being artificiall, and proceeding out of the Iuniper or Pine-tree: and this artificiall Pitch I saw made vpon Mount *Atlas*, in manner following. They make a deepe and round furnace with an hole in the bottome, through which hole the Pitch may fall downe into an hollow place within the ground, being made in forme of a little vessell: and putting into the said furnace the boughes of the foresaid trees broken into small pieces, they close vp the mouth of the furnace, and make a fire vnder it, by the heate whereof the Pitch distilleth forth of the wood, through the bottome of the furnace into the foresaid hollow place; and so it is taken vp and put in bladders or bags.
- The Fruit called Musa.** *Musa* is a fruit growing vpon a small tree, which beareth large and broad leaues of a cubit long, hath a most excellent and delicate taste, and springeth forth about the bignesse of a small Cucumber. The *Mahumetan* Doctors affirme, that this was the fruit which God forbad our first Parents to eat in Paradise, which when they had eaten they couered their nakednesse with leaues of the same fruit, as being of all other leaues most meete for that purpose. They grow in great abundance at *Sela*, a Towne of the Kingdome of *Fez*; but in farre greater plenty in the land of *Egypt*, and especially at *Damiata*.
- Of Cassia.** The trees bearing *Cassia* are of great thicknesse, hauing leaues like vnto the Mulberie tree. They beare a broad and white Blossome, and are so laden with fruits, that they are constrained to gather great store before they be ripe, least the tree should breake with ouermuch weight. And this kind of tree groweth onely in *Egypt*.
- The Roote called Taurarghente.** The Roote *Taurarghente* growing in the Westerne part of *Africa* vpon the Ocean Sea shore, yeeldeth a fragrant and odoriferous smell. And the Merchants of *Mauritania* carry the same into the Land of *Negros*, where the people vse it for a most excellent Perfume, and yet they neither burne it, nor put any fire at all thereto: for being kept onely in an house, it yeeldeth a naturall sent of it selfe. In *Mauritania* they sell a bunch of these Rootes for halfe a Duckat, which being carried to the Land of *Negros*, is sold againe for eighty, or one hundred Duckats, and sometimes for more.
- The Roote called Addad.** The Hearbe *Addad* is bitter, and the Roote it selfe is so venemous, that one drop of the water distilled thereout, will kill a man within the space of an houre, which is commonly knowne euen to the Women of *Africa*.
- The Roote called Surnag.** The Roote *Surnag* growing also vpon the Westerne part of Mount *Atlas*, is said to be very comfortable and preseruatue vnto the priue parts of man, and being drunke in an Electuary, to stirre vp venereall lust, &c. Neither must I here omit that, which the Inhabitants of Mount *Atlas* doe commonly report, that many of those Damosels which keepe Cattell vpon the said Mountaines, haue lost their Virginitie by none other occasion, but by making water vpon the said Roote: vnto whom I would in merriment answere, that I beleued all which experience had taught, concerning the secret vertue of the same Roote, yea, they affirmed moreouer, that some of their Maidens were so infected with this roote, that they were not onely deflowered of their Virginitie, but had also their whole bodies puffed vp and swolne.
- These are the things memorable and worthy of knowledge, seene and obserued by me *John Leo*, throughout all *Africa*, which Country I haue in * all places trauelled quite ouer: wherein whatsoeuer I saw worthy the obseruation, I presently committed to writing; and those things which I saw not, I procured to bee at large declared vnto mee by most credible and substantiall persons, which were themselves eye-witnesses of the same: and so hauing gotten a fit oportunitie, I thought good to reduce these my Trauels and Studies into this one Volume.
- * That is, in *Barbarie*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, and the Land of *Negros*, and *Egypt*.
- Forasmuch, as men desire to reade later occurrents, and these my Labours are intended not to the profit and pleasure alone, but to the honour also of the English Name and Nation, I haue added this following Discourse of the late Warres in *Barbarie*: not yet pursuing them to these Times, but contenting my selfe with the beginnings, and some yeares proceedings thereof, the English hauing (as you shall see) yea, being no small part therein; Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris; The voluntarie English aduentures in the Ciuill vnciuill broiles of Ice-frozen *Muscovia*, of Sunne-scorched *Barbarie*, of Turkish and Persian

Persian fights by Sea, the Mogols by Land, the Sweden, Polish, Germane, Bohemian, Belgian, and many-headed-Italian Broyles neerer home; the Easterne and Westerne Indies, the Artike Northerne Circle, and Southermost Africa remote, haue really exceeded the fabulous Denices of deuising Fblers, in Knight-Aduentures, the Issues and Occupations of idle braines. As for the manner of the Seriffian Family, attayning at first to the Barbarian Scepter, and the monstrous Saint-ship and portentuous power of Side Hamet, getting the Kingdome from the Brethren, and of Side Hia which dispossessed him of it and his life, you haue more full Relations in my Pilgrimage, with other Occurrents. Here it is more fit to let you heare others speake then my selfe.

CHAP. II.

Collections of things most remarkeable in the History of Barbarie, written by R. O. C.

§. I.

How the Kingdome of Barbarie came to MULEY HAMET XARIF, the late deceased King, and the course of his gouernment; of his Sonnes and their behauiour: SHECK's misgouernment and imprisonment: HAMET's death.

THe Family of the *Mareines*, being *Larbies*, were long times Kings of *Barbarie*: vntill a plaine *Hali* some hundred yeeres ago, calling himselfe *Muley Hamet Xarif*, came out of the Countrey of *Dara*, (lying beyond the Mountaynes of *Atlas*) with a great number of Mountayners, called in their owne Language *Brebers*: these with their strength got *Mornecos* from the *Mareins*. And going forward following the fertillnesse of the soyle, draue the *Mareins* out of *Fez*: getting into his power all the flat Countreyes comprized vnder the Titles of *Sus*, *Mornecos* and *Fez*, from the hills of *Atlas* to the Streights of *Gibraltar*. Being thus growne great, hee would proue himselfe a *Xarif*, that is, one of the Kindred of the Prophet *Mahomet*, desiring his birth might be held answerable to his new acquired fortunes: But within a little time after this his sodaine inuasion, *Sus* rebelling, refused his Gouernment, wherefore hee sent to the bordering *Turkes* for ayde, who fulfilled therein his request. Ayded with these *Turkish* auxiliary forces, he set forward, and at his entrance into that Kingdome, the *Turkish* Souldiers through Treason killed him, and cut off his head; sacked *Taradant*, and running ouer the whole Countrey, spoyled it by the space of two monethes, which done, they would gladly haue returned to *Trimasine*: yet fearing their owne strength to returne the same way *Hamet* had brought them; it was held their better course and shorter Iourney, to passe ouer the Mountaynes: but the Mountayners knowing this their new done bloudie fact, and seeing them haue good flore of pillage, set vpon them, so that few or none escaped their hands, but were all slaine. After this *Hamet Xarifs* death, who raigned some eight yeeres, succeeded his Brother *Muley Abdela*, hauing all his life time great warre with the *Mareins*, to keepe that his Brother had conquered: he hauing raigned some fiftene yeeres dyed, leauing behind him thirteene Sonnes, the eldest *Muley Abdela* (who at his entrance to the Kingdome, commanded all his Brethren to be killed:) but the second Brother *Abdelmelech* fearing hard measure, fled presently vpon the death of his Father into *Turkie*, and so saued his life. The third Brother *Muley Hamet* of whom wee are hereafter to entreate, being held a great Church-man, simple and humble spirited, not any way addicted vnto armes, was spared aliue as lesse feared. The other ten were all put to death in one day at *Taradant* in *Sus*, where they were kept in their Fathers life time. This *Abdela* raigned fortie yeeres, and dying, left behind him three Sonnes, *Muley Mehamet*, *Muley Sheck*, *Muley Nassar*, *Muley Mehamet* being King, his two young Brethren ranne away into *Spaine*, the elder whereof named *Muley Sheck* is yet liuing, and there turned Christian. The younger Brother called *Muley Nassar* returned into *Barbarie*, in the fourteenth yeere of *Muley Hamets* Raigne, who dyed at last. At this *Muley Nassars* landing in the Countrey of *Fez*, much people fauoured him and his Title, and two thousand of *Muley Shecks* Souldiers (who now liueth, and then gouerned *Fez*, for his Father reuolted from him to *Nassar*; insomuch, as *Muley Sheck* was in minde to haue fled vnto his Father. But that *Alkeyd Hamet Ben Ian*, being a very wise Captaine, and there placed to helpe *Muley Sheck* by his counsell, who was very young,) kept him from running away: and *Muley Nassar* with a dilatorie warre, with whom if the Souldiers had stayed, hee might peraduenture haue gotten the Countrey. But their Lent approaching, the Souldiers told *Nassar*, they would

This is that Seriffe or Xeriffe so often mentioned by Leo, which then began (vnder colour of warring against the Christians both Spaniards and Portugals which had made (as you see in Leo) large entries into Barbary) to vsurpe the State and dispossesse the former Kings. So that euen in order of time and affaires, this Historie fitly succeeds the former of Leo, for Barbary. Of their manner of getting the Kingdome, and the rest of the story, see my Pilgrimage, l. 6. c. 11. §. 2.

would goe keepe their Easter at their owne houses. Whereupon *Nassar*, thinking if they were once gone, they would neuer returne to him againe, would giue present battaile, and so was this *Nassar* slaine. *Abdelmelech* being second Brother to *Abdela*, got such fauour in *Turkie* where he liued, as entering *Barbarie* with foure thousand *Turkish* Souldiers, he got the Kingdome from his Nephew *Mehamet* the eldest Sonne of *Abdela*, and there raigned two yeeres. *Muley Mehamet* thus depriued of his Kingdome, fled for succour to *Sebastian* then King of *Portugall*, who came in person into *Barbarie*, to helpe him with thirtie thousand men; giuing battaile, the *Moores* fled, and the Christians retyred, hoping the *Moores* would returne, that so the Christians might make the greater slaughter of them. According to this expectation *Abdelmelech* with his Armie returned, and the Christians charged the foremost of their Horse-men very hotly, 10 who would haue fled. But such was the abundance of *Abdelmelechs* Horse-men, following the foreward which were discomfited, as they could not haue field-roume to flye, but were forced to fight it out. This was a bloudie battaile wherein three Kings lost their liues, *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugall*: *Muley Mehamet* vnto whose ayde *Sebastian* came ouer: And *Abdelmelech* who came out of *Turkie* being second Brother to *Abdela*; This *Abdelmelech* left behind him a Sonne yet liuing at this day in *Turkie*, whose name is *Muley Smime*. After the death of these two, *Abdela*s third Brother, *Muley Hamet Xarif*, was made King, raigned about seuen and twentie yeeres in great peace and felicitie, vntill he went to take his Sonne *Muley Sheck* at *Fez*, where the Father dyed, whose death hath caused all these Warres, as yee may reade hereafter.

Touching this *Muley Hamet*, I thought good, to insert this Letter of *Master Bernhere*, the Sonne 20 of that worthy *Augustine Bernhere* (as I haue heard) which is so commended by *Master Foxe* for his zeale in *Queene Maries* dayes, in the *Historie* of *Bradford*, *Carelesse*, *Glouer*, &c.

To his louing Brother Master Edward Wright.

THIS King *Muley Hamet* is much delighted in the studie of *Astronomie* and *Astrologie*, and va- 30 lueth Instruments seruing for the course of the Sunne and Moone, that are of rare deuice, exceedingly. Wherefore your Spheare, your Watch, your Mundane Diall, and your Sextans, your new Magneticall Instrument for Declination, or any Astrolable that hath somewhat extraordinarie in it will be accepted: and you might sell the same at good prices. Now with the Eagle, there goe from hence certaine Ambassadors, and one of them is the Kings Secretarie, named *Abdala Wahed Anoone*, who hath some insight in such matters. This Bearer my friend *Master Pate*, and *Robert Kitchen* the Master of the Ship, I thinke, will bring him vnto you, vnto whom I would haue you shew all the varieties of Instruments that you haue either in your owne hands, or haue sold and lent to others; that hee may choose some for the Kings vse and his owne. You may shew them also the Draughts and Lineaments of whatsoeuer you haue in Paper, all which I know, will make them admire and be desirous to haue some that they can vnderstand how to vse. You may cause to be framed some Instruments in Brasse or Sil- 40 uer, leauing the spaces for Arabique words and figures, yet drawing the Pictures of them in Paper exactly, and setting downe the Latine figures, and the words in Latine, or Spanish, which is farre better: there will be found here that can graue the same in Arabique vpon the Instruments hauing some direction from you about the matter. Or *Abdala Wahed* being a perfect Pen-man, can set the Arabique Letters, figures, and words downe very faire; and so any of your Grauers can worke the same in Metall, hauing his Writing before them. *Master Cyprian* would be a good Interpreter betweene you and them, or some that vnderstandeth and speaketh both Latine and Spanish, and knoweth what the words of Arte meane.

The experiments Mathematicall of the Load-stone, will content the Ambassadors much. Make no scruple to shew them what you can; for it may redound to your good. I desire to heare more of Mag- 50 neticall workes, and the discovery of the North passage. Write to me thereof, and send any Maps or draughts of instruments, or what you thinke fit about Dyalling, or the course of time, and the motion of the Heauens, which you thinke I can vnderstand: but direct the same either to me, or to one *Master Iohn Wakeman*, seruant to *Master Alderman Hamden*; who, though he haue small skill in such things, yet is desirous to see and learne, and can preferre such matters to the view of the King, and his sonnes, who all are exceeding strictious of matters tending this way: so that if I had skill my selfe, or but some of your Instruments, whereof I could make demonstration for their vse, I could giue great content, and be a meane to pleasure you much. But conferre with *Master Pate*, and *Master Kitchen*, who will direct you in this businesse, and from whom you may receiue money before hand, for making any instruments that the Ambassadors would haue for themselves or the King.

Your Magneticall Instrument of Declination, would be commodious for a yeerely Voyage, which 60 a Voyage ouer a Landy Sea to some make for the King ouer a Sandy Sea (wherein they must vse Needle and Compasse) to *Gago*. *Gago* for Gold. If you question about the matter, and shew them some instrument seruing for this purpose, it will giue great content. Other directions I might adde vnto you; but from the parties aboue named, you may re- ceine

ceiue the same fully. And thus with my good will, hoping and wishing to see you shortly, I take my leaue.
This 24. of Iune, 1600. From the Citie of Maroco.

From Maroco in Barbary.

Your louing Brother in-law,
Thomas Bernhere.

Obtaining the Scepter, hee first provided himselfe of the grauest men hee could find in his Kingdomes, to be Counsellors of estate; then of the most experienced, and valiant Souldiers, for Commanders ouer his Campe, and Garrison Townes. And whereas he was Monarch ouer two Nations, the *Larbies*, and *Brebers*, he found it requisite to vse a two-fold gouernment. The *Larbies* dwelling in the most plaine Champion Countrey of his three Kingdomes, *Moruecos*, *Sus*, and *Fez*, were easily gouerned, being of mild and peaceable nature, giuen to thrift and tillage of the ground, sought no alterations, but receiuing from him a due forme of iustice, executed by his Ministers: protecting them from the *Montaneirs* which are robbers, willingly obeyed his Regall authoritie, and yeerely payed their tenths toward their Kings maintenance. As for the *Brebers*, or *Montaneirs*, being of an vntamed and fierce disposition, speaking the *Tamiset* tongue, which is as much different from the *Larbce*, as *Welch* is from our *English*, dwelling in places by nature defencible, and almost inaccessible: He could not so well gouerne, neither had euer such absolute power ouer them, nor receiued the fift pennie of profite from them, as he did from the *Alarbies*. Therefore he sought by all meanes to diminish their strength of people, drawing them alwayes into forraigne expeditions, especially into that warre, against the *Negros*, which continued a long time, thereby extending his Empire so farre that way, as by Camell it was fixe moneths iourney from *Moruecos*, to the farthest parts of his Dominion. Likewise, he vsed this people to goe with the Carauans to *Gago*, to fetch home his yeerely Tribute and Custome, whereby many were consumed in traouelling ouer the *Saharas*: for any offence or robbery committed by them, his sword should punish seuerely, that the rest might feare: diuiding their Countrey into seuerall diuisions or Cantons, in euery of which he placed an *Alkeid*, with Souldiers to suppress any sudden uproares, much like our *Lieutenant* set ouer our seuerall Counties, but that the *Alkeid* is continually resident, and hath greater power in executing Marshall law. And lastly, as pledges of their loyalties, he would get their chiefeest mens sonnes into his hands, bringing them vp in his Court to a more ciuill and delicate kind of life. He was alwaies of mind to keepe peace with *Christendome*; with *Spain*, who was his next Potent neighbour; but aboue all loued the *English* Nation, and admired the late Queenes happie Gouernment, willing to entertaine trading with vs, witnesse his many Letters written to that worthy Lady of happie Memorie, and his Embassage sent vnto her, Anno 1601. Performed by *Abdala Wabad Anowne*, and *Hamet Albadg*, their great traouailer to *Mecha*, and other places.

Toward his subiects he was not too tyrannicall, but sweetned his absolute power and will, with much clemencie. By diuers wayes he got excessiue store of gold. First, by seeing his tenths truly payd from the *Larbces*: Secondly, by trading with the *Negro*, taking vp the salt at *Tegazza*, and selling it at *Gago*, hauing from thence returne in good gold. Thirdly, by husbanding his *Maseraws*, or *Ingenewes*, where his Sugar Canes did grow, (though now all spoyled with these warres) for it is sufficiently knowen, all of them about *Moruecos*, *Taradant*, and *Magador*, were yeerely worth vnto him, fixe hundred thousand ounces at the least. I omit his loue he tooke in entertaining forraigne Artizans, the reedifying of his house in *Moruecos*, getting *Italian* Marbles, the richest that could bee bought for money, and workemen hired from thence at great wages. His sumptuous prouisions for the *Sarraile*, and maintenance of his women, not so much delighting in the sinne, as his predecessors had done before, as to shew his glory, because the fashion of the Countrey is such, to shew their riches and greatnesse vpon that fraile sexe, and their attendances. For his chiefeest pleasures were to see the Gallantrie of his kingdomes, managing their good *Barbarian* Steeds, and the Falchons vpon their wing, making faire flights after the Heron: for these sports he was provided, no man better, from which he was recalled by certaine discontents, which as clouds fore-ran his owne Sun-set.

At the time of his death, he left fve sonnes aliue. The eldest *Muley Mahemet*, commonly called *Muley Sheck*, a Title giuen alwayes to the eldest of the Kings sonnes: The second, *Muley Boferes*, which two sonnes were both by one woman, a *Negra*, one of his Concubines: The third son *Muley Sidan*, whom he had by one of his wiues: The fourth sonne *Muley Nassar*, who was about the age of nineteene yeers: And the fift, *Muley Abdela*, about fourteene yeers old at the time of the old Kings death, and these two last were the sons of two seuerall Concubines. This deceased King in his life time, had placed his three elder sonnes in seuerall parts of his Kingdomes, to gouerne for him in them, to *Muley Sheck* his eldest he had giuen the Kingdome of *Fez*, which Kingdome hath in former times continually bene allotted by the late Kings of *Barbary* to their eldest sonnes: *Muley Boferes* he placed in his Kingdome of *Sus*, to *Muley Sidan* he gaue the Prouine of *Tedula*, which lyeth in the mid-way betweene *Moruecos* and *Fez*: his

B b b b b

two

The *Larbies* are the dwellers in the plaine; the *Brebers* Mountainers.

The greates of his Dominion,

A Carauan is a company of Merchants going together for trading, with a great number of Horses, Camels, and Mules, laden with Commodities,

Sugar Gardens,

The place where his women are kept,

Muley Hamet *Xariff* sonnes: the three brist made bloody warres with each other for the Kingdom,

Basha Mustapha.

Mustapha beheaded.

M. Sheck.

M. Boferes.
Plague in Sma.

M. Sidan.

Muley Shecks
misgouernment of him-
selfe and his
Country.

Rich Iew.

two younger sonnes *Muley Nassar*, and *Abdela* remained with him in his house, whom by reason of their young yeeres, he had not as yet placed in any part of his Kingdome. The eldest sonne *Muley Sheck* in his younger yeeres gouerned *Fez*, and thole parts of *Barbarie*, with great approbation of his Father, through the Counsell of *Basha Mustepha* a *Spanish* Renegado: which *Basha* in continuance of time, grew into such fauour with him, that the whole Gouernment of the Kingdome of *Fez* was wholly by *Muley Sheck* put in his hands: Whereupon, the *Alkieds* of the Countrey that were naturall borne *Moores*, and continuall attendants vpon the old King, enuying the greatnesse of the said *Basha*, raised diuers accusations against him: Complaining to the King that he learned *Muley Sheck* to drinke wine (a thing vnlawfull to the *Moores*, being forbidden them by their Prophet *Mahomet*) and that now hauing the whole Gouernment of the Kingdome of *Fez* in his hands, vnder the Kings son, he purposed after he had possessed himself of *Muley Shecks* Treasure, to flie, and carrie it with him to some parts of *Christendome*. Which accusations, the old King vpon some probabilities and likelihoods, conceiuing to be true, these *Alkieds* procured at last with him, that he should send to his sonne *Muley Sheck*, commanding him to send the head of the said *Basha*, which command; howsoeuer, *Muley Sheck* (who greatly loued, and fauoured the said *Basha*) at the first delayed to performe, yet after diuers messages, the old King sending at the last a principall seruant of his, to see the execution done, he was forced much against his will, to see fulfilled.

In these younger yeeres of *Muley Sheck*, whilest this *Basha* was aliue, none of the Kings sonnes was more dutifull to their father then he, neither any of their actions so contented the old King as his; insomuch, as the whole Kingdome hope for a successor after the old Kings decease, was onely in *Muley Sheck*. Whereupon, and by the Kings voluntary motion, all the principall *Alkieds*, and men of Command that were in the Kingdome, by solemne oath vowed allegiance to *Muley Sheck*, after the old Kings decease. And at that time *Boferes* the second sonne, by reason of the great plague in *Sma*, and other discontents, he receiued from that rebellious people, stayed not long there, but returned againe to his Father in *Moruecos*, where he stayed with him vntill his Fathers departure to *Fez* in September, 1602. *Muley Sidan* the third sonne, continued in *Tedula*, (a Prouince fruitfull and scituate in the flat of *Barbarie*, the mid-way betweene *Fez* and *Moruecos*, as I haue told you) who gouerned those parts in great peace and quietnesse, euen in the chiefe times of the tumults that were in the bordering Dominions of his eldest Brother *Sheck*, (whereof you shall read hereafter) insomuch, that hee was generally commended and liked both of his Father and of all the Kingdome for his gouernment, being strict in seeing the execution of Iustice to be done in those parts that hee gouerned, not sparing his Kindred or neereft Followers in those cases: From his infancy hee naturally hated all maner of Theeues whatsoeuer, especially those his robbed by the high-ways, and without any fauour or mercy severely punished them. Howsoeuer, he carryed himselfe very dutifull to his Father, whilest hee was liuing, yet from his child-hood he was alwayes of an aspiring and ambitious nature, which could neuer be brought to subiect it selfe to giue any awfull respect to his elder Brethren, but to hazard his whole estate in obtayning the Kingdome, accounting himselfe his Fathers lawfull heire, in that he was his Fathers eldest Sonne, which he had by any of his married Wiues: In this point, not regarding the custome & Law of the *Moores*, who in title of Inheritance or succession, respect not the mother, whether she be married Wife or Concubine bought with money, so that her Sonne be the eldest in birth.

But to returne againe to *Muley Sheck* the Kings eldest Sonne, who after the death of his *Basha Mustepha*, (beheaded by his Fathers command) soone shewed vnto all men the want of gouernment that was in him; for in his latter times, giuing himselfe ouer to drunkenesse, and other detestable vices, which amongst the *Moores* commonly accompanieth that sinne, regarded not at all the gouernment of his Kingdome, but suffered his seruants, followers, and Souldiers to doe what they would in robbing and spoyling the goods of his honest minded Subiects, without controlment: And through want of Iustice duely executed, his whole Countrey in a short time swarmed so with theeues and robbers by the high wayes, that there was no traouelling through his Dominions, but in *Cassilas* or companies of three hundred & foure hundred persons at a time, and they hardly sometimes escaped the hands of theeues. The *Alarbies*, who continue to this day, in Tribes and kindreds, beeing the husbandmen of the Countrey, liuing in the fields in Tents, by Tilling of the Ground, and breeding vp of Cattell, when as they could not quietly gather in, and peaceably enioy the Corne and Fruits of the Ground, denied to pay the King their accustomed duetie: and in the fields followed the courses of *Muley Shecks* seruants in the Citie, in robbing of all passengers that came within their power. And such was the lawlesse manner of spending and consuming of his Treasure, that in his humours, hee neither regarded what he gaue, nor to whom: in so much, that a *Iew* who was a Musician, and vsed to play before him in his drunken fits, (what with the gifts giuen him by the Prince, and what else he got out of his house) had gotten together in money and Iewels, (in the space of foure or five yeeres) to the value of foure hundred thousand Duckats, which is about fortie thousand pound sterling.

This dissolute life and carelesse gouernment of *Muley Sheck*, grieved the old King not a little, especially

especially to see such a change or alteration in him, whose forwardnesse in former times had been the stay of his age, and had mooued him to cause the *Alkeids* of the Kingdome, by oath to confirme their alleageance after his owne death. Many wayes he sought to amend what was amisse in those parts, and to draw his sonne to a more strict course of life, and more carefull kind of gouernment, as well by his Lettets, as by sending diuers principall *Alkeids* to be Counsellors vnto him. Yet such was the small account he made either of the one or the other, that the old King in the end seeing no amendment, but the estate of that Kingdome to grow daily worse and worse, determined to goe to *Fez* in his owne person with an Armie, aswell to displace his sonne who had denied to come vnto him, vpon his sending for: as also to put in order all matters in those parts, which through the ill gouernment of his sonne, were all out of frame. And so about the beginning of October, 1602. hee set forwards from *Mornecos* with an Army of eight thousand Shot, and some five thousand Horse towards *Fez*, leauing his second sonne *Muley Boferes* to gouerne *Mornecos* and *Sis* in his absence, vntill his returne; making such speedy iourneys, that hee was with his Forces within one dayes iourney of *Fez*, before his sonne *Muley Sheck* was certainly aduised of his setting forth from *Mornecos*. Who, when he vnderstood of his Fathers being so neere, and himselfe euery way vnprouided to resist him, would haue fled towards *Tafilat*; but being followed by *Basha Mustepha*, he was constrained to take Sanctuary, with five hundred of his best souldiers, being very good Shot and well provided. The old King the Father, seeing his sonne take the Priuiledge of the place (which is much respected in that Country) willed him to come forth, and submit himselfe to his mercy: But *Muley Sheck* refused, either obstinate in not obeying, or fearefull he could not render a good account of his five and twentie yeares gouernment in *Fez*. Wherefore *Muley Hamet* commanded *Mustepha*, a *Basha* of *Sidans*, though then in the old *Muleys* seruice, to take three thousand men, and perforce to enter the place; which he performed, bringing *Sheck* prisoner, and the rest of his company which were left aliue after the conflict. The old man would in no wise admit him into his presence, but committed him to the charge and custodie of *Basha Iudar*, one of greatest place about the King, who carried *Sheck* to *Mickanes*, a strong Garrison Towne, and there remained vntill the time of his Fathers death, which was some five moneths after.

The old King in his iourney to *Fez*, against his eldest sonne, passed by the Prouince of *Tedula*, and from thence tooke along with him his third sonne, *Muley Sidan*, whom he commanded to remoue his household to *Fez*, from *Sidania* (a Citie which he had begun to build in *Tedula*, and called it after his owne name) intending to leaue him Vice-roy of those parts, in the roome of his eldest sonne, whom he purposed to carry with him from *Mickanes*, where he was prisoner to *Mornecos*; which he had also performed, if hee had not been preuented by sudden death. For in August, 1603. he hauing set all matters in order in those parts of *Fez*, prouiding for his returne to *Mornecos*, put out his Tents without *Fez* Gates; but being abroad, he suddenly fell sicke, and his sicknesse so sore increased, that on Thursday falling sicke, on Sunday morning being the fourteenth of August, 1603. he died.

The Kings speedy iourney to *Fez*.

Muley Sheck taketh Sanctuary.

Taken there by force.

Sidania in *Tedula*. * Some say he died of the Plague, which was so hot, that in one yeare they say, there died in *Morocco*, seven hundred thousand, in *Fez*, five hundred thousand.

§. II.

MVLEY SIDAN proclaimeth himselfe King in *Fez*. **MVLEY BOFERES** in *Mornecos*. **MVLEY NASSAR** would haue done the like in *Taradant*, but is hindered. The death of **NASSAR**. Warre betweene **SIDAN** and **BOFERES**. **SHECK** set free. **FOKERS** employed. The Battell. **SIDAN**s flight. Fewds and robberies.

Muley Sidan, by reason his Mother *Lilla Isha* gouerned the old Kings House, vnderstood of his Fathers death, before it was noysed abroad; whereupon hee presently went forth into his Fathers Camp and Tents, from whence he carried away all such Iewels and treasure as he found there. And after his Fathers death, hee caused himselfe in *Fez* to be proclaimed King of *Barbarie*, as lawfull Heyre of his deceased Father. *Lilla Iohora*, Mother to *Muley Sheck*, and *Muley Boferes*, seeing her eldest Sonne in prison, and void of all meanes to helpe himselfe at that instant, was not vnmindfull of her second Sonne *Boferes*, whom the old King had left to gouerne *Mornecos* during his absence. To whom shee dispeeded presently Letters by one of the Kings Eunuchs; who made such haste, that in foure dayes hee came from *Fez* to his Tents, which were some two leagues from *Mornecos*, where hee had lien all the Summer before (to auoide the infection of the Plague, which had been that Summer in *Mornecos*) and with him was his younger Brother *Muley Nassar*, and his eldest Brothers Sonne *Muley Abdela*. *Muley Boferes* vnderstanding of his Fathers death, presently entred *Mornecos*, and gat possession of the *Alcasana*, his Fathers House, before the newes of his Fathers death was noysed

Muley Bofere taketh possession of the Kings House.

Boseres proclai-
med at Moroco
and Taradant.

M. Nassar.

Nassars flight
and death.

Hamet Monso-
res revolt.

M. Sheck deli-
uered to Bo-
seres.

Mustafa.

Azus.
Treasurie.

B. Iudar.

noysed abroad, and generally knowne, fearing how the *Alkeids*, and people of *Morruecos* might stand affected vnto him, and knowing that if he had once possession of the *Alcasana*, and of his Fathers treasure, he had the best part of the Kingdome. And the next day after his entrance, he caused to be published generally thorow the whole Citie, the newes of his Fathers death; and withall, himselfe to be proclaimed King: writing Letters to the Vice-roy of *Sus* to doe the like in *Taradant*, the chiefe Citie of that Kingdome; the which he accordingly performed. *Muley Nassar*, the fourth sonne of the deceased King, hauing been all the Summer abroad with his brother *Boseres*, when now he vnderstood of his Fathers death, followed his brother a faire off, as though he meant to haue entred *Morruecos* with him: but comming to the Gates of the Citie, in company with *Muley Abdela* his Nephew, being sonne to *Muley Sheck*, with whom he was familiar, conferred with him about their flying into the Mountaines, perswading *Muley Abdela*, that he might no waies put any trust in *Boseres*, since his father and hee were the chiefe impediments, that hindred *Boseres* from claiming the Kingdome by course of iustice; his Father, *Muley Sheck* being the old Kings eldest sonne, and he the eldest Sonne of his Father. Besides, his Father being in prison so neare *Fez*, where *Muley Sidan* was, it was to bee doubted, that *Muley Sidan* had already gotten him into his power, and it might be, had made some agreement with him already, to ioyne both against *Muley Boseres*: which if it should so fall out, would cause *Boseres* to deale more cruelly with him. But these perswasions moued not *Abdela*, who rather chose to enter the Citie, and follow his Vncle, on whose curtesie he would relie. Though *Nassar* fearing how *Boseres* would deale with him, with all speed fled into the Mountaines to the Kindred of his Mother, from whence after a few dayes with some eight hundred, or a thousand of those people whom he ioined together, he passed into the Plaines of *Sus*, sending to the *Alkeid* in *Taradant* to proclaime him King, or else to suffer him quietly to depart. But the *Alkeid* hauing already proclaimed *Muley Boseres*, withstood him, and hee hauing no meanes wherewith to pay his souldiers and people that he had gathered together, was soone left of all, and so returned againe to his Mothers Kindred, and liued priuately there about seuen moneths, and then died of the plague, or as some reported, secretly poysoned, was brought to *Morruecos*, and there buried.

But to returne to *Fez* and those parts: after the death of the old King (*Sidan* being now proclaimed King in *Fez*; *Boseres* in *Morruecos* and *Sus*; and *Muley Sheck* prisoner in *Mickanes*, in the keeping of *Basha Iudar*) the Souldiers being abroad in their Tents, without *Fez* Gates, began to be in a muteny, as well for sixteene moneths pay, which the old King owed them, as also about their returne to *Morruecos*, where the most part of them had left their wiues and children. To appease this mutenie, *Muley Sidan* sent out of *Fez*, vnto them *Alkeid Hamet Monfore*, their chiefe Commander in the old Kings time, to promise them as well content in payment, as also a speedy returne to *Morruecos* with *Muley Sidan* himselfe. But *Monfore* in stead of pacifying, laboured to increase their mutenous humours, and at last agreed with them suddenly in the night to take vp their tents, and to march with him to *Morruecos*, alleaging vnto them both the vncertaintie of *Muley Sidans* pay, and the small likelihood of any speedy iourney hee meant to take to *Morruecos*. And being to passe within a little of *Mickanes*, where the *Basha* kept *Muley Sheck* prisoner, he wrote vnto the said *Basha* to know his intent, whither he would goe to *Morruecos* or no with him. To whom the *Basha* came, and brought *Muley Sheck* with him, whom they brought along as prisoner to *Morruecos*, and deliuered him vp to his brother *Boseres*, who kept him close prisoner in his House, some foure or five moneths, vntill the coming of *Muley Sidan* against him in battell, by this meanes thinking to haue established the whole Kingdome to *Muley Boseres*; who now, besides the possession of the Citie of *Morruecos*, and his Fathers treasure, had brought vnto him the greatest part of his Fathers forces, and his elder brother put prisoner into his hands. *Muley Sidan* being thus deceiued by *Monfore*, and likewise by diuers other principall *Alkeids* (who had secretly departed from *Fez*, and left him) forthwith dispeeded one *Mustefa*, a Renegado of his owne, whom he had made a *Basha*, with two thousand Shot, and some Companies of Horse to *Tedula*, aswel to receiue from the *Alarbies*, those duties which they alwaies pay vnto their King, as also to stop, and returne to *Fez*, whomsoever he should find flying from thence to *Morruecos*, keeping possession of that Prouince for his vse. He made likewise great preparations both of Horse and Foot in *Fez*, to be alwaies readie to accompany himselfe in person if need should so require, hauing with him in *Fez* of principall *Alkeids*, *Azus*, chiefe Counsellor to the late deceased King, and Lord ouer his *Bulemel*: *Bocrasia*, *Absadiks*, and diuers others.

Muley Boseres likewise in *Morruecos*, fore-slacked no time in making preparation to send forth against him, sending first *Alcaide Gowie* with some sixe hundred men to make prouision of Corne, and other victuals amongst the *Alarbies*; and after he had certaine news of *Muley Sidans* forces to be in *Tedula*, he sent out his *Basha Iudar* with five thousand Shot, choyce men; foure Pieces of Artilerie, and certaine Companies of Horse to enter *Tedula*, and to giue battell to *Mustefa* the Generall of *Sidans* forces, or perforce to driue him out of that Country. At whose coming,

ming thither, *Mustefa* seeing himselfe no waies strong enough to encounter with *Indar*, retyred backe againe with his Armie out of *Tedula*; and *Indar* destroyed the foundation of *Sidania*, (which *Muley Sidan* at his being in *Tedula* had begun to build vpon the Riuer of *Morbaie*, and called it *Sidania*, after his owne name) likewise waisted and destroyed the Country thereabout, at least so many of the Kindreds of the *Alarbies* as he knew to be friends to *Muley Sidan*, or those that would not acknowledge *Boferes* for King. *Sidan* vnderstanding what *Indar* had done in *Tedula*, and likewise of the great preparations that his brother in *Mornecos* daily made to send out against him, forthwith put forth his Tents, and ioyned together his whole forces, which were some eight or nine thousand Shot, and some twelue thousand Horse, with two and twentie Pieces of Artillerie, himselfe in person going along with them. And because hee was altogether vnprovided of skillfull Gunners for his Ordnances, he procured from *Salie* out of certaine English men of warre, who at that instant were there, two English Gunners, to whom he committed the charge of his Artillerie: but by reason of much raine that had fallen, it being in the moneth of Ianuarie, 1604. the ground in many places was so soft, that they could not march with their Artillerie so fast as need required; so that his Artillerie neuer came at the battell, which was thought to be a chiefe cause of his ouerthrow.

Sidania destroyed.

English Gunners.

Whilest these preparations were in hand on either side, *Muley Boferes* sent certaine *Fokers*, held of great estimation amongst the *Moors*, to his brother *Muley Sidan*, to treat conditions of peace: howbeit, after their dispeeding from *Mornecos*, hee omitted no time and diligence in sending forth new Armies and fresh supplies, both of souldiers and prouision, to *Indar Bascha* that was in *Tedula*, and vnderstanding for certaine that his brother *Sidan* was in the field in person (because he himselfe had neuer been inured to trauell, and knowing it would bee no small discouragement to his side, and encouragement to the other, that *Sidan* should be in person in the field, and no other his equall in Bloud in his Armie to withstand him) hee concluded a colourable Peace betweene himselfe and his eldest brother *Muley Sheck*, whom vntill that time hee kept close prisoner in his house, agreeing with him that hee should goe forth into his Armie, and ioyn with *Indar* to fight against *Muley Sidan*, whom if hee ouerthrew in battell, hee should enjoy the Kingdome of *Fez*, and so much of those Easterne parts of *Barbarie*, as hee inioyed in their Fathers time: on condition, that at his entrance into *Fez*, he should proclaim *Muley Boferes* King, and himselfe onely Vice-roy, and so still acknowledge his gouernment there, as deriued from *Boferes*. And to the intent *Muley Sheck* should the better obserue these conditions according to their agreement, hee was to leaue his eldest sonne in pawne with *Muley Boferes* in *Mornecos*. On these plausible conditions, *Muley Sheck* was set at libertie, a happy turne for himselfe as hee thought, who neuer looked for any better but perpetuall imprisonment, with much miserie. But the truth is, *Bascha Indar* had secret aduertisement from his Master *Boferes* (yet not so secret, but it was knowne to *Muley Sheck*, and closely carried of him by interception of Letters betwixt *Mornecos* and the Campe in *Tedula*), that hee should abridge *Muley Sheck* of any command in the Campe, or matter of counsell in ordering of the Fight; onely shew him to the Souldiers vnder his Canopie, that the *Fezes* who were the strength of *Sidan*s Armie, might know *Sheck* was in the Campe of *Boferes*, whom they loued in regard partly of his long abode amongst them, but especially of his great liberalitie, or rather prodigalitie, formerly shewed vnto them, which wrought much in their minds at the ensuing battell: and withall the *Bascha* had a speciall charge sent, and his Guard so to watch him, that (if hee got the battell) hee should bring *Muley Sheck* in Yrons as safe a prisoner from the Campe to *Mornecos*, as once hee had done from *Mickanes*. But this being discovered, *Muley Sheck* so shuffled his Game, that though *Indar* won the Field, *Muley Sheck* escaped vnto *Fez*, and was louingly entertained of the Citizens, proclaiming himselfe King of *Barbarie*.

Fokers are men of good life, which are only giuen to peace. *Leo* calls them *Hermites*; other call them *Talbies* and *Saints*: they are held in great reputation of sanctitie. *M. Sheck* set at libertie.

Policies.

But retorne we to the *Fokers*, treating about conditions of Peace in *Fez* with *Muley Sidan*, who by intelligence vnderstood from *Mornecos* of the fresh supplies of Souldiers, daily sent out by his brother to the *Bascha*, whereby hee greatly suspected thole offers of Peace, to bee but a deuice to prolong the time, whilest his whole forces were in a readinesse, and then suddenly to haue come vpon him vnawares, before he should be provided for him. And therefore hee returned the *Fokers* with denials of the offered conditions of Peace, and himselfe thinking to take the oportunitie and aduantage of the time, before either his brothers new forces should come to the *Bascha*, or *Muley Sheck* his eldest brother be set at libertie. He cauled with all diligence to be gotten together some two thousand Mules and Horses, and vpon euerie Mule to bee set two Souldiers with their furniture, and so (without any stay for the rehalling of Tents, or carrying along of his Artillerie with him) to bee with all haste possible, sent and ioyned to the *Almohalla* of *Alkeid Mustefa* which lay hard by the Riuer of *Morbaie*, in the sight of the *Almohalla* of *Bascha Indar*, the Riuer onely betweene them: hee himselfe likewise in person went along with some seuen or eight thousand of his Horsemen, thinking by this meanes to come with the chiefeest and best of his forces vpon *Bascha Indar*, before the *Bascha* should expect him, or before the comming of *Muley Sheck*, who for his liberalitie

Fokers suspected, and peace denied.

Almohalla is a Campe.

The Battayle.

Dwar, is a
Towne of
Tents.
Vniust Iustice.Treaty of
peace.

Treasure taken

Absadicke.

Sidans valour.

and bounty in former times, was greatly beloued of all the Souldiers both of *Fez*, and also of *Moruecos*. But this policie of his herein tooke no place, for *Muley Sheck* after hee was set at libertie, made such speedie Iournies that he came to the *Almohalla* of the *Basha*, before the *Muley Sidan* had certaine intelligence of his libertie, and yet hee entred the *Almohalla* but on the Tuesday, the battel being fought vpon the Friday following. *Muley Sidan* vnderstanding for certayne that his eldest Brother was come into the *Basha* his *Almohalla*, thought it no time for him to deferre giuing of Battayle, least it should be knowne amongst his Souldiers, (many of whom in former times had serued the said *Muley Sheck*.) And therefore on Friday the sixt of January 1604. the Forces of each side met and ioyned together, betweene whom there was no long fight, for vpon the discharging of foure Peeces of Artillery, (which *Indar Basha* had with him) some three or foure times, a great part of the Souldiers of *Muley Sidan* beganne to flye: except some choice men which were in that part of the Battayle where the *Muley* himselfe was: by reason of the resolution of their Commander, continued somewhat longer, but in the end fled when as the Canopie ouer *Muley Sidans* head was shot downe with a Piece of Ordnance. At which mischance, and not before, the *Muley* himselfe began to leaue the field; who in the managing of this battayle was some thing to be blamed; for being come to his Campe an houre before day, he should not haue delayed two houres and more the present on-set, gazing in his Enemies face, and giuing them time to ready themselves to fight, whom otherwise hee might haue taken at the disper-view, and his *Fezzes* whom he halfe mistrusted, no premeditation to reuolt or runne away. On *Muley Shecks* side few were slaine, and of *Muley Sidans* side the greatest number was some fixe hundred men.

The three Brethren thus struiuing for the Golden Ball of Soueraigntie, Iustice was trodden downe. The *Larbes* robbed one another, the strongest carrying away all. Quarrels betwixt Families and Tribes, which durst not be talked of in old *Muley Hamets* time, came to be decided with the Sword. After this battaile all wayes were stopped with Robbers, no trading from the Port Townes to *Moruecos*, without great strength of men. *Muley Boferes* (who had the Imperiall seat) was neither so fit for action, or to doe Iustice, as *Muley Sidan* who had lost the day. And that the Kindred, called *Weled Entid*, well knew, which presuming vpon the soft nature of *Boferes* and their owne strength, which consisted of fiftene thousand horse, foraged vp to *Moruecos* gates, fore-closed all passages for Trauellers, making Merchants goods their prizes: Whereas an exemplary punishment executed vpon them for their robbing in *Fez* by *Muley Sidan*, whilest he reigned there, made them thinke the Countrey too hot: For *Sidan* commanded *Alkeid German* with two thousand Souldiers in hostile manner, to fall vpon the next *Dwar* of Tents belonging to that Tribe, to burne Man, Woman, Childe, Kine, Sheepe, and whatsoeuer belonged to them, not to spare it vpon his owne life from Fire and Sword, which fully executed and so bloudily, that *Muley Sidan* sighed hearing the true report, yet it made *Fez* the peaceablest part in *Barbarie*. But returne we to *Sidans* fortunes after he lost the field, hauing the ouerthrow, retyred backe to *Fez*, and forthwith was *Alkeid Azus* (the onely man in the latter dayes of the old King, fauored by the whole Countrey) dispeeded towards *Moruecos*, to treat of a peace, and himselfe beganne to make head againe to resist such forces as should follow him; but before he could bring his forces together againe, newes was brought vnto him that his Brother *Muley Sheck*, was neere at hand with certain companies of Horse-men, and that the whole *Almohalla* of the *Basha* was not farre behind. So that then hee was rather to consider of, and to prouide for his escaping by flight, then any wayes to resist: and hauing before put some nine hundred thousand Duckats in *Allarocha*, for the which money he had sent one of his *Alkeids* after his returne from the battayle; hee thought it his best course to passe that way, and to take that money along with him, but he was followed so hardly by *Alkeid Abdela Wahad*, and *Alkeid Vmsoud Vmbily*, *Boferes* Seruants, that he was forced to flye directly towards *Trimisine*, and to leaue that Treasure behind him which was taken by his Brother *Mley Sheck*.

In these his frowning fortunes, the most of his *Alkeids* left him, and amongst others *Mumine Bocrasia* flying to *Moruecos*, in whom he put no small trust: and more then the Seruants of his house, he had no man of account but forooke him, onely *Alkeid Absadicke*, *Hado Tabid*, and *Mustepha*; the two latter of them being his household Seruants, and belonging to him in his Fathers time, left him not in his aduersitie: So that any *Alkeid* of the *Cassas* or *Castes* in *Barbarie*, he had no more then *Absadicke*, who rather then he would leaue him (although allured by the perswasions of his Brother *Alkeid Abdela Wahad*, and entreated by the teares of his Sonne to returne, both of them then being in the pursuit of *Muley Sidan*, and in a Playne ouertooke the said *Absadicke*, yet he left his house and children at the mercie of *Muley Boferes* his Master and Enemy. The *Alkeids* who followed in pursuite of *Muley Sidan*, followed him so hard, that besides the treasure of *Allarocha*, they likewise tooke much of the *Muleys* Treasure that hee carryed along with him, although with that small company of Horses, which were no more then twentie Horse-men or thereabout, hee returned many times, and fought with those who pursued him, in person, being still one of the foremost in these Skirmishes, vntill *Alkeid Vmbilie* who pursued him, admiring his resolution, and pittying his miserable estate, requested his Ma-iestie

iestie to keepe on his way, and saue himselfe by flight, he not purposing to pursue him any further. And so the *Muley* in this miserable estate (forsaken almost of all) kept on his way to *Trimasine* a Towne bordering vpon the *Turkes*, in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of *Argiers*: and the *Alkeids* who pursued him, returned againe to *Fez*.

§. III.

MVLEY SHECK proclaymeth himselfe King in *Fez*. *SIDAN* goeth to *Tafilet*, from thence into *Sus*. Peace concluded betweene *MVLEY BOFERES*, and *MVLEY SIDAN*. *ABDELA SHECKS Sonne* escapeth *Sir ANTHONY SHERLEYS Embassage*, *Bountie and State*.

After *Muley Sidans* flight in this manner, *Muley Sheck* entred *Fez*, where hee was ioyfully receiued of them, proclaymed himselfe King, and not *Gouernour* vnder his Brother *Boferes*. And it being in the time of *Rummadan*, all the *Almohallas* of *Mornecos* returned home against the *Pascha*: from whence after the celebration of the Feast, they were sent forth to all parts of the Country against the *Larbies*: among whom were as great Ciuill Warres, as among the Brethren, for in this time of so many Kings, they would acknowledge none, or pay duty to any of the three Brethren. Whereupon *Hamet Monsore* with three thousand Souldiers, was sent into *Sus* in the moneth of Aprill, 1604. but his men dying of the Plague (which was very hot at that time) and thereby the *Larbies* little regarding his power, would bring him no victuals, so that with the remaynder of his men, he was contrayned to returne towards *Mornecos*. Diuers other *Almohallas* were sent abroad into seuerall parts of the Countrey, but in the beginning of Iune, newes comming of *Muley Sidans* returne from *Trimasine* to *Tafilet*, they were all sent for by *Boferes* to returne to *Mornecos*, and be ioyned together the second time against *Muley Sidan*: who hauing some few monethes liued about *Trimasine* with some fiftie Souldiers, went towards *Tafilet*, about which part liued the *Cassa* or Caste of *Alkeid Absadock* (who was Master of the Hawkes to *Muley Hamet*) and brought to *Sidan*, of his Caste some twelue hundred Horses, with which force he entered *Tafilet*: The *Alkeid* of *Muley Boferes* flying to *Dara* or *Draw* with his Souldiers. In *Tafilet*, *Muley Sidan* stayed some forty dayes, where he vnderstood perfectly of the estate of *Sus*, and had Letters from diuers of his Wel-willers there: vnderstanding of *Alkeid Hamet Monsores* departure from thence: And that the *Shebanites* which is the greatest Cast in all *Barbarie*, and the *Casse* or Cast of the *Muleys* Mother, would not acknowledge *Boferes* for King, and likewise, how most of all the *Casts* in *Sus* desired his comming thither: Whereupon hee prepared what Forces he could there get, to goe into *Sus*. *Muley Boferes* vpon the first newes of his Brothers comming to *Tafilet*, called in all his *Almohallas*, and ioyning some foure thousand shot of them besides Horse, sent them from *Mornecos* to *Dara*, vnder the command of his Son *Muley Abdelmelech*, with whom went diuers principall *Alkeids*, as *Alkeid Gowie*, *Umbilie*, and *Mumine Bocrasia*, who in the first battayle of *Muley Sidan* was a principall man of command on his side, and after his ouerthrow fled from him to *Mornecos*, with diuers others. The chiefe intent of these Forces was to stop the passages from thence to *Sus*, which *Muley Sidan* perceiuing before the comming of their whole Forces, he passed by *Alcatony*, where the Horse-men on each side skirmished, the Footmen not being able to come vp, and some slaine of either side, but no man of account, saue onely *Alkeid Mumine Bocrasia*, who as some reported dyed with thirst, beeing ouer-heated (the battayle beeing fought in the middest of Iuly) or as others reported, beeing wounded, and returning to his Tent, calling for water, after hee had drunke it presently dyed; whose death was little lamented or pittied of the *Moores*, they saying, hee was iustly rewarded for being a Traytour to *Muley Sidan* his Master, who was not onely contented to leaue him in his misfortunes, and to flye to his Brother, but also to goe forth into the field against him.

Muley Sidans Forces were so small, that he was not able to match in strength the Forces of his Enemies, & therefore was contrayned to passe into *Sus* by the way of the *Sahara*, and durst not passe by *Draw*: In which Sands for want of water, both he and his whole company had almost perished, and after much misery indured in that Iourney, hee arriued at *Aca*, where *Sidie Abdela Imbark* the great *Foker* dwelleth, the friendship of whom obtayned, hee knew that all his Brothers Forces could not dispossesse him of the Kingdome of *Sus*, in such great reuerence is that Church-man held in those parts, that the people will obey none, but whom he commandeth them.

He being come hither, the *Foker* by letters to *Muley Boferes*, then at *Mornecos*, procured that there might be a Treaty of peace betweene the two brethren: Whereupon, in August following,

Anno

Rummadan, is Lent.

Ciuill combustions amongst the *Larbies*.

Death of *Bocrasia*.

Sahara, the Countrey or Desarts of Sands.

The reputation of *Hermites* or *Fokers*.

Peace conclu-
ded betwixt
Boferes and
Sidan.

Anno 1604. *Alkeyd Azus* was sent to *Muley Sidan* to *Aca*, where by the endeouours of the said *Alkeyd* and the *Foker*, a peace was concluded, betweene *Muley Boferes* and his brother *Muley Sidan*, this to inioy the Kingdome of *Sus*, and the other the residue of the Empire, whereupon *Sidan* peaceably entered *Taradant* the chiefe City in that Kingdome: vpon whose entrance thither, *Sus* which in all former times had beene the most vnquiet and rebellious part of all *Barbary*, through his execution of Iustice, became the onely peaceable and well gouerned Countrey of that Kingdome, all other parts of *Barbarie*, that were vnder the gouernment, and belonging to the other two brethren, as then remaining very vnquiet, and full of all tumults: Neither was his gouernment any way to be misliked, but that scarce settled, he charged the Countrey with greater impositions then his Father euer demanded, insomuch as *Sedie Abdela Imbark*, who was the onely man that first brought him thither, reprooued his courtes: and the Mountainers of *Atlas*, being good Souldiers, excellent shot, and their dwelling by nature defencible, finding his yoke too heauy, the lesse regarded him or his power; which humour of theirs was nourished by secret practises of *Boferes*, loth that *Sidan* should either grow great in friends, or treasure. But the Inhabitants of the Plaine and lower Regions felt the smart of his rod, knowing their throats lay at his mercy, when as the Mountainers defended themselves with open armes, and oftentimes gaue the new king his hands full.

The peace concluded betwixt *Boferes* and *Sidan*, by the meanes of *Abdela Imbark*, and *Azus*, the wisest Counsellor that *Barbary* hath: we will leaue *Sidan* at *Sus*, seeking his owne end once more to become Master of *Mornecos*, and returne to *Boferes*, who was troubled which way to contriue the regaining of *Muley Sheck*: who like a Bird had broken cage, and was flowne to *Fez*, making a faire pretence to gouerne but as Vice-roy, yet secretly practised with forraine States, either to make them his friends, whereunto he might flie, if *Muley Boferes* by force should driue him out of *Fez*, or rather then he would lose footing in *Afrike*, determined to bring in forraine power, for his aid. Wherefore *Boferes* fearing a Christian storme which might haile bullets, was carefull to keepe *Abdela*, *Muley Sheck* his eldest son, the safer to keepe the father surer from doing mischief. But it happened the plague was sharpe in *Mornecos*, therefore *Boferes* sent his son *Muley Abdelmelech* some fife miles soorth of *Mornecos* with his Tents, and *Muley Sheck* sonne with him, but either his keepers were negligent and corrupted, or else young *Abdela* too wilie, for one night he made escape out of the Campe, and hauing horses ready layd, posted to his Father at *Fez*. This gallant being at liberty, sought all meanes to defend his Title, being the eldest brothers sonne: his stirring spirit and youthfull hope drew all the minds of the *Fezzes* vnto him: insomuch as *Muley Boferes* sore afflicted with his escape, but more with the newes of his preparations, dispeeded *Azus* vnto *Muley Sidan* then in *Sus*, with request he would goe personally to battaile against *Sheck* and *Abdela* his sonne: *Muley Sidan* well entertained this message, and with all conuenient speed drawing his owne forces together, came within halfe a dayes iourney of *Mornecos*, there pitching his Tents, but not determining to hazard his fortune, or trust the price of his owne head vnder his brothers hands, yet daily he sent letters by his seruants of great credite, wherein he was willing to vndertake the charge of warre against *Abdela*, so that he might make choise of Captaines and Commanders, and such proportion of Souldiers as he thought fit, to vndergoe an action of such import. This proposition was neither liked of *Boferes* or his Counsell, yet making faire weather to *Muley Sidan*, letters passed from him daily of great loue forced with many complements, much misliking his brothers mistrust, not daring to ieopard his person within *Mornecos*.

Sidan policie.

Muley Sidan meaning to proue what correspondency his brother *Boferes* heart carried with his hand, framed a letter which was sent as from the chiefeest man in those Mountaine Countreys of *Atlas*, to *Muley Boferes*, full of duety and seruices, offering withall to send him *Sidan* head, who was encamped within his Countrey, at the foot of the hilles. Answer to this letter was returned with great thanks, and a large reward of gold promised, if a businesse of that high and important seruice would be performed. When *Sidan* by this had construed his brothers meaning, he raysed Campe, went to *Tafilet*, and remained in the Countrey of *Dara*, gathering in of money and men, after two moneths spent with his brother to no effect at all. *Boferes* seeing *Sidan* departed, and destitute of his helpe for *Fez*, committed his Campe to *Abdelmelech* his owne son, who was to be aduised by the Counsels of *Basha Iudar*, *Alkeyd Hamet Monfore*, *Sedy Gowie*, and *Alkeyd Bokerse* (thorow whose hands passed all businesse of Christian Merchants, so well dispatched, and so good regard thereof taken, that he was well liked of euery man for his good dealing.) This Campe being come within a dayes iourney of *Fez*, which is twenty dayes march from *Mornecos*, there the Souldiers fell to a mutenie, and three thousand of them reuolted vnto *Sheck*, crying openly, Long liue *Muley Sheck*. Hereupon *Abdelmelech* called a Counsell of warre, wherein it was concluded, though their number were twice as many, to returne without blow giuen backe to *Mornecos*, perceiuing indeed their Souldiers hearts quite alienated from them.

Abdelmelech
made Gene-
rall.

His retreat.

S. Anth. Sherley
an Englishman
sent Ambassa-
dor from the
Emperour.

About this time being the beginning of October, arriued at *Saphia* Sir *Anthony Sherley*, as Ambassadour from the Emperour of *Germanie*, to the King of *Mornecos*: his attendance was better

better then a priuate man, though somewhat wanting of the person from whom he was sent, few of note were in his company, being in all about thirteene persons, of euery Christian language one, because he would be fitted for interpretation of tongues. Amongst these was Sir Edwin Rich, whose behaviour was good and well spoken of in euery place where he came, not straying his credite to borrow money, but well provided to serue his owne turne, answering to his birth, state, and disbursements for the time. Sir *Anthony* then taking the Title of Ambassador, during foure Moneths abroad in *Saphie*, kept open house, invited all Christian Merchants daily, both to dinner and supper: to supplie his owne turne for money, he got credite of *Iemes* to take vp money, and pay them in *Morruecos*, but at excessiue rate, almost fifty for a hundred.

Sir Edwin Rich.

The Ambassadors bounty.

10 He bought likewise of an *English* Merchants Factor, being at dinner with him, at two or three words, a ship of a hundred & sixty Tunne, with all her lading being Wheat, paying him in hand two thousand ounces, and if he were not paid the rest of his money within ten dayes after his arrivall in *Morruecos*, then the buyer to lose his earnest. But before he went vp, *Abdelmelach* returning from *Fez*, by reason of his Souldiers Treason, the King of *Fez* marched towards *Morruecos*, some foure dayes iourney, and there gaue siege vnto a Port Towne called *Sally*, and tooke it, but the Castle he could not win. So the *Alkeyd* of the Castle wrote to *Muley Boferes*, that though the Towne were lost, the Castle he would keepe for him, if he sent three hundred quarters of Corne to victuall his men, and a fresh supply for fifty Souldiers. *Boferes* loath to lose the place, and hearing Sir *Anthony* had bought a ship of Corne, writ to *Saphie*, and willed him to send his ship to *Sally*, and there to vnlade her Corne for the reliefe of the Castell, and his 20 Souldiers. Sir *Anthony*, willing to doe the King a fauour, sent for the Captaine and Merchant of the ship, willed them to goe for *Sally*, and paying them for three hundred quarters, dealt so that thither they went, but the Castell being yeelded before they came, the Captaine and Merchant landed neither men, nor corne, but returned to *Saphie*.

English ship of 100 Tunne.

By this time were sent for the Conduct of the Ambassador five hundred men, vnder the command of two *Alkeyds*: vnto euery Souldier Sir *Anthony* gaue a Turbith as a Livery of his loue, which made them respect and honour him exceedingly; insomuch as one of the two *Alkeyds*, not hastning to conduct the Ambassador vp to *Morruecos*, but to prouide himself of Corne, it being exceeding deare at *Morruecos*, Sir *Anthony* desirous to set forward, and the Souldiers willing to pleasure him, fell to mutenie, in regard of the *Alkeyds* slacknesse, killing two of his men to hasten their master forward. After his foure moneths abode in *Saphie*, wherein his bountie 30 was extraordinary, not to his Countrey-men onely, but to *Flemish*, *French*, and *Spanish*, admired of his Souldiers, he was receiued into *Morruecos* with great state, hauing by the way, as also during his abode in *Saphie*, diuers letters from the King, extolling his honourable endeouours, and approoued valiantnesse in his farre aduentures both by sea and land, not omitting any Courtship to win his loue, or make him doubt his welcome.

His famous aduentures.

After two dayes stay in the Citie, the King made preparation for his entertainment at Court, whether he went, suting his followers as well as the shortnesse of time could suffer, and his credite with the Christian Merchants could afford, which was good, for two *Spaniards* were so rapt with admiration of his worth, and by his speeches allured with so strange hope, that they 40 fell in emulation, whether should doe him more seruices, or helpe him to more money: reasonably attended, he rode to Court, not lighting from his horse, where the Kings sonnes vsually doe, but rode thorow the *Mushward*, (which is the Kings great Hall, wherein most of his Lords, Gentlemen, and chiefe sort of people doe attend, when they come to Court) which none but the King himselfe doth. Being come into the Kings presence, his Letters of credite were receiued, with great shew of kindnesse, and himselfe entertained with all gracious respect, not onely at the Kings hands, but of the principallest men in office or fauour about the Court, and so for that time was dismissed, the chiefeest men attending him backe to the place where hee tooke horse. Some five dayes after, Sir *Anthony Sherley* comming to audience, and thinking to haue 50 ridden in as he did before, a chaine was hung crosse the entrance of the *Mushward*, which he perceiuing onely done to hinder his passage, would not alight from his Horse, but returned backe very discontented. This being certified to *Boferes*, presently three of his chiefeest *Alkeyds* were sent to qualifie the matter. But Sir *Anthony* tooke the disgrace not as his owne, but his whose person he represented, telling the *Alkeyds*, his master the Emperour, was able and would requite the iniury, neither did he feare, though now within the power of *Boferes*, knowing the greatness of him in whose seruice he was imployed, so farre surpassing the King of *Morruecos*, as maugre the proudest, he would be fetched from thence, and be fully reuenged of the least iniury done vnto him. The three *Alkeyds* layd the blame vpon the Kings Porter, offering Sir *Anthony* the Porters head, if he would haue it, so spending an houre to pacifie his choller, and bring 60 him backe, the Porter before his face was sore beaten and imprisoned, neither euer after was hee hindered of riding thorow the *Mushward*.

Spaniards in loue with Sir Anthony Sherley.

His state.

His affront and discontent.

During his abode in *Morruecos*, which was five moneths, *Boferes* and he had diuers priuate conferences, as it was generally thought, which way to keepe him in the Kingdome against his two brethren *Sheck* and *Sidan*; as also to giue the great *Turke* a blow to driue him out of *Ar-* giers

His bounty to
two Portugals.

Escape of a
Renegado.

giers and Tunes. From *Moruecos* Sir *Anthony* departed with great content to himselfe, and good liking of *Boferes*, of whom he bought two *Portugall* Gentlemen, for a hundred and fifty thousand ounces, which amounteth to some ten thousand pound sterling. These two had been Captives in *Moruecos* almost sixteene yeeres, the one, sonne to the Vice-roy of the East Indies, the other of a Noble house in *Portugall*. The first had his reigat thrise sent for to ransom him out of the East Indies, but twise it was taken by the *English*, once by *Flemmings* during our late warres with them: the other, his brethren drue him off for his reigat, either to saue so much money, or not able to pay so great a fine. To accompany him from the Court to *Saphie*, was sent one of the Kings Gentlemen Vshers, to whom at his parting, he threw him his Hat which he wore from his head, with a Jewell of great value, rewarding largely all the Vshers followers. For his Guard (the wayes being then very dangerous) was sent downe with him, foure hundred shot, vnder the Command of *Alkeyd Abdela Sinko*, a *Portugall* Renegado, (which is a Christian turned *Moore*.) This man, whether by perswasion, or voluntarily, desiring to see his native Countrey, in the night gat aboard of the ship Sir *Edwin Rich* was in, not Sir *Anthony*, the ship presently weighing Anchor, made saile for *Spaine*, but the other remaining with *S. Anthony* in the Harbour.

This dealing was taken in ill part, inso much that five of his men being sent to shoare for certaine prouision which they lacked, were clapped vp in prison, and sent in chaines to *Moruecos*, but afterward released. Sir *Anthony* writing to the King, both to cleare himselfe of the fact, and desiring remedie for these his new sustained grieuances, set a good shew vpon the matter, staid foure dayes after the other ship which had carried away the *Alkeyd*, and would haue tarried vntill he had his five men againe, but that he was written vnto to be gone from an especiall friend ashore, aduising him he did not wel to ride so long in the Port, diuers *Flemmish-men* of war being abroad, and if any should chance to come in there, as seldome it is without, they finding these two Gentlemen as prize would sease vpon them, and then was there lost thirty five thousand ounces, which a Merchants Factor had lent Sir *Anthony Sherley* to cleare him out of the Countrey, for which the Factor had the two *Portugals* bound to pay this debt at their arrinall in *Lisbon*. Vpon this aduertisement he departed, and the next day *Boferes* sent him a letter, to cleare his men. And so I returne to the file of my continued History.

§. III.

MVLEY ABDELA goeth in person against MVLEY BOFERES; driueth him out of Moruecos; putteth to death BASHA SIDAR, and other Noblemen; SIDAN expelleth him, and killeth three thousand Fezans perfideously, requited by ABDELA. SHRACIES trechery vniustly punished. SIDANS flight. Many English-men imployed in these warres, and slaine.

Mvley *Sheck*, putting his sonne *Abdela* forward to the whole Command of the armie, himselfe meaning to saue one, kept in *Allaroca* three *Italian* ships, purposing if matters prospered not well, with Treasure sufficient to goe to *Florence*: but the battell not fought, his determination altered, for he presently seized all strangers ships which came either to *Laratch*, *Salie*, or other parts, as also some Merchants ships of *Fez*, robbing them of their goods, making their Mariners land their Peece, and all the men either to serue him, or else to haue the Iron giuen them. Heereby he fitted himselfe of Captaines and Souldiers being *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, with seuen and twentie Peece of Ordnance and shot threunto sufficient. And so fired the mind of his sonne *Abdela*, with hope of winning *Moruecos* (being of himselfe drunken with the ambitious desire of a Kingdome) that *Abdela* about the latter end of Nouember 1606. marched to *Moruecos* with his troupes being some ten thousand horse and foot, besides his Christian Mariners, whose helpe won him the field, fought some sixe miles Southeast from *Moruecos*, on the eight of December, 1606. *Sheck* bore his sonne company no farther then *Salie*, from whence three houres riding, is a Riuer called *Mamora*, into which Bay the *Italian* ships put in: *Sheck* went thither, and hard by the ships vpon the shoare pitched his Tent wherein he lay, part of his Treasure being shipped, himselfe determined there to stay, and expect the euent of his sonne, if it passed well with him, then *Africke* should hold him, otherwise to visite the great Duke of *Thuscane*, on whose curtesie he much rested. But the Christian Gunners so well obserued their times of shooting and placing their Ordnance, as they got *Abdela* the field, hoping thereby to haue obtained both liberty, and pillage, of which most of them poore men failed, as afterward you shall read.

Abdela, by help
of *English* and
other Christi-
an Gunners,
wins the field
and *Morocco*.

When *Sheck* heard *Abdela* had got *Moruecos*, hee grew carelesse to send prouision or supplie the

the wants of his three *Italian* ships, wherefore, they set sayle from *Mamora* homewards, taking such Treasure for their pay as were in their custodies. *Boferes* lost in this battayle about fixe hundred men, fled into the Citie to saue his Treasure and his women, but for feare of being surprized, durst not tarry to take his Treasure away with him, but in all haste posted toward the Mountaynes, willing the *Alkeids* and chiefeft men of his Court to bring it after him, with the rich Sword, the like whereof is not in the World: committing also to their conduct his Daughter, and the choyfett of his women, amongst whom was the Wife of *Ben Wash* the Kings Merchant. At the entry of the hills, a Kindred of the *Larbies* being five hundred Horse-men, seized vpon these people, pillaged their Carriages, rifled and dishonoured the women, not sparing *Boferes* Daughter, (whom *Abdela* determined to haue marryed, but hearing diuers *Moors* to haue lyen with her, and also that she was suspected to haue liued in Incest with her Father; after his entrance into *Mornecos*, he neuer enquired farther after her. The *Alkeids* beeing well mounted by the swiftnesse of their Horses, returned backe to *Mornecos*, and there tooke Sanctuary. *Abdela* vpon their submission promised them pardon, on whose Princely word they relying, came forth, the *Foker* of the place presenting them: But *Muley Abdela*, whether incited by enuious counsell, or on his owne bloody minde, putteth them so secretly to death, that sending all their heads in one Sacke to *Fez*, for a Present to his Father, Their deaths was not fully knowne in the Citie of *Mornecos*, before their heads were set vpon *Fez* gates. Here was the end of *Bashia Indar* a great Souldier in old *Hamets* time, a faithfull Commander during his life to *Boferes*, accompanied with *Sadie Gowie*, *Alkeid Azus* his Sonne, *Alkeid Muden* the *Cassimie*, and some foure great men more.

This tyranny of *Abdela* shewed vpon these valiant and worthy men; and the spoyle which the *Fezees* had made aswell in robbing the *Alkeids* houses, as in rifling the Citizens goods, and committing all outrages which follow Warre, caused many to flye to *Muley Sidan*, and the rest which remayned in *Mornecos* grew discontented, so that the Sunne-shine of *Abdelas* happinesse scarce lasted two monethes: for *Sidan* resting in the halfe way betweene *Mornecos* and *Fez*, taking oportunitie of this vproare of the Townesmen, marched toward *Mornecos* on the North-side of the Towne, determining to giue present battayle; hearing by the Scowts, that *Muley Abdela* his Campe was lodged in the great Garden or Orchard called the *Almowetto*, being some two *English* miles about. The first night of *Sidans* approach, the Prisoners were released, and Prisons broken open, so that these men getting libertie, ranne halfe madde vp and downe the Citie, crying, Long liue *Sidan*, which troubled the Citizens not a little: And in this vproare, *Sidans* Faction let into the Citie (at a secret gate) many of his Souldiers, which made a Sally vpon the Regiment of *Zalee*, meaning to haue surprized *Abdelas* Campe, but himselfe comming to the rescue with two thousand men, continued a hot Skirmish against the *Sidians*, in which the Christians fought valiantly to recouer their Peeeces of Artillery which were lost, vntill the *Sidians* were forced to retyre. The next day beeing the five and twentieth of *Aprill*, *Stilo nono*, *Abdela* remooued towards *Muley Sidan*, who was encamped on the North-side of the Citie, not daring to come on the South-side, for feare of the shot which galled his men from the Battlements of the Kings House. Therefore he hearing of *Abdelas* remoue, and intending to venture his fortune vpon a present battayle, set forward to meet him with a Regiment of his best Horle: *Abdela* perceiuing this, caused his Canoniers to march formost, which could but place five Peeeces of their Artillery in a brest, because the Orchards and Gardens made the passages very narrow and strait; where as the Armies should meete, *Sidans* Horle-men gaue a very gallant charge, but the Canoniers made them retyre: Which *Abdelas* Horle-men perceiuing, being encouraged, and too eager of the Chase, some thousand Horle galloped before their owne Ordnance, and followed their Enemie close to *Sidans* Campe, their Peeeces of Artillery being drawne after them. *Muley Sidan* well knowing the aduantage of the place, seeing his Enemies depriued of the benefit of their great Ordnance, which he most feared, encouraged his men to keepe their ground, and bringing with his owne person fresh supplies to second them, gaue his Aduersaries the *Abdelians* so hot a charge, that they were fayne to retyre in great disorder, vpon the mouthes of their owne Artillery. This dis-array perceiued by the Christian Gunners, it put them in minde to discharge vpon their owne men the *Abdelians*, holding it better to kill five or sixe hundred of their owne side, then to lose the battayle. But the *Moore*, who was Captayne ouer the Canoniers and other Commanders, would not suffer it: Wherefore the *Sidians* following in good order, and very close, fell to the execution with their Swords, surprized the Artillery, and slue the men. The slaughter continued some foure hoares, betwixt seven or eight thousand killed, and few to speake on left aliue, for what the Souldiers spared, the Citizens in reuenge of their Disorders, Pillages, and Villanies done to their women, bereaued them of their liues, who beeing dead were not suffered to bee buried, but lay about the ground as a prey to the Dogges and Fowles of the Ayre. Heauie likewise was the Conquerours hand vpon the Christians which tooke *Abdelas* part, most of them for their five monethes seruice to *Abdela*, were either slayne in the fury of battayle, or after had his throat cut. And this

was

Pirats end.

Sidan Master of
the field, and
Morocco or Mor-
uecos.
The Kings
House a CastleSanctuary tak-
en in the
Great Church
belonging to
the Kings
House.Perfidious
crueltie.Famine fol-
loweth Warre,
as that the Pe-
silence.Faithlesse but-
chery.Thirty or forty
Englishmen Ca-
noniers, taken
by Abdela.

was the end of them, who had liued in the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and the Mediterranean Sea, not as Merchants by honest Trading, but hauing committed spoyle vpon diuers Sea-faring men, felt the bloudie hand of a barbarous Nation, (as a deserued punishment sent from God) to execute Justice for their manifold committed wrongs and out-rages.

This battayle being lost with the greatest bloud-shed that any hath beene since these Warres beganne, *Muley Abdela* fled to *Fez*, a hundred persons of his whole Army not left aliue to beare him company: And *Sidan* Master of the field, entred the Citie of *Moruecos*, hauing another taske to take in hand ere he could settle himselfe quietly in his owne Nest. For the Kings House being Castle-wise builded, and seuered from the Citie with a defencible and a strong wall, lacking no kind of Munition for the defence thereof, had within it, besides Souldiers of *Moruecos*, three thousand *Fezees* who were not at the last battayle, but left there to guard the place for *Abdela*.

These presuming on their owne valour and strength of the place, denyed to render it vpon any termes to *Sidan*, though they were sollicitated, during the space of two dayes, by all faire meanes thereunto: *Sidan* bringing his Artillery to the wals, yet delayed, as loth to deface a building so strong, costly, and beautifull; So that in the meane time a Captaine whose house ioyned to the wall, by stealth with five hundred men, scaled and wonne the top of the wall, crying, Victory for *Muley Sidan*, which so amazed the Souldiers within, thinking the Forces which were entered farre greater then they were, without more adoe or offering to resist, they tooke Sanctuary in the great Church belonging to the Kings House, euery man with his Peece and Furniture about him.

Muley Sidan vpon this, sent *Basha Seleman*, willing them to deliuer vp their Armes, with promise they should bee pardoned, which presently they did, yeelding and deliuering both Swords and Peeces. Thus disarmed, they, silly soules came forth, when presently after, message came from the King to butcher and cut the throats of them all, which was executed. A pittifull matter in my iudgement, so many men yeelding vpon good composition, after fury of battayle, vpon cold bloud to bee made so pittifull a spectacle: it was bootlesse for them to alleage eyther Law or reason in defence of their liues; such is the misery and slavery of that people, whose goods and liues lyeth alwayes in the will of the King, eyther to saue, or destroy at his pleasure.

Now is *Sidan* settled in *Moruecos* but scarce secure, for the chiefeest men in the Citie wished an alteration, because their King to get their money and wealth to maintayne his owne estate, beganne to picke quarrels with them, making some who began to speake and repine at his doings, lose their heads, *Quoniam Canis mortuum non latrat*: The common people whose naturall condition is alwayes to desire Nouelties, wished for a new King, feeling his oppression, and the Famine whereof many dyed, grew carelesse of peace, thinking euery change would bring a remedie, when indeed it was like the Incision of an vnskilfull Surgeon, not curing the Malady, but making the wound wider, Gangrened, and incurable. *Sidan* purposing to purge this male-contented humour of the Commonalty, rayfed an Army of twelue thousand Foot, and sixe thousand Horse, determining to take *Fez*. The chiefe men of command ouer this Army, were these, *Basha Mustepha*, *Alkeid Hamet Benbreham*, *Alkeid Ally Tahila*, *Alkeid Gago*, and *Alkeid Hadoe Tobib*, with diuers others. *Muley Sidan* not going in person with this Army, least in his absence *Moruecos* the Seat of the Empire should reuolt. *Muley Sheek* hearing these newes, went to *All arocha*, there tooke a great *Flemmish* ship from the Merchants, with all the goods in her, therein shipping his Treasure, determining to runne away, if his Sonne *Abdela* should lose *Fez*. *Abdela* omitted no time to gather new Forces, so that in small time he thought himselfe sufficient to meete the *Sidanians* in open field, and so he did neere to *Mickanes*, where the people on *Sidans* part, missing their King in the field, or any one of the Bloud Royall refused to fight, and in stead of striking, fell to parley; That if *Abdela* would pardon them, they would yeeld, and so they did, yet most of them ranne away, except threethousand *Moruekyes*, who presuming vpon *Abdels* gentle nature, staid with him, hoping kind entertaynement into his pay, in stead whereof, *Muley Abdela* commanded all their throats to be cut, granting them onely this fauour: first, to be stripped for fowling their clothes.

Thus we may see, mercilesse *Sidan* butcher poore soules at *Moruecos*, pittilesse *Abdela* murder these vnfortunate slaues at *Mickanes*, both verifying the old Prouerbe, *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achini*. In this battayle were taken betwixt thirtie and fortie Englishmen, who serued *Muley Sidan* as Canoniers, yet not any of that company which serued *Abdela* at *Moruecos*, when he lost the Citie and field, but other Voluntaries, part of these fled with the bodie of the Army backe to *Moruecos*, part were taken, whom *Abdela* spared, as well in regard of former seruices the Nation had done him, as also for the present vse he was to employ them in. This Expedition of *Sidans* comming to so vnlooked a disaster, made him send forth his Commanders with diuers companyes, to the *Alarbies*, for fresh supply of Men and Treasure: amongst which as Chiefe was dispeeded *Basha Seleman*, Master of the old Kings Horse for *Taslet*, there to gouerne

gouverne the Countrey, carrying with him some fiftene hundred Shot, of which fixe hundred were *Shraceis*, people of the King of *Chaus*, or *Concoes* Countrey, who hath alwaies warres with *Algers* or *Argiers*. These *Shraceis* were borne in the Mountaines at *Atlas*, being of a fierce and bloody nature, not respecting the *Turkes* might or government, no more then the Mountainers of *Moruecos*, will acknowledge the Soueraigntie of the *Barbarian*. Some twelue hundred of these had *Sidan* in his pay, halfe part whereof he kept at *Moruecos*, the other was sent with *Solyman*. These amongst themselves fell into a muteny, neither for want of pay, or ill vllage, but in desire to doe a milchiefe, by force cut off the *Balkaes* head, carrying it with them as a Trophy of their victorie, and a fit pretent to win *Abdelas* fauour, who was then at *Fez*, whither they went for intertainement, *Sidan* herewith moued, made Proclamation, that for three moneths what *Shracee* soeuer, Souldier, or any other, were to be found in *Moruecos*, or ellwhere in his Dominions, should be put to the Sword, and to haue it better & more fully executed, it was proclaimed, that the Man-killer should haue the goods of the *Shracee* so killed. Many rich men of this Nation or Kindred resiant in *Moruecos*, felt the furie of the Sword, for the folly and foule fault of their Tribe: such as could get packing, ran away; others of the better sort, their friends hid them in their houles, vntill *Sidan* scared with newes of *Abdelas* comming towards him, proclaimed generall pardon for the remainder left aliue, and free passage of trading or comerce for any *Shracee*, which would venture to *Moruecos*. Yet few durst come vpon these goodly termes, or those who lay hid in *Moruecos*, if they were worth any thing, shew themselves in publike, for feare this were a pretence to bring the residue vnto the halter. Those *Shracees* who were sole causers of this massacre, being with *Abdelas* at *Fez*, daily moued him to goe towards *Moruecos*, vowing euerie man to die in his cause, and for reuenge of their Wiues, Children, and Friends, who had smarted for their sakes. *Abdelas* something animated with their offers, yet delayed, knowing his Forces farre inferior vnto *Sidans*, vntill still vrged by the *Shracee*, which had brought from the Mountaines some store of their Kindred, very able and resolute men to his aide, he set forwards about the latter end of August, towards *Moruecos*, determining to giue battell once more to *Muley Sidan*. Of what strength *Abdelas* Armie consisted, the certaintie is not knowne, but gessed to bee very neere fiftene thousand Horse and Foote.

Shraceis muteny.

Their treacherie.

Bloody decree

Muley Sidan was very strong, for beside his owne Souldiers, the *Moruecans* aided him with eight thousand men, and diuers tribes sent supplies to augment his forces. He had two hundred English, the most of them voluntaries, sixtie field Pieces, with sufficient Shot and Powder.ouer the English and all the Christians, was Generall Captaine *John Giffard*, a Gentleman of a worthy spirit, and descended from the ancient and honourable stem of the *Giffards* in *Buckingham-shire*. Vpon his first entertainment and welcome into the Countrey, *Sidan* bestowed vpon him a rich Sword valued at a thousand Marks, and a Scarlet Cloake, richly imbroidered with Pearle, sent as a present to *Muley Hamet*, the Kings Father, from our late Soueraigne of famous memorie Queene *Elizabeth*, besides many other extraordinarie fauours of good value; and often conuersing familiarly; yea, sometimes visiting Captaine *Giffard* at his owne Tent. His entertainment was twentie five shillings per diem, besides many supplies proceeding from the Kings bounty. With him as secondary men in charge, was one Master *Philip Giffard*, his neere and very deare Kinsman; Captaine *Iaques*, a very valiant Souldier; Captaine *Smith*, one of the most exquisite Enginers in *Europe*; Captaine *Baker*, an ancient *Britaine* Souldier; Captaine *Tailer*, Captaine *Faukes*, Captaine *Chambers*, Captaine *Isack*, men euery way able to vndergoe their seuerall commands. These were daily stipendaries, at twelue shillings a man, except the two Sea Captaines, *Isack*, and *Chambers*, who had foure shillings a day, and euerie common Souldier twelue pence truly payd them. These preparations considered, *Muley Sidan* had small reason to leaue the field, or feare *Abdelas* forces, being nothing in respect of his. But certaine it is, the *Muley* sending for his Wizzards, Soothsayers, willing them to foretell, that he might foreknow the successe of his embattailed Armie. Their answer was; He should loose the battell, bee driuen into *Sus*, within five moneths should regaine *Moruecos*, and there during life enioy the Kingdome. Vpon this answer, the *Muley* giuing great credit thereunto, as the nature of a *Barbarian* is very suspicious, commanded *Basha Mustepha*, with three thousand Souldiers to conuey away his Mother, Wiues and Children. To *Alkeid Hamet Benbreham* and *Hado Tabib*, hee commended the charge of his Treasure, who laded sixtie Mules with Gold, garding them and the Muleters, with two thousand of his choysest Shot.

Two hundred English serue *Sidan*.
Captaine *John Giffard*.

A present sent from Queene *Elizabeth*, giuen to Captaine *Giffard*.

Philip Giffard.
Captaine *Iaques*.
Captaine *Smith*.
Captaine *Baker*.
Captaine *Tailer*, *Faukes*, *Chambers*, *Isaac*.

Southsaying Oracles: superstitious credulitie.
The Kings treasure.
The battell

These dispeeded, it may appeare *Sidan* but howered, and would follow; yet the battels met the 26 of Nouember, 1607. some sixtene miles from the Citie of *Moruecos*, the Canoniers of *Muley Sidan*, part hauing in the forefront discharged, their Enemies being somewhat farre off; but before they could charge againe, the Enemie was with them. The *Shraceis* did not once discharge a Piece, great nor small, but ioyning themselves close to the *Abdelians*, charged the *Sidans* very fiercely with the r Sables, in reuenge of *Sidans* tyrannie shewed vpon their Kindred, enraging their minds and courages, or their faithfull promise (which they sought to make good) to *Abdelas*, made them put the *Sidans* to flight: or else it was *Sidans* feare, that hee should not make good his Soothsayers Prophecie, which made his men to runne away: For at the first

Ccccc

encounter,

Sidans flight.
Engl^{sh} valour,
but few vn-
slaine.

Captaine
Giffards death.

encounter, his *Moore*s fell into a dis-array, and presently into a dishonorable flight: whereupon *Muley Sidan* fled, sent to the *English* Captaines to be gone, and to Captaine *Giffard* a good Horse to saue himselfe. The *English* returned word, that they came not thither to run, but rather die an honourable death. Captaine *Giffard* encouraged his men, telling them, there was no hope of victorie, but to prepare and die like men, like *English* men: and then asking for his *Iaques*, whom he loved dearly, and taking a Pike in his hand, thought to haue rode vnto him, being told hee was not sixefcore from him, and to haue died together; but in the way, Captaine *Giffard* being charged by eight *Abdelians*, one behind him shot him thorow, and so was he there slaine. Few of all the *English* Nation were left alieue, the number not exceeding thirtie, and none of the Commanders escaped, except Captaine *Isack*, and Captaine *Faukes*; of the *Moore*s were not slaine in all fortie persons. 10

Abdela second
time Master of
Moruecos.

Shracies de-
part.

Sidan being gone, as loath to tarry, spend bloud, and win a Field, *Abdela* got the ground, his Enemies marched vpon, but no great victory, entred *Moruecos* without applause, or reioyce of the Citizens, some yet feeling his late done iniuries, sorie for the losse of *Sidan*, who had proued a Tyrant, nor welcomming *Abdela* vpon hope of amendment, but with policie and patience fitted themselues to the milerie of the time. *Abdela* once againe Master of *Moruecos*, got the Kings House, but found no treasure to relieue his wants. Great were his promises to reward the *Shracies* with bountie, and enrich his followers, when the Citie was recouered: now hee hauing it, there failed of his expectation, and his Souldiers lacking both meate and money: yet to keepe them still in hope, and so in gouernment, it was bruited, the young King had found a Well full of treasure within the House, which *Muley Hamet Xarif* had layed vp for a deare yeare: but this good newes quickly vanished, the Well not yeelding water to refresh their fainting stomacks. Therefore the *Shracies* hauing released their Kindred, recouered their Wiues and Children, which had escaped the fury and bloudie Decree of *Sidan* the last King, they tooke good words and kind vsages of *Abdela*, in lieu of payment, seeing *Moruecos* neither afforded them meate, nor *Abdelas* fortune further maintenance, and so three thousand of them departed at one time. *Muley Abdela* with the residue of his forces kept *Moruecos*, laboring by all possible meanes to giue his souldiers content, and keepe them together; so with much adoe hee liued in *Moruecos* some two moneths, during which time, *Muley Sidan* was gathering a fresh Army in *Sus*. 20

¶ V.

MVLEY HAMET BOSONNE commeth against ABDELA, and causeth him flie, to his Father. BO FERES like to be taken, flieth to Salie. MVLEY SIDAN commeth against MVLEY HVMET BOSONNE; who flyeth, and is poysoned by old AZVS. MVLEY SHECK sendeth into Spaine. Some obseruations of their Policie, and Trade to Gago. 30

Muley Hamet
Bosonne.

BVt whilest *Abdela* and *Sidan* were contriuing their owne ends, there arose a storme in the Mountaines which fell in the Plaines of *Moruecos*. The tempest driuer was one *Muley Hamet Bosonne*, Cousin to the three Brethren which haue striuen for the Kingdome. This man gathering treasure, and temporising with them all three, so played their Game, that finding their weakenesse which these quarrels had brought them vnto, vpon a sudden seeing his time, went into the Mountaines to his Mothers Kindred, mustered verie neere twenty thousand able men. The *Muley* being well prouided of treasure, gaue them due pay and large, winning them to his respect and seruice, so that in lesse then two moneths space, he got all things in readinesse, descended from the *Tessenon* Mountaines towards *Moruecos*. 40

Fond feare.

How vaine is
man? a feare-
full armie of
men.

This newes brought to *Abdela* was very vnwelcome, yet (calling his wits and Counsell together) it was concluded, considering the *Shracees* were gone, his remnant of Souldiers feeble and out of heart, and the *Moruecans* daily fled to *Hamet Bosonne*, whose vprising like a blazing Star drew their eyes vpon him, that *Abdela* should trauell to *Fez*, which hee might well doe without a guide, hauing heretofore vpon like necessities, often measured the miles: and though hee was determined so to do, yet a smal occasion hastned his iourney, for some mile from *Abdelas* Campe, vpon a Hill on the back-side of *Moruecos*, a man being seene with a Speare in his hand, and a white linnen vpon it as a Flagge. *Abdela* thought *Hamet Bosonne* to be with his whole Forces behind the Hill, when he was a full dayes march from *Moruecos*. Therefore in all haste he tooke vp some of his Tents, but the greater part left standing in a manner, being feared, ran away. And afterward when this matter was discovered, which *Abdela* held a token of his surpris, it was nothing els but a poore *Moore* washing his Napery, and for the speedier drying vsed this meanes, which terrified *Abdela* from the seate of his Empire, to *Fez*, the safest place for his abode. 50

Lylla Issa, *Sidans* Mother, hearing of *Hamet Bosonnes* approach, was perswaded, his mouements were onely to defend her Sonnes right, knowing *Bosonne* of late fauoured *Sidans* title, comming into 60

into his pay, and in person serving the *Muley* at the last battaile when *Sidan* fled into *Sus*. Heereupon she sent diuers Captaines, part of her owne Guard, others of her friends and kindred to his ayd, thinking he would haue taken *Moruecos* for *Sidan*. But *Bosonne* hauing entred the Citie peaceably, proclaimed him selfe King, dismissed all *Sidans* fauourers, which were not wil- to be his seruants, who returned to their Lady Mistresse, certifying her error and their successe: his Treasure he imparted largely to his followers, by strong hand desired no mans seruice, but those who were willing. Some thirty *English-men* remayning, weary of their sustained misery, and the state of the Countrey, he gaue them licence to imbarke, and writ to the Gouvernour of *Saphia* to giue them their passe, notice whereof being giuen to the Factor *Marine* for the *English*, he dispatched them into diuers ships with all conueniency, though to his cost and charges; charity to helpe the distressed soules, and loue to his native Countrey, moouing him thereunto. This *Muley Hamet Bosonne*, during the time of his gouernment was a very good and iust man, offered no discourtesie, or tooke away any mans goods, but paid the Merchants truly for the same, who liked well his current and true dealing.

*Bosonne*s mother hearing her sonne was settled in *Moruecos*, brought what strength she could from the Mountaines, and in her way knowing *Boseres* lodged in a fortresse, wherunto hee was fled, not to bee well guarded, she beset the house, meaning to take the *Muley* prisoner, who being void of meanes to resist in the night, made a hole through the wall and so escaped priuately to *Salie*, a Port Towne within the iurisdiction of his brother *Sheck*, where at this day he remaineth.

On the morrow betimes, *Bosonne*s mother with her men entered the Fort, missing *Boseres*, cut off the head of *Umsed Benbela*, one of his chiefeest seruants and Commanders: then went she forward to congratulate her sonnes comming to the Kingdome, being then in *Moruecos*. But an Empire ill got, is seldome scene of long continuance, for within lesse then two moneths, *Muley Sidan* came out of *Sus* with a great armie, for whose ayd *Lylla Isha* sold her Iewels, and Plate, to furnish her son with Swords, Pikes, Horsemen, Staues, and other War-like Munition.

On the other side *Hamet Bosonne* prepared to welcome his cousin the *Muley Sidan*; so about the beginning of Aprill, 1608. both their Forces met hard by *Moruecos* where a chiefe of a kindred one *Gruse*, which came out of *Sus*, a great wine drinker, alwayes a fauourer of *Muley Sidan*

(though little valuing any of the three Kings) presuming vpon his owne strength and valour, desired the honour, that hee might giue charge vpon the enemy with five hundred

Horse, which was his owne Regiment, and of his owne kindred: *Sidan* refused to grant him his request, therefore the *Casima* tooke his owne leaue and gaue the enemy a full charge vpon the

body of his armie, which receiuing him very brauely, the *Casima* and his company were in great danger to be ouerthrowne: but *Sidan* to releue him, sent five hundred Horse-men of his owne: so

with these thousand, the *Casima* broke the ranks of *Bosonne*s battalions, then with their sables fell to execution, vntill the whole campe seeing the field lost, fled towards the Mountaines: thus

Sidan without further resistance entering *Moruecos*, resting there in quiet three moneths, vntill

Hamet Boson recouering new Forces in Iuly following, presented himselfe before the Citie, trusting aswel vpon his own strength, as the loue of the Citizens: hoping his good and gentle vsage

when he was amongst them, would haue bred a liking in them, of his mild and gentle gouernment: but either the seruile mind of the multitude little respected his fore-passed kindnes, or the feare of *Sidan* made them loath to shew any signe of good will; for at his approach no man

in the Citie was knowne to draw a sword in his defence. So on the eight of Iuly, *Bosonne* was discomfited with the losse of some thousand men, fled to the Mountaines, where within foure

dayes after *Alkeid Azus* got him poysoned, hoping thereby to win the fauour of *Muley*

Sidan.

This *Azus* is aged and subtile, by his long experience best knoweth the secrets of that state,

was brought vp vnder *Abdela*, *Muley Hamet Xarifs* brother, and for his Counsell to *Abdela*,

willing him either to put out the eyes of *Hamet Xarif*, or cut his throat, was in danger to haue

lost his life when *Hamet Xarif* came to be King, but the wisdom of the man won such respect

with *Hamet*, that of a prisoner, he made him his chiefeest Counsellor, and Master of his Treasure,

during whose life time his behauiour was such, as he won great loue among the Commons, Nobility, and many of the blood Royall. When old *Hamet* died, he was in his Campe neere *Fez*,

and after his death rested all his loue vpon *Muley Sidan* (holding him the prime man and fittest

of the three brethren, to rule the Kingdome) vntill both he and *Sidy Imbark* could not counsell

and rule *Muley Sidan*, for his owne good and benefit of the Common-weale being head-strong,

and would take no mans counsell but to his owne liking and hurt. Therefore *Sedy Abdela Im-*

bark went to his contemplation at *Aca*: And *Azus* to a Castle in the Mountaines, which he had

stored with Treasure against a storme, or to refresh the winter of his age, from whence he will

not come downe, vntill he see some hope of peace, hauing at this instant more Treasure in his

Coffers, then all the three brethren besides, and hopeth to keepe it, being in the midst of his

friends and kindred, and in a place as well fortified as any in *Barbary*.

John Etina.

Muley Sheck fearefull lest Sidans next enterprife would be to rowze him out of Fez, fell in conference with an Italian Merchant, named John Etina, making him his Agent to go into Spain, there to conclude, that if the Catholique King would ayde him with men and money to recover his right, there should be deliuered vp into his hands, Allaroche, Saly, Alcasar, and other Townes lying fit for his mouth: This negotiation was well entertained. And John Etina was promised for his labour in this businesse, and bringing it to effect, vpon the deliuerie of the Port Townes, to haue yeerely paid him two thousand Duckats during his life. In Iune, this matter was first mooued; in the latter end of August, seuen Gallions (as was reported) and the Gallies of Naples, in all a hundred sayle, well manned with store of Pioners to rayse Forts, went to Allaroche, thinking to be receiued, but thirty thousand Alarbes came downe to the shoare, not allowing any such neighbour-hood, though they hold the Andalusian halfe their blood.

Sir Anthony Sherleys pre-ferment.

Whether Sir Anthony Sherley was imployed in this seruice it is not certainly knowen: some are of opinion that hee was induced thereunto, because they haue formerly heard the King of Spaine hath royally rewarded him for his trauailes with Boferes, by giuing him the places and pay of two Captaines in the Indies, made him Admirall of the Leuant Seas, and next in place to the Vice-roy of Naples, hauing for his entertainment five hundred Duckats a moneth. Without question, he knoweth well the state of that vnciuill and barbarous Nation, hauing an apprehending and admirable wit to conceiue the disposition of any people with whom hee shall conuerse, whilest he was amongst them, he behaued himselfe very well toward the better sort, winning credite with them, and gaining the loue of the poorer sort exceedingly, by his larges (for if a Moore or slaue gaue him but a dish of Dates, he should receiue a reward as from an Emperour) and howsoeuer some may hold this a vice, counting him a lauiser: yet by this meanes he came to the knowledge of that which otherwise he neuer should haue attained vnto. The more credible fame is, Sir Anthonie was not with this Fleet, therefore they sped neuer the better, for had he beene in company, and had command, he would either haue taken footing, or ventured all, scorning to returne with doing nothing, and so be laughed at.

The Author added a discourse also of their Religion: but I omit it and referre the Reader to my Pilgrimage, and proceed to the reports of their Politic.

The Politic of Barbarie.

EVERY Kingdome consisteth of men, not of buildings, therefore the Kingdome of Barbary consisteth of bond and free men: the naturall bond men are such as are descended either from Christians or Negros; the free men are Larbies or Brebers, which may be termed the Valley and Mountaine men. Ouer all, as absolute Monarch is the King, who maintaineth his seat by the sword, and power of Iustice: the sword men according to their degrees are thus placed.

First, the Muleis, are the Kings children, and all other who are of the blood Royall, are termed by this name. Secondly, Basbas, are Captaine Generals ouer armies. Thirdly, Alkeids be the Lords, set aswell ouer Garrison Townes as Countreys, to rule and keepe the people in subiection. Fourthly, Ferres, Gentlemen who carrie armes, yet lesse Commanders then Alkeids. Fifthly, Babaia, Lieutenant to an Alkeid. Sixtly, Brakbashi, a Sergeant at armes. Seuenthly, Debushi, a Captaine ouer thirty. Eightly, Romie, the common Souldier of these men of warre, there were kept in daily pay in the old Kings time, to the number of fifty thousand Horsemen: part seruing with the Launce, others with the Speare called Spabaia, and some, especially the Horsemen of Fez, serue with the Crosse-bow on Horse-backe, bending it as they ride, shooting a strong shot and sure: and sixteene thousand foot-men, the Alarbies being fitter for the Horsemen, but the Brebers the stronger footmen, most of them shot.

The chiefeest men of Command in the latter times, were these.

First, Alkeid Azus, chiefe Counsellor of State. Secondly, Hamet ben Breham Sefiani, Master of the Horse, and ruler ouer the Alkeids. Thirdly, Sedi Hamet ben Bouker. Fourthly, Sedi Abdela Wahad Anonne: These two were Treasurers. Fifthly, Alkeid Hamet, a Capatho or Eunuchs, Gouvernour ouer the women and Eunuches. Sixtly, Alkeid Mustepha File Master of the Ordnance. Seuenthly, Rishanan, Admirall ouer the Gallies at Saly.

Note, though these be enobled, taking priority or precedency before others, yet is not this noblenesse hereditary, for the children of these men must claime no honour by birth-right, but what they get by their seruice and honour of their sword, liue vnrespected vnlesse they be valiant, and so proouing, the King will take them into his seruice, whereupon by desert, the sonne may obtaine his fathers fortune and honour.

Shecks of Families or Tribes.

There is another title of dignity termed Sheck, attributed to the chiefe man of euery Family or Cast, neither doth the Kings eldest sonne scorne the title, signifying that he is the prime or best blood of his Royall kindred. These Shecks are much respected, because it is the nature of the people, the whole kindred to follow their head: insomuch, as one of these Shecks can bring into the field ten thousand Horsemen of their owne Cast, or kindred, and some more. So that it

it is a matter of great consequence, the King to haue an eye ouer such a man, and know how his affection resteth towards him, either in loue or hatred.

The King once in a moneth, on Fridayes in the afternoone after prayers, either in his house or Church sitteth to doe Iustice, hearing complaints or appeales from subalterne Ministers, from whom the grieved persons doe appeale to his Royall person: when the King sitteth, the stranger shall haue freer access to plead his cause before the King, then his owne borne subject.

Execution of Iustice.

Execution of Iustice.

Three *Musties*.

Three *Musties*.

Ordinary Iudges.

Their manner of iudicature.

Allegations against witnesses.

Debris.

Coadiutors to the Iudges.

Manner of making Contracts.

Steryes, or Officers of the Court.

Muttiseb.

Hackam.

Muckadens.

Fokers.

All inferiour Iudges and Ministers are their Church-men or Talbies; and those are soonest chosen into offices which are of strickest life, being free from auarice, and such other sinnes as may peruert and hinder the course of equitie and iustice. The chiefeest man for iudgement vnder the King is *Mustie*, to whom the party grieved may appeale from any other ordinary Iudge. There be three of these men, one in *Mornecos*, another in *Ex*, the third at *Taradant* in *Sus*. The *Mustie* of *Mornecos*, sitteth with the King in Iudgement, and euery Friday in the afternoone by himselfe, to heare and determine causes of the subiect and stranger, though hee bee in eminent place, he is a poore man, in respect what he might be, if he would sell Iustice, and take bribes.

The ordinary Iudge sitteth all the yeere long two houres before noone, and two houres after noone: in euery great Towne throughout the three King domes in plades one of these Iudges, to whom not only the Inhabitants of euery Towne and Citie doe repaire, but the Countrey people or *Larbes* vpon differences come thither to haue their causes decided. Every one must tell his owne tale, and plead his owne matter. When both parties haue spoken, then giueth the Iudge sentence; so that in one day the cause is brought into Court, and the same day ended. If either part haue witnesse to produce, then the Iudge giueth three dayes respite to bring them in, which being brought, the aduerser party shall haue other three dayes respite to disproue them. And if he can prooue the witnesses either infamous in manners, or giuen to detestable sinne, as drunkenesse, adultery, or such like: And can prooue the witness saith not his prayers sixe times duely in foure and twenty houres, then shall he be vtterly disabled to heare witnesse, and thus in seuen dayes the longest sute shall be ended. If an Obligation or rather Bill of debt be brought into Court, the Obligee must either pay the debt, goe to prison, or to pawne the value of the debt, or better: which pawne may be kept in *Deposito* nine dayes vpon great reason, to see if the debtor can redeeme it at the nine dayes end, if he doth it not, then is it sold, and the party who should pay the money, must sustaine the losse.

As Coadiutors to these Iudges, and next in place to them be the Scriuanos, who vpon death or other remooue are commonly made Iudges. These are *Talbies* which make writings betweene partie and partie, short and plaine, without multiplication of words, and they are of opinion, *Abundans cautela nocet*: in their Obligatory Bills they put neither Forfeit nor Condition, hauing for the making thereof two pence *English*, and no more. They vse no long draughts in matters of purchase, or these tripartite Indentures, with such large and long implicite and explicite Couenants, but thus the people deale in matters of Contracts and Bargaines. *I buy of you a Vineyard, House, Merchandize, at such a price, to be paid at such a time*, calling two honest men, whereof one shall be a *Talbie*, if I can get him, to witnesse this our Bargaine. We foure goe to the Scriuener, who likewise is a *Talbie*, and haue this set downe in writing; and if our bargaine be for twenty thousand pounds, it is set downe in ten lines, and the Iustice of the Countrey will allow me my bargaine with as great reason, as if I had a great ingrossed Booke of Conueyance, as big as the Map of the whole world in the newest Edition.

Next in this nature to these, be the *Steryes*, which haue smal Fees to see the execution of Law an sentence of the Iudge fulfilled; these likewise fetch men to answere their Aduersary, which would delay, and not come before the Iudge, eyther vpon peruersenesse, or badnesse of their plea, or any other cause whatsoever. Wherefore to bee alwayes ready, these are continually attendant in the House of the Iudge, and wayting vpon him whethersoever he goeth.

Muttiseb, is an Officer to see true Weights and Measures; if any bee faultie, all the Wares in such a mans shop hee giueth to the poore, the party proclaymed an vniust man, and forewhipped.

The *Hackam*, is the Lord Marshall in euery City, who iudgeth vpon life and death, as soone as the party Delinquent is taken, and his offence proued, presently his throat is cut: Murder there is death, so is manifest Theft, Adultery, likewise proued by very good witnesse: And somtimes it is death for any man to weare a Sword who is not an Officer, yea, though hee bee a Souldier. Other offences according to the necessitie of the time and pleasure of the King, by Proclamation are made death, which the *Hackam* must see executed vpon losse of his owne head.

Muckadens, be Snbstitutes to the *Hackam*, seeing his iudgement fulfilled, and in his absence hath his authoritie.

Fokers or *Saints*, dwell in the best places of the Countrey, keepe great Hospitality for all Travellers, whither any man come for a night, and be gone in the morning: much good these doe in the Countrey by their example of morall liuing, and bestowing their owne goods in their life

The causes &
manners of
their fights.

time to helpe the needy and distressed, comprimisng differences betwixt parties, and repressing all disorders, winning great loue and respect, for their Houses are held Sanctuaries, whose Priuiledges the King will not violate, but vpon great and weightie reason.

The King, Nobility, and Souldiers desire to serue on Horse-backe, which most commonly they doe, for in any Army there be three Horse for one foot: the King will seldome venture to fight out a battayle, but as you may perceiue by the precedent, it was and is the vsage amongst the three Brethren, when they meete in a field, whosoever getteth at the first on-set the aduantage, maketh the other presently leaue the field, and flye vnto some place of strength: they fight with no Armour except a Buffe Jerkin, for the better sort; and a Leather Hide tanned for the meaner, and some Coats of Male, their Armes is a Horse-mans Staffe, Target, and Sword, or a Horse-mans Peece and Sword.

Deadly feud
with the Lar-
bies.

The *Alarbies* serue all vpon Horse, will fight sorer battayles to maintayne their deadly feud, than in seruice of their King: Insomuch that vpon losse of any great Lord or Chiefe man of their Bloud, cruell battailes haue ensued, wherein ten thousand men haue beene slayne at one time, and it is their fashion, the fairest Virgin to ride vpon a Camell with a flagge in her hand decked in all pompe to sollicite her Kindred to reuenge, and goeth foremost in the field, encouraging them to follow; vpon which incitement much bloud is spilt, her Kindred as loth to lose their Virgin, and not reuenge their iniuries: the other side struiuing to winne her and the field, holding that a continuing glory to the seuenth Generation.

With the Bre-
bers.

When a man is killed, his Tribe seeketh not reuenge only vpon the man which killed the party, but the first man of that Tribe hee meeteth withall, him will hee kill if he can, and so thinketh he hath satisfied his Kinsmans death.

The *Brebers* or Mountayners likewise maintayne this feud, who are most shor and Sword-men, vpon the day of battayle their women follow hard behind them, with a colour in their hands, called *Hanna*: And if they see any of their side offer to runne away, or retyre, presently they will throw some of this *Hanna* vpon their clothes, which will stayne, and the party euer after is held for a Coward and a dishonoured *Jew*. For feare of this Infamy, few forsake the field, but eyther conquer their Enemies, or dye like men, who are presently stripped and buried by these women which follow them.

The trading of the Moores into Guinee and Gago for Gold Ore, or sandie Gold.

Effadimetur opes
irritamenta ma-
lerum.

Mvley Hamet being at peace with his Neighbours, at quiet with his Subiects, determined to warre vpon the *Negros*, knowing the conquest easie, because the people are vndisciplined in warre, and the profit would be exceeding great by bringing their Gold into his Countrey, exchanging for it Salt, and other baser Commodities. And howsoever certayne Miners had found rich Mines of Gold in the Hills of *Atlas*, yet hee held it better policy to fetch his Gold farther off, then to digge that which was found in the Centre of his owne Kingdome, fearing if the Mines proued rich, the Golden Ore would draw thither Christian Armes, therefore he cut the throats of all such as were the Authors, and gaue the Masters of the Workes death for their hyre.

Gago.

Six monethes
Iourney.

Dreadfull De-
sarts.

Mummi, but
the best Mum-
mi is made of
embalmed bo-
dies which
haue been long
since buried,
as in Egypt, &c.
Salt.

But to perfect his other Designe, he chose *Iudar Basha*, sent him with great store of Souldiers, who entred farre into the *Negros* Countrey, depriving them of a great City, called *Gago*, which standeth vpon the Riuer of *Synega*, three hundred Leagues within the firme Land, builded there an *Alpandeca* for *Barbarian* Merchants, and a Custome-house for the King. The Merchants make it fixe monethes Iourney from *Mornecos* thither, of which, two monethes they passe thorow the Sandy Desarts, where no people dwell, neyther any road way, but directed by Pilots, as ships at Sea, obserue the courses of Sunne, Moone, and Stars, for feare of missing their way: If they lose themselves, they meete with Famine, and dye for lacke of water, whose dead carcasses consume not, but maketh *Mumma*, or *Otema* flesh, euery way as Physicall or Medicinable, as that which cometh from *Alexandria*. They neuer trauell vnder two or three hundred in a company: it may be not meeting with water in twelue or fiftene dayes space, but carry water by Camels, both for them and their beasts to drinke, which failing, to saue their owne lines, they kill their Camels, and drinke the blood. If the wind blow at North-east, they cannot vnlade their Camels, least the Sands should couer them. The Merchandize carried from *Mornecos* to the *Negros*, is much Cloth, Amber Beads, Corall, but the chiefe Commodity is Salt, which is bought at *Tegazza*, and other places, for foure shillings a Camels lading, which is fixe hundred weight, and payeth at *Gago* five pounds for Custome to the King of *Barbarie*, afterward sold farre within the Countrey to a kind of deformed *Negros*, who will neuer be seene in the commerce of trading with the *Barbarian*, or any stranger: Wherefore they lay their Salt in the fields and leaueth it, then cometh the deformed *Negro*, and layeth against euery mans pricell of Salt, as much of his gold as he thinketh the Salt is worth, and goeth his way, leauing his gold with the Salt: Then returneth the *Moore*, if he like the gold, taketh it away, if not, detracteth

tracteth so much from his heape, as he will sell to the Negro for his gold. The Negro returning, if he like the quantity, putteth too more gold, or else will not barter, but departeth. Yet they seldome mislike, for the Moore maketh a rich returne, and his King a full Treasure. Wherefore, the deformed Negro is prayd for the truest dealing man in the world: the gold which they haue is not coyned, but like small Grauell or Sand gathered after the gluts of raine, in the drie bankes of Mountaines and Riuer.

Touching Voyages of Englishmen to Barbarie, as also Embassages sent thither by Queene Elizabeth: likewise touching many English Voyages to Guinny, Benin, and other places on the Continent, and the Islands adioyning; with Patents also for those parts: the Reader may, if he please, certifie and satisfie himselfe in Master Edens, and Master Hackluyts Voyages. English Navigations are now aduanced to so great Aduenture, and new or remote Discoveries, that I rather haste to them: Yet because I thinke it meete to acquaint the Reader with the present State of the neerer parts of Africa: I haue added these following Discourses. And because Algier is the Whirle-pool of these Seas; the Throne of Pyracie, the Sinke of Trade and Stinke of Slavery; the Cage of uncleane Birds, of Prey, the Habitation of Sea-Deuils, the Receptacle of Renegadoes to God, and Traytors to their Countrey; I haue the longer stayed there: both to shew the place out of Nicholay; His Maiesties zealous Designe against them, and Gods goodnesse in two notable Deliuerances from them.

As for Ward, or other English, infesting the World from that Hel-mouth, I was loth to blot these Papers with so rotten Names.

CHAP. III.

The African Possessions of the King of Spaine, and the Turke.

S. I.

The Dominions and Fortresses * which the King of Spaine hath vpon the Iles and mayne Lands of Africa, and of the Great Turkes.

* Taken out of Botero, Perry, &c.

Besides Oran, Mersalquibir, Mililla and Pennon which the King of Spaine possesseth within the Streights; as likewise, Ceuta, Tanger, and Arzil, which by the Title of Portugall, he holdeth very neere the Streights of Gibraltar, and Mazagan in like sort without the Streights mouth, twenty miles to the South-ward of Arzil: he hath along the Coast of Africk, from Cape de Guer, to that of Guardafu, two sorts of States: for some are immediately vnder him; and others are as it were his Adherents. The Islands of Madera, Puerto Santo, the Canaries, the Iles of Arguin, of Cabo Verde, the Ile Del Principe, with that of Sant Thomas, and others neere adioyning, are immediately vnder his Dominion. These Islands are maintayned with their owne victuall, and prouision, and yet they haue also some out of Europe, as in like manner they send some thither: especially Sugars and Fruits, wherewith the Ile of Madera wonderfully aboundeth, as also with Wine. And the Island of Sant Thomas likewise hath great abundance of Sugars.

He hath since gotten *Manora*

These States haue no incumbrance, but by the English and Frenchmen of Warre. At the Islands of Arguin, and at Sant George de la Mina, the Portugals haue planted Fortresses in forme of Fortresses, by meanes of which, they trade with the bordering people of Gunny and Libya, and get into their hands the Gold of Mandinga, and other places neere about. Among the adherent Princes, the richest and most honourable, is the King of Congo, in that his Kingdome is one of the flourishing and plentifull Countreyes in all Ethiopia. The Portugals haue there two Colonies, one in the City of S. Saluador, and another in the Island Loanda. They haue diuers rich Commodities from this Kingdome, but the most important is euery yeere about five thousand Slaues, which they transport from thence, and sell them at good round prices in all the Iles and mayne Lands of the West Indies: and for the head of euery slaue so taken vp, there is a good tax payd to the Crowne of Portugall.

From this Kingdome one might easily goe to the Country of Prete Ianni, for it is not thought to be very farre off: and it doth so abound with Elephants, Victuall, and all other necessarie things, as would bring singular ease and commoditie to such an enterprise. Vpon the Kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose Prince of late yeares, Paulo Dias, a Portugall Captaine, made warre. And the principall occasion of this warre are certaine Mines of Siluer, in the Mountaines

The African
Trade might
haue been as
rich as the
Indian.

taines of *Cabambe*, no whit inferior to those of *Potosi*; but by so much are they better, as fine Silver goeth beyond that which is base, and coarse. And out of doubt, if the *Portugals* had esteemed so well of things neere at hand, as they did of those farther off and remote, and had thither bent their forces wherewith they passed *Capo de buena esperanza*, and went to *India*, *Malaca*, and the *Malucoes*; they had more easily, and with lesse charge found greater wealth: for there are no Countries in the world richer in Gold and Silver, then the Kingdomes of *Mandinga*, *Ethiopia*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Butua*, *Toroa*, *Maticuo*, *Boro*, *Quiticui*, *Monomotapa*, *Casati*, and *Bobenimugi*. But humane avarice esteemeth more of another mans, then his owne; and things remote appeare greater, then those neere at hand. Betweene *Capo de buena esperanza*, and *Cape Guardafu*, the *Portugals* haue the Fortresses of *Sena*, *Cephala*, and *Mozambique*. And by these they continue Masters of the Trade with the bordering Nations, all which abound in Gold and Iuorie. By these Fortresses they haue speciall commoditie for their Nauigation to the *Indies*, because their Fleetes sometimes winter, and otherwise victuall, and refresh themselves there. In these parts the King of *Melinde* is their greatest friend; and those of *Quiloa*, and other Neighbourlands, are their Tributaries. The *Portugals* want nothing but men: for besides other Ilands, which they leaue in a manner abandoned, there is that of *Saint Laurence*, one of the greatest in all the world (being a thousand two hundred miles long, and foure hundred and fourescore broad) the which, though it be not well tilled, yet for the goodnesse of the soyle, it is apt and fit to be manured, nature hauing distinguished it with Riuers, Harbours, and most commodious Bayes. These States belonging to the Crowne of *Portugall*, were wont to feare no other, but such Sea-forces as may be brought thither by the *Turks*. But the daily going to and fro of the *Portugall* Fleetes, which coast along vp and downe those Seas, altogether secureth them. In the yeare 1589. they tooke neere vnto *Mombaza* foure Gallies, and a Galliot, belonging to the *Turkes*, who were so bold as to come euen thither. But since the *English* and *Hollanders* haue traded the *Indies*, the *Portugall* affaires haue much decayed in those parts, their opposing them turning to such effect as you haue heard.

The Domini-
ons of the
Great Turke in
Africa.

The great *Turke* possesseth in *Africa* all the Sea-coast from *Velez de Gumer*, or (as some hold opinion) from the Riuer *Mutula*, which is the Easterne limite of the Kingdome of *Fez*, euen to the *Arabian* Gulfe or Red Sea, except some few places (as namely, *Mersalubir*, *Melilla*, *Oran*, and *Pennon*) which the King of *Spaine* holdeth. In which space before mentioned, are situate sundry of the most famous Cities and Kingdomes in all *Barbarie*; that is to say, *Tremizen*, *Alger*, *Tenez*, *Bugia*, *Constantina*, *Tunis*, *Tripolis*, and all the Country of *Egypt*, from *Alexandria* to the Citie of *Asna*, called of old *Siene*, together with some part of *Arabia Troglodytica*, from the Towne of *Suez* to that of *Suachen*. Also in *Africa* the Grand Signior hath five Vice-royes, called by the names of *Beglerbegs* or *Bassas*, namely, at *Alger*, *Tunis*, *Tripolis*, at *Missir* for all *Egypt*, and at *Suachen* for those places which are chalenged by the Great *Turke*, in the Dominions of *Prête Ianni*. Finally, in this part at *Suez*, in the bottome of the *Arabian* Gulfe, is one of his foure principal *Arseinals*, or places for the building, repairing, docking, and harboring of his warlike Gallies, which may lie here vnder couert, to the number of five & twentie Bottoms.

CHAP. IIII.

The Description of the Citie of *Alger*, written by *NICHOLAS NICHOLAY*, and how it came into the possession of *BARBAROSSA*, and also of *Malta* and *Tripolie*.

Change of
names of
Alger.



Alger is a Citie in *Africa* very ancient, first builded by a people of *Africa*, called *Messana*, of whom she tooke her first name: afterwards was called *Iol*, and was the Seate Royall of *Iuba*, in the time when the *Romans* bare dominion in *Africa*, in honour of *Cesar* it was called *Iulie Cesare*; and since the *Moors* called it *Gazair* or *Arab Eleagair*, which in their Language signifieth *Iles*, because she is situated neere *Mayorque*, *Minorque*, *Ieuise*, and *Fromentierre*: but the *Spaniards* now doe call her *Alger* howbeit, shee is situated vpon the *Mediterran* Sea, vpon the hanging of a Mountaine enuironed with strong Walls, Ramperds, Ditches, Platformes, and Bulwarks, in forme almost three-square, the largenesse which goeth towards the Sea side stretcheth narrowly almost vnto the highest part, whereas there is a great building made in forme of a Citadell, to command the Towne and entrie of the Hauen. As for the buildings being beyond the Pallace Royall, are very faire Houses belonging too particular men, with a great number of Bathes and Cookes houses. The places and streetes are so well ordained, that euery one in his Occupation apart: there are about three thousand Hearth-peeds. At the bottome of the Citie which is towards the North ioyning to the Wallles, which are beaten with the Surges of the Sea in a great place, is by great Artifice and subtile Architecture builded their principall and head *Mosquee*; and a little below that is the *Arcenall*, which is the place into which are haled vp, and trimmed the

the Gallies, and other vessels. This Citie is very Merchant-like, for that she is situated vpon the Sea, and for this cause marueilously peopled, for her bignesse: she is inhabited of *Turkes*, *Moores*, and *Jewes* in great number, which with marueilous gaine exercise the Trade of Merchandise, and lend out money at Vsury. They haue two Market dayes in euery weeke, to the which resort an infinite number of people of the Mountaines, Plaines and Vallies, being neighbours thereabouts, which do bring thither all sorts of Fruits, Corne and Foule, of very cheape price: for I haue seene a Partridge sold for a Iudit, which is a small piece of Siluer mony, in manner foure square, and is in value of our mony foure pence and a mite, but true it is that their Partridges be not so big nor delicate as ours are: the Hennes and Chickins be also very good cheape, for that they haue in most parts of their Houses Furnaces, made in manner like vnto the Hot-houses or Stoues of Germany, in the which with a small heate they doe breed and hatch their Eggs without helpe of the Hen, and therefore it is not to be marueiled at, though they haue great plentie of such Pullen. They also haue a great number of Camels and Oxen, which they doe shoo, lade, and ride vpon, as vpon Horses. And going through the streetes, because of the multitude of people, which there is marueilous, they goe crying with a loud voyce, *Balue, Baluc*; which is too say, Beware, beware. I haue also seene diuers *Moores* mounted on *Barbarie* Horses without Saddle, Bridle, Stirrups or Spurres, hauing onely a string in the mouth to stay them withall. And as for the men, they are altogether naked, hauing onely about their middle part to couer their priuities, some piece of a white Sarge or Blanket in manner of an apron, and about their head a Linnen cloth rowled, which they bring about and vnder their chin.

Furnaces fitly made for breeding of Chickins.

Camels and Oxen shod.

The *Moores* do ride their horses without saddle or bridle.

Weapons of the *Moores*.

Their weapons are three Darts or long Iauelins, which they carry in their right hand, and doe shoote and throw with wonderfull dexteritie, and vpon their left arme is fastned a large Dagger made a little crooked after the fashion of a Wood-knife, which they call *Secquin*, and vie to fight at hand strokes withall, and to annoy their Enemies comming to the close. The most part of the *Turkes* of *Algier*, whether they be of the Kings Household or the Gallies, are *Christians* renied, or Mahumetised, of all Nations, but most of them *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and of *Prouence*, of the Ilands and Coasts of the Sea Mediterran, giuen all to Whoredome, Sodometrie, Theft, and all other most detestable vices, liuing onely of rouings, spoyle, and pilling at the Seas, and the Iland, being about them: and with their practike Art bring daily to *Algier* a number of poore *Christians* which they sell vnto the *Moores*, and other Merchants of *Barbarie* for slaues, who afterward transport them, and sell them where they thinke good, or else beating them miserably with staues, doe imploy and constraime them to worke in the Fields, and in all other vile and abiect occupations and seruitude almost intollerable. And therefore it is not to be marueiled at, though these poore Christian Slaues made of it no scruple at all in putting of vs in danger, to set themselves at libertie.

Many renied Christians in *Algier*. A miserable life of the Christian slaues in *Algier*.

Pleasant Gardens.

Without the Citie towards the West are many faire and pleasant Gardens, set and adorned with diuers trees bringing forth fruits of all sorts. Amongst other things there be Milons of marueilous goodnesse, and incomparable sweetnesse: they haue also another fruite called *Pateque*, which the *Italians* call *Anguries*, being like in bignesse and colour to our greene Citrouilles in Winter, which they eate raw without Bread or Salt, and hath a taste so delicate and sweete, that it melteth in ones mouth, giuing a water as it were sugred, and serue greatly to refresh and digest. About their Gardens are many Wells full of good water, and the ground thereabouts, although it is Mountaines and Vallies, is very fertile for fruites and Vines. On the other part towards the East, without the Towne runneth into the Sea a small Riuer called *Sano*, which serueth aswell to drinke of, as other commodities, and also maketh many mills to grind. The course of the Sea from the Cape of *Marfuz*, (where as yet are seene the foundations of the ancient Citie *Tipasa*, which in times past was by the Emperours of *Rome* honoured in prayse of the Country *Latine*) doth bow and wind like vnto a Crofelow-lath, and all along the Riuer and the shoare the *Moorish* Women and Maiden Slaues of *Algier* doe goe to wash their Linnen, being commonly whole naked, sauing that they weare a piece of Cotten Cloth of some strange colour to couer their secret parts (which notwithstanding for a little piece of money they will willingly vncouer.) They weare also for an ornament about their necke, armes, and legges, great collers or bracelets of Latten, set with certaine false Stones. But as for the Wiues of the *Turks* or *Moores*, they are not seene go vncouered, for they weare a great *Barnuche* made of a blanket of white, blacke, or violet colour, which couereth their whole body and the head.

Sano a Riuer.

Tipasa an old Citie.

The second day after our arriuall at *Algier*, I found the meanes for money, and with faire word too hyre a renied *Spaniard*, to conduct and leade me thorow all places that I most desired to see. So as by his meanes, I saw and learned many things within foure or fve dayes that wee were there in quiet. And namely, brought mee vpon a high Mountayne being a mile from the Towne, to see and behold the situation of a very strong and great Tower, beeing builded vpon another Mountayne there neere about, and gently enquiring of him what strength the Tower might be of: he declared vnto me, that the breadth of the Ditches about the same, was seuentene brases, sauing about the gate and entry into it towards the North, it was only seuen fathomes broad,

broad, and two Speares lengthis deepe. Moreouer, he said vnto mee, that within the Fortresse there were nine great cast Pieces, and eightene other, as well Mynions, as Fawconets, and other: and that in the middest of the Tower there was a Well of very good water, vpon the height thereof standing a wind-mill, and another standing without the gates. And that thirtie ordinary Souldiers are committed within it to keepe the same. And to make short, that this Tower was made to none other intent (as also others since haue confirmed) then for the garding and keeping of the Fountayne heads, which from thence are brought and conueyed vnder the water into the Citie.

Ferdinando King Catho- like con- stray- neth the Mores to a Truce.

Alger was long time vnder the Dominion of the King of *Telensin*, vntill such time as they of *Bugie* chose a new King, vnto whom they gaue and rendred themselves as his Tributarie, because he was neerer vnto them then the King of *Telensin*, and that hee could sooner helpe them (if need were.) But in proceesse of time, perceiuing themselves to be as it were free and out of all doubt: armed certayne ships to the Sea, with the which they became such Courfaires or Pirates, that in short time they annoyed by their Piracies and Robberies on the Sea, not onely the Coast of *Spaine*, but also all the Mediterrane Ilands. Which perceiuing, *Ferdinando* the King Catho- like sent to *Alger* a great Armie to assiege them, and for to keepe them in most distresse, caused with a maruellous readinesse a Fort to bee made in a small Iland, which lyeth before the Citie, keeping them by that meanes so straightly besieged, that in short time they were constrained to require a Truce for ten yeeres: Which was agreed vnto them vpon condition of a certayne Tribute, which they payed vntill the death of King *Ferdinando*, for then they espying a conue- nient time and meanes, to breake the Truce, and to set themselves at liberty, called vnto them *Caradin Barbarosse*, who after the siege of *Bone*, retyred to the Castle of *Gegill*, standing in the Coast of the Mediterran Sea, vpon the top of a high Rocke, seuentie miles from *Bugie*, who be- ing by them chosen to bee their chiefe Captayne, gaue many fierce assaults vnto the Fortresse, so as he put the *Spaniards* to flight, and incontinent after caused it to bee ruined and pulled downe euen to the foundation. He then seeing so happie successe of his Enterprize, could no longer abide to be as companion, but in a Bath trayterously slue a Prince of *Arabie*, called *Selim*: who declared himselfe to be Lord of the Citie.

Selim slaine by Treason.

Afterwards forsaking the name of a Captaine any longer, caused himselfe to bee called King, and coyned money vnder his name, and so well guided his Affaires that in short time after hee brought all his Neighbours about him to become contributory vnto him. Such was the begin- ning of the magnificent estate of *Cariedin Barbarosse*: after whose death, his Brother *Haria- dene* succeeded him in the Kingdome, and after him his Sonne *Cassam*, who raigned at the time we arriued there.

The King had not complete power: but they enioyed, as this Author saith, a kind of Common- wealth.

This Haviadene was the fa- mous Sea Captaine, Ad- mirall of the Turkes Nauie, mentioned in the Turkish Hi- storie, which aff- ighted Rome, and was terrible to Christendom, See my Pilgri- mage, l. 6. c. 9. S. 2.

To returne to the Discourse of our Nauigation, which I left at the Cape *Matasuz*, from whence (hauiing sojourned there a night) wee departed in the morning: the wind was so con- trary that it forced vs to come to an Anchor neere to the Cape *Tedele*: at which place wee saw within a great Rocke a deepe entrance, being two flight shot long, into the which the Sea en- treth euen to the very bottome, where we entred with our Skiffe, euen to the halfe way of it: and thinking to passe on further, we found so great a number of strange Mice, that we were con- strayed to turne backe: so were we persecuted. And so for feare they should pisse on our heads (their pisse being venomous) we were forced to couer vs, and to wrap our selues in our Clokes. This part of the Sea is very full of Mountaynes and great Rockes.

Teddell is a Citie contayning about two thousand Harth-steeds, situated vpon the Sea Medi- terrane, threescore miles from *Alger* at the bottome of a Mountayne, and on the hanging of a great Rocke. On the midst of the Mountayne is a little Castle, from the which along goeth a wall stretching to that of the Citie. The *Africans* first did edifie it, and at this present is inha- bited of a people very merry and pleasant. For, for the most part of them they are giuen to the exercise of the Harpe and Lute. Their principall Craft and Occupation is fishing, and dying of Wooles and Cloth, by reason of diuers small Brookes very fit for their dyings, which descending from the Mountaynes through diuers places of the Towne, issue into the Sea. The Inhabitants of the same place are vnder the same Obeysance and Iustice that they of *Alger* are. Leauing the Coast and Towne of *Teddell*, we bare roome to Sea-wards, and had so good speed, that the foure and twentieth of Iuly in the Euening, we discovered the Citie of *Gigeri*, but euen thinking to be neere it, within a moment arose such a sudden *Borasque* or *Flaa*, that if our Mariners had not nimblely bestirred themselves in taking in of their Sayles, wee had beene in great danger to haue beene all drowned, and immediately saw our Frigat (which was made fast to our Gally) lost before our eyes, because they had not quickly cut the Halser, but all our men were saued by swimming to our Gallies. These *Borasques* (engendred of a wind, called by the *Gracians*, *Ty- phon*; of *Plinie*, *Vortex* or *Vortex*, but vulgarly *Tourbillon*, or Whirlwind, proceed not out of the West, notwithstanding doe often happen in Winter) are very often and dangerous all along the Coast of *Barbarie*, and as they come very suddenly, so are againe soone appeased.

Porte of Bone.

The twentieth five in the Euening, we arriued at the Port of *Bone*: where wee being come to

an Anker, the Ambassadour sent to salute the *Caddy*, which keepeth the towne vpon tribute vnder the King of *Alger*. This *Caddy* was a renyed Christian, and notwithstanding shewed himselfe very curteous and liberall towards vs, for ouer and aboue the refreshings of flesh, bread and fruits which he gaue vs, about supper time sent vnto the Ambassadour two great Platters of *Marcolique*, full of their kinde of meate, dressed according to their fashion, which was a kinde of *Menudes* made in *Paste* with *Onions*, and fat *Pullets* with certaine sawces of very good taste and sauour.

This Ambassadour was the Lord of *Aramont* sent 1551. by the French King to the Great Turke at *Constantinople*.

Bone, anciently called *Hippon*, of which Saint *Augustine* hath beene Bishop in times past, edificed of the *Romans* vpon the *Mediterran Sea*, standeth of the one side vpon high and ragged

Bone anciently *Hippon*.

10 *Rockes*, and there is a very faire and sumptuous *Mosquee*, vnto which is adioyned the house of the *Caddy*: but the other side of the *Towne* towards the *South*, and the *Valley* is situated more lower, and as well within as without accommodated with *Wells* and good *Fountaines*. The *Houses* within it (hauing beene twice sacked and spoyled by the *Spaniards*) are euill builded, and this *Towne* doth not now containe aboue three hundred *Harties*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, after he had subdued the *Towne*, caused vpon a height of one side towards the *West*, a great *Castle* to be builded: which commanded of all sides, and did accommodate it with a number of *Cisternes* to gather *Water* in, for that on this height there is neither *Well* nor *Fountain*.

Charles the fift builded there a *Castle*.

20 notwithstanding, shortly after it was rased by the *Turkes* and *Moores*, and the *Spaniards* driuen out of it: without the *City* towards the *East*, is seene a goodly and large *Champaigne* on *Conntrey*, inhabited and tilled by a kinde of People called *Merdez*; which *Country*, besides the great quantitie of *Corne* that it bringeth forth, nourisheth and pastureth in the *Valley* a great number of *Oxen*, *Kine*, *Sheepe* and other *Cattell*, so plentifully, that with their *Milke* and *Butter*, not onely the *City* of *Bone* is provided and furnished, but also *Tunes* and the *Isle* of *Gerbes*: there are also about it many faire *Garden Plats*, plentifully abounding with *Dates*, *Figges*, and sweet *Mellons*. At the beginning of the *Valley* passe two small *Riuers*, whereof, the next and greatest hath a *Bridge* of *stone*, vnder the which is a way to an old ruined *Church*, being betweene two *Rocks*, which the *Moores* doe say to haue beene the *Church* of Saint *Augustine*, which made me the more desirous to goe and see it: Notwithstanding, that a *Jew*, borne in *Spaine*, being then with me, vsed all the meanes he could to perswade mee from it: for the

The *Spaniards* driuen out of the *Castle*. *Merdez* a people.

30 dangers which he said to be there of the *Theeues* called *Alerbes*, which thereabouts doe lye secretly hid, to intrap them that came thereabouts; by which his remonstrances notwithstanding he could not dissuade me, but that needes he must accompanie mee: and certainly there I found by experience: and vpon the top of a high *Mountain* hee shewed me a small troope of these *Alerbes* starke naked, mounted on horse backe with their *Dartes* in their hands, after the fashion of those I saw in *Alger*: In the *Hauen* or *Road* which lyeth before the *Fortresse* is found great quantitie of very faire *Corrall*, which *Andre Doria* then had in farme of the King of *Alger*, for which he paid vnto him yeerely great summes of *Money*. By chance we found there a *Ship* of *Marsellie* conducted by a *Curfane*, to gather the same, who presented vnto the Ambassadour, many faire and great branches. The next day being the six and twentieth, after

A *Church* builded by *S. Aug.*

40 *Sunne-set*, waying our *Ankers*, we departed from *Bone*, and passed from the *Gulfe*, which continueth about eightene miles to the *Cape* of *Rose*, and passing further towards the sight of the *Iles* *De la Galite*, and *des Symboles*, there flew a *Fish* into our *Gallie*, of the length, colour and bignesse of a great *Sardin*, which before had two great wings, and two lesse behinde; his head and mouth being great according to the proportion of the body: this fish is by the *Moores* called *Indole*. And hauing doubled the *Cape* *Bone*, the twenty and eight day we arriued at the *Ile* of *Pantalaree*.

Cape *de Rose*. *Galite* and *Symboles*. A flying *Fish*.

This *Ile* of *Pantalaree*, which by the *Ancients* was called *Paconia*, is very *Hilly* and full of great *Rocks*. There groweth great quantitie of *Cotton*, *Capers*, *Figges*, *Mellons* and *Ricins*: and throughout the *Ilands* is full of *Cisternes*. There are also many small *Houses* very 50 anciently builded within the ground (made like vnto *Caues*) made by the *Moores* in the time they possessed the *Iland*: along the *Sea* side are found *Stones* being blacke, and glistering like vnto fine *Iet*, and certaine rough *Stones*. They haue no *Horses*, but of *Oxen* great store, with the which they do labour and till the ground, how well there groweth no *Corne*. Of which they furnish themselves out of the *Ile* of *Sicilia*, vnto which they are subiect. But well there groweth certaine other *Graine* and *Herbes* of small estimation. There groweth a small *Tree* like vnto *Nerte*: which the *Moores* called, *Vero*; and the *Sicilians*, *Stinco*, bringing forth a small round fruit, which at the first is red, and being ripe, waxeth blacke. Of which, the *Inhabitants* of the *Iland* (which are very poore) make *Oyle*, which they vse as well to burne in their *Lampes*, as to eate: and the *Women* after hauing washed their heads, doe anoint their haire with it 60 to make it grow long and faire: As well the men as women are of nature good *Swimmers*, as by experience we saw by a woman of the *Country*, bringing a great *Basket* with *Fruit*, entered into the *Sea*, and swimming, brought the same to sell in our *Galley*. This *Iland* containeth thirty miles in length, and in breadth about ten miles.

Pantalaree anciently *Paconia*.

Oyle made of *Stinco*.

The *Women* of this *Country* are very good *Swimmers*.

The

The thirtieth day of the same moneth of Iuly, we departed from *Pantalaree* with such a fauourable wind : that the first day of August, being passed the Ile of *Goze*, we arriued about the eue-ning in the Road of *Malta*, where incontinent we were visited by the Knights *Parifot* and *Villegaignon*, and of many others of diuers Nations. And after the Ambassador had giuen to vnderstand to the great Master his comming, the chaines of the Hauen being opened with saluation accustomed of the one side and other, we entred into the Hauen, vpon the sides whereof were with the afore named, diuers other Knights come thither in the behalfe of the grand Master (of birth a *Spaniard*) named *Omede*, which receiued, the Ambassador, and presented vnto him a Mulet, on which he lighted, and accompanied him to the great Hall of the Castle, where the grand Master with diuers Knights attended him, and hauing done reuerence vnto him, and declared part of his authorisation, the night approaching, taking his leaue returned to his Gallies. The next day he was by the great Master bidden to a sumptuous dinner, vnto the which all the ancient and notable Knights of the Religion were also bidden and assembled, and there was openly rehearsed, how that certaine dayes before *Sinan Basha*, Captaine Generall of the *Turkes* army had taken and sacked the Castle of the Towne of *Augusta* in *Sicilia*, and that he from thence arriuing in a Port of *Malta* called *Mechetto*, neere vnto that of the Castle, put his men there on land to ouer-run, rauish and spoyle all whatsoeuer they should find for their aduantage, which they executed most cruelly, as such barbarous people in like affaires are accustomed to doe. But a most valiant and well aduised Knight a *Spaniard*, named *Guimeran*, Captaine of one of the Gallies of the Religion, who could not abide such insolency, and secretly assembling certaine number of Souldiers, did by ambushes and other meanes so distresse them, that after hauing taken and slaine such as fell into his laps, made them to remooue from that place : but notwithstanding did not desist of their enterprise : for from thence they went to the Road of *S. Paul* where they landed their Ordnance to assiege the City, whereof they got the Suburbs, and framed their Trenches to make the battery. And forsomuch, as they could not atchieue the end of their enterprise (by reason as well of the roughnesse of the place being full of Rocks, as seeing their men faile them, dying through extreme heat) they resolved to remoue their siege, and to imbarke themselves with their Ordnance, hauing slaine, taken and sacked all that they met withall at aduantage. From thence they went to the Ile of *Goze*, being very neere and subiect to the Ile of *Malta*, which they sacked, and by deceitfull composition tooke the Castle, leading the people both men, women and children as slaues into miserable captiuitie : being in number sixe thousand and three hundreth. The Knight *de Villegaignon* in his Treaty which he hath made of the warres of *Malta*, doth recite a History no lesse lamentable then full of dispaire, and vnaturall cruelty: and is of a *Sicilian* which in that place had dwelled of long time, and there married a wife, by whom he had two faire daughters then, being in state to be married, who seeing his last calamity approaching, because he would not in his presence see his wife and his daughters rauished and violated, and to be brought in shamefull seruitude, and to deliuer them from all shame and bondage, hauing called them into his house, first slew with his sword his two daughters, and afterwards their mother. And this done, with a Harquebuse and a Crosse-bow bent (as cleane bereft of fences) made towards his enemies, of whom he slew twaine at the first encounter, afterwards fighting a while with his sword, being inuironed with the multitude of the *Turkes*, brought himselfe to the end of his most vnhappy life. Behold the summary of the miseries happened through the *Turkes* in few dayes in the Iles of *Sicila*, *Malta*, and *Goze*. After which things the *Bascha* caused his army with the whole booty and prey to embarke, and remoued the seuen and twenty of Iuly towards *Barbary*, to assiege the Castle of *Tripoli*.

The sixt of August we came to *Tripoli*, a City which *Charles* the fifth had giuen in keeping to the Knights of *Malta*, and then besieged by *Sinan Basha*. Where hauing well considered the placing of the Campe, the Towne and Castle, we returned to the *Bascha*, with whom the Ambassador talked a while, and in the meane while I went to see the market of the *Turkes* (which they call *Basar*) being hard by where the poore Christians of *Sicil*, *Malta*, and *Goze*, were sold vnto those that most offered for them (and last inhaunfers, being permitted vnto those that bought them (as the ancient Custome of the *Oriental Barbarians* is) to strip them starke naked, and to make them goe, to the intent to see if they haue any naturall impediment in their bodies, visiting afterwards their teeth and eyes, as though they had beene horses, and standing there, I saw creeping vpon the ground a Scorpion of yellow colour, being of length more then a long finger. The same day the *Turkes* brought their Ordnance and Gabions vnto the Trenches, which Gabions are made of great Plankes of three inches, which they carry vpon their Gallies or Shippes to serue them when they haue need of them : for when they will batter any place, they set them in the ground in forme of Baskets, Afterwards being set in rankes, they fill them with earth, and is a very commodious inuention, for the shot which can but slippering passe ouer it, and can doe no hurt nor dammage. The *Turkes* hauing in the night placed their Gabions, and their Ordnance ready to the Battery, did the next day following being the eight of August, begin to shoot at the Castle with great furie, which was not left vnanswered, and euery houre some slaine.

Road of S.
Paul.

Goze sacked.

Size thousand
and three hun-
dred prisoners
taken.
A pitifull Hi-
story.
A strange
cruelty.

Manner to
search the
Christian
slaues that
come to be
sold.
A Scorpion.

The besieged sent to the *Bascha*, if he would receiue certaine of them to treat of some good accord touching the giuing ouer of the Castle, whereunto the *Bascha* lightly consenting, was in all diligence dispatched a braue Spaniard, named *Guinare*, and a Knight of *Maïorque*, to offer vnto the *Bascha* the Castle with the Artillery and Munition, so as he would furnish them of ships to bring them with bagge and baggage safely to *Malta*: to whom summarily was answered, that (forasmuch as, as yet they had not deserued any grace, presuming to be so bold as to keepe so small a place against the armie of the highest Prince on the earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would gladly agree to the matter proponed, or if they would not thereunto consent (as it became them) that for their recompence, all they within the
 10 Castle should continue slaues and prisoners: notwithstanding, if they incontinently and without delay, did surrender the place he would exempt out of them two hundred. Whereupon, the messengers returning in dispaire of any further grace, was stayed by *Drogot* and *Salarais*, with flattering words, and fayned promises, that they would endeavour so much as in any wise lay in them, to make the *Bascha* condescend to a better and more gracious composition: for they feared that the assieged through dispaire, would resolute (as their extreame refuge) to defend themselves even to the last man. And incontinent went to the *Bascha*, to declare vnto him his ouersight, in refusing those which of their owne voluntary came to surrender themselves into his hands, and that to put them out of doubt and dispayre, hee ought with all mildnesse to agree vnto all that they demanded. For after he had the Castle, and all the men vnder his au-
 20 thoritie, he might afterwards dispose of them, as he should thinke good. The *Bascha* finding this counsell good, caused the two messengers to be called againe vnto him, declaring vnto them with fayned and dissembling words, that at the instance and request of *Drogot* and *Salarais* there present, inclining vnto their request, he did discharge them of all their costs and charges of the armie, swearing vnto them (the better to deceiue them) by the head of his Lord and his owne, inuolably to obserue all that which he had promised vnto them, which they (too easily) beleueed, and forthwith went to declare the same vnto the Gouvernour and others within the Castle.

The *Bascha* the better to atchieue to his enterprise, sent forth after the Deputie aforesaid, a *Turke* (one of the most subtil to his mind, that he could choose) to whom he gaue expresse
 30 charge to perswade the Gouvernour to come with him, to conclude and treat concerning the giuing ouer, and for the vessels which should bee necessary for their conduct to *Malta*, and that if hee made difficultie to come, he should make a semblance as though hee would remaine there in hostage for him, and that about all things hee should haue an eye to consider of the strength and assurance of the assieged, and of the disposition of all things there, which the *Turke* could execute so finely, that the Gouvernour by the counsell of those that had perswaded him to surrender, notwithstanding the reasons of warres, and duetie of his office, forbade him in such manner to abandon the place of his charge, resolved vpon so small an assurance of the
 40 *Bascha*, who hauing rigorously reproached his timidity, said vnto him: that forsomuch as he had giuen his word, that if he would pay the charges of the armie, he would let them go with bagge and baggage, otherwise hee would discharge but two hundred, whereat *Vallier* being greatly moued, answered, that it was not that which with the Deputie of the Castle he had agreed vnto: But seeing he would doe none otherwise, that it would please him to suffer him to returne to the place for to haue the aduise and deliberation of the assieged, which he could not obtaine, but it was onely permitted vnto him, to send backe the Knight that he had brought with him, to make report of these pittious newes vnto the assieged; and on the other party, *Vallier* was sent to the Gallie with Irons on his legges. They of the Castle hauing vnderstood the Premises, were greatly afraid of the mischiefe, which they perceiued approaching to-
 50 wards them, and could take none other resolution, then the next day in the morning early to returne the said Knight to the *Bascha*, to know whether they should looke for no better. But as soone as he was come before him, the Gouvernour was brought in, of whom the *Bascha* asked, which of both he would choose, either to pay the expences of the armie, or that he and all they of the Castle would remaine prisoners, to whom he answered, that a slaue had none other authoritie then that which by his master was giuen vnto him, and that hauing lost, besides his libertie, the power to command if any thing were yet reserued in him, could not counsell him to command to agree vnto any thing, but that which was concluded with the delegates, which the *Bascha* hearing, for feare that such an answere should not come to the knowledge of the assieged, and that it should cause them desperately to fight it out, hauing taken counsell of his Captaines, tooke the Gouvernour by the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance said vnto him, that without any doubt he would as he had promised them, set them at free li-
 60 berty: and that therefore without fearing any thing, hee would cause them all to come out of the Castle: but the Gouvernour, because he had before bene deceiued, would not trust to his words, but said vnto him, that he should command him that was come from the Castle, for that he knew they would doe neuer a whit the more for him. So that the *Bascha* turning towards the Knight, commanded him that he forthwith should goe vnto him, and cause them to come

Vallier sent to the Gallies with irons vpon him.

A good and wise answere of *Vallier*.

Faith and promise broken.

Tripoli described.

An Arch triumphal.

Munitions of warre resting within the Castle.

foorth : swearing vnto them by the head of his great Lord, and his owne, that they should all be deliuered and set at liberty, according to the first conuentions agreed vpon. Which the Knight beleeuing, went to report vnto them these good newes : which they receiued with such ioy, that without any further care or consideration of their misse-hap so neere, and prepared for them, they ran to the prease with their wiues, children, and best moueables, prealing who should first goe forth. But they were not so soone issued, but were cleane spoyled, and of the enemies, part of the Knights were sent to the Gallies, and the rest to the *Bascha*: who beeing by the Knight *Vallier* admonished of his faith, which hee had twise giuen, answered, that there was no promise to be kept with dogges, and that they had first violated their Oath with the great Lord, vnto whom at the giuing ouer of the *Rhodes*, they had sworne that they neuer would take on armes against the *Turkes*. The Castle being taken and spoyled, and about two hundreth *Moores* of that Countrey that had serued the Knights, cut in peeces, with great cries and shouts, reioycing of their victory, they discharged a great peale of Ordnance.

Although the houses and buildings within the Towne be ruined, yet it is inuironed with very faire and strong wals, accompanied with a great number of Turrets, double Ditches and false breaches, and the same are on the three parts inuironed with the sea, and within them are very good Wels and Fountaines. We saw in the midst of the Towne an Arch triumphall of white Marble with foure faces vpon foure pillars of Corinth foure square, being grauen in the Front that looketh towards the East (by excellent Sculpture) a Chariot drawen by two great Griffins, and within it was *Victory* sitting with two wings : Toward the West, was grauen a Chariot, whereupon was sitting *Pallas*, and about the edge were written diuers *Romane* letters, but were so ruined, that scarce they were to be knowne. Notwithstanding, by that which can be read, we vnderstand, that they were made in the time of *P. Lentulus*, which is a good witnesse to beleue that this City, as before I haue said, was builded by the *Romanes*. The inside of the Arch was full of diuers enrichments, and aboue after the fashion of a foure-square Turret : and two other faces looking towards the North and South, were cut as from the vpper part of the body vnto the girdlestead without any heads, two great figures of the ouercome. All the rest was set foorth with all sorts of weapons in forme of *Trophee*, not farre from thence was seene a great foure-square place, inuironed with many great and high Pillars in two rankes, after the manner of a Porch, and neere that are the destructions of a high Tower, which in times past was (as a *Moore* of that Countrey told me) the great Temple or *Mosque* of the Citie : there are a number more of antiquities ruined. The *Chinow* being come was sent by the *Bascha*, we returned towards the Castle, but might not at that time enter in all, because the *Bascha* had giuen commandement, that there should not enter with the Ambassadour aboue five or sixe at the most, which were *Sant Veran de Fleury*, *de Montenard*, *Batolomy* and the *Dragoman*, and I : at the entry we met with *Morataga* and the Capitaine which had the charge of the Castle, which caused vs to be brought vpon the Rampards, to the end we might the better view and consider of all things, and hauing seene both aboue and below, we perceived for certaine, that all things were well repaired and furnished, and well appointed with sixe and thirty peeces of Ordnance, as well small as great, and that there was a great number of Pikes, and pots to cast fire, abundance of all kind of victuals and other Munitions, a good Well and Fontaine : and that at the time when the siege was laid to it, there was as well of Knights as Souldiers of diuers Nations, about sixe hundred, and the best Gunners of the world, it is an euermore shame to them that so faint-heartedly surrendred the same vnto those barbarous people without any warlike reason. All which hauing well considered, with a heauy mind we returned againe to our Gallies, whither incontinent the *Bascha* sent to desire the Ambassadour that the next day he would come to his solemne dinner, which he pretended to make for ioy of his victory, and taking of the Castle, and that he would bring *Vallier* with him, which he would not refuse, thinking by such occasion to recouer the rest of the two hundred Knights and Souldiers which were yet to be deliuered : and therefore the day following, being the sixteenth day of August, 1551. accompanied by the Gouverneur *Vallier*, the Knight *de Seur*, *Cotignac*, Capitaine *Coste*, *Montenard* and me, went towards *Bascha*, being within the Ditch against the breach of the Castle, where for a magnificency were set vp two faire Pauillions, the one for him, ioyning vnto a very faire Fontaine : and the other for the Ambassadour and his company : and so soone as he had sent his presents, as well to the *Bascha*, as to others his familiars (which of old time hath beene the manner and custome that they that haue to do with these *Barbarians* must obserue) he was brought vnto the Pauillion that was prepared for him, and forthwith serued with all magnificence, honour, and superfluity of meats as well of flesh as fish, diuersly dressed according vnto their fashion : and with wines very excellent that they had found within the Castle, and this seruice was done with noyse of all their instruments, and by Officers in number aboue one hundred, apparelled for the most part in long Gownes of fine cloth of Gold, tuffed or figured, and the other of Veluet and Crimson Damaske, and diuers others colours. The *Bascha* was no sooner set downe, but all the Ordnance of the Gallies, Foists and Galliot of the army (being in all one hundred and forty, besides the great Gallion and two Mahumez) was discharged, with such a noyse and thundering

dring, that it seemed the heauens and skies did shake. The table being taken vp, the Ambassador and Gouvernour Vallier entred into the Pauillion of the *Bascha*, which in the end agreed to deliuer the two hundred men which he had promised: and moreouer, gaue twenty vnto the Ambassador vpon promise, that he should cause to be released the thirty *Turkes* taken at *Malta*, at the landing of the army. But the most part of them that were deliuered, were *Spaniards*, *Sicilians* and *Calabres*, and few *French-men*: for the most part of them were put to the ranke of criminals forsworne: that day were brought into our Gallies, the Coffers of Vallier, within which were found certaine apparell, a sacke with money, and a cup of siluer, the rest which he said to be more worth then two thousand Crownes, the *Turkes* had taken away and spoiled: besides, two Pauillions which he esteemed worth three hundred Crownes. The *Turkes* hauing in their hands an ancient Gunner of the Castle, named *Iohn de Chabas*, borne within the Towne of *Romance* in *Daulphine* (to the end that their feast of victory should not be vnfurnished of some sacrifice of cruelty) for that with a Canon he had shot off the hand of the Clerke generall of the army, brought him into the Towne: and hauing cut off his hands and his nose, they put him quicke into the ground euen to the girdle stead, and there with a cruelty was persecuted and shot at with arrowes, and in the end for to accomplish the execution of his glorious martyrdom, they cut his throat. About eight a clocke in the euening, were lighted vpon all the Gallies, Galliot, Foists, & other vessels, all along vpon the Tackels, Yeards, and other ropes and poupes, in euery of them about three hundred candles, with cries and shouts accustomed, and sound of drums and other instruments. To make an end of all their triumphs, they againe discharged all their Ordnance. The next day being the seuenteenth, the *Bascha* sent to be presented vnto the Ambassador a gowne of cloth of Gold tiffed, and with the same his leaue to depart, which he so long had desired: and was not receiued without a present giuen him that brought it, and to diuers other Officers of the *Bascha*, which on all sides came running one after another, as a sort of Hounds, to haue their fee and share in the Game, for they are the most barbarous, couetous, and cruell Nation of the world, and in whom there is neither truth nor fidelity, neuer obseruing the one halfe of that they promise: and yet men must alwayes bee giuing to them.

A cruell sacrifice vpon the person of *Iohn Chabas* a Gunner of the Castle.

CHAP. V.

A large Voyage in a Iournall or brieue Reportary of all occurrents, hapning in the Fleet of ships sent out by the King his most excellent Maiestie, as well against the Pirats of Algiers, as others; the whole body of the Fleet, consisting of eightene Sayle.

Sixe of his Maiesties ships, ten Merchants ships, two Pinnaces. Vnder the command of Sir ROBERT MANSELL Knight, Vice-Admirall of England, and Admirall of that Fleet: and a Counsell of Warre appointed by his Maiestie. Written by one employed in that Voyage, formerly published, and heere contracted.



Sir Robert Mansell, Knight. Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight. Sir Thomas Button, Knight. Sir Henrie Palmer, Knight. Captaine Arthur Manwaring, Esquire. Captaine Thomas Loue, Esquire. Captaine Samuel Argall, Esquire. Edward Clerke Esquire, and Secretary to the Counsell of Warre.

The names of the Captaines, Ships, their burdens, number of men and Ordnance in his Maiesties sixe Ships.]

First, Sir Robert Mansell Admirall in the *Lyon*, burden sixe hundred Tuns, men two hundred and fiftie, Peeces of Brasse Ordnance forty. Secondly, Sir Richard Hawkins Vice-Admirall in the *Vanguard*, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Thirdly, Sir Thomas Button Reare-Admirall in the *Raine-bow*, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fourthly, Captaine Arthur Manwaring in the *Constant Reformation*, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fifthly, Sir Henrie Palmer in the *Anthelope*, burden foure hundred Tuns, men one hundred and sixty, Brasse Ordnance thirty and foure. Sixtly, Captaine Thomas Loue in the *Conuertine*, burden five hundred Tun, men two hundred and twenty, Brasse Ordnance sixe and thirty.

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In the Merchants Ships.

First, Captaine *Samuel Argall* in the *Golden Phenix*, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance, foure and twentie. Secondly, Captaine *Christopher Harries* in the *Samuel*, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance two and twentie. Thirdly, Sir *Iohn Fearn* in the *Mary-Gold*, burden two hundred and sixtie tunne, men one hundred, Iron Ordnance one and twentie. Fourthly, Captaine *Iohn Pennington* in the *Zouch Phenix*, burden two hundred and eightie tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance fixe and twentie. Fifthly, Captaine *Thomas Porter* in the *Barberie*, burden two hundred tunnes, men eightie, Iron Ordnance eighteene. Sixthly, Sir *Francis Tanfield* in the *Centurion*, burden two hundred tunnes, men one hundred, Iron Ordnance two and twentie. Seventhly, Sir *Iohn Hamden* in the *Prim-rose*, burden one hundred and eightie tunnes, men eightie, Iron Ordnance eighteene. Eighthly, Captaine *Eusabey Cane* in the *Hercules*, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance foure and twentie. Ninthly, Captaine *Robert Haughton* in the *Neptune*, burden two hundred and eightie tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance one and twentie. Tenthly, Captaine *Iohn Chidley* in the *Merchant Bonaventure*, burden two hundred and sixtie tunnes, men one hundred and ten, Iron Ordnance, three and twentie. Eleuenthy, Captaine *George Raymond* in the *Restore*, burden one hundred and thirtie tunnes, men fiftie, Iron Ordnance twelue. Twelfthly, Captaine *Thomas Harbert* in the *Marmaduke*, burden one hundred tunnes, men fiftie, Iron Ordnance twelue.

The Fleet thus furnished set sayle in the sound of *Plimmouth*, the twelfth of October in the morning, in the yeare 1620.

The one and thirtieth of October, in the morning wee turned into the Road of *Gibraltar*, where were riding at anchor two of the King of *Spaines* ships of warre, the Vice-Admirall of a Squadron with the Kings Armes in his fore-top and another, who so soone as they perceiued vs weighed their Anchors, set sayle, and comming Lee-ward of our Admirall, strooke his flag, saluting him with their small shot and great Ordnance, after haled him with voyces; our Admirall striking his flag, answered them with voyces, gaue them his Ordnance and small shot, all the Fleet following in order: this done, we saluted the Towne with our Ordnance, the Towne doing the like by answering vs. Our Admirall being at an Anchor, the *Spanish* Captaine accompanied with other Gentlemen, came aboard our Admirall, who told vs that there were great store of Pirats abroad, and that two of the Pirats shippes had fought with seuen *Spanish* Gallies, and had slaine them foure hundred men, and that they had beene at *Steria* a small Towne with thirty sayle of ships and ten Gallies, and had taken it, and carryed away diuers Prisoners, and that they had threatned to take *Gibraltar*; there the Admirall sent his sicke men ashore, hauing houses and lodgings prouided for them, amongst whom was Captaine *Iohn Fenner* who here dyed.

The second of Nouember, about seuen in the morning, hauing a fresh gale at North-west, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and standing off, met North the Rear-Admirall of the *Spanish* Fleet, who saluting vs North his Ordnance and wee stood on our course North-east and by East, being bound for *Malbaga*. The third, about two in the morning, wee came to an Anchor in *Malbaga* Road, and about eight of the clocke wee saluted the Towne with our Ordnance and diuers Volleys of small shot; here diuers *Spaniards* of account came aboard our ships whom we kindly entertayned, here we likewise expected Letters but heard not of any.

The sixth, our Admirall dispatched a Gentleman, one Master *Iohn Dappa*, with Letters to the *English* Embassador at the Court of *Spaine*, to let him know of our arriual and proceedings. This day about eleuen of the clocke, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle the wind at North-west. But before wee weighed, our Admirall gaue order to the Fleet to diuide themselves into three Squadrons, the Admirall Squadron was kept fixe leagues from the shore, with pendants in the mayne tops for their signes; the Vice-Admirals Squadron three leagues without him, on his Bow with pendants on his fore-tops; the Rear-Admiral three leagues within him on his quarter with pendants on their Misen tops, whodeuiding themselves according to their order steered away East and by South along the shoare, being bound for *Allicant*.

The seventh, about fixe in the morning, it being calme, and all the Fleet together, the Admirall tooke in all her sayles, and lay a hull, all the Fleet doing the like, the Admirall put out his flag of generall Councell which was *Saint George*. Whereupon all the Captaines and Masters repayred aboard him, where it was concluded, and thought meet that two ships of least draught of water, and one Pinnasse should hale the shoare close aboard to see if any Pirats were at an Anchor, eyther in Bayes or Coues, and to free the shoare; here likewise was giuen a word whereby to know our owne Fleet from others, if any strangers should chance to fall amongst vs in the night, the word was *Greenwich Tower*. The Councell ended, and euery man repayred aboard

his owne shippe, in the euening the whole Fleet in their order sayled alongst towards Cape Degat.

The eight and ninth dayes hauing but little wind, we gayned not much way. The tenth, in the morning, falling with the point of *Muttrill*, and hauing the wind Southerly, the whole Fleet put into the Road and there anchored.

The nineteenth, in the morning, we came to Anchor in *Allicant* Road, where the whole Fleet saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, and the Towne vs: heere our Admirall hauing provided houses for his sicke men, as before hee had done at *Gibraltar*, sent thirty senen sicke men of his owne ships Company ashore, here likewise he dispatched a Gentleman, one Master
10 *Walter Long* to *Carthage*, with Letters of aduice; but all this while could receiue no such Letters as we expected.

The five and twentieth, beeing fitted with Wine, Water, and other such necessaries as wee wanted, the wind being Northerly, the whole Fleet set sayle, leauing behind the *Good Will*, out of whom our Admirall had taken most of her men to supply his wants for those sicke hee left ashore, and being vnder sayle we shaped our course South-west for *Algier*.

The seuen and twentieth, about ten in the morning, wee came to Anchor in *Algier* Road in
20 seuen and twentie fathome water, out of command of the Towne or Castle, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall wearing white Ancients on their Poops, the rest of the Fleet wearing no Ancients at all, going in the whole Fleet, saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, but the Towne gaue vs none againe.

The eight and twentieth, our Admirall sent a Gentleman ashore, one Captaine *Squibe*, with a white flag of Truce in his Boat, to giue the Vice-Roy to vnderstand the cause of our comming; hereupon the Vice-Roy sent a Boat aboard our Admirall, with a white flag and foure men in her, one principall man in the Towne who deliuered our Admirall, signifying the Vice-Roy, had received command from the *Grand Seignior*, to vse vs with all respect, and that our men might haue the free libertie of the shoare to buy fresh victuals or whatsoever they wanted; they promised our Admirall if on the morrow hee would send any Gentleman of qualitie ashore with the Kings Maiesties Letters, that vpon the shooting off a Peece of Ordnance, according to our Admirals demand, he should receiue sufficient Hostages aboard for his safetie: this night the Pi-
30 rats brought in three Prizes, one *Fleming*, the other two *Englishmen*, the one a *Plimouth* man, and the other of *North Yarmouth*.

The third of December, came sixe of the King of *Spaines* ships into the Road, the Admirall striking his flag, saluted our Admirall with small shot and Ordnance, this done, he came aboard our Admirall in his Boat, and told him hee came in pursuite of certaine Pirats, who had taken diuers of their men, who being in a ship of seuen hundred tons neere *Carthage*, in fight with a *Turkish* Pirat, had boarded her, entred her men and taken her, had not their owne ship unfortunately false on fire with a mischance hapning, they were forced to forsake the *Turkes* ship to saue their owne, and so lost both, for being not able to quench the fury of the fire, were forced to yeeld themselues to the slavery of the *Turkes* to saue their liues, beeing in all three hundred
40 men, whereof thirty perished in the fire. This *Spanish* Admirall sayling neere the Towne, the *Turkes* let flye seuentie foure great shot at him, and hee gaue them some sixteene backe in exchange, but the distance betweene them was so farre, that the shot falling short, no harme was done on eyther side.

The fourth, our Admirall receiued from the Towne an answere of the Kings Letters.

The sixth, after long debating, finding the *Turkes* perfidious and fickle, as well in detayning our Messenger, who deliuered his Maiesties Letters, notwithstanding we had sufficient Hostages for him, as in breaking all other promises: in the end it was agreed thus, vpon leauing a Consull with them, they would let our Messenger come aboard againe; whereupon the Admirall sent a common man, well clothed, by the name of a Consull, whom they receiued with good
50 respect, and sending our Messenger aboard, receiued their owne pledges, and deliuered vs some forty poore Captiues, which they pretended was all they had in the Towne, this was all wee could draw from them. The seuenth, in the morning, our Admirall sent a Letter with instruction to our Councell, with another Letter to the *Bashaw*, to let him know how ill wee tooke his perfidious dealing.

The eight, in the morning, our Admirall and all the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The tenth day at night, the wind shifted to the South and East, and so to the East.

The fourteenth, came to Anchor in the Road of *Alacotha*, on the North side of the said Island, we found this to be a very good place, yeelding vs Wood, Water and Ballast, whereof we
60 had great need, the people very kind courteous, bringing vs great store of all manner of provisions which we bought at easie rates, whereby wee supplied our wants, and releued our sicke men, whereof we had great store in our Fleet.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The five and twentieth, about nine at night, came eight or nine sayle of *Turkes* into our

Fleet, whom so soone as we discovered, we chased them and made shot at them, but by reason it was a darke night, and that they sayled better then our ships, they escaped vs.

The fixe and twentieth, about three in the afternoone, wee put into *Alicant* Road, hoping there to receiue Letters of aduice, else some newes of a supply of victuals out of *England*, but missed both.

The seuen and twentieth at night the Reare-Admirals Squadron went out to Sea in pursuit of two *Turkish* Pirats, who had taken about three houres before two *Flemmish* ships; the *Flemmings* quiting their ships, saued themselves in their Boats.

The fourth of *January* at night, the *Constant Reformation* and the *Golden Phenix* had order to goe to Sea, to seeke two Pirats ships, which we heard were on the *Christian* shoare. The fifth at night, they returned into the Road againe, but met not with any.

The sixth, the Vice-Admirall with his Squadron set sayle for *Malbaga*, to see if they could heare of any newes of a supply of victuals, or whether the two Princes which were long expected were come thither. The twelfth, Master *John Duppa* came from *Carthagen*, bringing with him a packet of Letters of aduice sent out of *England*, bearing date the fourteenth of *December*, he signified that there was fixe monethes victuals sent out of *England*, for a supply of his Maiesties ships, and that they were at *Malbaga* with the two Pinnasses, this night the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron was sent to Sea to see if he could meet with certaine Pirats, which we had intelligence of. The thirteenth, the *Reformation*, the *Samuel*, and the *Restore*, put to Sea, to see if they could meet with any Pirats. The eighteenth, the *Reformation* with the other ships returned into the Road, where we found the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron likewise returned, but met no Pirats.

The one and twentieth, there came a *Flemmish* Boat with fifteene *Flemmings* in her aboard our Admirall, who being chased by the *Turkish* Pirats off, of *Cape Martine*, left their shippe and saued themselves by their Boat, this night was the *Anthelope* with other ships sent out to see if they could meete with them. The foure and twentieth, the *Anthelope* with the other ships returned into the Road, but met with none.

The five and twentieth, our Admirall beeing invited to the *English* Consuls house went ashore, where at his arriuall he was entertayned with small shot and Ordnance both from the Towne and Castle, and at night with Fire-workes, running of Horses, shooting of Ordnance, and other sports; this day Captaine *John Roper* was dispatched with Letters for *England*. The fixe and twentieth, our Admirall returned aboard the Towne, giuing him a friendly farewell with their Ordnance.

The seuen and twentieth, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet set sayle, leauing the *Marmaduke* behind, whose Captaine and Master were both sicke ashore. The eight and twentieth at midnight, we met with seuen sayle of *Flemmings* ships of Warre, neere *Cape Paul*, vnder the command of Captaine *Haughton* Admirall of *Zealand*, who the next morning, after he had saluted our Admirall with Ordnance, came aboard in his Boat, he told our Admirall hee had two and twentie ships of Warre vnder his charge, whom he had diuided into Squadrons, imploying them some without the Streights, and some within. The one and thirtieth, wee came to an anchor againe in *Alicant* Road.

The first of *February*, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with foure shippes, to see if he could meet with any Pirats, and this day dyed Captaine *Eusabey Cane*, Captaine of the *Hercules*, and the Admirall disposed the command of the same ship to Captaine *Alexander Bret*. The fifth, the Reare-Admirall returned with the other foure ships but had met none.

The sixth, the wind being Easterly, the Fleet weighed Anchor about midnight, shaping our course for *Malbaga*, during the time of our staying here we refreshed our sicke men ashore, hauing conuenient houses provided for them in the fields Gardens, with carefull people to attend them, providing them such necessaries as they should need. The *Constant*, for her part, sent ashore ninetie two persons, who as they recouered their strength were sent for aboard, yet notwithstanding all their care, at their departure they were forced to leaue behind them fortie two desperately ill, the Admirall taking order both for them and others, that they should bee carefully provided for vntill the Fleets returne.

The sixteenth, came into the Road the Vice-Admirall and his Squadron with the two Pinnasses which we so long expected out of *England*, the one the *Mercurie*, of the burden of two hundred and fortie tunnes, sixtie five men, and twentie peeces of Brasse Ordnance, vnder the command of Captaine *Phineas Pet*; the other the *Spy*, of the burden of one hundred and sixtie tunnes, fiftie five men, and eightene Peeces of Brasse Ordnance, vnder the command of Captaine *Edward Gyles*: there came also two Merchants ships with a supply of victuals for his Maiesties ships.

The eighteenth, the *Zouch Phenix*, the *Hercules*, the *Neptune*, and the *Spy* put to Sea, with order to ply betweene *Gibraltar* and *Shutte point*. The nineteenth, the *Anthelope* put to Sea, and with those ships which went out the day before, had order to ride in *Shutte* Road, to see if they could descry any Pirats come into the Streights.

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The three and twentieth, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with five other shippes, the *Golden Phenix*, the *Samuel*, the *Centurion*, the *Marigold*, and the *Restore*, with order to ride in *Tansey Bay*, where they were to attend the comming in of diuers Pirats whom we heard to be without the Streights mouth.

The foure and twentieth, the *Anihelope* with the rest of the shippes returned, bringing with them a prize being a small *Frenchman*, which had fiftie Buts of Oyle in her, and diuers *Moores* and *Jewes*, men, women and children, Passengers bound from *Tituon* to *Algier*, all the *Turkes* sauing themselves in their Boat: this day also came into the Road Captaine *Gyles Penne*, in a ship of *Bristoll*, from *Tituon* Road, bringing a Letter from the *Mogoden* to our Admirall, and two *Moores* who treated with him concerning the redemption of their people, whom our ships had taken, offering for so many *Moores*, so many *English*, whom they held in the Towne as slaues, hauing bought them of the *Turkes* Pirats. The seuen and twentieth, the *Samuel* and the *Centurion* returned into the Road from *Tansey*, then also went out the *Anihelope*, the *Zouch Phenix*, the *Barbarie*, the *Neptune* and the *Restore*, with order to ride at *Shutey*, to see if they could discouer any Pirats comming into the Streights, the wind being Westerly. The eight and twentieth, the wind likewise Westerly, the *Reformation* hauing taken in some of the Captiues, had order to weigh and set sayle for *Tituon*, to treat with the *Moores*, and to take in her company the *Samuel*, the *Bonaventure*, and the ship of *Bristoll*, where the same day about noone they came to an Anchor in the Road of *Tituon* in twelue fathome water, the wind at West.

The fourth of March, Master *Alshfield*, Minister of the *Reformation* dyed, much lamented of the whole company, of whom in the extreame of their sicknesses they had receiued much comfort. The fifth, hauing a faire gale at South-east, our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor, and set sayle for *Gibraltar*, hauing concluded nothing with the *Mogoden*. The sixth, wee came to an Anchor in *Gibraltar* Road, where wee found our Vice-Admirall with his Squadron.

The thirteenth, we came to an Anchor in *Malhaga* Road.

The eight and twentieth, about eight in the morning, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall set sayle for *Alicant*.

The second of Aprill dyed Captaine *Manwaring*. The fourteenth, about three in the after-noone wee came to an Anchor in *Alicant* Road, where wee found our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet: here our Admirall had hyred a *Pollacre* about the burden of one hundred and twentie tunne, for that she was reported to bee an excellent Sayler, and likewise bought three Brigandines which rowed with nine Oares on a side: hee also hyred a house wherein hee made diuers workes for the firing of the ships within the Mould of *Algier*.

The one and twentieth, we receiued Letters out of *England*, by a Post sent from *Malhaga*, signifying a remaynder of victuals, which wee expected, was arrived at *Malhaga*. The five and twentieth, about nine in the morning, the whole Fleet sayle for *Alicant* Road, beeing bound for *Firma terra*, to supply our wants for wood. The eight and twentieth in the euening, hauing fitted our selues with wood, we set sayle for *Mayorke* to take in water. The nine and twentieth, in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in *Mayorke* Road. The Towne of *Mayorke* is large and well fortified, the people industrious, both men, women and children giuen to labour, loving and courteous to strangers: heere wee found all manner of victuals in plentie and at easie rates. Their chiefe Merchandise are Oyle, Wood, and Cheese, whereof the Countrey affoordeth plentie.

The one and twentieth of May, at sixe in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in *Algier* Road, order being first giuen by our Admirall how euery ship should berth herselfe.

The ships being come to an Anchor in their orders, our Admirall caused sixe of the Merchants ships presently to weigh, with directions to ply off and on of the Westermost part, keeping as neere the shoare, as conueniently they might, to preuent the comming in of any Pirats betweene the Fleet and the shoare. In the beginning of this night, the Boats and Brigandines appointed for the assistance of two shippes, which our Admirall resolved should that night goe into the Mould, and there to set themselves on fire, being chained and linked to the Pirats ships, repayed aboard our Admirall, there to receiue their directions. The manner and preparations for firing of the ships was thus.

First, there were two small ships which we had taken from the *Turkes*; the one of the burden of an hundred tunnes, the other of sixtie, with great store of fire-workes in them. There was layd in them plentie of dry Wood, Wood of Ocham, Pitch, Rozen, Tarre, Brimstone and other Materials fit to take fire: they had likewise in them Chaines and Grapnels of Iron to fasten themselves to the ships which they were to fire: they had also Boats to bring off their men when they had fired the ships: then were there three Brigandines fitted with fire-bals, buckets of wild-fire, and fire Pikes to make their fire-workes fast vnto the ships: there was also a Gund-lod fitted with fire-workes, Chaines and Grapnels of Iron; she was to goe into the midst of the ships in the Mould, where fastning her to some ship, was to be set on fire. Shee had likewise with her a Boat to bring off her men. Likewise, there were seuen Boates which wee called

called Boats of rescue, well filled with armed men, who were to rescue and releue the Boats of execution, if they should chance to be pursued by other Boats or Gallies at their comming off. These had also fire-workes in them, to fire the ships which rode without the Mould: these Boats being all aboard, the Admirall sent for most of the Captaines and Masters in the Fleet, to aduise whether it were fit to attempt it with Boats and Brigandines, in regard it was little wind, and that Westerly, so that it was impossible for the ships to get in. After some deliberation, it was concluded, that it was not fit, for that the surest and most certaine meanes of firing was by the ships which were to bee made fast to the shippes in the Mould, and to burne with them. Whereupon it was deferred for that time till a fitter opportunitie was offered. The two and twentieth at night, there were like preparations made, but deferred for like reasons. The three and twentieth, in the beginning of the night wee had a fresh gale of wind at South by South-west, continuing the space of two houres or more, with Thunder, Lightning, and some drops of Raine: the two ships weighed, and with the Brigandines and Boats set forwards towards the Mould, but the wind shifting before they came neere, they were forced also to giue ouer for that night.

The foure and twentieth at night, after a great showre of Raine, wee had the wind out of the Bay at South South-west, the weather then cleering vp, both the ships and Boats aduanced themselues towards the Mould, as before they had done: but comming within lesse then Musket shot of the Moulds head it fell calme, so that the ships could by no meanes get in, the Boats and Brigandines finding that they were discouered, by reason of the brightnesse of the Moone, which was then at full, and hearing it reported by a Christian Captiue which did swimme from the Towne the night before to the ships, that the *Turkes* had left their ships without guard, sailing one or two in a ship, as fearing no such attempt from vs. And moreouer, hearing the Alarm giuen to the Towne by those which kept watch on the walls, with good resolution went on, but wanting wind to nourish and disperse the fire, the fire-workes tooke no effect at all. In this seruice were onely fixe men slaine out-right, foure or fise dangerously hurt (which not long after dyed) and some thirteene sleightly hurt, yet notwithstanding, the attempt was giuen vnder the wals of the Towne, where both small shot and Ordnance played continually vpon them: the hurt done our men was their comming off, for that they were got into the Mould before the Towne was risen, and beeing in, the shippes in the Mould defended them both from small shot and Ordnance of the Towne, our Boates still keeping the shippes betweene them and the Towne.

The rest of this Iournall contayning their returne, &c. is for breuitie omitted. Among many *English* which since the stirring of this *Wasps Nest*, haue bin stung, wee haue thought fit to adde to the glory of God, and honour of the *English* these two strange deliuerances following, the Stories of two ships of *Bristow* which tooke their takers.

The fise and twentieth, there came in foure sayle of Pirates by the Wester-most point of Land, notwithstanding fixe ships were appointed to lye off at that place, for the wind being Westward and a great Current setting to the Eastward our ships were put so farre to lee-ward that they could not preuent the Pirats comming in betweene the shoare and them, but yet the *Bonaenture* loosed so neere, that there passed some shot betweene her and the Pirats ships, but no hurt done: this night our Admirall and the whole Fleet weighed Anchor and stood off to the Sea.

The six and twentieth, the fore-part of the day, the wind was shifting to and fro, from the South-east to the South-west; in the after-noon at South, and South South-east hard gale and raynie weather; and at night hauing the wind shifting at South and South-west, we played off and on all night by a wind.

The eight and twentieth, we had faire weather the wind Westerly, this night the *Bonaenture*, and the *Hercules* put a Pirat ashoare, he hauing an hundred and thirtie *Turkes* in her, and twelue poore Christians Captiues, they were all drowned but twelue *Turkes*, who got the shoare by swimming.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, our Boates tooke vp two *Genowayes* Captiues, who aduentured to swimme from the Towne to the ships. They told that the same night our shippes stood off to Sea, there came into the Mould seven of the best ships belonging to *Algier*, and that if we had staid they had fallen into our laps. They likewise told vs, that the *Turkes* had Boomed vp the Mould, so that it was not possible for eyther shippe or Boate to get into to fire the ships, which were now filled with armed men, besides three Gallies and fiteene Boates which lay continually well fitted without the Mould before the Boome for a Guard, &c.

CHAP. VI.

The Relation of the Iacob, a ship of Bristoll, of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, which was about the end of October, 1621. taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier: and within five dayes after, foure English youths did valiantly ouercome thirteene of the said Turkes, and brought the ship to Saint Lucas in Spaine, where they sold nine of the Turkes for Gallie-slaues: with mention of some other like English aduentures.

NEere the latter end of October last, 1621. a ship belonging to the Citie of Bristoll, being about the burden of one hundred and twenty Tuns, was met withall and set vpon by Turkes or Pirats of Argier, where after a long and sharpe fight (being in the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) the English ship being oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, was taken, their Ordnance, Cables, Anchors, Sailes, Ship and men pillaged, ransacked, and at the mercy of the insulting Barbarians, who to make their worke the surer, tooke all the English-men out of the ship, except foure youths, whose names were, *John Cooke, William Ling, David Iones, and Robert Tuckey*, into which ship the Turkes did put thirteene of their owne men to command the English, and to bring the ship as a prize to Argier; amongst which one of the Pirats was appointed Captaine, being a strong, able, sterne, and resolute fellow.

These foure poore youths being thus fallen into the hands of mercilesse Infidels, began to studie and complot all the meanes they could for the obtayning of their freedoms: First, they considered the lamentable and miserable estates that they were like to be in, as to be debard for euer from seeing their friends and Countrey, to be chained, beaten, made slaues, and to eate the bread of affliction in the Gallies, all the remainder of their vnfortunate liues, to haue their heads shauen, to feed on course dyet, to haue hard boords for beds, and which was worst of all, neuer to be partakers of the heavenly Word and Sacraments.

Thus being quite hopelesse, haplesse, and for any thing they knew, for euer helplesse, they sayled five dayes and nights vnder the command of the Pirats, when on the fifth night, God in his great mercy shewed them a meanes for their wished for escape, for in the dead of the night, the wind began to arise, and in short space it blew so stiffe that they were enforced to strike both their top Sayles; and at last, it encreased to such a gust or storme, that they must take in their maine Saile, and being vnable to doe it themselves, *John Cooke* and *William Ling* did call to the Turkes for helpe: whereupon the Captaine himselfe came to helpe them; who standing by the ships side, betweene the foresaid *John* and *David Iones*, lending his hand to hale in the saile, the said *John* and *David* suddenly tooke him by the breech and threw him ouer-board, but by fortune hee fell into the bunt of the sayle, where quickly catching hold of a rope, he (being a very strong man) had almost gotten into the ship againe: which *John Cooke* perceiuing, leaped speedily to the Pumpe, and tooke off the Pumpe brake or handle, and cast it to *William Ling*, bidding him knocke him downe, which he was not long in doing, but lifting vp the wooden weapon, he gaue him such a palt on the pate, as made his braines forsake the possession of his head, with which his body fell into the Sea.

An Obiection may be made here, why the Turke cried not to his fellowes at first for helpe, or how these things could be done, but the rest of his company must either see or heare it: to which I answer, that at Sea a Gust, Flaw, or Storme, hath many times a louder voice then a man; besides, when Marriners doe hale or pull any thing, they doe make a noyse, as it were crying *ha* *woet hale men hale*, which with the noyse of the wind whizzing and hizzing in the shrowds and cordage, would ouercome and drowne the voice or crie of any man whatsoever. Besides, his companions were all busie, some at the mizen, some at the sprit-saile, some to trim the fore-saile, and the night exceeding darke, all these things concurring, and chiefly, God graciously assisting, thus these braue Lads began the businesse luckily.

Nor must I forget *Robert Tuckey*, who was imployed all this while in a place of maine importance, for he stood at the Helme, and in all the weather guided the Ship; now after the Captaine was thus cashiered, *John Cooke* ran hastily vp the halfe Decke to the Masters Cabine; neere which, were standing six or seuen Turkes, but hee being nothing daunted or discouraged for them, slipped roughly by them, and gat out two good Cuttleaxes, or short Swords, one of which he deliuered to *William Ling*, withall saying, courage my fellowes and Countrey-men, God strengthen and assist vs; with that, they laid about them so manfully, that they droue the Turkes from place to place in the Ship, and hauing coursed them from the Poope to the Fore-castle, they there valiantly killed two of them, and gaue another a dangerous wound or two, who to escape the further fury of their Swords, leap'd suddenly ouer-board to goe seeke his Captaine,

taine. Thus foure of the thirteene *Turkes* being made sure for doing any harme, they chased and followed the other nine so close, that they (to saue themselves) being also many of them, sore hurt and wounded, ranne betweene the Ships Decks; whereupon the *English* men fastned the Decks to keepe them vnder: the *Turkes* not knowing how to be reuenged, ran afterward toward the Helme, and vnshipt their Whip-staffe, or as some call it, a Whip-stocke (which is the staffe that a Mariner holds in his hand, when he guides or steeres a Ship) by which meanes the *English* men were in some distresse, by reason the Ship lay tumbling and rowling vnguided in the raging and boystrous billowes of the Sea: at last, *John Cooke* and *William Ling* got each of them a Musket, which they quickly charged, and went downe where the nine *Turkes* were, making offers to shoote at them, at which they were much terrified; whereupon they quickly ship'd their Whip-stocke againe, deliuering the Helme to *Robert Tuckey*, and then presently they stowed all the *Turkes* vnder the Hatches, where they kept them close till the next morning, and then as they had occasion to vse them, they would call vp two or three of them at a time, to hale and pull Sheetes, Tackes, Braces and Boleins, to hoyle and strike Sayles, or any such necessary and laborious imployments; in all which, the *English* made the *Turkes* attend them, and directing their course for the Port of Saint *Lucas* in *Spaine*, they in short time (by Gods ayde) happily and safely arriued at the said Port, where they sold the nine *Turkes* for Gally-slaues, for a good summe of money, and as I thinke, a great deale more then they were worth.

Nor doe I write this to the intent that any man should presume that their owne strengths, valour or courage, is sufficient to doe these or the like actions, for they are not ordinary, and therefore man is but made the ordinary instrument of an extraordinary power, and he that shall attribute such things as these to the arme of flesh and blood, is forgetfull, ingratefull, and in a manner Atheisticall.

See the History in Hack. Voyages.

One *John Fox* an expert Mariner, and a good approoued and sufficient Gunner, was (in the raigne of *Queene Elizabeth*) taken by the *Turkes*, and kept eightene yeeres in most miserable bondage and slavery, at the end of which time, he espied his opportunity (and God assisting him withall) that hee slew his Keeper, and fled to the Seas side, where he found a Gally with one hundred and fifty Captiue Christians, which hee speedily waying their Anchor, set Saile, and fell to worke like men, and safely arriued in *Spaine*; by which meanes, he freed himselfe and a number of poore soules from long and intolerable seruitude; after which, the said *John Fox* came into *England*, and the *Queene* (being rightly informed of his braue exploit) did graciously entertaine him for her Seruant, and allowed him a yeerely Pension.

Cap. Nicholes.

Captaine *Nichols* with a Ship of *London*, called the *Dolphin*, fought a long and bloody fight, with many of the *Turkish* men of warre at one time, at which time hee sunke some of them, slew many of their men, and hauing his owne Ship exceedingly rent and torne with the Enemies great shot, yet at last it pleased God to deliuer him from them, so that hee safely arriued at home.

Master Malam.

Master *William Malam* of *Rotherhithe* within these three yeeres was set vpon by these Rovers, and after a long fight, being much hurt by the Ordnance of the *Turkes* (the night comming on) which made the fight to cease, when the Generall of the Pirates past his word, and bound it with an Oath, that if Master *Malam* would come aboard his Ship all night, that hee should well and safely bee set aboard againe his owne Ship the next morning, vpon which word and oath Master *Malam* went aboard the *Turke*, and a Merchant with him; but first, before he went, commanded his Mate to watch his opportunitie, and steale away with the Ship in the night, if he could, which fell out as he wished, whereby all the Merchants goods were saued, and the Ship safely arriued here at *London*: but in the morning, when the *Turkes* did perceiue the *English* Ship was gone, then would they haue put Master *Malam* and the Merchant that was with him, to death, whereupon he vrged him with his oath and promise, which was, that he should come and goe safely, and that if a *Christian* had made him or any man such a promise, and bound it with a vow, hee would haue kept his word. And (that for any thing hee knew) his Ship being so dangerously hurt by them, might be sunke in the night, and not escaped away as he imagined. Now whilst they were in this discourse, presently came a Saile in sight, which afterward they found to be a small *Scottish* Ship bound for *England*, whom the *Turkes* quickly tooke, and pillag'd at their pleasure, taking from them their Sailes, Cables, Anchors and all things necessary for their vse or preservation, and hauing robd, a rifled the poore *Scot* in that manner, they put Master *Malam* and the Merchant into her, to trie their fortunes, either to sinke or swim, but it pleased God they safely arriued in the West part of *England*, where they came home by land sad and disconsolate, because they could not heare any newes of the Ship: but the same night that hee came home, before day, there was happy tidings brought of the Ships safe arriual into the Riuer of *Thames*.

All these things are true vpon mine owne knowledge, and these worthy Mariners that haue beene so deliuered, doe, and euer did, attribute all the meanes of their deliuerance to the mighty hand of God; and they are so farre from taking any of these things to their owne praise or glory, that some of them haue euer done their best to suppress them from being printed.

CAP.

CHAP. VII.

The wonderfull recovery of the Exchange of Bristow, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier, published by I O H N R A W L I N S, heere abbreviated.

IN the yeere 1621. the first of Nouember, there was one *John Rawlins*, borne in *Rochester*, and dwelling three and twenty yeere in *Plimmoth*, imployed to the strait of *Gibraltar*, by Master *Richard*, and *Steuens Treniles*, Merchants of *Plimmoth*, and fraighted in a Barke, called the *Nicholas* of *Plimmoth*, of the burden of forty Tun, which had also in her company another ship of *Plimmoth*, called the *George Bonaventure* of seventy Tun burthen, or thereabout; which by reason of her greatnesse beyond the other, I will name the *Admirall*; and *John Rawlins* Barke shall, if you please, be the *Vice-admirall*. These two according to the time of the yeere, had a faire passage, and by the eighteenth of the same moneth came to a place at the entring of the straits, named *Trassle-gar*: but the next morning, being in the sight of *Gibraltar*, at the very mouth of the straits, the watch descried five saile of ships, who as it seemed, vsed all the means they could to come neere vs, and we as we had cause, vsed the same means to go as farre from them: yet did their *Admirall* take in both his top sailes, that either we might not suspect them, or that his owne company might come vp the closer together. At last perceiuing vs *Christians*, they fell from deuices to apparent discouery of hostility, and making out against vs: we againe suspecting them *Pirates*, tooke our course to escape from them, and made all the sailes we possibly could for *Tirriss*, or *Gibraltar*: but all we could doe, could not preuent their approach. For suddenly one of them came right ouer against vs to wind-ward, and so fell vpon our quarter: another came vpon our luffe, and so threatned vs there, and at last all five chased vs, making great speed to surpriue vs.

Their *Admirall* was called *Callfater*, hauing vpon her maine top-saile, two top-gallant sailes, one aboue another. But whereas we thought them all five to be *Turkish* ships of war, we afterwards vnderstood, that two of them were their prizes, the one a smal ship of *London*, the other of the *West-countrey*, that came out of the *Quaith* laden with figges, and other Merchandise, but now subiect to the fortune of the Sea, and the captiuitie of *Pirates*. But to our businesse. Three of these ships got much vpon vs, and so much that ere halfe the day was spent, the *Admirall* who was the best sailer, fetcht vp the *George Bonaventure*, and made booty of it. The *Vice-admirall* againe being neere vnto the lesser Barke, whereof *John Rawlins* was Master, shewed him the force of a stronger arme, and by his *Turkish* name, called *Villa-Rise*, commanded him in like sort to strike his sailes, and submit to his mercy, which not to be gaine-saied nor preuented, was quickly done: and so *Rawlins* with his Barke was quickly taken, although the *Reare-Admirall* being the worst sailer of the three, called *Reggiprise*, came not in, till all was done.

The same day before night, the *Admirall* either loth to pester himselfe with too much company, or ignorant of the commodity was to be made by the sale of *English* prisoners, or daring not to trust them in his company, for feare of mutinies, and exciting others to rebellion; set twelue persons who were in the *George Bonaventure* on the land, and diuers other *English*, whom he had taken before, to trie their fortunes in an vnknowne Countrey. But *Villa-Rise*, the *Vice-Admirall* that had taken *John Rawlins*, would not so dispence with his men, but commanded him and five more of his company to be brought aboard his ship, leauing in his Barke three men and his boy, with thirteene *Turkes* and *Moores*, who were questionlesse sufficient to ouer-master the other, and direct the Barke to Harbour. Thus they sailed directly for *Argier*; but the night following, followed them with great tempest and foule weather, which ended not without some effect of a storme: for they lost the sight of *Rawlins* Barke, called the *Nicholas*, and in a manner lost themselves, though they seemed safe a shipboord, by fearefull coniecturing what should become of vs: at last, by the two and twentieth of the same moneth, they, or we (chuse you whether) arriued at *Argier*, and came in safety within the Mould, but found not our other Barke there; nay, though we earnestly inquired after the same, yet heard we nothing to our satisfaction; but much matter was ministred to our discomfort and amazement. For although the Captaine and our ouer-seers, were loth we should haue any conference with our Country-men; yet did we aduenture to informe our selues of the present affaires, both of the Towne, and the shipping: so that finding many *English* at worke in other ships, they spared not to tell vs the danger we were in, and the mischiefes we must needs incurre, as being sure if we were not vsed like slaues, to be sold as slaues: for there had beene five hundred brought into the market for the same purpose, and aboue a hundred handsome youths compelled to turne *Turkes*, or made subiect to more vilder prostitution, and all *English*: yet like good *Christians*, they bade vs be of good cheere, and comfort our selues in this, that Gods trials were gentle purgations, and these crosses were but to cleanse the drossie from the gold, and bring vs out of the fire againe more cleare and louely. Yet I must needs confesse, that they afforded vs reason for this cruelty, as if they determined to be reuenged of our last attempt to fire their ships in the Mould, and therefore protested to spare none, whom they could surpriue, and take aliue, but either to sell them for money,

ney, or torment them to serue their owne turnes. Now their customes and vsages in both these was in this manner.

First, concerning the first. The *Bashaw* had the ouer-seeing of all prisoners, who were presented vnto him at their first comming into the harbour, and so chose one out of euery eight for a present or fee to himselfe: the rest were rated by the Captaines, and so sent to the Market to be sold; whereat if either there were repining, or any drawing backe, then certaine *Moores* and Officers attended either to beate you forward, or thrust you into the sides with Goades; and this was the manner of the selling of Slaues.

Execrable tortures by Hellish Pirats inflicted on the English, to make them Renegadoes and Apostataes.

Secondly, concerning their enforcing them, either to turne *Turke*, or to attend their filthines and impieties, although it would make a Christians heart bleed to heare of the same, yet must the truth not be hid, nor the terror left vtold. They commonly lay them on their naked backs or bellies, beating them so long, till they bleed at the nose and mouth; and if yet they continue constant, then they strike the teeth out of their heads, pinch them by their tongues, and vse many other sorts of tortures to conuert them; nay, many times they lay them their whole length in the ground like a graue, and so couer them with boords, threatening to starue them, if they will not turne; and so many euen for feare of torment and death, make their tongues betray their hearts to a most fearefull wickednesse, and so are circumcised with new names, and brought to confesse a new Religion. Others againe, I must confesse, who neuer knew any God, but their owne sensuall lusts and pleasures, thought that any religion would serue their turnes, and so for preferment or wealth very voluntarily renounced their faith, and became *Renegadoes* in despite of any counsell which seemed to intercept them: and this was the first newes we encountered with at our comming first to *Argier*.

Sale of the English.

The 26. of the same moneth, *Iohn Rawlins* his Barke, with his other three men and a boy, came safe into the Mould, and so were put all together to be carried before the *Bashaw*, but that they tooke the Owners seruant, and *Rawlings* Boy, and by force and torment compelled them to turne *Turkes*: then were they in all seuen English, besides *Iohn Rawlins*, of whom the *Bashaw* tooke one, and sent the rest to their Captaines, who set a valuation vpon them, and so the Souldiers hurried vs like dogs into the Market, whereas men sell Hacknies in *England*, we were tossed vp and downe to see who would giue most for vs; and although we had heauy hearts, and looked with sad countenances, yet many came to behold vs, sometimes taking vs by the hand, sometime turning vs round about, sometimes feeling our brawnes and naked armes, and so beholding our prices written in our breasts, they bargained for vs accordingly, and at last we were all sold, and the Souldiers returned with the money to their Captaines.

Iohn Rawlins was the last, who was sold, by reason of his lame hand, and bought by the Captaine that tooke him, euen that dog *Villa Rise*, who better informing himselfe of his skill fit to be a Pilot, and his experience to bee an ouer-seer, bought him and his Carpenter at very easie rates. For as we afterwards vnderstood by diuers English *Renegadoes*, he paid for *Rawlins* but one hundred and fiftie Dooblets, which make of English money seuen pound ten shillings. Thus was he and his Carpenter with diuers other slaues sent into his ship to worke, and imployed about such affaires, as belonged to the well rigging and preparing the same. But the villanous *Turkes* perceiuing his lame hand, and that he could not performe so much as other Slaues, quickly complained to their Patron, who as quickly apprehended the inconuenience; whereupon hee sent for him the next day, and told him he was vnseruiceable for his present purpose, and therefore vnlesse he could procure fiftene pound of the English there for his ransome, he would send him vp into the Countrey, where he should neuer see *Christendome* againe, and endure the extremity of a miserable banishment.

The Exchange of Bristow.

Chandler a Renegado.

But see how God worketh all for the best for his seruants, and confoundeth the presumption of Tyrants, frustrating their purposes, to make his wonders knowne to the sonnes of men, and releues his people, when they least thinke of succour and releasement. Whilest *Iohn Rawlins* was thus terrified with the dogged answere of *Villa Rise*, the Exchange of *Bristow*, a ship formerly surpris'd by the Pirats, lay all vnrigged in the Harbour, till at last one *Iohn Goodale*, an English *Turke*, with his confederates, vnderstanding shee was a good sailer, and might be made a proper Man of Warre, bought her from the *Turkes* that tooke her, and prepared her for their owne purpose: now the Captaine that set them on worke, was also an English *Renegado*, by the name of *Rammetham Rise*, but by his Christen name *Henrie Chandler*, who resolved to make *Goodale* Master ouer her; and because they were both English *Turkes*, hauing the command notwithstanding of many *Turkes* and *Moores*, they concluded to haue all English slaues to goe in her, and for their Gunners, English and Dutch *Renegadoes*, and so they agreed with the Patrons of nine English, and one French Slaue for their ransoms, who were presently imployed to rig and furnish the ship for a Man of Warre, and while they were thus busied, two of *Iohn Rawlins* men, who were taken with him, were also taken vp to serue in this Man of Warre, their names, *Iames Roe*, and *Iohn Davies*, the one dwelling in *Plimmoth*, and the other in *Foy*, where the Commander of this ship was also borne, by which occasion they came acquainted, so that both the Captaine, and the Master promised them good vsage, vpon the good seruice they should performe in the voyage,

voyage, and withall demanded of him, if he knew of any *Englishman* to be bought, that could serue them as a Pilot, both to direct them out of Harbour, and conduct them in their voyage. For in truth neither was the Captaine a Mariner, nor any *Turke* in her of sufficiency to dispose of her through the Straites in securitie, nor oppose any enemy, that should hold it out brauely against them. *Davies* quickly replied, that as farre as he vnderstood, *Villa Rise* would sell *John Rawlins* his Master, and Commander of the Barke which was taken, a man euery way sufficient for Sea affaires, being of great resolution and good experience; and for all he had a lame hand, yet had he a sound heart and noble courage for any attempt or aduventure.

When the Captaine vnderstood thus much, he imployed *Davies* to search for *Rawlins*, who at last lighting vpon him, asked him if the *Turke* would sell him: *Rawlins* suddenly answered, that by reason of his lame hand he was willing to part with him; but because he had disbursed money for him, he would gaine something by him, and so prized me at three hundred Dooblets, which amounteth to fiftene pound *English*; which I must procure, or incurre sorer indurances. When *Davies* had certified thus much, the *Turks* a ship-boord conferred about the matter, and the Master whose Christen name was *John Goodale* ioyned with two *Turkes*, who were comforted with him, and disbursed one hundred Dooblets a piece, and so bought him of *Villa Rise*, sending him into the said ship, called the *Exchange of Bristow*, as well to superuise what had been done, as to order what was left vndone, but especially to fit the sailes, and to accommodate the ship, all which *Rawlins* was very carefull and indulgent in, not yet thinking of any peculiar plot of deliuerance, more then a generall desire to be freed from this *Turkish* slauerie, and inhumane abuses.

By the seuenth of Ianuarie, the ship was prepared with twelue good cast Pieces, and all manner of munition and prouision, which belonged to such a purpose, and the same day haled out of the Mould of *Argier*, with this company, and in this manner.

There were in her sixtie three *Turkes* and *Moors*, nine *English* Slaues, and one *French*, foure *Hollanders* that were free men, to whom the *Turkes* promised one prise or other, and so to returne to *Holland*; or if they were disposed to goe backe againe for *Argier*, they should haue great reward and no enforcement offered, but continue as they would, both their religion and their customes: and for their Gunners they had two of our Souldiers, one *English* and one *Dutch* Renegado; and thus much for the companie. For the manner of setting out, it was as vsuall as in other ships, but that the *Turkes* delighted in the ostentous brauerie of their Streamers, Banners, and Top-sayles; the ship being a handsome ship, and well built for any purpose: the Slaues and *English* were imployed vnder Hatches about the Ordnance, and other workes of order, and accommodating themselues: all which *John Rawlins* marked, as supposing it an intolerable slauerie to take such paines, and be subiect to such dangers, and still to enrich other men and maintaine their voluptuous filthinesse and liues, returning themselues as Slaues, and liuing worse then their Dogs amongst them. Whereupon hee burst out into these, or such like abrupt speeches: Oh Hellish slauerie to be thus subiect to Dogs! Oh, God strengthen my heart and hand, and something shall be done to ease vs of these mischiefes, and deliuer vs from these cruell *Mahumetan* Dogs. The other Slaues pittying his distraction (as they thought) bad him speake softly, lest they should all fare the worse for his distemperature. The worse (quoth *Rawlins*) what can be worse? I will either attempt my deliuerance at one time, or another, or perish in the enterprise: but if you would be contented to hearken after a release, and ioyne with me in the action, I would not doubt of facilitating the same, and shew you a way to make your credits thriue by some worke of amazement, and augment your glorie in purchasing your libertie, I prethee be quiet (said they againe) and thinke not of impossibilities: yet if you can but open such a doore of reason and probabilitie, that we be not condemned for desperate and distracted persons, in pulling the Sunne as it were out of the Firmament: wee can but sacrifice our liues, and you may be sure of secrecie and taciturnitie.

The fifteenth of Ianuarie, the morning water brought vs neere *Cape de Gatt*, hard by the shoare, we hauing in our companie a smal *Turkish* ship of Warre, that followed vs out of *Argier* the next day, and now ioyning with vs, gaue vs notice of seuen small vessels, sixe of them being *Satties*, and one *Pollack*, who very quickly appeared in sight, and so we made toward them: but hauing more aduantage of the *Pollack*, then the rest, and loth to lose all, we both fetcht her vp, and brought her past hope of recouerie, which when she perceiued, rather then she would voluntarily come into the slauerie of these *Mahumetans*, she ran her selfe a shoare, and so all the men forooke her; we still followed as neere as we durst, and for feare of splitting, let fall our anchors, making out both our boates, wherein were many Musketeers, and some *English* and *Dutch* Renegadoes, who came aboard home at their *Conge*, and found three pieces of Ordnance, and foure Murtherers: but they straightway threw them all ouer boord to lighten the ship, and so they got her off, being laden with Hides, and Logwood for dying, and presently sent her to *Argier*, taking nine *Turkes*, and one *English* Slaue, out of one ship, and six out of the lesse, which we thought sufficient to man her.

In the rifling of this *Catelaynia*, our *Turks* fell at variance one with another, and in such a man-

E e e e

ner,

The *Turkes*
quarrell and
part.

Wizards or
Witches car-
ryed to Sea by
Turkes.

Ceremonies of
their diuining.

ner, that we diuided our selues, the lesser ship returned to *Argier*, and our *Exchange* tooke the opportunitie of the wind, and plyed out of the Streights, which reioyced *John Rawlins* very much, as resolving on some *Stratageme*, when opportunitie should serue: in the meane-while, the *Turkes* began to murmure, and would not willingly goe into the *Marr Granada*, as the phrase is amongst them: notwithstanding the *Moore*s being very superstitious, were contented to be directed by their *Hofhea*, who with vs, signifieth a Witch, and is of great account and reputation amongst them, as not going in any great Vessell to Sea without one, and obseruing whatsoeuer he concludeth out of his Diuination: the Ceremonies he vseth are many, and when they come into the Ocean, euery second or third night he maketh his Coniuration; he beginneth and endeth with Prayer, vsing many Characters, and calling vpon God by diuers names: yet at this time, all that he did consisted in these particulars.

Vpon the sight of two great ships, and as wee were afraid the chasing, beeing supposed to bee *Spanish* men of Warre, a great silence is commanded in the ship, and when all is done, the company giueth as great a skrich; the Captaine still comming to *John Rawlins*, and sometimes making him take in all his sayles, and sometimes causing him to hoysse them all out, as the Witch findeth by his Booke, and presages; then haue they two Arrowes, and a Curtleaxe, lying vpon a Pillow naked; the Arrowes are one for the *Turkes*, and the other for the Christians; then the Witch readeth, and the Captaine of some other taketh the Arrowes in their hand by the heads, and if the Arrow for the Christians commeth ouer the head of the Arrow for the *Turkes*, then doe they aduance their sayles, and will not endure the fight, whatsoeuer they see: but if the Arrow of the *Turkes* is found in the opening of the hand vpon the Arrow of the Christians, then will they stay and encounter with any shippe whatsoeuer: the Curtleaxe is taken vp by some Childe, that is innocent, or rather ignorant of the Ceremonie, and so layd downe againe; then doe they obserue, whether the same side is vppermost, which lay before, and so proceed accordingly.

They also obserue Lunatickes and Changelings, and the Coniurer writeth downe their Sayings in a Booke, groueling on the ground, as if he whispered to the Deuill to tell him the truth, and so expoundeth the Letter, as it were by inspiration. Many other foolish Rites they haue, whereon they doe dote as foolishly.

Whilest he was busied, and made demonstration that all was finished, the people in the ship gaue a great shout, and cryed out, a sayle, a sayle, which at last was discovered to bee another man of Warre of *Turkes*: for he made toward vs, and sent his Boat aboard vs, to whom our Captaine complained, that being becalmed by the Southerne Cape, and hauing made no Voyage, the *Turkes* denyed to goe any further Northward: but the Captaine resclued not to returne to *Argier*, except he could obtayne some Prize worthy his endurances, but rather to goe to *Salle*, and sell his Christians to victuall his ship; which the other Captaine apprehended for his honour, and so perswaded the *Turkes* to be obedient vnto him; whereupon followed a pacification amongst vs, and so that *Turke* tooke his course for the Streights, and wee put vp Northward, expecting the good houre of some beneficiall bootie.

All this while our slavery continued, and the *Turkes* with insulting tyrannie set vs still on worke in all base and seruile actions, adding stripes and inhumane reuilings, euen in our greatest labour, whereupon *John Rawlins* resolved to obtayne his libertie, and surprize the ship; prouiding Ropes with broad speckes of Iron, and all the Iron Crowes, with which hee knew a way, vpon consent of the rest, to ramme vp or tye fast their Scuttels, Gratings, and Cabbins, yea, to shut vp the Captaine himselfe with all his consorts, and so to handle the matter, that vpon the watch-word giuen, the *English* being Masters of the Gunner roome, Ordnance, and Powder, they would eyther blow them into the Ayre, or kill them as they aduentured to come downe one by one, if they should by any chance open their Cabbins. But because hee would proceed the better in his enterprize, as he had somewhat abruptly discovered himselfe to the nine *English* slaues, so he kept the same distance with the foure *Hollanders*, that were free men, till finding them comming somewhat toward them, he acquainted them with the whole Conspiracie, and they affecting the Plot, offered the aduenture of their liues in the businesse. Then very warily he vndermined the *English* Renegado, which was the Gunner, and three more his Associates, who at first seemed to retract. Last of all were brought in the *Dutch* Renegadoes, who were also in the Gunner roome, for alwayes there lay twelue there, fise Christians, and seuen *English*, and *Dutch* *Turkes*: so that when another motion had settled their resolutions, and *John Rawlins* his constancie had put new life as it were in the matter, the foure *Hollanders* very honestly, according to their promise, sounded the *Dutch* Renegadoes, who with easie perswasion gaue their consent to so braue an Enterprize; whereupon *John Rawlins*, not caring whether the *English* Gunners would yeeld or no, resolved in the Captaines morning watch, to make the attempt: But you must vnderstand that where the *English* slaues lay, there hung vp alwayes foure or fise Crowes of Iron, being still vnder the carriages of the Peeeces, and when the time approached being very darke, because *John Rawlins* would haue his Crow of Iron ready as other things were, and other men prepared in their seuerall places, in taking it out of the carriage, by chance, it hit

on

on the side of the Peece, making such a noyse, that the Souldiers hearing it awaked the *Turkes*, and bade them come downe: whereupon the Botelane of the *Turkes* descended with a Candle, and presently searched all the slaues places, making much adoe of the matter, but finding neyther Hatchet nor Hammer, nor any thing elle to moue suspicion of the Enterprize, more then the Crow of Iron, which lay slipped downe vnder the carriages of the Peeces, they went quietly vp againe, and certified the Captaine what had chanced, who satisfied himselfe, that it was a common thing to haue a Crow of Iron slip from his place. But by this occasion wee made stay of our attempt, yet were resolu'd to take another or a better oportunitie.

Danger of
discouery.

For we layled still more North-ward, and *Rawlins* had more time to tamper with his Gun-
10 ners, and the rest of the *English* Renegadoes, who very willingly, when they considered the matter, and perpended the reasons, gaue way vnto the Proiect, and with a kind of ioy seemed to entertayne the motiues: only they made a stop at the first on-set, who should begin the enterprize, which was no way fit for them to doe, because they were no slaues, but Renegadoes, and so had alwayes beneficiall entertainment amongst them. But when it is once put in practice, they would be sure not to faile them, but venture their liues for God and their Countrey. But once againe he is disappointed, and a suspicious accident brought him to recollect his spirits anew, and studie on the danger of the enterprize, and thus it was. After the Renegado Gunner, had protested secrecie by all that might induce a man to bestow some beliefe vpon him, he presently went vp the Scuttle, but stayed not aloft a quarter of an houre, nay he came sooner down,
20 & in the Gunner roome sate by *Rawlins*, who tarried for him where he left him: he was no sooner placed, and entred into some conference, but there entred into the place a furious *Turke*, with his Knife drawne, and presented it to *Rawlins* his body, who verily supposed, he intended to kill him, as suspicious that the Gunner had discouered something, whereat *Rawlins* was much moued, and so hastily asked what the matter meant, or whether he would kill him or no, obseruing his countenance, and according to the nature of ieaousie, conceiting that his colour had a passage of change, whereby his suspicious heart, condemned him for a Traytor: but that at more leisure he sware the contrary, and afterward proued faithfull and induriorous in the enterprize. And for the present, he answered *Rawlins* in this manner, no Master, be not afraid, I thinke hee doth but iest. With that *John Rawlins* gaue backe a little and drew out his Knife, stepping also to the
30 Gunners sheath and taking out his, whereby he had two Knives to one, which when the *Turke* perceiued, he threw downe his Knife, saying, hee did but iest with him. But (as I said) when the Gunner perceiued, *Rawlins* tooke it so ill, hee whispered something in his eare, that at last satisfied him, calling Heauen to witnesse, that he neuer spake word of the Enterprize, nor euer would, either to the preiudice of the businesse, or danger of his person: Notwithstanding, *Rawlins* kept the Knives in his sleue all night, and was somewhat troubled, for that hee had made so many acquainted with an action of such importance; but the next day, when hee perceiued the Coast cleere, and that there was no cause of further feare, hee somewhat comforted himselfe.

Another dash-
ger.

All this while, *Rawlins* drew the Captaine to lye for the Northerne Cape, assuring him, that
40 thereby he should not misse purchase, which accordingly fell out, as a wish would haue it: but his drift was in truth to draw him from any supply, or second of *Turkes*, if God should giue way to their Enterprize, or successe to the victorie: yet for the present the sixth of Februry, being twelue leagues from the Cape, wee descryed a sayle, and presently tooke the aduantage of the wind in chasing her, and at last fetcht her vp, making her strike all her sayles, whereby wee knew her to be a Barke belonging to *Tor Bay*, neere *Dartmouth*, that came from *Auerare* laden
50 with Salt: ere we had fully dispatched, it chanced to be foule weather, so that we could not, or at least would not make out our Boat, but caused the Master of the Barke to let downe his, and come aboard with his Company, being in the Barke but nine men, and one Boy; and so the Master leauing his Mate with two men in the same, came himselfe with five men, and the boy
60 vnto vs, whereupon our *Turkish* Captaine sent ten *Turkes* to man her, amongst whom were two *Dutch*, and one *English* Renegado, who were of our confederacie, and acquainted with the businesse.

Tor Bay.

But when *Rawlins* saw this partition of his friends, before they could hoysse out their Boat for the Barke, he made meanes to speake with them, and told them plainly, that he would prosecute the matter eyther that night, or the next and therefore whatsoeuer came of it they should acquaint the *English* with his resolution, and make toward *England*, bearing vp the helme, whiles the *Turkes* slept, and suspected no such matter: for by Gods grace in his first watch about mid-night, he would shew them a light, by which they might vnderstand, that the Enterprize was begunne, or at least in a good forwardnesse for the execution: and so the Boat was let
65 downe, and they came to the Barke of *Tor Bay*, where the Masters Mate beeing left (as before you haue heard) apprehended quickly the matter, and heard the Discourse with amazement. But time was precious, and not to be spent in disputing, or casting of doubts, whether the *Turkes* that were with them, were able to master them, or no, beeing seuen to sixe, considering they had the helme of the ship, and the *Turkes* being Souldiers, and ignorant of Sea Affaires, could

not discover, whether they went to *Argier* or no ; or if they did, they resolved by *Rawlins* example to cut their throats, or cast them over-board : and so I leave them to make use of the Renegadoes instructions, and returne to *Rawlins* againe.

The Master of the Barke of *Tor Bay*, and his Company were quickly searched, and as quickly pillaged, and dismissed to the libertie of the shippe, whereby *Rawlins* had leisure to entertayne him with the lamentable newes of their extremities, and in a word, of every particular which was befitting to the purpose : yea, he told him, that that night he should lose the sight of them, for they would make the helme for *England*, and hee would that night and evermore pray for their good successe, and safe deliuerance.

When the Master of the Barke of *Tor Bay* had heard him out, and that his company were 10 partakers of his Storie, they became all silent, not eyther diffident of his Discourse, or afraid of the attempt, but resolved to assist him. Yet to shew himselfe an vnderstanding man, hee demanded of *Rawlins*, what weapons he had, and in what manner he would execute the businesse: to which he answered, that he had Ropes, and Iron Hookes to make fast the Scottels, Gratings, and Cabbines, he had also in the Gunner roome two Curtleaxes, and the slaues had five Crowes of Iron before them : Besides, in the scuffling they made no question of some of the Souldiers weapons : then for the manner, hee told them, they were sure of the Ordnance, the Gunner roome, and the Powder, and so blocking them vp, would eyther kill them as they came downe, or turne the Ordnance against their Cabbins, or blow them into the Ayre by one Stratageme or 20 other, and thus were they contented on all sides, and resolved to the Enterprize.

The Prize out
of sight.

The next morning, being the seventh day of February, the Prize of *Tor Bay* was not to be 30 scene or found, whereat the Captaine began to storme and sweare, commanding *Rawlins* to search the Seas vp and downe for her, who bestowed all that day in the businesse, but to little purpose: whereupon when the humour was spent, the Captaine pacified himselfe, as conceiting he should sure find her at *Argier* : but by the permission of the Ruler of all actions, that *Argier* was *England*, and all his wickednesse frustrated : for *Rawlins* beeing now startled, lest hee should returne in this humour for the Streights, the eight of February went downe into the hold, and finding a great deale of water below, told the Captaine of the same, adding, that it did not come to the Pumpe, which he did very politickly, that he might remoue the Ordnance : For when the 40 Captaine askt him the reason, he told him the ship was too farre after the head : then hee commanded to use the best meanes he could to bring her in order : sure then, quoth *Rawlins*, wee must quit our Cables, and bring foure Peeces of Ordnance after, and that would bring the water to the Pumpe, which was presently put in practice, so the Peeces beeing vsually made fast thwart the ship, we brought two of them with their mouthes right before the Biticle, and because the Renegadoe *Flemmings* would not begin, it was thus concluded : that the ship hauing three Deckes, wee that did belong to the Gunner roome should be all there, and breake vp the lower Decke. The *English* slaues, who alwayes lay in the middle Decke, should doe the like, and watch the Scuttels : *Rawlins* himselfe preuayled with the Gunner, for so much Powder, as should prime the Peeces, and so told them all there was no better watch-word, nor meanes to begin, then vpon the report of the Peece to make a cry and skrich, for God, and King *James*, and 50 Saint *George* for *England*.

When all things were prepared, and every man resolved, as knowing what hee had to doe, and the houre when it should happen, to be two in the afternoone, *Rawlins* aduised the Master Gunner to speake to the Captaine, that the Souldiers might attend on the Poope, which would bring the ship after : to which the Captaine was very willing, and vpon the Gunners information, the Souldiers gat themselves to the Poope, to the number of twentie, and five or sixe went into the Captaines Cabbin, where alwayes lay diuers Curtleaxes, and some Targets, and so wee fell to worke to pompe the water, and carryed the matter fairely till the next day, which was spent as the former, being the ninth of February, and as God must haue the prayse, the triumph 50 of our victorie.

For by that time all things were prepared, and the Souldiers got vpon the Poope as the day before : to auoid suspition, all that did belong to the Gunner-roome went downe, and the slaues in the middle decke attended their businesse, so that we may cast vp our account in this manner. First, nine *English* slaues, besides *John Rawlins*, five of the *Tor Bay* men, and one boy, foure *English* Renegadoes, and two *French*, foure *Hollanders* : in all foure and twenty and a boy : so that lifting vp our hearts and hands to God for the successe of the businesse, we were wonderfully encouraged ; and settled our selues, till the report of the peece gaue vs warning of the enterprize. Now, you must consider, that in this company were two of *Rawlins* men, *James Roe*, and *John Davies*, whom he brought out of *England*, and whom the fortune of the Sea brought into the same predicament with their Master. These were imployed about noone (being as I said, the ninth of February) to prepare their matches, while all the *Turkes* or at least most of them stood on the 60 Poope, to weigh downe the ship as it were, to bring the water forward to the Pumpe : the one brought his match lighted betweene two spoons, the other brought his in a little peece of a Can: and so in the name of God, the *Turkes* and *Moores* being placed as you haue heard, and five and forty

forty in number, and *Rawlins* having proined the Tuck-holes, *James Roe* gaue fire to one of the peeces, about two of the clocke in the after noone, and the confederates vpon the warning, shouted most cheerefully: the report of the peece did teare and breake downe all the Bitickeil; and compasses, and the noise of the slaues made all the Souldiers amased at the matter, till seeing the quarter of the ship rent, and feeling the whole body to shake vnder them: vnderstanding the ship was surpris'd, and the attempt tended to their vtter destruction, neuer Beare robbed of her whelpes was so fell and mad: For they not onely cald vs dogs, and cried out, *Vsance de Lamair*, which is as much as to say, the Fortune of the wars: but attempted to teare vp the planckes, setting a worke hammers, hatchets, kniues, the oares of the Boate, the Boat-hooke, their curtlexes, and what else came to hand, besides stones and bricke in the Cooke-roome; all which they threw amongst vs, attempting still and still to breake and rip vp the hatches, and boords of the steering, not desisting from their former execrations, and horrible blasphemies and reuilings.

When *John Rawlins* perceiued them so violent, and vnderstood how the slaues had cleared the deckes of all the *Turkes* and *Moors* beneath, he set a guard vpon the Powder, and charged their owne Muskets against them, killing them from diuers scout-holes, both before and behind, and so lessened their number, to the ioy of all our hearts, whereupon they cried out, and called for the Pilot, and so *Rawlins*, with some to guard him, went to them, and vnderstood them by their kneeling, that they cried for mercy, and to haue their liues saued, and they would come downe, which he bade them doe, and so they were taken one by one, and bound, yea killed with their owne Curtlexes; which when the rest perceiued, they called vs *English* dogs, and reuiled vs with many opprobrious tearmes, some leaping ouer-boord, crying, it was the chance of war, some were manacled, and so throwne ouer-boord, and some were slaine and mangled with the Curtlexes, till the ship was well cleared, and our selues assured of the victory.

At the first report of our Peece, and hurlyburly in the decks, the Captaine was a writing in his Cabbin, and hearing the noyse, thought it some strange accident, and so came out with his Curtlexe in his hand, presuming by his authority to pacifie the milchiefe: But when hee cast his eyes vpon vs, and saw that we were like to surpriue the ship, he threw downe his Curtlexe, and begged vs to saue his life, intimating vnto *Rawlins*, how he had redeemed him from *Villars-Rise*, and euer since admitted him to place of command in the ship, besides honest vsage in the whole course of the Voyage. All which *Rawlins* confessed, and at last condescended to mercy, and brought the Captaine and five more into *England*. The Captaine was called *Ramtham-Rise*, but his Christen name, *Henry Chandler*, and as they say, a Chandelers sonne in Southwarke. *John Good-ale*, was also an *English Turke*. *Richard Clarke*, in *Turkish*, *Iasar*; *George Cocke*, *Ramdarn*; *John Browne*, *Mamme*; *William Winter*, *Mustapha*; besides all the slaues and *Hollanders*, with other Renegadoes, who were willing to be reconciled to their true Sauour, as being formerly seduced with the hopes of riches, honour, preferment, and such like deuillish baits, to catch the soules of mortall men, and entangle frailty in the tarriers of horrible abuses, and imposturing deceit.

When all was done, and the ship cleared of the dead bodies, *John Rawlins* assembled his men together, and with one consent gaue the praise vnto God, vsing the accustomed seruice on ship-boord, and for want of bookes lifted vp their voyces to God, as he put into their hearts, or renewed their memories: then did they sing a Psalm, and last of all, embraced one another for playing the men in such a Deliuerance, whereby our feare was turned into ioy, and trembling hearts exhillirated, that we had escaped such ineuitable dangers, and especially the slavery and terror of bondage, worse then death it selfe: The same night we washed our ship, put euery thing in as good order as we could, repaired the broken quarter, set vp the Biticle, and bore vp the Helme for *England*, whereby Gods grace and good guiding, we arriued at *Plimmoth*, the thirteenth of February, and were welcommed like the recovery of the lost sheepe, or as you read of a louing mother, that runneth with embraces to entertaine her sonne from a long Voyage and escape of many dangers.

Not long after we vnderstood of our confederats, that returned home in the Barke of *Tor-bay*, that they arriued in *Pensance* in *Cornwall* the eleuenth of February: and if any aske after their deliuerance, considering there were ten *Turkes* sent to man her, I will tell you that too: the next day after they lost vs, as you haue heard and that the three Renegadoes had acquainted the Masters Mate, and the two *English* in her with *Rawlins* determination, and that they themselves would be true to them, and assist them in any enterprise: then if the worst came, there were but seuen to sixe: but as it fell out, they had a more easie passage, then turmoile, or man-slaughter. For they made the *Turkes* beleete, the wind was come faire, and that they were sayling to *Argier*, till they came within sight of *England*, which one of them amongst the rest discovered, saying plainely, that that land was not like *Cape Vincent*; yes saith he, that was at the Helme, and you will be contented, and goe downe into the hold, and trim the salt ouer to wind-ward, whereby the ship may beare full saile, you shall know and see more to morrow: Whereupon five of them went downe very orderly, the Renegadoes faining themselves asleepe, who presently

start vp, and with the helpe of the two *English*, nailed downe the hatches, whereat the principall amongst them much repined, and began to grow into choller and rage, had it not quickly beene ouerpasse. For one of them stepped to him, and dasht out his braines, and threw him ouer-board: the rest were brought to *Excester*, and either to be arraigned, according to the punishment of delinquents in such a kind, or disposed of, as the King and Counsell shall thinke meet: and this is the story of this deliuerance, and end of *John Rawlins* Voyage. The Actors in this Comick Tragedie are most of them aliue; The *Turkes* are in prison; the ship is to be seene, and *Rawlins* himselfe dare iustifie the matter.

The names of the English Renegadoes, which consented, and ioyned with the slaues in the reconery of the ship, were these.

Richard Clarke, the Gunner, called in *Turkish*, *Iasar*. George Cooke, Gunners-mate, called in *Turkish*, *Ramedam*. William Winter, Carpenter, in *Turkish*, *Mustapha*. John Browne, in *Turkish*, *Memme*. One Dutch Renegado. Foure Dutch slaues. One French slaue. Fiue *Englishmen* and one boy, taken but three dayes before. Nine *English* slaues which they tooke with them from *Argier*. In all foure and twenty men and a boy. Which were all safely landed at *Plimmoth*, the thirteenth of February, 1621. They saued aliue the siue and forty *Turkes* and *Moores*, the Captaine, one *Henry Chandlor*, borne in South-warke, an *English* Renogado; and siue *Turkes* more, who are at this present in *Plimmoth* Goale, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

*Relations of Africa, taken out of Master GEORGE SANDYS
his larger discourse obserued in his Iourney, begun
Ann. 1610. LIB. 2.*

§. I.

*His Voyage from Rhodes to Alexandria, obseruations there, of
Egypt, in generall, and of Nilus.*

I haue contracted this History (as others) for breuity: omitting nothing willingly which the Author saw: in other things commonly referring the Reader to *M. Sandys* his owne booke or other Authors which were his guides. For we write of mens trauailes, rather then a history of places & Regions in this worke: which herein differeth from that which I haue called my Pilgrimage. Many also of the things left out are in *Leo* or others here inserted.

R

Hodes is now inhabited by the *Turkes* and *Jewes*: those Christians that be, being *Greekes*, and not suffered after Sun-set to abide in the Citie: the Suburbs whereof are vtterly razed. I haue heard that all the Monuments, Statues, an inscriptions belonging to the Knights of the Order, are by the *Turkes* preserued entire, excepting such as the warres had demolished. Heere the *Grand Signior* maintaineth siue Gallies. About this Iland, we expected to haue met with Pirats, but were happily deceiued.

Now hauing lost the sight of *Rhodes*, we saw no land vntill the third night after: in the Euening, doubtfully discovering the Coast of *Egypt*. Fearing the Lee-shoare, all night we bore out to Sea: the lightning ministring vncomfortable light, intermixed with thunder and tempests. The next day we entred the Hauen of *Alexandria*, newly defamed with a number of wracks, which scattered here and there, did miserably testifie the vn safe protection of that Harbour. For not past two nights before the Northerne winds beating full vpon the mouth of the Hauen, with violent Seas droue the fore-most ships from their Anchors, who falling foule on the rest, sunke all for company, euen two and twenty in number: amongst the rest, that great and warlike ship, called the *Red-Lion*, but taken the yeere before from the Knights of *Malta*.

But before we proceed any further in particulars, meet it is that something be said of *Egypt* in generall. The wonderfull fertility of the soile, is rather to bee admired then expressed: in times past reputed the granary of the world; insomuch as it was not thought possible for the *Roman* Empire to subsist, if not assisted by the affluence of *Egypt*. The occasion of thrt saying of *Selymus* when he had conquered the Country, that, Now he had taken a Farme that would feed his *Iemoglans*. Amongst other commodities which this earth doth yeeld, and are fetcht from hence by forrainers, Sugar, Flaxe, Rice, all manner of Graine, Linnen-cloth, Hides, Salt, But-targo, and Cassia, being now the principall.

Whatsoeuer here is estimable, proceedeth from the munificency of this Riuer; for progresse, and property of all other the most excellent: vnto former ages, though often attempted, (and that by great Potentates) of an vndiscovered originall,

Four miles below *Cairo*, it divideth into two maine and nauigable branches; that next the East running into the Mid-land Sea by *Damiata* (heretofore *Pelusium*;) the other inclining vnto the West, and formerly called *Canopus*, falleth into the selfe-same Sea a little below *Rosetta*, making of the richest portion of the Land a triangular Iland, named *Delta*, in that it beareth the forme of that letter; the fresh water keeping together, and changing the colour of the Salt, farre further into the Sea, then the shoare from thence can be discerned. Two other branches there be that runne betweene these, but poore in waters; besides diuers channels cut by the labour of man, for conueiances in the time of the inundation; which also are no small strengthning to the Countrey. Of those seuen mentioned by *Herodotus*, and those nine by *Ptolomy*, these are all that I either saw or could heare of. Nor is it a thing extraordinarie for Riuer to lose their channels, either choaked by themselves, or by the aduerse Seas, with beds of Sand, and turned vp grauell resisting their passages. But amongst the hidden mysteries of Nature, there is none more wonderfull, then is the ouerflowing of this Riuer; making of a meere Desart (for such is *Egypt* vnwatered by *Nilus*) the most fruitfull part of the habitable world, little when others are great, and their decreate increaseth.

Not tide to lawes of other streames; the Sunne.

When farthest off, thy streames then poorest runne.

Intemperate heauen to temper, midst of heate;

Vnder the burning Zone, bid to grow great.

Then Nile assists the world; lest fire should quell

The earth: and makes his high-borne waters swell

Against the Lions flaming iawes——

Inde etiam leges aliarum nescit aquarum:

Nec tunc hybernus quum longe Sole remoto

Officijs caret vnda suis, date iussus iniquo

Temperiem celo, medijs æstatibus exit.

Sub torrente plaga, ne terras dissipet ignis

Nilus ad est mundo, contraque accensa leonis

Ora tunc——*Lucan. l. 10.*

The earth then burnt with the violent feruour, neuer refreshed with raine (which here falls rarely and then onely in the Winter) hath helpe from *Nilus*, most constantly obseruing his accustomed seasons, beginning to arise with the arising Sunne on the seuenteenth of Iune; swelling by degrees vntill it mount sometimes foure and twentie cubits, but that the vttermoist.

This year * at *Cairo* it rise three and twentie. About two miles about the Citie, at the end of old *Cairo*, in the beginning of August they cut the bankes; then when ascended vnto his principall height; before kept in, lest that the too timely deluge should destroy the fruites of the earth ere fit to be reaped. At which the *Bassa* is himselfe in person (who giueth the first stroke) accompanied with a world of people, rowed in Gallies and Barges of triumph, and for diuers dayes feasting: the *Bassa* in the Castle of *Michia*, an Iland surrounded with *Nile* (so called, in that there the Pillar doth stand, by which they obserue the increase of the Riuer) others vnder Pavilions pitched by the shoare, with barbarous solemnities, and generall reioycings. At their returne they are met by those of the Citie, who bestrew their heads with flowers, as the welcome forerunners of that they long wished. They turned in water following them at the heeles; boats now rowed, where but now they trampled, filling the dustie trenches and long emptied Cisternes: and a while after couering in many places the superficies of the land, which there then appeareth as a troubled Lake. Antwerable to the increase of the Riuer, is the plentie or scarcitie of the yeare succeeding, bringing with it both earth and water into a sandie and thirstie soile, of it selfe vnprofitable: so that it as well manures as moistens, with the fat and pregnant slime which it leaueth behind it. Vnto which they owe not their riches onely, but themselves. For the plague which here oft miserably rageth, vpon the first of the flood doth instantly cease: insomuch as when five hundred die at *Cairo* the day before, which is nothing rare (for the sound keepe companie with the sicke, holding death fatall, and to auoid them irreligion) not one doth die the day following. Wherefore no maruell though ignorant and superstitious antiquitie, vnder the name of *Osiris* adored this Riuer, which afforded them so many benefits, and such as not apprehended were thought supernaturall. Thus where couered with water, it is no vnpleasant sight to behold the Townes appearing like little Ilands; the people passing and repassing by boate, and not seldome swimming: who the lesse they see of their Countrey, the more is their comfort. About the midst of September it ceaseth to augment: and retiring a moneth after within his proper bounds, giueth way vnto Husbandrie (the earth vntilled, by throwing the Graine on the mud, and Rice into the water, affording her first increase) vntill May decreasing, and then in a marueilous penurie of water. To proue that it proceedeth from a naturall cause, this one, though strange, yet true experiment will suffice. Take of the earth of *Egypt* adioyning to the Riuer, and preferue it carefully, that it neither come to be wet nor wasted; weigh it daily, and you shall find it neither more nor lesse heauie vntill the seuenteenth of Iune, at which day it beginneth to grow more ponderous, and augmenteth with the augmentation of the riuer, whereby they haue an vnfallible knowledge of the state of the Deluge: proceeding without doubt from the humiditie of the Aire, which hauing a recourse through all passible places, and mixing therewith, increaseth the same as it increaseth in moysture. In the tenth and eleuenth yeare of *Cleopatra*, it is by Wri-

* He began his journey, 1610. They cut it againe in the halfe way betweene *Cairo* and *Rosetta*.

Pethaps rather ceasing vpon Sunnes entering into *Leo*, as it doth at *Aleppo*, and elsewhere in those parts. A vulgar experiment generally affirmed: as by *Alinus in Med. Egypt. l. 4. c. 8.* who long liued here, vpon the the testimonies of *Paulus Marcitus* the French Consul, *Baptiste Elianus* a Iesuite, and *Iohn Varot* an Englishman

ters

ters of those times for a certainty affirmed, that the *Nilus* increased not; which two yeares defect prognosticated the fall of two great Potentates, *Cleopatra* and *Anthony*. Many ages before, *Callimachus* reports, that it did the like for nine yeares together. From the same cause, no question, but that seven yeares dearth proceeded in the time of *Pharao*.

It also produceth abundance of Fish, in shape and qualitie much differing from ours: but by reason of the muddy channell, not altogether sauerie nor wholesome.

Palmetrees.

Male and Female.

Wood sold by weight.

Paper-sedge.

* Having the stamp with the Sultany, the name of *Cairo* added where it is coined: of better value in that of finer gold by two or three Aspers.

1610.

The Bassas severe iustice.

Theeues, how punished.

Throughout this Countrey there are no Wines, yet want they none, in that they desire them not. Neither are here any trees to speake of, but such as are planted, and those in Orchards only: excepting Palmes, which delight in Desarts; and being naturally theirs, doe grow without limits. Of these they haue plenty, pleasing the eye with their goodly formes, and with diuersitie of benefits enriching their owners. Of body straight, high, round, and slender (yet vnfit for buildings) crested about, and by meanes thereof with facilitie ascended. The branches like Sedges, slit on the neather side, and euer greene; growing onely on the vppermost height, resemble faire plumes of feathers, which they yearely prune, by lopping off the lowest, and at the top of all by bearing a little of the bole. Of these there be male and female, both thrust forth cods (which are full of seeds like knotted strings) at the roote of their branches, but the female is onely fruitfull; and not so, vnlesse growing by the male (towards whose vpright growth she inclines her crowne) and haue of his seedes commixed with hers; which in the beginning of March they no more faile to doe, then to sow the earth at accustomed seasons. Their Dates doe grow like fingers, and are thereof named; not ripe vntill the fine of December, which begin to cod about the beginning of February. They open the tops of such as are fruitlesse, or otherwise perisht; and take from thence the white pith, of old called the braine, which they sell vp and downe: an excellent sallad, not much vnlike in taste, but farre better then an Artichoke. Of the branches they make Bed-steads, Lattices, &c. of the web of the Leaues, Baskets, Mats, Fans, &c. of the outward huske of the Cod, good Cordage; of the inward, Brushes, &c. such and such like affoord they yearely without empaire to themselves. This tree they held to be the perfect image of a man, and by the same represented him: First, for that it doth not fructifie, but by coiture: next, as hauing a Braine, as it were, in the vppermost part; which once corrupted, as man, euen so it perisheth: and lastly, in regard that on the top thereof grow certaine strings, which resemble the haire; the great ends of the branches appearing like hands stretcht forth, and the Dates as fingers. And because the Palme is neuer to be suppressed, but shooteth vp against all opposition, the boughs thereof haue been proposed as rewards for such as were either victorious in armes or exercises. Wood then is here but scarce in regard of the quantitie; and yet enough, if their vses for the same be considered. For they eate but little flesh (fresh Cheese, fowre Milke made solid, Roots, Fruits and Herbs, especially *Colocasia*, anciently called the *Egyptian* Beane, though bearing no Beane, but like the leafe of a Colewort, being their principal sustenance; baking their bread in Cakes on the harth, and mingling therewith the seeds of Coriander.) As for cold, they know it not; hauing sufficient of the refuse of Palmes, Sugar-canes, and the like, to furnish them with fuell, answerable to their necessities. But forrainers that feed as in colder Countries, doe buy their Wood by weight, which is brought in hither by shipping. The Gallions also of *Constantinople*, alwaies goe into the Blacke Sea for timber, before they take their voyage for *Cairo*. Omit I must not the sedge reeds which grow in the Marishes of *Egypt*, called formerly *Papyri*, of which they made paper; and whereof ours made of rags, assumeth that name. They diuided it into thin flakes, whereinto it naturally parteth: then laying them on a table, and moistning them with the glutinous water of the Riuer, they prest them together, and so dried them in the Sunne. It is now gouerned by a *Bassa* who hath his residence in *Cairo*, and commandeth as an absolute Soueraigne; vnder whom are sixteene *Sanjacks*, and a hundred thousand *Spacheis*. The reuenues of this little Countrey amounting to three Millions of * *Shariffes*. The Great *Turke* hauing one (*viz.* foure hundred thousand disbursed yearely in Sugar and Rice, and sent to *Constantinople*; the residue sent ouer-land with a guard of sixe hundred Souldiers, for feare of the *Florentine*;) another Million is spent in payes, and in setting forth the *Caruan* vnto *Mecha*; the third hee hath for the supportance of his owne estate, and entertainment of his dependents. But this is little in regard of that which was raised thereof in the reigne of *Auletes*, who receiued seven Millions and a halfe of Crownes; much more supposed to haue yeilded to the more prouident *Romanes*.

The *Bassa* now being, and called *Mahomet*, is a man well stricken in yeares, of a fowre and inflexible nature. At his first entrance hee cut off the heads of foure thousand *Spacheis*, that had borne themselves too insolently, and committed many outrages and extortions. Hee sent the great men that bore ouermuch sway vnto *Constantinople*; those that refused to goe, he caused to be strangled, vsing the aide of the *Arabians* (who iustly hated the other) in all his executions. If a robbrie be committed, and the theeues escape, such as are appointed to guard those quarters, do suffer in their stead; insomuch as often they attach poore innocents when they cannot apprehend the guiltie, to deliuer themselves from punishment: boring holes through the condemneds armes, stretcht wide on staues, in which are Candles stucke, that burne downe into the flesh, and

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are led in that manner through the Citie vnto the place of execution. Others are stript of their skinnies, yet liue in horrible torment so long as the Executioners Steele offends not the Nauell. Drunkenesse is punished with death; and all disorders so seuerely lookt into, that I thinke in no other place you shall see so few amongst such a multitude of people. The malice his rigour procured, had caused himsele to confine himsele to the Castle for a twelue-moneth, before our comming to *Cairo*: but his gouernment is so well approued by the *Grand Signior*, that to doe him the more honour, he hath giuen him his daughter in marriage, a childe of foure yeares old, which hath beene solemnized with all possible Ceremonies. One thing more is in him prayse-worthy; that hee will hardly suffer a Christian to turne *Mahometan*, either out of the dislike
 10 of his owne Religion, or knowing well that they doe it onely for commoditie and preferment.

Those that now inhabit the Countrey, are for the most part *Moores*. *Turkes* there are many, and *Jewes*, which reside onely in Cities. Store of *Arabians*, and not a few *Negroes*. Of Christians, the natiue *Copties* are the most in number: some *Greekes* there bee, and a few *Armenians*.

The *Egyptian Moores* (descended of the *Arabians*, and vnderstanding each other) are men of a meane stature, tawnie of complexion, and spare of bodie, shrill tongued, and nimble footed; naturally indutrious, affecting more their profit then their ease; yet know they not how to liue of a little, as in nothing riotous. Rather craftie they are then wise; more obseruant then
 20 faithfull, by much more deuout then the *Turkes* in the *Mahometan* Religion. In Learning they are vtterly ignorant. Amongst them none are Noble: few admitted to the Souldiery, (nor suffered in Townes to weare Weapons) not any to Magistracie. In Cities the best of them exercise Merchandize: rich by meanes of their Trafficke with the *Indians*; yet that decayed since our East *Indian* Voyages: insomuch, as Spices brought out of the *Leuant* heretofore, are now with profit brought thither by our Merchants. In habit they differ little from the *Turkes*, excepting
 30 some of the yonger sort, who weare side Coates of Linnen (the ancient habit of that Countrey) girt to their waistes, and Towels throwne about their neckes of the same. Diuers of the *Negroes* weare Vests like Surplices. Those of the poorest, long Garments of Hayre, streakt blacke and white; in the winter, side Coates of Cotten. The Beggars by singing, both get reliefe, and comfort their pouertie, playing withall vpon Drummes which are fashioned like Siues.

A number here be afflicted with sore eyes, eyther by the reflecting heate, the salt dust of the soyle, or excessiue Venerie: for the Pockes is vncredibly frequent amongst them. The women when out of their houses, are wrapt from the crowne of the head to the foot in ample Robes of Linnen, spreading their armes vnderneath to appeare more corpulent: for they thinke it a speciall excellencie to be fat; and most of them are so; so in frequenting the *Bannias* for certayne dayes together, wherein they vse such dyet and frictions, as daily vse confirmeth for effectually. They couer their faces with black Cypresse bespotted with red. Their vnder garments of lighter
 40 stoffes then the *Turkish*, not differing in fashion. The better sort weare hoopcs of Gold and Silver about their armes, and aboue their ancles: others of Copper, with Peecces of Coyne halfe couering their fore-heads, and plates hung about their neckes, &c. Both men and women doe brand their armes for the loue of each other. Diuers of the women haue I seene with their chinnes distayned into knots and flowres of blue, made by pricking of the skinne with Needles, and rubbing it ouer with Inke and the Iuyce of an herbe, which will neuer weare out againe. They haue quicke and easie labour, bearing heretofore often two, and sometimes three at a burthen: those also borne in the eighth moneth liuing, rarely if else-where heard of. In the adioyning Deserts of Saint *Macario*, a Plant there is, low, leauelisse, browne of colour, branched like Corall, and closed at the top, this in the time of the labour of women, they set in water in some corner of the roome, which strangely displayeth, procuring (as they generally coniecture) easie deliueries. The Countrey people doe follow Husbandry. They are not long in
 50 dressing themselues, being onely wrapt in a russet Mantle: nor haue the women any better couerture, hiding their faces with beastly clouts, hauing holes for their eyes; which little is too much to see, and abstayne from lothing. Ouer their shashes the men weare rounds of stifened russet, to defend their braines from their piercing feruour. A people breathes not more sauage and nastie, crufted with dirt, and stinking of smoke, by reason of the * fuell, and their houses * *Stercus bouum* which haue no Chimnies. Some of them dwell vnder beggerly Tents, and those esteemed of the old Inhabitants.

But the *Copties* are the true *Egyptians*, retayning the name of *Coptus* that ancient Citie and Territorie, a litle below, and on that side the Riuer where once stood *Thebes*, against the lland
 60 of the *Tenterites*. The name signifieth Priuation, so called, for that there *Isis* cut off a locke of her Hayre, and put on funerall Garments for the death of *Osiris*. Others will haue them so called in regard of their Circumcision. These, as I said, are Christians, notwithstanding they are circumcised, whereof they now begin to bee ashamed; saying, that in the Countrey they are thereunto compelled by the *Moores*; and in Cities where secure from violence, they vse it not; how-

Drunkenesse
punished with
death.

The Moores.

Their apparell.

The women.

* *Stercus bouum*

The Christians
called com-
monly and
corruptly
Copties.

howbeit, doing it rather in that an ancient custome of their Nation (mentioned by *Herodotus*) then out of Religion. They were infected with that heresie of one nature in Christ, long before *Iacobus* (of whom now named, and of whom wee shall speake hereafter) divulged it in *Syria*.

Their Christi-
anity & rites.

At this day they professe him to be perfect God and perfect man; yet dare not distinguish his natures, for feare of diuiding his person. They baptize not their Children vntill fortie dayes old. Presently after mid-night they repayre to their Churches, where they remaine wel-nigh vntill Sunday at noone; during which time, they neither sit nor kneele, but support themselves vpon crutches. The Priest is veiled and vested in Linnen, hauing two or three Boyes appparelled alike, and sequestred from the rest of the people, to assist him; for they conferre inferiour Orders vpon 10 children. They sing ouer most part of the Psalms of *Dauid* at euery meeting, with diuers parcels of the Old and New Testaments; the latter, as written by *Nicomedes*: some in the *Copticke* Language, vnderstood but by few, most in the *Moresco*. Often both Priest and people conioyned in Sauage noyses, to our iudgements not articulate. The Priest not seldome eleuating a red cloth (vnder which, I suppose, was the Sacrament) which they administer in both kinds, and giue it to Infants presently after Baptisme. In their Churches they haue the Picture of our Sauiour, and the blessed Virgin; but not ouer their Altars; nor for any thing I could perceiue, doe they reuerence them.

In certaine Chests they preserue the bones and ashes of such as haue turned *Mahometan*, and afterward recanted; for which they haue suffered Martyrdome. At their entrance they kisse 20 their hands, and lay them vpon one another: the women in grated Galleries separated from the men. Extreame Vnction, Prayer for the Dead, and Purgatory, they admit not of. The *Romane* Church they hold for Hereticall, and reiect all generall Councils, after that of *Ephesus*. Yet a multitude of late haue beene drawne to receiue the Popish Religion (especially in *Cairo*) by the industry of Friars, hauing had the *Romane* Liturgie sent them from *Rome*, together with the Bible, in the *Arabecke* Language. Of *Alexandria* hath their Patriarke his name, but his abode is in *Cairo*. Sixe dayes iourney about *Cairo* vp the Riuer, they haue a great Citie, called *Saiet*; where Christ, with his mother, is said to haue made their abode vntill the death of *Herod*: vnto which, growing old and sickly, they repaire, as desirous to die 30 there: where there is a goodly Church, though something ruinous, built by *Hellen* the mother of *Constantine*, and consecrated to the blessed Virgin. They neuer eate in the day time during the Lent, but on Saturdayes and Sundayes. They weare round Caps, Towels about their neckes, and gownes with wide sleeues of Cloth, and Stuffs lesse ponderous. These liue in more subiection then the *Moores*, by reason of their Religion, and pay yerely a certaine summe for their heads to the *Bassa*. Ignorant in the excellencies of their ancestors, but retaining their vices. Some of them professe some knowledge in Magicke, being but Iuglers, compared with the former, by whom such miracles were effected.

Patriarke of
Alexandria.

Fasting.

* Alexandria.

The Lake *Mardotis* afforded another Hauen vnto the Citie, * then that of the Sea more profitable: by reason of the commodities of *India*, the *Arabian* Gulph, and vp-land parts of *Egypt*, brought downe by the conueniency of that passage by Channels now vtterly ruined. And 40 the same by a narrow cut was ioyned vnto another Lake, farre lesse, and neerer the Sea, which at this day too plentifully furnisheth all *Turkie* with Salt-peter. Betweene the lesse Lake and the Citie, there passeth an artificiall channell which serueth them with water (for they haue no wells) in the time of the deluge, conueyed by Conduits into ample Cisterns (now most of them Fennie for want of vse, an occasion of much sickenesse in the summer) and so preserued vntill the succeeding overflow. For *Alexandria* is all built vpon vaults, supported with carued pillars one aboue another, and lined with stone; insomuch, as no small proportion thereof lay concealed in earth, consider we either of the Coast or quantity.

Such was this Queene of Cities and Metropolis of *Africa*: who now hath nothing left 50 her but ruines; and those ill witnesses of his perished beauties: declaring rather, that Townes as well as men, haue their ages and destinies. Onely those wals remaine which were founded (as some say) by *Ptolomie*: one within another, imbatled, & garnished with threescore & eight Turrets; rather stately then strong, if compared with the moderne. Yet these, by the former descriptions, and ruines without appeare to haue immured but a part of the Citie. After that destroyed by the *Saracens*, it lay for a long time waste, vntill a *Mahometan* Priest, pronouncing (as he said, out of *Mahomet's* prophesies) indulgences to such as should re-edifie, inhabite, or contribute money thereunto, within certaine dayes, did in a short season repeople it. But a latter destruction it receiued by the *Cypriots*, *French*, and *Venetians*, about the time that *Lewis* the fourth 60 was enlarged by the *Sultans*, who surprised the Citie with a marueilous slaughter. But hearing of the approach of the *Sultan*, (who had raised a great army for their reliefe) despairing to maintaine it, they set it on fire, and departed. The *Sultan* repairing the wals as well as he could, built this Castle that now stands on the *Pharus* for the defence of the Hauen; and brought it to the state wherein it remaineth. Sundry Mountaines are raised of the ruines, by Christians not

to

to be mounted; lest they should take too exact a suruey of the Citie: in which are often found (especially after a shower) rich stones, and medals engrauen with the figures of their Gods, and men, with such perfection of Art; as these now cut, seeme lame to those, and vniuely counterfeits. On the top of one of them stands a watch-tower, where continuall centinell is kept, to giue notice of approaching sailes. Of Antiquities there are few remainders: onely Hieroglyphicall Obeliske of *Theban* Marble, as hard wel-nigh as *Porphir*, but of a deeper red, and speckled alike, called *Pharoes Needle*, standing where once stood the Palace of *Alexander*: and another lying by, and like it, halfe buried in rubbidge. Without the walls on the South-west side of the Citie, on a little hill stands a Columne of the same, all of one stone, eightie fixe Palmes high, and
 10 thirty fixe in compasse, the Palme consisting of nine inches and a quarter, according to the measure of *Genoa*, as measured for *Zigal Bassa* by a *Genones*, set vpon a square cube (and which is to be wondered at) not halfe so large as the foot of the Pillar, called by the *Arabians*, *Hemadeslaeor*, which is, the Columne of the *Arabians*. They tell a Fable, how that one of the *Ptolomies* erected the same in the furthest extent of the Hauen, to defend the Citie from Nauall incursions: ha-
 20 uing placed a Magicall glasse of Steele on the top, of vertue (if vncovered) to set on fire such ships as sailed by. But subuerted by them, the glasse lost that power, who in this place re-erected the Columne. But by the Westerne Christians it is called the pillar of *Pompey*: and is said to haue bene reared by *Cesar*, as a memoriall of his *Pompeian* Victory. The Patriarke of *Alexandria* hath here a house adioyning to a Church, which stands (as they say) in the place
 30 where Saint *Marke* was buried, their first Bishop and Martyr: who in the dayes of *Traian*, haled with a rope tied about his neck, vnto the place, called *Angeles*, was there burned for the testimonie of Christ, by the idolatrous *Pagans*. Afterward his bones were remoued to *Venice* by the *Venetians*, he being the Saint and Patron of that Citie. There be at this day two Patriarkes, one of the *Greeks*; another of the *Circumcised*, the vniuersall Patriarke of the *Copties* and *Abas-
 40 fines*. The name of the *Greeke* Patriarke now being, is *Cyril*, a man of approued vertue and learning, a friend to the reformed Religion, and opposing the contrary; saying, that the differences betweene vs and the *Greekes*, be but shels; but that those are Kernels betweene them and the other. Of whom something more shall be spoken hereafter. The buildings now being, are meane and few, erected on the ruines of the former: that part that lieth along the shoare inhabited onely, the rest desolate: the walls almost quadrangular; on each side a gate, one opening
 50 towards *Nilus*; another regards *Mariotis*; the third, the Desarts of *Barcha*; and the fourth, the Hauen. Inhabited by *Moores*, *Turkes*, *Iewes*, *Copties*, and *Grecians*; more in regard of Merchandize, (for *Alexandria* is a Free Port, both for friend and enemy) then for the conueniency of the place: seated in a Desart, where they haue neither Tillage nor Pasturage, except what borders on the Lake; that little, and vnhusbanded: yet keepe they good store of Goats, that haue eares hanging downe to the ground, which feed amongst ruines. On the Ile of *Pharus*, now a part of the Continent, there stands a Castle, defending the entrance of the Hauen; which hath no water but what is brought vpon Camels from the Cisterns of the Citie: this, at
 60 our comming in, as is the vse, we saluted with our Ordnance. As many of vs as came ashore, were brought to the Custome-house, to haue our selues and our valeifas searched: where ten in the hundred is to be paid for whatsoeuer we haue, and that in kind, onely money payes, but one and a halfe; whereof they take an exact account, that thereby they may aime at the value of returned commodities; then paying eleuen in the hundred more, euen for such goods as are in property vnaltered. At so high a rate is this free traffique purchased, the *Mahumetan* here paying as much as the Christian. The Customes are framed by the *Iewes*, paying for the same vnto the *Bassa* twenty thousand * Madeins a day, thirty of them amounting to a Ryall of eight. Wee lodged in the house of the *French* Consul, vnto whose protection all strangers commit themselves. The Cane lockt vp by the *Turkes* at noones and at nights, for feare that the *Franks* should suffer or offer any outrage. The Vice-consul keeps a table for Merchants, he himselfe a
 70 *Magnifico*, lesse liberall of his presence, then industrious to pleasure; yea, rather stately then proud; expecting respect, and meriting good will: that was a Priest, and would be a Cardinall; with the hopes whereof, they say, that he feasteth his ambition. By him we were prouided of a *Ianifary* for our guard vnto *Cairo*: his hire, fise peeces of gold, besides his owne diet and his mans, with prouision of Powder. For our Asses (not inferiour in this Countrey vnto horses for trauell) halfe a Shariffe a peece, for our Camels a whole one. At the gate they tooke a Madein a head, for our selues and our Asses, so indifferently doe they prise vs: through which wee could not passe without a *Tescaria* from the *Cadee*, the principall officer of this Citie.

Pharos Needle

Pompeii pillar

Two Patriarks
Cyrill the Pa-
triarke his
saying.

Customes.

A coyne of sil-
uer that weblet
the Asper for
value.The Vice-consul.
Cyrill the
Patriarke.Letting in of
the River
drawn up by
Bellefou.

§. II.

His Iourney to Cairo, the things remarkeable there, and by the way.

A Desart.

Matter of
Christall
Glasses.

Rosetta.

Or rather in
the Hungarian.Breadth of
Nilus.Cut of the
Riuer.Letting in of
the Riuer
drawne vp by
Buffoloes.Elough is their
naming of
God, as we be-
gin, In Gods
Name.

ON the second of February in the afternoone, we vndertooke our Iourney: passing through a Desart, producing here and there a few ynhusbanded Palmes, Capers, and a weed called *Kall* by the *Arabs*. This they vse for fuel, and then collecting the ashes, which crusht together like a stone, they sell them in great quantity to the *Venetians*, who equally mixing the same with the stones that are brought them from *Pania* by the Riuer of *Ticinum*, made thereof their Christaline Glasses. On the left hand we left diuers ruinous buildings: one said to haue been the Royall mansion of *Cleopatra*. Beyond which, *Bucharis*, once a little, but ancient Citie, now onely shewing her foundations, where grow many Palmes which sustaine the wretched people that lue thereabout in beggerly Cottages; where on a Rock stands a Tower, affording light by night to the sailer, the place being full of danger. Anon we passed by a guard of Souldiers, there placed for the securing of that passage, paying a *Madein* for euerie head. Seuen or eight miles beyond, we ferried ouer a Creeke of the sea. On the other side stands a handsome Cane, not long since built by a *Moore* of *Cairo* for the reliefe of Trauellers, containing a quadrangle within, and arched vnderneath. Vnder one of these wee reposed; the stones our beds, our fardels the bolsters. In such like places they vnloade their merchandize, refreshing themselves and their Camels with prouision brought with them, secured from theeues and violence. Giuing a trifle for Oyle, about midnight we departed, hauing here met with good store of company, such as allowed traouelling with their matches light, and prepared to receiue all onsets. The *Moores* to keepe themselves awake, would tell one tale a hundred times ouer. By the way againe we should haue paid *Caphar*, but the benefit of the night excused vs. Trauelling along the Sea shoare, and at length a little inclining on the right hand, before day we entred *Rosetta*, repairing to a Cane belonging to the *Frankes*. Our best entertainment an vnder-roome, musty, without light, and the vnwholsome floore to lie vpon.

This Citie stands vpon the principall brance of the *Nile*, (called heretofore *Canophus*) which about some three miles beneath dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. Hauing here (as at *Damiata*) his entrance crossed with a barre of Sand, changing according to the changes of winds, and beating of the Surges, insomuch, that the *Ierbies* that passe ouer, are made without keeles, hauing flat and round bottoms. A Pilot of the Towne there sounding all the day long, by whose directions they enter, and that so close vnto him, that one leapes out of that boate into the other to receiue pilotage, and returneth swimming. The *Ierbies* that can passe ouer this barre, may, if well directed, proceed vnto *Cairo*. *Rosetta* (called *Rasid* by the *Egyptians*) perhaps deriued of *Ros*, which signifieth *Rice* in the *Turkish* Tongue, and so named for the abundance that it vttereth (they here shealing monethly three hundred quarters) was built by the slaue of an *Egyptian Caliph*. The houses are all of Brick, not old, yet seeming ancient: flat-rooft, as generally all bee in these hotter Countries (for the *Moores* vse much to lie on the tops of their houses) ietting ouer aloft like the poores of ships, to shadow the streets that are but narrow, from the Sunnes reflections. Not small, yet of small defence; being destitute of walls, and other fortifications. I thinke no place vnder heauen is better furnished with Graine, Flesh, Fish, Sugar, fruites, Rootes, &c. Raw hides are here a principall commoditie, from hence transported into *Italy*.

The next day but one that followed, we embarked for *Cairo* in a *Ierbie*, vnto which seuen water men belonged, which we hired for twelue Dollars. This Arme of the *Nile* is as broad at *Rosetta*, as *Thames* about *Tilbury*, streightning by little and little: and then in many places so shallow, that oft we had much adoe to free our selues from the flats that had ingaged vs: the water being euer thicke, as if lately troubled; and passing along with a mute and vnspeedy current. Ten miles about *Rosetta*, is that cut of the Riuer which runnes to *Alexandria*. By the way wee often bought as much Fish for sixe pence, as would haue satisfied twentie. On each side of the Riuer stands many Townes, but of no great esteeme, for the most part opposite, built partly of Brick, and partly of Mud; many of the poorer houses appearing like Bee-hiues, seated on little Hills throwne vp by the labour of man, to preserue them and their Cattell in the time of the ouerflow. Vpon the bankes all along are infinite numbers of deepe and spacious Vaults, into which they doe let the Riuer, drawing vp the water into higher Cisterns, with wheelles set round with Pitchers, and turned about by *Buffoloes*: from whence it runnes along little trenches, made vpon the ridges of banks, and so is conueied into their seuerall grounds, the Countrie lying all in a leuell. The winds blew seldome fauourable, insomuch as the poore *Moores* for most part of the way were enforced to hale vp the boate, often wading about their middles to deliuer it from the shallowes. At euery enforcing of themselves (as in all their labours) crying *Elough*, perswaded that God is neare them when they name him, the diuell farre off, and all impediments lessened. Of these it is strange to see such a number of broken persons, so being by reason

of their strong labour and weake food. The pleasant walkes which we had on the shoare, made our lingring passage lesse tedious. The fruitfull soyle possessing vs with wonder; and early maturitie of things, there then as forward as with vs in Iune, who beginne to reape in the ending of March.

The Sugar Canes serued our hands for staues; and feasted our tastes with their Liquor. By the way we met with Troupes of Horsemen, appointed to cleere those passages from Theeues, whereof there are many, who also rob by water in little Frigats. Which made our carefull *lan- zary* (for so are most in their vndertaken charges) assisted by two other (to whom wee gaue their passage, who otherwise would haue taken it) nightly to keepe watch by turnes, discharging their Harquebuses in the euening, and hanging out kindled matches, to terrifie the Theeues, and testifie their vigilancie. Five dayes now almost spent since we first embarked, an houre before Sun-set we sayled by the Southerne angle of *Delta*: where the River deuideth into another branch, not much inferiour vnto this, the East bounds of that Iland (which whether of *Asia* or *Africa* is yet to be decided) entring the Sea (as hath beene said before) below *Damietta*. Proceeding vp the river, about twilight we arrived at *Bolac* the Port Town to *Cairo*, and nor two miles distant: where euery *Frank* at his landing is to pay a Dollar. Leauing our carriages in the Boat, within night we hired sixe Asses with their driuers for the value of sixe pence, to conduct vs vnto *Cairo*, where by an *English Merchant* we were kindly entertayned, who fed and housed vs gratis.

This Citie is seated on the East side of the Riuer, at the foote of the rockie mountaine *Muc- sac*: winding therewith, and representing the forme of a crescent, stretching South and North with the adioyning Suburbs, siue *Italian* miles; in breadth scarce one and a halfe where it is at the broadest: the walles (if it be walled) rather seeming to belong vnto priuate houses then otherwise. Yet is the Citie of a marueilous strength, as appeared by that three dayes battell carried through it by *Selimus*, and maintained by a poore remainder of the *Mamlucks*. For the streets are narrow, and the houses high-built, all of stone well nigh to the top, at the end almost of each a Gate, which shut (as nightly they are) make euery street as defensue as a Castle. The houses more beautifull without, then commodious within, being ill contriued with comber- some passages. Yet are the roofes high pitch, and the vppermost lightly open in the middest to let in the comfortable aire. Flat, and plaistred aboue: the walls surmounting their roofes, com- monly of single bricks (as are many of the walls of the vppermost stories) which ruined aboue, to such as stand aloft afford a confused spectacle, and may be compared to a Grove of flourishing Trees that haue onely seere and perished Crownes. Their Lockes and Keyes bee of wood; euen vnto doores that are plated with Iron. But the priuate buildings are not worth the mention, if compared to the publike, of which the *Mosques* exceed in magnificencie: the stones of many being curiously carued without, supported with Pillars of Marble, adorned with what Art can deuile, and their Religion tollerate. Yet differ they in forme from those of *Constantino- ple*: some being square with open roofes in the middle of a huge proportion, the couered Circle Tarrast aboue: others stretching out in length, and many fitted vnto the place where they stand. One built (and that the greatest) by *Gehor*, called *Gemith Hashare*: hee being named *Hashare* by the *Caliph*, which signifieth *Noble*. Of these in this Citie there is reported to bee such a number, as passes beliefe, so that I list not name it.

Adioyning vnto them are lodgings for *Santons*, (which are fooles, and mad men) of whom we haue spoken already. When one of them dye, they carry his body about in procession with great reioycings, whose soule they suppose to bee rapt into Paradise. Heere bee also diuers goodly Hospitals, both for building, reuenue, and attendance.

Next to these in beautie are the Great mens *Serraglios*. By which if a Christian ride they will pull him from his Ass (for they prohibit vs Horses as not worthy to bestride them) with indignation and contumely. The streets are vn timer, and exceeding dirtie after a shower (for here it rayneth sometimes in the winter contrary to the receiued opinion, and then most subiect to plagues) ouer which many beames are laid athwart on the tops of houses, and couered with Mats to shelter them from the Sunne. The like couerture there is betweene two high *Mos- ques* in the principall street of the Citie, vnder which when the *Basha* passeth, or others of qualitie, they shoot vp arrowes, which sticke aboue in abundance. The occasion of that custome I know not. During our abode in the Citie fell out the Feast of their little *Byram*, when in their priuate houses they slaughter a number of sheepe; which cut in gobbets, they distribute vnto their slaues and poorer sort of people, besmearing the doores with their blood: perhaps in imitation of the *Passeouer*.

The *Nile* (a mile distant) in the time of the inundation, by sundry channels flowes into the Citie. When these channels grow emptie, or the water corrupted, they haue it brought thence forth from the Riuer by Camels. For although they haue many Wels, yet is the water bad, and good for no other vse then to coole the streets, or to cleanse their houses. In the heart of the Towne stands a spacious Caue, which they call the *Beseftan*; in which (as in those at *Constantinople*) are sold all kind of Wares of the finer sort, selling old things by the call, of, who

Fffff

gives

Bolac.

Bountie of an
English Mer-
chant at Cairo.
Cairo describedLockes and
Keyes of wood;Foolcs foolish-
ly admired, and
mad Saints.Contempt of
Christians.
Raine in Egypt.

Little Byram.

- gives more?* imitating therein the *Venetians*, or imitated by them. Three principall gates there be to this Citie, *Bebe Nanfre*, or the Gate of Victorie, opening towards the Redde Sea; *Bab Zueila* leading to *Nilus*, and the old Towne (betweene these the chiefe street of the Citie doth extend) and *Bebel Futuli*, or the Port of Triumph, on the North of the Citie, and opening to the Lake called *Eshykje*. Three sides thereof are inclosed with goodly buildings, hauing galleries of pleasure which iettie ouer, sustayned vpon Pillars. On the other side (now a heape of ruines) stood the stately Pallace of *Dultibe*, Wife to the *Sultan Gaibemus*: in which were doores and Iauces of Iuorie; the walles and pauements checkered with discoloured Marble, Columnes of Porphir, Alabaster, and Serpentine: the feelings flourished with Gold and Azure, and inlayd with *Indian Ebony*, a Tree, which being cut downe, almost equals a stone in hardnesse. In a word, the magnificencie was such as could be deuised or effected by a womans curiositie, and the Purse of a Monarch, leuelled with the ground by *Selymus*; the stones and ornaments thereof were coueyed vnto *Constantinople*. 10
- The Lake.** The Lake both square and large, is but onely a Lake when the Riuer ouer-floweth; ioyned thereunto by a channell, where the *Moores* (rowed vp and downe in Barges, shaded with *Damaskes*, and Stuffed of *India*) accustome to solace themselues in the euening. The water fallen, yet the place rather changeth then loseth his delightfulnesse: affoording the profit of five Harvests in a yeare, together with the pleasure, frequented much in the coole of the day. I cannot forget the iniurie receiued in this place, and withall the iustice. Abused by a beggerly *Moore*, (for such onely will) who then but seemed to begin his knauery, wee were glad to flye vnto another for succour, seeming a man of good sort; and by kissing of his garment, insinuated into his fauour; who rebuked him for the wrong hee did vs. When crossing vs againe, ere wee had gone farre, he vsed vs farre worse then before: we offering to returne to the other, which he fearing, interposed; doing vs much villany to the merriment of the beholders, esteeming of Christians as of Dogges and Infidels. At length we got by, and againe complained. Hee in a maruellous rage made his slaues to pursue him; who caught him, stript him, and beat him with Rods all along the Leuell, calling vs to bee lookers on, and so conueyed him to the place of correction; where by all likelihood he had a hundred blowes on the feet to season his pastimes. Beyond this are a number of stragling houses, extending well-nigh to *Bolac*, which is the Key vnto *Cairo*, a large Towne, and stretching alongst the Riuer; in fashion of building, in some part not much inferiour to the other. Within and without the Citie are a number of delicate Orchards, watered as they doe their fields, in which grow variety of excellent fruits; as Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Apples of Paradise, Sicamor figs, and others, (whose barks they bore full of holes, the trees being as great as the greatest Oakes, the fruit no growing amongst the leanes, but out of the bole and branches) Dates, Almonds, Cassia fistula, (leaued like an Ash, the fruit hanging downe like Saufages) Locust, (flat, and of the forme of a Cycle) Galls growing vpon Tamarix, Apples no bigger then Berries, Plantains that haue a broad flaggie leafe, growing in clusters, and shaped like Cucumers, the rind like a Pescod, solid within, without stones or kernels, to the taste exceeding delicious, (this the *Mahometans* say was the forbidden fruit; which beeing eaten by our first Parents, and their nakednesse discovered vnto them, they made them Aprons of the leaues thereof) and many more, not knowne by name, nor seene by mee else-where: some bearing fruit all the yeare, and almost all of them their leaues. To these adde those whole fields of Palmes (and yet no preiudice to the vnder-growing Corne) of all others most delightfull. 20
- Base knauerie, & good iustice.** In the aforesaid Orchards there are great numbers of Cameleons; yet not easily found, in that neere to the colour of that whereon they sit. A creature about the bignesse of an ordinary Lizard. His head vnproportionably bigge, his eyes great, and moouing without the writhing of his necke which is inflexible, his backe crooked, his skinne spotted with little tumors, lesse eminent as neerer the belly; his tayle slender and long: on each foot he hath five fingers, three on the out-side, and two on the inside slow of pace, but swiftly extending his tongue, of a marvellous length for the proportion of his body, wherewith he preyes vpon Flyes, the top thereof being hollowed by Nature for that purpose. So that deceiued they be who thinke that they eat nothing, but onely liue vpon Ayre; though surely Aire is their principall sustenance. For those that haue kept them for a whole yeare together, could neuer perceiue that they fed vpon any thing else, and might obserue their bellies to swell, after they had exhausted the Ayre, and closed their iawes; which they expanse against the rayes of the Sunne. Of colour Greene, and of a duskey yellow: brighter and whiter towards the belly, yet spotted with blue, white, and red. They change not into all colours, as reported: laid vpon Greene: the Greene predominates; vpon yellow the yellow: but laid vpon blue, or red, or white, the Greene retayneth his hue notwithstanding; onely the other spots receiue a more orient lustre: laid vpon black, they looke black, yet not without a mixture of Greene. All of them in all places are not coloured alike. They are said to beare a deadly hatred to the Serpent, insomuch as when they espie them basking in the Sunne, or in the shade, they will climbe to the ouer-hanging branches, and let downe from their mouthes a thred, like to that of a Spinners, hauing at the end a little round drop, which shineth like Quicksilver, that falling on their heads doth destroy them: and what is more to be 30
- Admirable fertility of fruits, and their variety.** 40
- Plantains supposed supplanters.** 50
- Embleme of good Magistrates.** 60
- Cameleons described at large.** admi-

admired, if the boughes hang not so ouer, that the thred may perpendicularly descend, with their former feet they will so direct it, that it shall fall directly.

Aloft, and neere the top of the Mountaine, against the South end of the Citie, stands the Castle (once the stately Mansion of the *Mameluck Sultans*, and destroyed by *Selymus*) ascended vnto by one way onely, and that hewen out of the Rocke; which rising leisurely with easie steepes and spacious distances, (though of a great height) may bee on horse-backe without difficultie mounted. From the top, the Citie by reason of the Palmes dispersed throughout, appeareth most beautifull; the whole Countrey below lying open to the view. The Castle so great, that it seemeth a Citie of it selfe, immured with high wals, diuided into partitions, and entred by

The Castle.

Marbles mar-
uels.

10 doores of Iron; wherein are many spacious Courts, in times past the places of exercise. The ancient buildings all ruinated, doe onely shew that they haue beene sumptuous; there beeing many Pillars of solid Marble yet standing, of so huge a proportion, that how they came thither is not least to be wondred at. Here hath the *Bassa* his Residence, wherein the *Diuān* is kept, on Sundayes, Mondayes, and Tuesdayes the *Chaufes* as Aduocates, preferring the Suites of their Clients. Fortie *Ianizaries* he hath of his Guard, attyred like those at *Constantinople*, the rest employed about the Countrey, for the most part are not the sonnes of Christians, yet faithfull vnto such as are vnder their charges, whom should they betray, they not onely lose their liues, but also the pay which is due to their Posteritie. Such is this Citie, the fairest in *Turkie*, yet differing from what it was, as from a body beeing young and healthfull, doth the same growne

20 old and wasted with Diseases.

Now *Cairo*, this great Citie is inhabited by *Moores*, *Turkes*, *Negroes*, *Iewes*, *Coptes*, *Greekes*, and *Armenians*: who are here the poorest, and euery-where the honestest; labouring painfully, and liuing soberly. Those that are not subiect to the *Turke*, if taken in warres, are freed from bondage: who are, liue freely, and pay no Tribute of Children as doe other Christians. This priuiledge enioy they, for that a certaine *Armenian* foretold of the greatnesse and glory of *Mahomet*. They once were vnder the Patriarke of *Constantinople*: but about the Heresie of *Eutyches* they fell from his gouernment, and communion with the *Grectans*, whom they detest aboue all other: rebaptizing such as conuert to their Sect. They beleue that there is but one nature in Christ, not by a commixtion of the diuine with the humane, as *Eutyches* taught, but by a

Eutyches

Armenians.

Laonicus Chal-
lib. 3.

30 coniunction, euen as the soule is ioyned to the body. They deny the Reall Presence in the Sacrament, and administer it as the *Coptes* doe: with whom they agree also, concerning Purgatorie, and not praying for the dead: as with the *Greekes*, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father, and that the dead neither doe nor shall feelee ioy or torment vntill the day of Doome.

Their Patriarke hath his being at *Tyberis* in *Persia*: in which Countrey they liue wealchily, and in good estimation. There are three hundred Bishops of that Nation; the Priests marry not twice: eat flesh but five times a yeare, and then lest the people should thinke it a sinne to eate, in regard of their abstinence. They erre that write, that the people abstaine from all meates prohibited by the *Mosaicall Law*; for Hogges flesh they eate where they can, without

40 offence, to the *Mahometans*. They obserue the Lent most strictly, yet eate flesh vpon Fridayes betweene Easter and Whitsontide. As for Images they adore them not. Here they haue their Assemblies in obscure Chambers. Comming in (which was on a Sunday in the after-noone) we found one sitting in the midst of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the rest, reading on a Bible in the *Chaldean Tongue*. Anon the Bishop entred in a Hood and Vest of blacke, with a stasse in his hand, to which they attributed much holinesse. First, hee prayed, and then sung certaine *Psalmes*, assisted by two or three; after all sung ioyntly, at interims praying to themselves: resembling the *Turkes* in the posture of their bodies, and often prostrations: the Bishop excepted; who erecting his hands stood all the while with his face to the Altar. The Seruice ended, one after another doe

50 kisse his hand, and bestow their Almes, he laying the other on their heads, and blessing them. Lastly, prescribeth succeeding Fasts and Festiualls. Where is to be noted, that they fast vpon the Day of the Natiuitie of our Sauour.

Here also is a Monasterie of *Greece Coloieros*, belonging vnto the capitall Monastery of Saint Katherine of Mount *Sina*, from *Cairo* some eight dayes iourney ouer the Deserts; said to bee the daughter of King *Costa*, a King of *Cyprus*, who in the time of *Maxentius* conuerted many vnto Christ. Tortured on a Wheele, and finally beheaded at *Alexandria* (where two goodly Pillars of *Theban Marble* (though halfe swallowed with ruines) preserue the memory of the place,) she was conueyed (as they affirme) by an Angell, and buried in this Mountaine. It hath three tops of a maruellous height: that on the West-side of old called Mount *Horeb*, where God appeared to *Moses* in a bush, fruitfull in pastorage, farre lower, and shadowed when the Sunne ariseth by the middlemost, that whereon God gaue the Law vnto *Moses*. The Monastery stands at the foot of the mountaine, resembling a Castle, with an Iron doore; wherein they shew the Tombe of the Saint much visited by Pilgrims, from whence the top by foureene thousand steps of stone is ascended, where stands a ruined Chappell. A plentifull Spring descendeth from thence

Greekes.

about 1100 f
above sea

101 1000

and watering the Valley below, is againe drunke vp by the thirstie sand. This strong Monasterie is to entertayne all Pilgrims, (for there is no other place of entertainment) hauing an annuall Reuenue of sixtie thousand Dollars from Christian Princes. Of which foundation fixe and twentie other depend, dispersed through diuers Countries. They giue also daily Almes to the *Arabs*, to be the better secured from out-rage. Yet will they not suffer them to enter, but let it downe from the Battlements. Their Orchard aboundeth with excellent Fruites: amongst which Apples, rare in these Countries, transferred from *Damasco*. They are neither subiect to Pope, nor Patriarke, but haue a Superintendent of their owne, at this present in *Cairo*. These here made vs a collation, where I could not but obserue their gulling in of Wine with a deare felicitie, whereof they haue their prouision from *Candy*.

During our abode here, a Caruan went forth with much solemnity, to meet and relieue the great Caruan in their returne from *Meeha*, which consisteth of many thousands of Pilgrims that trauell yeerely thither in deuotion and for Merchandize; euery one with his bandroll in his hand, and their Camels gallantly trickt (the Alcoran carried vpon one, in a precious case couered ouer with needle-worke, and laid on a rich pillow, inuironed with a number of their chanting Priests) guarded by diuers companies of Souldiers, and certaine field peeces. Forty easie dayes Iourney it is distant from hence: diuided by a wildernesse of sand, that lyeth in drifts, and dangerously mooueth with the wind, through which they are guided in many places by starres, as ships in the Ocean.

Egges hatched
by art.

Then *Cairo*, no Citie can be more populous, nor better serued with all sorts of prouision. Here hatch they egges by artificiall heat in infinite numbers, the manner as seene thus briefly. In a narrow entry on each side stood two rowes of Ouens, one ouer another. On the floores of the lower they lay the offals of flaxe; ouer those mats, and vpon them their egges, at least sixe thousand in an Ouen. The floores of the vpper Ouens were as rooffes to the vnder, grated ouer like Kilnes, onely hauing tunnels in the middle, with couers vnto them. These gratings are couered with Mats, on them three inches thicke lyeth the dry and puluerated dung of Camels, Buffoloes, &c. At the hither and farther sides of those vpper Ouens are Trenches of Lome; a handfull deepe, and two handfuls broad. In these they burne of the foresaid dung, which giueth a smothering heat without visible fire. Vnder the mouthes of the vpper Ouens are conueyances for smoke, hauing round roofes, and vents at the top to shut and to open. Thus lye the Egges in the lower Ouens for the space of eight dayes, turned daily, and carefully lookt to that the heate be but moderate. Then cull they the bad from the good, by that time distinguishable (holding them betweene a Lampe and the Eye) which are two parts of three for the most part. Two dayes after they put out the fire, and conuey by the passage in the middle, the one halfe into the vpper Ouens: then shutting all close, they let them alone for ten dayes longer, at which time they become disclosed in an instant. This they practise from the beginning of Ianuary vntill the midst of Iune, the Egges being then most fit for that purpose; neither are they (as reported) preiudiced by Thunder: yet these declare that imitated Nature will neuer be equalled, all of them being in some part defectiue or monstrous.

Most of the Inhabitants of *Cairo* consist of Merchants and Artificers: yet the Merchants frequent no forrein Marts. All of a Trade keepe their shops in one place, which they shut about the houre of foue, and solace themselves for the rest of the day, Cookes excepted, who keepe theirs open till late in the euening. For few, but such as haue great Families dresse meate in their houses, which the men doe buy ready drest; the women too fine fingerd to meddle with housewifry, who ride abroad vpon pleasure on easie-going Asies, and tye their Husbands to the beneuolence that is due; which if neglected, they will complaine to the Magistrate, and procure a Diuorcement. Many practitioners here are in Physick, inuited thereunto by the store of Simples brought hither, and here growing, an Art wherein the *Egyptians* haue excelled from the beginning.

Rue whole-
some.

Fears by birds
and beasts.

See Leo.

A kind of Rue is here much in request, wherewith they perfume themselves in the mornings, not onely as a preseruatiue against infection, but esteeming it preualent against hurtfull spirits. So the *Barbarians* of old accustomed to doe with the Roots of wild Galingal. There are in this Citie, and haue beene of long, a sort of people that doe get their liuings by the shewing of feats with Birds and Beasts, exceeding therein all such as haue beene famous amongst vs. I haue heard a Rauens to speake so perfectly, as it hath amazed me. They vse both their throats and tongues in vttering of sounds, which other Birds doe not, and therefore more fit for that purpose. *Scaliger* the Father, reports of one that was kept in a Monasterie heard by him; which, when hungry, would call vpon *Conrade*, the Cooke, so plainly, as often mistaken for a man. I haue seene them make both Dogges and Goats to set their foure feet on a little turned Pillar of wood, about a foot high, and no broader at the end then the palme of a hand, climbing from one to two, set on the top of one another, and so to the third and fourth; and there turne about as often as their Masters would bid them. They carry also dancing Camels about, taught when young, by setting them on a hot hearth, and playing all the while on an Instrument: the poore beast through the

the extremity of heat lifting vp his feet one after another. This practise they for certaine moneths together, so that at length whensoever he heareth the fiddle, he will fall a dancing. Asles they will teach to doe such tricks, as if possessed with reason : to whom *Banks* his horse would haue proued but a *Zany*.

The time of our departure proroged, we rode to *Matarea*, five miles North-east of the Citie. *Matarea.* By the way we saw land cast vpon the earth, to moderate the fertility. Here they say, that our Sauour, and the blessed Virgin, with *Ioseph*, reposed themselves, as they fled from the fury of *Herod*, when oppressed with thirst, a Fountaine forthwith burst forth at their feet to refresh them. We saw a Well enuironed with a poore mud wall, the water drawne vp by * *Buffolos* in- *Salanicus tom;* *10. cap. 6. dares* to a little Cisterne; from whence it ran into a lauer of Marble within a small Chappell, by the *Moors* (in contempt of Christians) spitefully defiled. In the wall there is a little concaue lined with sweet wood (diminished by affectors of relicks) and smoked with incense: in the sole, a stone of Porphyry, whereon (they say) she did set our Sauour. Of so many thousand Wells (a thing most miraculous) this onely affordeth gustable waters, and that so excellent, that the *Bassa* refuseth the riuer to drinke thereof, and drinks of no other; and when they cease for any time to exhaust it, it sendeth forth of it selfe so plentifull a streame, as able to turne an ouer-fall Mill. Passing through the Chappell, it watereth a pleasant Orchard; in a corner whereof there standeth an ouer-growne fig-tree, which opened (as they report) to receiue our Sauour and his mother, then hardly escaping the pursuers; closing againe till the pursute was past; then againe diuiding, as now it remaineth. A large hole there is through one of the sides of the leaning bulke: this (they say) no bastard can thred, but shall sticke fast by the middle. The tree is all to be-hackt for the wood thereof, reputed of soueraigne vertue. But I abuse my time, and prouoke my Reader. In an inclosure adioyning, they shewed vs a plant of Balme, the whole remainder of that store which this Orchard produced, destroyed by the *Turkes*, or enuy of the *Jewes*, as by them reported, being transported out of *Iury*, in the dayes of *Herod* the Great, by the commandement of *Antonius*, at the suite of *Cleopatra*: but others say, brought hither out of *Arabia Felix*, at the cost of a *Saracen Sultan*. *Balme.*

III.

The Pyramides viewed, SPHYNX and other antiquities: Journey from Cairo to Gaza.

A Day or two after, wee crossed the *Nilus*. Three miles beyoud on the left hand left we the place whereupon Good-friday the armes and legs of a number of men appeare stretched forth of the earth, to the astonishment of the multitude. This I haue heard confirmed by *Christians*, *Mahometans*, and *Jewes*, as scene vpon their feuerall faiths. An imposture perhaps contriued by the water-men, who fetching them from the *Mummes*, (whereof there are an vnconsumeable number) and keeping the mystery in their families, doe sticke them ouer night in the sand, obtaining thereby the yeerely Ferrying ouer of many thousand of passengers. Three or foure miles further, on the right hand, and in sight, athwart the Plaine, there extendeth a caulley supported with Arches five Furlongs long, ten paces high, and five in breadth, of smooth and figured stone; built by the builder of the Pyramides, for a passage ouer the soft and vnsupporting earth with weighty carriages. Now hauing ridden through a goodly Plaine, some twelue miles ouer (in that place the whole breadth of *Egypt*) we came to the foot of the *Libyan* Desarts. *Mumme.*

Full West of the Citie, close vpon these Desarts, aloft on a Rockie Leuell adioyning to the Valley, stands those three Pyramides (the barbarous Monuments of prodigality and vaine-glory) so vniuersally celebrated. The name is deriued from a flame of fire, in regard of their shape; broad below, and sharpe above, like a pointed Diamond. By such the ancient did expresse the originall of things, and that formelesse forme-taking substance. For as a Pyramis beginning at a point, and the principall height, by little and little dilateth into all parts: so Nature proceeding from one vndeuidable Fountaine (euen God the Soueraigne Essence) receiueh diuersitie of formes, effused into feuerall kinds and multitudes of figures; vniting all in the supream head, from whence all excellencies issue. *Pyramides.*

Most manifest it is, that these, as the rest, were the Regall Sepulchers of the *Egyptians*. The greatest of the three, and chiefe of the Worlds seven wonders, being square at the bottome, is supposed to take vp eight Acres of ground. Every square being three hundred single paces in length, the square at the top consisting of three stones onely, yet large enough for threescore to stand vpon: ascended by two hundred and fiftie five steps, each step about three feet high, of a breadth proportionable. No stone so little throughout the whole, as to be drawne by our Carriages, yet were these hewen out of the *Troian* mountaynes, farre off in *Arabia*, so called of the



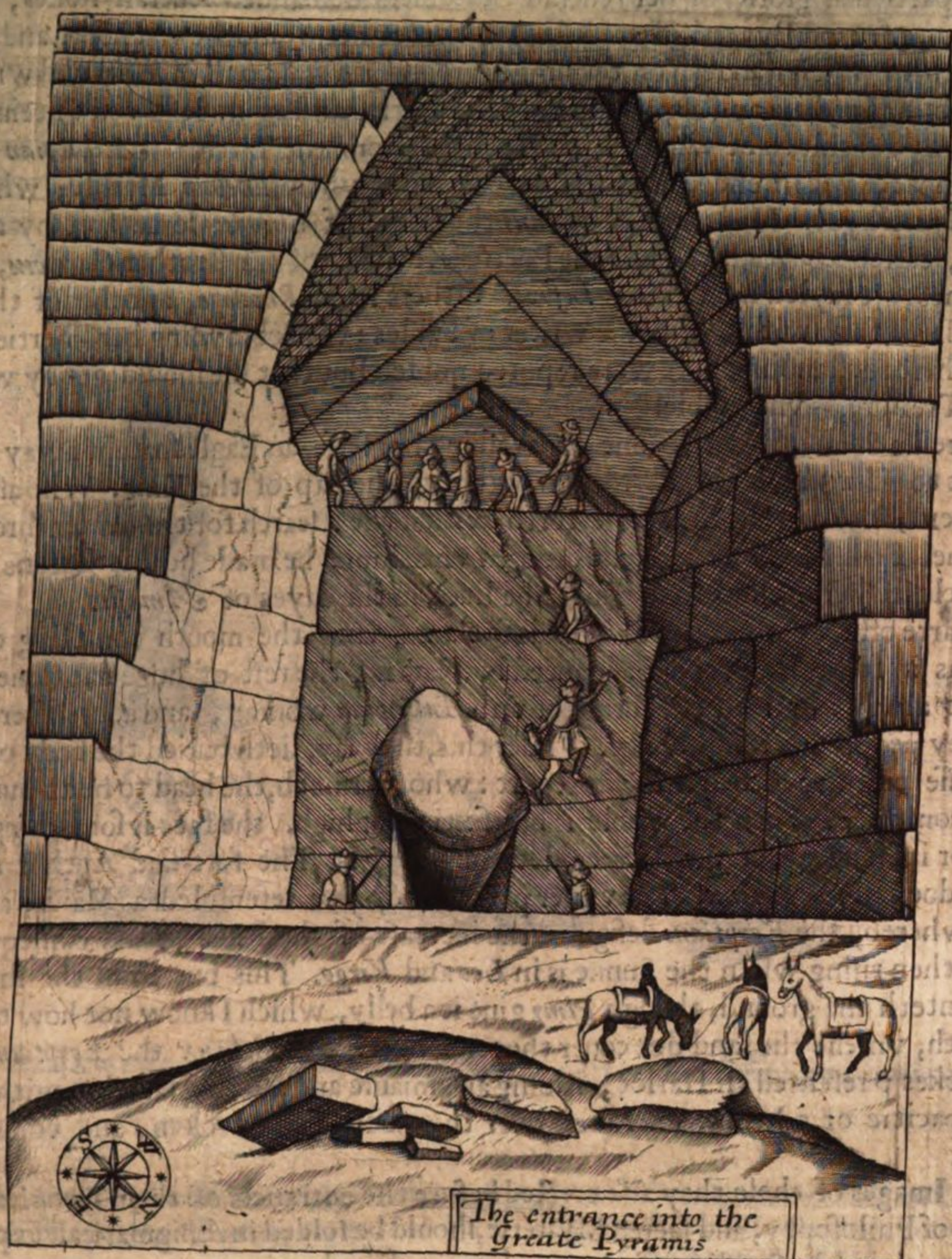
Captiue *Troians*, brought by *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, and there afterward planted. A wonder how conveyed hither: how so mounted, a greater. Twentie yeares it was a building, by three hundred threecore and sixe thousand men continually wrought vpon: who onely in Radishes, Garlicke, and Onions, are said to haue consumed one thousand and eight hundred Talents. By these and the like Inuentions exhausted they their Treasure, and employed the people, for feare lest such infinite wealth should corrupt their Successors, and dangerous idlenesse beget in the Subiect a desire of innouation. 30

Yet this hath beene too great a morsell for Time to deuoure; hauing stood, as may be probably coniectured, about three thousand and two hundred yeares; and now rather old then ruinous: yet the North-side most worne, by reason of the humiditie of the Northerne wind, which here is the moistest. The top at length we ascended with many pauses and much difficultie, from whence with delighted eyes we beheld that soueraigne of streames, and most excellent of Countries. Southward and neare hand the *Mummies*: a-farre off diuers huge Pyramides; each of which, were this way, might supply the repute of a wonder. During a great part of the day it casteth no shadow on the Earth, but is at once illuminated on all sides. Descending againe, on the East-side, below, from each corner equally distant, we approched the entrance, seeming heretofore to haue beene closed vp, or so intended, both by the place it selfe, as appeareth by the following Picture, and conueyances within. 40

North moist.

Other Pyramides.

Into this our *Ianizaries* discharged their Harquebuses, lest some should haue skulkt within to haue done vs a mischiefe, and guarded the mouth whilst wee entred, for feare of the wilde *Arabs*. To take the better footing we put off our shooes, and most of our apparell: foretold of the heate within, not inferiour to a Stoue. Our guide (a *Moore*) went foremost: euery one of vs with our lights in our hands. A most dreadfull passage, and no lesse cumbersome; not aboue a yard in breadth, and foure feet in height: each stone contayning that measure. So that alwayes stooping, and sometimes creeping, by reason of the rubbidge, we descended (not by staires, but as downe the steepe of a hill) a hundred feet: where the place for a little circuit enlarged; and the fearefull descent continued, which, they say, none euer durst attempt any farther. Saue that a *Bassa* of *Cairo*, curious to search into the secrets thereof, caused diuers condemned persons to vndertake the performance; well stored with lights and other prouision: and that some of them ascended againe wel-nigh thirtie miles off in the Deserts. A Fable deuised onely to beget wonder. But others haue written, that at the bottome there is a spacious Pit eightie and sixe Cubits deepe, filled at the ouer-flow by concealed Conduits: in the midst a little Iland, and on that a Tombe contayning the bodie of *Cheops*, a King of *Egypt*, and the builder of this *Pyramis*: which with the truth hath a greater affinitie. For since I haue beene told by one out of his owne experience, that in the vttermost depth there is a large square place (though without water) into which he was led by another entry opening to the South, knowne but vnto few (that now open 60



open being shut by some order and came vp at this place. A turning on the right hand leadeth into a little roome, which by reason of the noysome sauiour, and vncasie passage wee refused to enter. Clambering ouer the mouth of the aforesaid Dungeon, we ascended as vpon the bow of an Arch, the way no larger then the former, about a hundred and twentie feet. Here we passed
40 through a long entry which led directly forward; so low, that it tooke euen from vs that vncasie benefit of stooping. Which brought vs into a little roome with a compast rooffe, more long then broad, of polished Marble, whose grauel-like smell, halfe full of rubbidge forced our quicke returne. Climing also ouer this entrance, we ascended as before, about an hundred and twentie feet higher. This entrie being of an exceeding height, yet no broader from side to side then a man may fathome, benched on each side, and closed about with admirable Architecture, the Marble so great, and so cunningly ioyned, as had it beene hewen through the liuing Rocke. At the top we entred into a goodly Chamber, twentie foot wide, and fortie in length, the rooffe of a maruelou height; and the stones so great, that eight floores it, eight roofes it, eight
50 flage the ends, and sixtene the sides, all of well wrought *Theban* Marble. Athwart the roome at the vpper end there standeth a Tombe, vncouered, empty, and all of one stone; brest high, seuen feet in length, not foure in breadth, and sounding like a Bell. In this, no doubt, lay the bodie of the Builder. They erecting such costly Monuments, not onely out of a vaine ostentation: but beeing of opinion, that after the dissolution of the flesh the soule should suruiue; and when thirtie sixe thousand yeares were expired, againe bee ioyned vnto the selfe-same bodie, restored vnto his former condition: gathered in their conceits from Astronomicall demonstrations. Against one end of the Tombe, and close to the wall, there openeth a Pit with a long and narrow mouth, which leadeth into an vnder Chamber. In the walles on each side of the vpper roome, there are two holes, one opposite to another; their ends not discernable, nor
60 bigge enough to be crept into: footie within; and made, as they say, by a flame of fire which darted through it. This is all that this huge masse contayneth within his darke some entrailes: at least to be discovered.

Herodotus reports that King *Cheops* became so poore by the building thereof, that hee was *The Cheops* compelled to prostitute his Daughter, charging her to take whatsoever shee could get: who affecting

fecting her particular glorie, of her seuerall Customers demanded seuerall stones, with which she erected the second Pyramis; farre lesse then the former, smoothe without, and not to be entered. The third which standeth on the higher ground, is very small if compared with the other; yet saith both *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, greater in beautie, and of no lesse cost: beeing all built of Touch-stone; difficult to be wrought, and brought from the farthest *Ethiopian* mountaines: but surely not so; yet intended they to haue couered it with *Theban* Marble; whereof a great quantitie lyeth by it. Made by *Mycerinus* the Sonne of *Cheops*; some say, by a Curtizan of *Naucrētis*, called *Dorica* by *Sappho* the Poetresse, beloued of her Brother *Caraxus*, who fraught with Wines, oft sayled hither from *Lesbos*. Others name *Rhodope*, another of that Trade; at the first fellow slaue with *Esop* the writer of Fables: who obtayning her libertie dwelt in this Citie: where such in some sort were reputed noble. But that she should get by whoring such a masse of Treasure, is vncredibile.

Some tell a Storie, how that one day washing her selfe, an Eagle snatcht away her shooe, and bearing it to *Memphis*, let it fall from on high into the lap of the King. Who astonished with the accident, & admiring the forme, forth-with made a search for the owner throughout all his Kingdome. Found in *Naucrētis*, and brought vnto him, he made her his Queene, and after her death enclosed her in this Monument. She liued in the dayes of *Amasis*.

The Colossus.

Plinie taxed.

Not farre off from these the *Colossus* doth stand, vnto the mouth consisting of the naturall rocke, as if for such a purpose aduanced by Nature, the rest of huge flat stones laid thereon, wrought altogether into the forme of an *Ethiopian* woman, and adored heretofore by the Countrey people as a rurall Diety. Vnder this, they say, lieth buried the body of *Amasis*. Of shape lesse monstrous then is *Plinies* report: who affirmeth, the head to be an hundred and two feet in compasse, when the whole is but sixtie foot high. the face is something disfigured by Time, or indignation of the *Moors*, detesting Images. The fore-said Author (together with others) doe call it a *Sphinx*. The vpper part of a *Sphinx* resembled a Maide, and the lower a Lion; whereby the *Egyptians* defigured the increase of the Riuer, (and consequently of their riches) then rising when the Sunne is in *Leo* and *Virgo*. This but from the shoulders vpward surmounteth the ground, though *Pliny* giue it a belly, which I know not how to reconcile vnto the truth, vnlesse the sand doe couer the remainder. By a *Sphinx* the *Egyptians* in their Hieroglyphickes presented an Harlot, hauing an amiable and alluring face; but withall the tyrannie, and rapacitie of a Lion: exercised ouer the poore heart-broken, and voluntarily perishing Louer.

The Images of these they also erected before the entrances of their Temples; declaring that secrets of Philosophy, and sacred Mysterie, should be folded in *Ænigmaticall* expressions, separated from the vnderstanding of the prophane multitude.

Five miles South-east of these, and two West of the Riuer, towards which inclineth this brow of the mountaine, stood the Regall Citie of *Memphis*: the strength and glory of old *Egypt*, built by *Ogdoo*, and called *Memphis*, by the name of his Daughter, compressed (as they saie) by *Nilus*, in the likenesse of a Bull. In this was the Temple of *Apis* (which is the same with *Osiris*) as *Osiris* with *Nilus*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, &c.

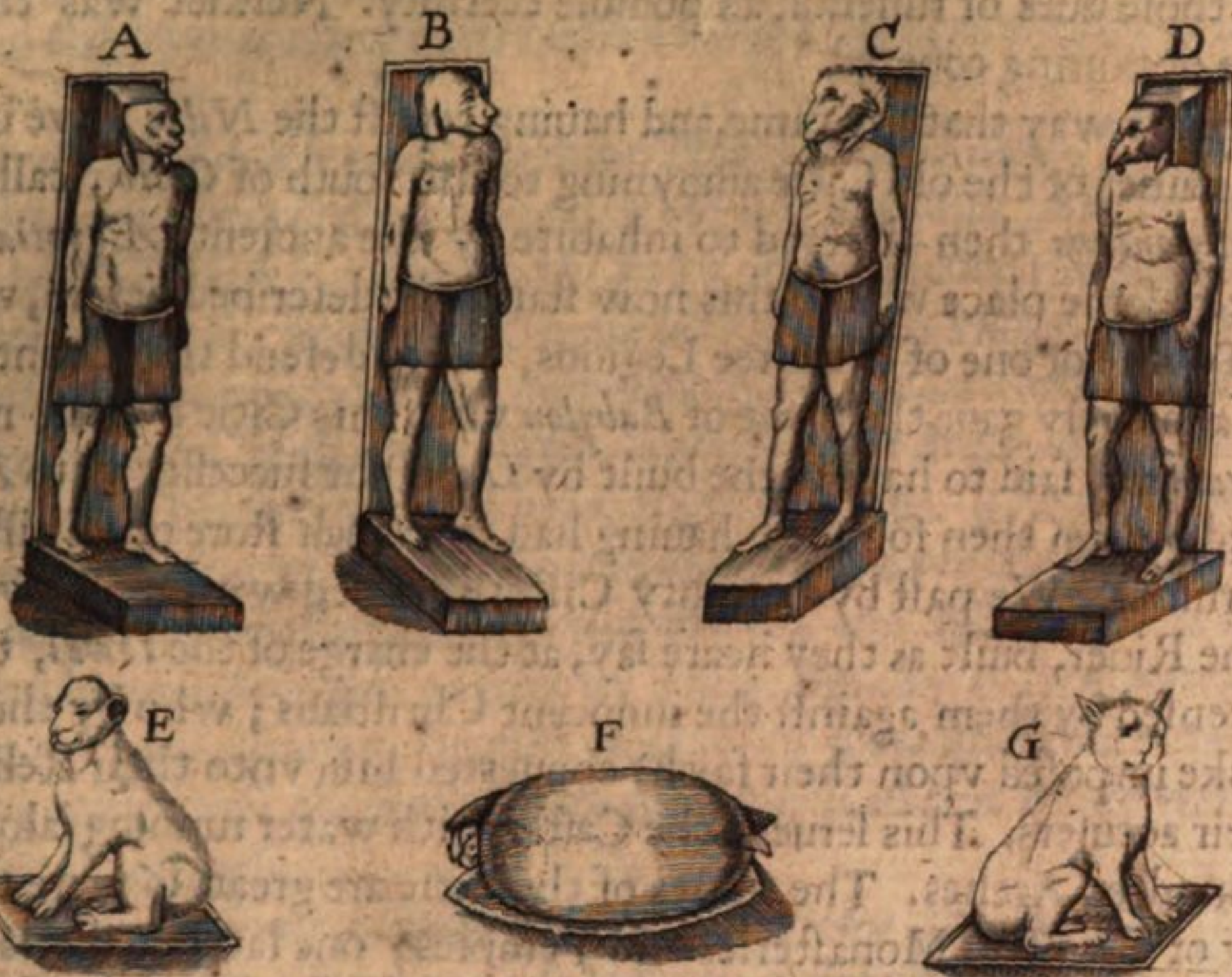
But why spend I time about that that is not? The very ruines now almost ruinated, yet some few impressions are left, and diuers throwne downe, Statues of monstrous resemblances, a scarce sufficient testimonie to shew to the curious seeker, that there it had beene.

This hath made some erroneously affirme old *Memphis* to haue beene the same with new *Cairo*: new in respect of the other. But those that haue both seene and writ of the former, report it to haue stood three Schoenes aboue the South Angle of *Delta*, (each Schoene contayning five miles at the least, and sometimes seuen and a halfe, differing according to their seuerall customes) which South-angle is distant but barely foure miles from *Cairo*. Besides, these Pyramides appertaining vnto *Memphis*, affirmed to haue stood five miles North-west of that Citie, standing directly West, and full twelue from this. But the most pregnant prooffe hereof are the *Mummies*, (lying in a place where many generations haue had their Sepulchres) not farre aboue *Memphis*, neere the brow of the *Libyan* Desart, and streightning of the Mountaines, from *Cairo* wel-nigh twenty miles. Nor likely it is that they would so farre carry their dead, hauing as conuenient a place adioyning to the Citie.

These we had purposed to haue seene, but the chargeable guard, and feare of the *Arabs*, there then solemnizing their festiual, being besides to haue laine out al night, made vs content our selus with what we had heard; hauing before seene diuers of the embalmed bodies, and some broken vp, to be bought for Dollars a peece at the Citie. In that place are some indifferent great, and a number of little Pyramides, with Tombes of seuerall fashions: many ruinated, as many violated by the *Moors* and *Arabians*, who make a profit of the dead, and infringe the priuiledge of Sepulchres. These were the graues of the ancient *Egyptians*, from the first inhabiting of that Countrey; coueting to be there interred, as the place supposed to containe the body of *Osiris*. Vnder euery one, or wheresoeuer lies stones not naturall to the place, by remoouing the same, descents are discovered like the narrow mouths of Wells (hauing holes in each side of the walls

to deſcend by, yet ſo troubleſome, that many reſuſe to goe downe, that come thither of purpoſe) ſome wel-nigh ten fathoms deepe, leading into long vaults (belonging, as ſhould ſeeme, to particular families) hewne out of the Rocke, with Pillars of the ſame. Betweene euery Arch the corſes lie ranckt one by another, ſhrowded in a number of folds of linnen, ſwathled with bands of the ſame: the breſts of diuers being ſtained with Hieroglyphicall Characters. Within their bellies are painted papers, and their Gods incloſed in little Models of ſtone or mettall, ſome of the ſhape of men, in coat-armours, with the heads of Sheepe, Hawkes, Dogs, &c. others of Cats, Beetles, Monkees, and ſuch like. Of theſe I brought away diuers with mee, ſuch in ſimilitude.

10



A. This with the head of a Monkie or Baboon, ſhould ſeeme by what is ſaid before, to haue bene wor-
30 ſhipped by thoſe of Thebais.

B. Anubis, whereof Virgil,

*The Monster-Gods, Anubis barking, buckle
With Neptune, Venus, Pallas.*

*Omni genumq; deum monſtra, & latrator Anubis.
Contra Neptunum & Venerem, contraq; Mineruā,
Tela tenent. En. l. 8.*

Some ſay, he was the eldeſt ſonne of Oſiris, being figured with the head of a dogge, in that he gaue a
dogge for his Enſigne. Others, that vnder this ſhape they adored Mercurie, in regard of the ſaga-
citie of that creature. The Dogge throughout Egypt was vniuerſally worſhipped, but eſpecially by
the Cynopolites.

40 C. Theſe of Sait did principally worſhip the ſheepe, it ſhould ſeeme in this forme.

D. This I coniecture (how euer vnlke) hath the head of a Hawke, being generally worſhipped by the
Egyptians, vnder which forme they preſented Oſiris.

E. I know not what to make of it (for the originall is greatly defaced) unleſſe it be a Lyon; vnder
which ſhape they adored Iſis.

F. Not ſo much as the Beetle, but receiued Diuine Honours: and why? ſee Plutar. in Iſis and Oſiris;
neare the end.

G. The Cat all generally adored: they honouring ſuch creatures, for that their vanquiſh and run-away
Gods tooke on them ſuch ſhapes to eſcape the furie of purſuing Typhon.

30 The Linnen pulled off (in colour, and like in ſubſtance to the inward filme betweene the Barke
and the bole, long dried, and brittle) the body appeareth ſolid, vncorrupt, and perfect in all his
dimensions: whereof the muſculous parts are browne of colour, ſome blacke, hard as ſtone-pitch,
and hath in Phyſicke an operation not vnlike, though more Soueraigne. In the preparing of
theſe, to keepe them from putrifaction, they drew out the braines at the noſtrils with an inſtru-
ment of iron, replenishing the ſame with preſeruatiue ſpices. Then cutting vp the belly with
an *Ethiopian* ſtone, and extracting the bowels, they clenſed the inside with wine, and ſtuffing
the ſame with a compoſition of Caſſia, Myrrhe, and other odours, cloſed it againe. The like the
poorer ſort of people effected with Bitumen (as the inside of their ſkuls and bellies yet teſtifie)
60 fetcht from the lake of *Asphaltus* in *Iury*. So did they with the iuyce of Cedars; which by the
extreame bitterneſſe, and ſiccative faculty, not onely forthwith ſubdued the cauſe of interior
corruption, but hath to this day (a continuance of about three thouſand yeeres) preſerued them
vncorrupted. Such is the differing nature of that tree, procuring life as it were to the dead, and
death to the liuing. This done, they wrapt the body with linnen in multitudes of folds, be-
ſmeared with Gum, in manner of ſcare-cloth. Their ceremonies (which were many) perfor-
med

med, they layd the corps in a boate, to be wafted ouer *Acherusia*, a lake on the South of the Citie, by one onely whom they called *Charon*, which gaue to *Orpheus* the inuention of his infernall Ferri-man: About this lake stood the shady Temple of *Hecate*, with the Ports of *Cocytus* and *Oblivion*, separated by barres of brasle, the originall of like fables. When landed on the other side, the body was brought before certaine Iudges, to whom if conuincd of an euill life, they deprived it of buriall; if otherwise, they suffered it to be interred as aforesaid. So sumptuous were they in these houses of death, so carefull to preserve their carkasses, Forso much as the soule, knowing it selfe by diuine instinct immortall, doth desire that the body (her beloued companion) might inioy (as farre foorth as may be) the like felicitie: giuing, by erecting such loftie Pyramides, and those dues of funerall, all possible eternity. Neither was the losse of this lesse 10 feared, then the obtaining coueted.

Returning by the way that we came, and hauing repast the *Nilus*, we inclined on the right hand to see the ruines of the old Citie adioyning to the South of *Cairo*, called formerly *Babylon*, of certaine *Babylonians* then suffered to inhabite by the ancient *Egyptian* Kings; who built a Castle in the selfe same place where this now standeth, described before, which was long after the Garrison Towne of one of the three Legions, set to defend this Countrey in the time of the *Romanes*, and anciently gaue the name of *Babylon* vnto this Citie below, now called *Misrabelech* by the *Arabians*, said to haue beene built by *Omar* the successor vnto *Mahomet*; but surely, rather reedified by him then founded, hauing had in it such store of Christian Churches as testified by their ruines. We past by a mighty Cisterne closed within a Tower, and standing vpon 20 an in-let of the Riuer, built as they heare say, at the charge of the *Iemes*, to appease the anger of the King, incensed by them against the innocent Christians; who by the remouing of a Montaine (the taske imposed vpon their faith) conuerted him vnto their Religion, and his displeasure vpon their accusers. This serueth the Castle with water running along an aquaduct borne vpon three hundred Arches. The ruines of the Citie are great, so were the buildings; amongst which, many of Christian Monasteries and Temples, one lately (the last that stood) throwne by this *Bassa* (as they say) for that it hindred his prospect: If so, he surely would not haue giuen leaue vnto the Patriarke, to rebuild it; for which he was spitefully spoken of by the *Moors*, as a suspected fauourer of the Christian Religion, who subuerted forthwith what he had begun. Whereupon the worthy *Cerill* made a Voyage vnto *Constantinople*, to procure the *Grand Signi-* 30 *ors* Commandement for the support of his purpose, when by the *Greeks* there, not altogether with his will, he was chosen their Patriarch, but within a short space displanted (as the manner is) by the bribery of another, he returned vnto *Cairo*. Besides, here is a little Chappell dedicated to our Lady, vnderneath it a grott, in which it is said that she hid her selfe, when pursued by *Herod*. Much frequented it is by the Christians, as is the Tombe of *Nafissa* (here being) by the *Mahometans*.

The few inhabitants that here be, are *Greekes* and *Armenians*: Here we saw certaine great *Serraglios*, exceeding high, and propt vp by buttresses. These they call the Granaries of *Ioseph*, wherein he hoarded corne in the yeer of plenty against the succeeding famine. In all there be seuen, three standing, and imployed to the selte same vse, the other ruined. From thence vp the Riuer 40 for twenty miles space, there is nothing but ruines: thus with the day we ended our Progresse.

Vpon the fourth of March we departed from *Cairo*, in the habites of Pilgrims, foure of vs *English*, consoorted with three *Italians*, of whom one was a Priest, and another a Physician. For our selues we hired three Camels with their keepers; two to carry vs, and the third for our provision. The price we shall know at *Gaza*, vpon the diuiding of the great Caruan, answerable to the successe of the iourney. We also hired a *Coptie* for halfe a Dollor a day, to be our interpreter, and to attend on vs. Our provision for so long a Voyage we bore along with vs, *viz.* Biscot, Rice, Raisins, Figs, Dates, Almonds, Oliues, Oyle, Sherbets, &c. buying Pewter, Brasle, and such like implements, as if to set vp house-keeping. Our water we carried in Goat skins. Wee rid in shallow Cradles (which we bought also) two on a Camell, harboured aboue, and couered 50 with linnen, to vs exceeding vnease; not so to the people of these Countreys, who sit crosse-legged with a naturall falicity. That night we pitched by *Hangia*, some foureteene miles from the Citie. In the euening came the Captaine, a *Turke*, well mounted, and attended on. Here we stayest the next day following, for the gathering together of the *Caruan*; paying foure Madeins a Camell vnto them of the Village. These as (those elsewhere) doe nightly guard vs, making good whatsoeuer is stolne. Euer and anon one crying *Washed*, is answered, *Elongh*, by another (ioyntly signifying one onely God) which passing about the Caruan, doth assure them that all is in safety. Amongst vs were diuers *Jewish* women: in the extremity of their age vnder-taking so wearisome a iourney, onely to die at *Ierusalem*, bearing along with them the bones of their Parents, Husbands, Children, and Kinsfolke; as they doe from all other parts 60 where they can conueniently. The Merchants brought with them many *Negros*; not the worst of their Merchandizes. These they buy of their Parents, some thirty dayes iourney aboue, and on the West side of the Riuer. As the wealch of others consists in multitudes of cattell; so theirs in the multitude of their children, whom they part from with as little passion; neuer after to be

Babylon.

See Let.

Hangia.

Vnnaturall Parents.

be seene or heard of: regarding more the price then condition of their slavery. These are descended of *Chus*, the Sonne of cursed *Cham*; as are all of that complexion. Not so by reason of *Chams* Curse their Seed, nor heat of the Climate: Nor of the Soyle, as some haue supposed; for neither haply, continuing still will other Races in that Soyle prooue black, nor that Race in other Soyles grow to better complexion: but rather from the Curse of *Noe* vpon *Cham* in the Posteritie of *Chus*.

About ten of clocke in the night the Caruan dislodged, and at seuen the next morning pitched at *Bilbesb*, which is in the Land of *Goshen*. Paying two Madeines for a Camell, at midnight we departed from thence. Our Companions had their Cradles stricke downe through the negligence of the Camellers, which accident cast vs behind the Caruan. In danger to haue
10 beene surprized by the Peasants, we were by a *Spahie* that followed, deliuered from that mischiefe. About nine in the forenoone, we pitched by *Catara*, where we payed foure Madeines for a Camell.

Here about, but neerer the *Nile*, there is a certaine Tree, called *Alchan*, by the *Arabs*, the The tree *Al* leaves thereof being dryed and reduced into powder, doe dye a reddish yellow. There is yeare-ly spent of this through the *Turkish* Empire, to the value of fourescore thousand *Saltanies*. The women with it doe dye their haire and nayles, some of them their hands and feet; and not a few, the most of their bodies tempered onely with Gumme, and laid on in the *Bannia*, that it may penetrate the deeper. The Christians of *Bosna*, *Valachia*, and *Russia*, doe vse it as well as the *Mahometans*. Trees also here be that doe bring forth Cottens. The next morning before
20 day, we remoued and came by nine of the clocke to *Salbia*, where we ouer-tooke the rest of the Caruan: all Christians of those Countries riding vpon Mules, and Asses. Who had procured leaue to set forward a day before; desirous to arriue by *Palme Sunday* at *Ierusalem*, (this Caruan staying ten dayes longer then accustomed, because of certaine principall Merchants) but they durst not by themselves venture ouer the mayne Deserts: which all this while wee had trented along, and now were to passe through.

A little beneath is the Lake *Sirbonis*, called by the old *Egyptians* the place of *Typhons* expiation, now *Bayrena*, diuiding *Egypt* from *Syria*. A place to such as knew it not, in those times full of vn suspected danger. Then two hundred furlongs long, being but narrow, and bordered on each side with hils of sand, which borne into the water by the winds so thickned the same, as not by the eye to bee distinguished from the part of the Continent: by meanes whereof
30 whole Armies haue beene deuoured. For the lands neere hand seeming firme, a good way entered slid farther off, and left no way of returning, but with a lingring crueltie swallowed the ingaged: whereupon it was called *Barathrum*. Now but a little Lake and waxing lesse daily: the passage long since choaked vp which it had into the Sea. Close to this standeth the Mountaine *Cassius* (no other then a huge mole of sand) famous for the Temple of *Iupiter*, and Sepulchre of *Pompey*, there obscurely buried by the pietie of a priuate Souldier, vpon whom hee is made by *Lucan*, to bestow this Epitaph:

Here the Great Pompey lyes, so Fortune pleas'd
40 To instile this stone; whom *Cæsar*s selfe would haue
Interr'd, before he should haue mist a Graue.

Hic situs est magnus, placet hoc Fortuna sepulchrum
Dicere Pompei: quo condi maluit illum
Quam terra caruisse Socr.

Who lost his head not farre from thence by the treacherie and commandement of the vngratefull *Protomie*. His Tombe was sumptuously re-edified by the Emperour *Adrian*. North hereof lyes *Idumea*, betweene *Arabia*, and the Sea extending to *Iudea*.

The *Subassee* of *Sabia* invited himselfe to our Tent, who feeding on such prouision as we had, would in conclusion haue fed vpon vs; had not our commandement (which stood vs in foure *Sbariffes*) from the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, and the fauour of the Captaine, by meanes of our Physician, protected vs: otherwise, right or wrong had bin but a silly plea to barbarous couetousnesse armed with power. We seuen were all the *Frankes* that were in the company, we heard how hee had
50 serued others, and reioyced not a little in being thus fortified against him. The whole Caruan being now assembled, consists of a thousand Hories, Mules and Asses; and of five hundred Camels. These are the ships of *Arabia*, their Seas are the Deserts. A Creature created for burthen. Sixe hundred weight is his ordinary load; yet will he carrie a thousand. When in lading or unlading he lyes on his belly, and will rise (as it is said) when laden proportionably to his strength, nor suffer more to be laid on him. Foure dayes together hee will well trauell without water, for a necessitie foureene: in his often belchings thrusting vp a Bladder, wherewith hee moysteneth his mouth and throat, when in a Iourney they cramme them with Barley dough. They are, as some say, the onely that ingender backward. Their paces slow, and intollerable hard, beeing
60 withall vn sure of foot, where neuer so little slippery or vneuen. They are not made to amend their paces when wearie, with blowes; but are encouraged by Songs, and the going before of their Keepers. A beast gentle and tractable, but in the time of his Venery: then, as is remembering his former hard vsage, he will bite his Keeper, throw him downe and kicke him: fortie dayes continuing in that forie, and then returning to his former meeknesse. About their neckes they

The Caruan described.

they hang certaine Charmes included in Leather, and writ by their *Dernises*, to defend them from mischances, and the poyson of ill eyes. Here we paid five Madeines for a Camell. Having with two dayes rest refreshed them, now to begin the worst of their Journey, on the tenth of March we entred the mayne Deserts, a part of *Arabia petrea*: so called of *Petrea*, the principall Citie, now *Rathalalah*. On the North and West it borders on *Syria* and *Egypt*, Southward on *Arabia Felix* and the Red Sea; and on the East it hath *Arabia* the Desert: a barren and desolate Countrey, bearing neither Grasse nor Trees, save onely here and there a few Palmes which will not forsake those forsaken places. That little that growes on the Earth, is wild Hysope, whereupon they doe pasture their Camels, a Creature content with little, whose Milke and flesh is their principall sustenance. They have no water that is sweet, all being a meere Wildernesse of sand. The winds hauing raysed high Mountaynes, which lye in Drifts, according to the quarters from whence they blow.

About mid-night (the Souldiers being in the head of the Caruan) these *Arabs* assailed our Rere. The clamour was great, and the Passengers, together with their Leaders, fled from their Camels. I and my companion imagining the noise to bee onely an encouragement vnto one another, were left alone; yet preserved from violence. They carried away with them diuers Mules and Asses laden with Drugges, and abandoned by their Owners, not daring to stay too long, nor cumber themselves with too much luggage, for feare of the Souldiers. These are descended of *Ismael*, called also *Sarracens* of *Sarra*, which signifieth a Desert, and *saken*, to inhabit. And not onely of the place, but of the manner of their liues, for *Sarrack* imports as much as a Thiefe, as now, being giuen from the beginning vnto Theft and Rapine. They dwell in Tents, which they remoue like walking Cities, for opportunitie of prey, and benefit of pasturage. They acknowledge no Soueraigne, not worth the conquering, nor can they bee conquered, retyring to places impassable for Armies, by reason of the rolling sands and penurie of all things. A Nation from the beginning vnmixed with others, boasting of their Nobilitie, & at this day hating all Mechanicall Sciences. They hang about the skirts of the habitable Countries; and hauing robbed, retyre with a maruellous celeritie. Those that are not detected persons, frequent the neighbouring Villages for prouision, and trafficke without molestation, they not daring to intreat them euilly. They are of meane statures, raw-boned, tawnie, hauing feminine voyces, of a swift and noyless pace, behind you ere aware of them. Their Religion *Mahometanisme*, glorying in that that the Impostor was thir Countyman: thir Language extending as farre as that Religion extendeth. They ride on swift Horses (not misse-shapen, though leane) and patient of labour. They feed them twice a day with the milke of Camels, nor are they esteemed of, if not of sufficient speed to ouer-take an Ostridge. Of those there are store in the Deserts. They keepe in flockes, and oft affrighted the stranger Passenger with their fearefull shreeches, appearing as farre off like a troupe of Horsemen. Their bodies are too heauie to bee supported with their wings, which vselesse for flight, doe serue them onely to runne the more speedily. They are the simplest of Fowles, and Symbols of folly. What they find, they swallow, without delight, euen stones and Iron. When they haue laid their Egges, not lesse great then the bullet of a Culuerin (whereof there are great numbers to be sold in *Cairo*) they leaue them, and vnmindfull where, sit on those they next meet with. The *Arabs* catch the young ones, running apace as soone as disclosed; and when fatted, doe eat them, so doe they some part of the old, and sell their skinnies with the feathers vpon them. They ride also on Dromedaries, like in shape, but lesse then a Camell, of a jumping gate, and incredible speed. They will carrie a man (yet vnfit for burthen) a hundred miles a day; liuing without water, and with little food satisfied. If one of these *Arabians* vndertake your conduct, he will performe it faithfully, neyther will any of the Nation molest you. They will leade you by vnknowne nearer wayes, and farther in foure dayes, then you can trauell by Caruan in fourteene. Their Weapons are Bowes, Darts, Slings, and long Iauelings headed like Partisans. As the *Turkes* sit crosse-legged, so doe they on their heeles, differing little in habit from the Rustick *Egyptians*.

About breake of day we pitched by two Wels of brackish water, called the Wels of *Duedar*. Hither followed the *Subassee* of *Salbeia*, with the *Jewes* which we left behind, who would not trauell the day before, in that it was their Sabbath. Their Superstition had put them to much trouble and charge; as of late at *Tunis* it did to some paine. For a sort of them being to imbarke for *Salonica*, the wind comming faire on the Saturday, and the Master then hoysing sayles, loth to infringe their Law, and as loth to lose the benefit of that passage, to coozen their consciences, they hyred certayne *Ianizaries* to force them aboard, who tooke their money, made a iest of beating them in earnest. At three of the clocke wee departed from thence, and an houre before mid-night pitched by the Castle of *Catie*, about which there is nothing vegetiue, but a few solitary Palmes. The water bad, inso much that that which the Capitaine drinckes is brought from *Tina*, a Sea-bordering Towne, and twelue miles distant. Threescore Souldiers lye here in Garrison. We paid a piece of Gold for euery Camell, and halfe a Dollar a piece for Horses, Mules and Asses, to the Capitaine, besides, five Madeines a Camell to the *Arabs*. It seemeth strange to me, how these Merchants can get by their Wares so far fetcht, and traelling through such a number of expences.

Jewish Superstition.

Fraudes pietatis, rewarded with pie fraudes. Catie.

The thirteenth spent in paying of *Capbar*, on the fourteenth of March by five of the clocke we departed, and rested about noone by the Wells of Slaues. Hither followed the Gouvernour of *Catie*, accompanied with twenty horse, and pitched his tent besides vs. The reason why hee came with so slight a Conduct, through a passage so dangerous (for there, not long before, a Caruan of three hundred Camels had bene borne away by the *Arabs*) was for that he was in fee with the chiefe of them, who vpon the payment of a certaine taxe, secured both goods and passengers. Of these there were diuers in the company. Before midnight we dislodged, and by fixe the next morning, we pitched by another Well of brackish water, called the Wel of the mother of *Assan*. In the afternoone we departed. As we went, one would haue thought the Sea
 10 to haue bene hard by, and to haue remooued vpon his approaches, by reason of the glistering Nitre. And no doubt, but much of these Desarts haue in times past bene Sea, manifested by the saltnesse of the soile, and shels that lie on the sand in infinite numbers. The next morning by five of the clocke, we came to *Arissa*, a small Castle, enuironed with a few houses: the Garrison
 15 consisting of a hundred Souldiers. This place is something better then Desart, two miles remo- ued from the Sea, and blest with good water. Here we paid two Madeins for a Camell, and halfe as much for our Asses; two of them for the most part rated vnto one of the other. On the seuenteenth of March, we dislodged betimes in the morning, resting about noone by the Wells of Feare; the earth here looking greene, yet waste, and vnhusbanded. In the euening we depar-
 20 ted. Hauing passed in the night by the Castle *Haniones*, by the breake of day they followed vs to gather their *Capbar*; being three Madeins vpon euery Camell. The Countrey from that place pleasant, and indifferent fruitfull. By seuen of the clocke, we pitched close vnder the Ci- tie of *Gaza*.

And here we will leaue him till our *Asian* opportunity doth reuiuie vs: returning now to the more Southerly and Westerly parts of *Africa*, passing from *Nilus* to *Niger*. Onely in the way, we will with our Author touch at *Malta* an *African* Iland, and with his eyes obserue the rarities there.

§. IIII.

Arriuall at Malta, and observations there.

Now out of sight of *Candie*, the Winds both slacke and contrary, we were forced to beare Northward of our course, vntill we came within view of *Zant*, where our Master purposed to put in (since we could not shorten our way) but anon we dis- couered five sailes making towards vs; and imagining them to be men of warre, made
 all things readie for defence. But to our better comfort, they prooued all *English*, and bound for
 30 *England*; with whom we consoorted to furnish the ship with fresh water, and other prouisions: they hauing supplied our necessities.

So on the second of Iune being Sunday, we entred the Hauen that lies on the East side of the
 40 Citie of *Valetta*, which we saluted with eightene peeces of Ordnance, but we were not suffe- red to come into the Citie (though euery ship had a neat Patent to shew, that those places from whence they came were free from the infection) nor suffered to depart, when the wind blew faire; which was within a day or two after. For the Gallies of the Religion were then setting forth, to make some attempt vpon *Barbarie*. The reason thereof, lest being taken by the Pyrats, or touching vpon occasion at *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, or *Argire*, their designs might be by compulsion, or voluntarily reuealed: nor would they suffer any Frigat of their owne, for feare of surprisall, to
 50 goe out of the Hauen, vntill many dayes after that the Gallies were departed. But because the *English* were so strong (a great ship of *Holland* putting also in to seeke company) and that they intended to make no more Ports: On the sixt of Iune, they were licenced to set saile, the Ma-
 55 sters hauing the night before, in their seuerall long-boats, attended their returne of the great Ma- ster (who had bene abroad in his Gallie to view a Fort that then was in building) and wel- comed him home with one and twenty peeces of Ordnance.

But no intreaty could get me abroad, choosing rather to vndergoe all hazards and hardnesse whatsoeuer, then so long a Voyage by sea, to my nature so irkesome. And so was I left alone on a naked promontory right against the Citie, remote from the concourse of people, without pro- uision, and not knowing how to dispose of my selfe. At length a little boat made towards me, rowed by an officer appointed to attend on strangers that had not pratticke, lest others by com-
 60 ming into their company, should receiue the infection; who carried me to the hollow hanging of a rocke, where I was for that night to take vp my lodging; and the day following to be con- ueied by him vnto the *Lazaretta*, there to remaine for thirty or forty dayes before I could be admitted into the Citie. But behold, an accident, which I rather thought at the first to haue been
 a vision, then (as I found it) reall. My guardian being departed to fetch me some victuals, laid
 along, and musing on my present condition, a *Phalucco* arriueth at the place. Out of which
 there

Greek mothers,
bawds to their
daughters.

there slept two olde women; the one made mee doubt whether shee were so or no, shee drew her face into so many formes, and with such anticke gestures stared vpon me. These two did spread a *Turkie* Carpet on the rocke, and on that a table-cloth, which they furnished with variety of the choycest viands. Anon, another arriued, which set a Gallant ashore with his two *Amarosaes*, attired like Nymphs, with Lutes in their hands, full of disport and forcery. For little would they suffer him to eate, but what he receiued with his mouth from their fingers. Sometimes the one would play on the Lute, whilst the other sang, and laid his head in her lap; their false eyes looking vpon him, as their hearts were troubled with passions. The attending Hags had no small part in the Comedie, administering matter of myrth with their ridiculous moppings. Who indeed (as I after heard) were their mothers borne in *Greece*, and by them brought hither to trade amongst the vnmarrried fraternitie. At length, the *French* Captaine (for such he was, and of much regard) came and intreated me to take a part of their banquet; which my stomacke perswaded me to accept of. He willed them to make much of the *Forestier*: but they were not to be taught entertainment, and grew so familiar, as was to neither of our likings. But both he and they, in pittie of my hard lodging, did offer to bring me into the Citie by night (an offence, that if knowne, is punished by death) and backe againe in the morning. Whilst they were vrging me thereunto, my guardian returned; with him a *Maltese*, whose father was an *English* man, he made acquainted therewith, did by all meanes dehort them. At length (the Captaine hauing promised to labour by admittance into the Citie) they departed. When a good way from shoare, the Curtizans stript themselues, and leapt into the Sea, where they violated all the prescriptions of modestie. But the Captain the next morning was not vnmindfull of his promise, soliciting the Great Master in my behalfe, as he sate in Counsell; who with the assent of the great Crosses, granted me Pratticke. So I came into the Citie, and was kindly entertained in the house of the foresaid *Maltese*, where for three weekes space, with much contentment I remained.

Impudence of
Curtizans,
no rarity, but
as common as
themselues.

Description of
Malta.

Malta doth lie in the *Lybian* Sea, right betweene *Tripolis* of *Barbarie* and the South-east angle of *Sicilia*: distant an hundred fourescore and ten miles from the one, and threescore from the other; containing also threescore miles in circuit, called formerly *Melita*, of the abundance of honey. A Countrey altogether Champion, being no other then a rock couered ouer with earth, but two feet deepe where the deepest; hauing few trees, but such as beare fruit; whereof of all sorts plentifully furnished, so that their wood they haue from *Sicilia*, yet there is a kind of great Thistle, which together with Cow-dung serues the Countrey people for fuell, who need not much in a Clime so exceeding hot; hotter by much then any other which is seated in the same parallell, yet sometimes tempered by the comfortable winds, to which it lies open. Rivers here are none, but sundry fountaines. The soile produceth no graine but Barley, bread made of it, and Oliues, is the Villagers ordinary diet: and with the straw they sustaine their Cattell. Commis-seed, Annis-seed, and honey, they haue here in abundance, whereof they make Merchandize, and an indifferent quantity of Cotten-wooll; but that the best of all other. The inhabitants die more with age then diseases, and heretofore were reputed fortunate for their excellencie in Arts and curious Weauings. They were at first a Colonie of the *Phoenicians*, who exercising Merchandize as farre as the great Ocean, betooke themselues to this Iland; and by the commoditie of the Hauen, attained too much riches and honour (who yet retaine some print of the *Punicke* Language, yet so that they now differ not much from the *Moresco*) and built in the midst thereof the Citie of *Melita* (now called old *Malta*) giuing or taking a name from the Iland. Now whether it came into the hands of *Spaine* with the Kingdome of *Sicilia*, or won from the *Moores* by their swords, (probable both by their Language, and that it belongeth to *Africa*) I am ignorant: but by *Charles* the fifth it was giuen to the Knights of the *Rhodes*.

The order of
Knights Hospitallars.

This order of Knight-hood receiued their denomination from *Iohn* the charitable Patriarch of *Alexandria*, though vowed to Saint *Iohn Baptist* as their Patron. Their first seat was the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn* in *Ierusalem* (whereupon they were called Knight-hospitallers) built by one *Gerrard*, at such time as the Holy land became famous by the successfull expeditions of the Christians; who drew diuers worthy persons into that societie, approued by Pope *Galasius* the second. They by the allowance of *Honorius* the second, wore garments of blacke, signed with a white crosse. *Raymond*, the first Master of the Order, did amplifie their Canons; instilling himselfe, *The poore seruant of Christ*, and *Guardian of the Hospitall in Ierusalem*. In euery Countrey throughout Christendome they had Hospitals, and Reuenues assigned them, with contributions procured by Pope *Innocent* the second. They were tied by their voves to entertaine all Pilgrims with singular humanitie; to safeguard their passages from theues and incursions, and valiantly to sacrifice their liues in defence of that Countrey. But the Christians being driuen out of *Syria*, the Knights had the *Rhodes* assigned them by the *Greeke* Emperour, (others say, by *Clement* the fifth) which they won from the *Turke*, and lost againe as aforesaid; retiring from thence vnto *Malta*. There are of them here seuen Alberges or Seminaries, one of *France* in generall, one of *Auerne*, one of *Prouince*, one of *Castile*, one of *Aragon*, one of *Italie*, one of *Almany*

Almany: and an eight there was of *England*, vntill by *Henry* the Eighth dissolved, with what Iustice, I know not. Yet is there one that supplyeth the place in the Election of the Great Master. Of euery one there is a Grand Prior, who liues in great reputation in his Countrey, and orders the affaires of their Order.

Saint Johns without *Smith-field*; being in times past the Mansion of the Grand Prior of *England*, an *Irish-man* liuing in *Naples*, and reciuing a large Pension from the King of *Spaine*, now beareth that Title. Those that come for the Order are to bring a testimonie of their Gentry for sixe Descents, which is to be examined, and approued by the Knights of their Nation, he being first to remaine here a yeare for a probation. Nor are women exempted from that dignitie, ad-

All Gentle-
men.

mitted by a Statute made in the Mastership of *Hugo Reuelm*, perhaps, for that one *Agnis*, a noble Ladie was the Author, as they affirme, of their Order; but that there be any now of it, is more then I could be informed. The Ceremonies vsed in Knighting, are these. First, carrying in his hand a Taper of white Waxe, hee kneeleth before the Altar, clothed in a long loose Garment, and desireth the Order of the Ordinarie. Then, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, he receiueth a Sword, therewith to defend the Catholike Church, to repulse and vanquish the Enemy, to relieue the oppressed, if need should be, to expose himselfe vnto death for the Faith, and all by the power of the Crosse, which by the Crosse-hilt is designed. Then is he girt with a Belt, and thrice strooke on the shoulders with his Sword, to put him in mind that for the honour of Christ he is chearefully to suffer whatsoever is grievous, who

Women cap-
able.

Ceremonies
of creation.

Their
Taper

taking it of him, thrice flourisheth it aloft as a prouokement to the Aduersary, and so sheathes it againe, hauing wiped it first on his arme, to testifie that thence-forth hee will liue vndefiledly. Then hee that giues him Knight-hood laying his hand on his shoulder, doth exhort him to be vigilant in the Faith, and to aspire vnto true honour by couragious and laudable actions, &c. Which done, two Knights doe put on his Spurres, gilt; to signifie that he should spurne Gold as durt, not to doe what were ignoble for reward. And so goes hee to Masse with the Taper in his hand, the workes of Pietie, Hospitalitie, and redemption of Captiues, being commended vnto him, told also of what he was to performe in regard of his Order. Being asked if he bee a free man, if not ioyned in Matrimonie, if vnuowed to another Order, or not of any profession, and if he were resolued to liue amongst them, to reuenge their iniuries, and quit the authoritie of

Secular Magistracie. Hauing answered thereunto, vpon the receipt of the Sacrament, he vowes in this Order, *I vow to the Almighty God, to the Virgin Mary his immaculate Mother, and to Saint Iohn Baptist, perpetually, by the helpe of God, to bee truly obedient to all my Superiours, appointed by God and this Order, to liue without any thing of my owne, and withall to liue chastly.* Whereupon he is made a partaker of their Priuiledges and Indulgences, granted vnto them by the Sea of *Rome*. Besides other Prayers, they are commanded to say a hundred and fiftie *Pater noster* daily, for such as haue beene slaine in their Warres. They weare Ribands about their neckes with Brouches of the Crosse, and Clokes of blacke with large white Crosses set thereinto on the shoulder, of fine Linnen, but in time of Warre, they weare Crimson Mandilions, behind and before so crossed, ouer their Armour.

Their Vow.

* Hastie lye.

to be
made

They come hither exceeding young, that they may the sooner attayne to a commendam at home, (whereof many be of great value) not got by fauour but signioritie, and are to liue here for the space of five yeares (but not necessarily together) and to goe on foure Expeditions. If one of them be conuicted of a capitall crime, hee is first publicly disgraced in the Church of *Saint Iohn* where he receiued his Knight-hood, then strangled, and throwne after into the Sea in the night time. Euery Nation doe feed by themselves in their seuerall Alberges, and sit at the Table like Fryers, but such as vpon suite doe get leaue to eat apart, haue sixtie Crownes allowed them by the Religion yearly, as all haue five and twentie a piece for apparell.

Degradation
and death.

There are here resident about five hundred, not to depart without leaue, and as many more dispersed through Christendome, who hither repaire vpon euery summons, or notice of inuasion. The Religion is their generall Heire wheresoeuer they dye, onely each Knight may dispose of a fifth part of his substance. There be sixteene of them Counsellors of State, and of principall authoritie, called Great Crosses, who weare Tippets, and Coates also vnder their Cloakes, that be signed therewith. Of these are the Martiall, the Master of the Hospitall, the Admirall, the Chancellor, &c. When one doth dye another is elected by the Great Master and his Knights, who giue their voyces (if I forget not) by Bullets, as doe the *Venetians*, whereby both enuie and faction is auoyded. Now, if the Great Master fall sicke, they will suffer no Vessell to goe out of the Hauen, vntill hee bee either recovered, or dead, and another elected, lest the Pope should intrude into the Election, which they challenge to be theirs, and is in this manner performed.

Their number
and gouern-
ment.

The Great
Master and his
Election.

The seuerall Nations elect two Knights a piece of their owne, and two are elected for the *English*, from amongst themselves these sixteene choose eight, and those eight doe nominate a Knight, a Priest, and a Fryer-servant (who also weares Armes) and they three choose the Great Master, out of the sixteen Great Crosses. This man is a *Pickard* borne, about the age of sixtie, and hath gouerned eight yeare. His Name and Title, *The Illustrious and most Reuerent Prince my Lord*

Ggggg 2

Fryer

Fryer Alofius, of Wignian-court, Great Master of the Hospitall of Saint Johns of Ierusalem, Prince of Malta, and Goza. For albeit a Fryer, (as the rest of the Knights) yet is he an absolute Soueraigne, and is brauely attended on by a number of gallant yong Gentlemen. The Clergie doe weare the Cognizance of the Order, who are subiect to like Lawes except in military matters.

The Villages
and Cities.

Serpents not
hurtfull.

Their glorious
withstanding
the Turke.

Pietie of a
Mahometan.

Valetta,

Saint Hermes.

There are sixtie Villages in the Iland, vnder the command of ten Captaines, and foure Cities. Old *Malta* is seated (as hath beene said before) in the midst of the Iland, vpon a hill, and formed like a Scutchion: held of no great importance, yet kept by a Garrison. In it there is a Grot, where they say Saint *Paul* lay when he suffered shipwracke; of great deuotion amongst them. The refined stone thereof they cast into little Medals, with the Effigies of Saint *Paul* on the one side, and a *Viper* on the other, *Agnus Dei*, and the like: of which they vent store to the Foreigner. They say, that being drunke in wine it doth cure the venome of Serpents, and withall, though there be many Serpents in the Iland, that they haue not the power of hurting although handled, and angred; berese of their venome euer since the being here of the Apostle. The other three Cities (if they may all be so termed) are about eight miles distant, and not much without a Musket shot each of other, neere the East-end, and on the North-side of the Iland, where there is a double Hauen diuided by a tongue of rocke, which extendeth no further then the conveniently large entrance. The East Hauen resembleth the horne of a Stag, the first branch (as the *Palme*) affording an excellent harbour for the greatest shippes, and the second for Gallies; the rest are shallow. Close to the vppermost toppe there is a Fountayne of fresh water, which plentifully furnisheth all Vessels that doe enter. On the tip of the foresaid tongue stood the strong Castle of Saint *Hermes*, the first that the *Turke* besieged, which after many furious assaults, twentie thousand Canon shot (whose horrible roarings were heard to *Messina*) and the losse of ten thousand liues, they tooke in the yeare 1565. in the moneth of Iune, but to the greater glory of the vanquished, that losse rather inraging then dis-heartning the remaynder.

Now vpon the point of the Promontory which lyes betweene these two branches of that Hauen, where the Ships and Gallies haue their stations, on a steepe rocke stands the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, whose strength appeared in frustrating those violent batteries (being next besieged by the *Turke*) whereof it yet beareth the skarres. At the foot of the Rocke are certaine Canons planted, that front the mouth of the Hauen. This Castle is onely diuided by a Trench cut through the Rocke, from the *Burgo*, a little Citie which possesseth the rest of that Promontory, being all a Rock, hewen hollow within, for their better defence; disioyned by a great deep Ditch from the Land. South of this, and on the next Promontory, stands another Towne, which is called, *La Isula*, on the point thereof a platforme, and at the other end the strong Fort of Saint *Michael*, yet inferiour in strength to that of Saint *Angelo*. Here remember we the pietie of a *Mahometan*, descended, no doubt of Christian Parentage, and fauouring our Religion, who in the time of the strictest siege, and smallest comfort to the besieged, leapt into the Sea, and maugre all the shot that was made at him, swamme to this Castle: where first requiring and receiuing Baptisme, hee made knowne vnto them the secrets of the Enemie, aduised how to frustrate their purposes, and brauely thrust himselfe forward in enery extremitie. But the Knights of the Order assisting one another by their proper valour, so nobly behaued themselves, that the *Turke* began to despaire of successe, and vpon the rumoured approach of the Christian succours (which in the best construction by the ouer-circumspect Vice-Roy of *Sicilia* had beene dangerously protracted) imbarqued themselves, and departed. But all, sauing *Burgo* and Saint *Angelo*, reduced into powder, and the returne of the *Turke* distrusted, it was propounded amongst the Knights, to abandon the Iland, rather then vainly to repaire, and endeouour to defend those lamentable ruines, the Aduersaries vnequall power, and backward ayde of the Christian Princes considered. But it too much concerned the state of Christendome, (especially of the Countries confining) it being as it were both the Key and Bulwarke thereof, insomuch that the Pope, the *Florentine*, and the rest of the Princes of *Italy*, encouraged them to stay, assisting them with money, and all necessary prouision; but especially the King of *Spaine*, who ouer and aboue did send them three thousand Pioners, leuyed in the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, to repaire their old Fortresses, and begin a new Citie vpon that tongue of Land which diuideth the two Hauens, now almost absolutely finished.

This is called the Citie of *Valetta*, in the honour of *Iohn de Valetta*, who then was Great Master. Not great, but faire, exactly contriued, and strong aboue all others, mounted aloft, and no where assailable by Land, but at the South end. The walls of the rest doe ioyn to the vpright Rocke, as if of one piece, and beaten vpon by the Sea. That towards the Land, is but a narrow *Isthmos*, where the Rocke doth naturally rise, the Ditch without, hewen downe exceeding broad, and of an incredible profunditie, strongly flankt, and not wanting what fortification can doe. This way openeth the onely gate of the Citie, (the other two, whereof one leadeth to Saint *Hermes*, and the other to the Hauen, being but small Posternes) and hard within are two great Bulwarks, planted on the top with Ordnance. At the other end (but without the wall) stands the Castle of Saint *Hermes*, now stronger then euer, whereof (as of that Saint *Angelo*) no *French* man can be Gouvernour. Almost euery where there are platformes on the

the walls, well stored with Ordnance. The walls on the inside not above sixe foot high, vnim- battald, and sheluing on the outside, the buildings throughout a good distance off both to leaue roome for the Souldiers, and to secure them from batterie. Neere the South end, and on the West side, there is a great pit hewne into the rocke, out of which a Port cut vnder the wall into the West Haven, intended (for yet vnfinished) to haue beene made an Arsenall for their Gallies, (that harbour being too shallow for ships) a worke of great difficulty. The market place is spacious, out of which the streets doe point on the round. The buildings for the most part vniforme, all of free stone, two stories high, and flat at the top; the vpper roomes of most hauing out tarrasses. The Great Masters Palace is a Princely structure, hauing a Tower which ouer-
 10 looketh the whole Iland. The chamber where they sit in Counsell, is curiously painted with their fights by Sea and by Land, both forraine and defensue. The seuen Alberges of the Knights, be of no meane building; amongst whom the Citie is quartered. Magnificent is the Church of S. Paul, and that of Saint Johns: the one the seat of a Bishop, and the other of a Prior. And Saint Johns Hospitall doth merite regard, not onely for the building, but for the entertain-
 20 ment there giuen. For all that fall sicke are admitted thereunto, the Knights themselues there lodge when hurt or diseased, where they haue Physicke for the bodie, and for the soule also (such as they giue.) The attendants many, the beds ouer-spread with faire Canopies; every fortnight hauing change of Linnen. Serued by the Iunior Knights in siluer, and euery Friday by the Great Master, accompanied with the great Crosses. A seruice obliged vnto from their first insti-
 20 tution; and thereupon called Knight-hospitallers. The Iesuits haue of late crept into the Citie, who now haue a Colledge a building. Heere bee also three Nunneries; the one for Virgins, another for penitent Whores, (of impenitent here are store) and the third for their battards.

The Palace,
The seuen Al-
berges.

Saint Johns
Hospitall.

The barrenesse of this Ile is supplied with the fertilitie of *Sicilia*, from whence they haue their prouision. The Citie is victualed for three yeeres, kept vnder the ground, and supplied with new as they spend of the old. They haue some fresh water Fountaines, and the raine that falleth, they reserue in Cisternes. Besides the Knights and their dependants, the Citizens and I-landers be within the muster of their forces; in which there are not of liuing soules aboue twen-
 30 tie thousand. They keepe a Court of guard nightly, and almost euery minute of the night, the watch of one Fort giues two or three tolls with a bell, which is answered by the other in or-
 30 der. The Religion hath onely five Gallies, and stinted they are, as I haue heard, to that number, (if more, they belong vnto priuate men) and but one ship. The custome is, or hath beene, ha-
 30 uing hung out a flagge, to lend money to all commers that would dice it, if they win, to repay it with aduantage; if lose, to serue vntill their entertainment amounted to that summe. Now the
 30 expeditions that they make, are little better then for bootie; sometimes landing in the night
 30 time on the maine of *Africa*, and surprising some village, or scouring along the coasts, take cer-
 30 taine small Barks, which disburdened of their lading and people, they suffer to hull with the
 30 weather. For they made good profit of their slaues, either imploying them in their drudgeries,
 30 (they hauing at this instant aboue fifteene hundred of them) or by putting them to ransome. For
 40 euer and anon you shall haue a little boat with a flag of treaty, come hither from *Tripoli*, *Tunis*,
 40 or *Algeirs*, to agree for the redemption of captiues, as doe the *Malteses* to those places who are
 40 serued with the same measure. During my abode here, there arriued a Barke, brought in by
 40 eight *English* men, who had for a long time serued the *Turkish* Pirats of *Tunis*, they bound for
 40 *Algeirs*, tooke weapons in hand, and droue the distrustlesse *Turkes* (being twice as many) into
 40 the sterne, kept there by two, whilst the other dressed the sailes for *Malta*. Amongst them there
 40 was one, who saying he would neuer be slaue to a Christian, stript himselfe secretly, propping
 40 vp his gowne, and laying his Turbant vpon it, as if still there, and dropt it into the Sea. But the
 40 deceiuer was deceiued by the high land which seemed neerer then it was, and so wearied with
 40 swimming, sunke in their sights. The Inquisition would haue seized both on their persons and
 50 purchase, because they had serued the Infidell: but they were protected by the Great Master (be-
 50 ing desirous to serue him) who will not suffer their cruell authoritie to enter into the new City,
 50 so that they are faine to reside in *Burgo*.

Their Gallies

Their expedi-
tions.

The *Malteses* are little lesse Tawnie then the *Moores*, especially those of the Countrey, who
 60 goe halfe clad, are indeed a miserable people; but the Citizens are altogether Frenchified; the
 60 Great Master, and maior part of the Knights being *French* men. The women weare long blacke
 60 stoles, wherewith they couer their faces (for it is a great reproach to be seene otherwile) who
 60 conuerse not with men, and are guarded according to the manner of *Italy*. But the iealous are bet-
 60 ter secured, by the number of allowed Curtizans (for the most part *Grecians*) who sit playing in
 60 their doores on instruments; and with the arte of their eyes inueagled these continent by vow,
 60 but contrary in practise, as if chastitie were onely violated by marriage. They here stirre early
 60 and late, in regard of the immoderate heat, and sleepe at noone day. Their markets they
 60 keepe on Sundayes.

The people

Now were the Gallies returned with indifferent successe, and yet my stay was proroged by
 the approaching festiuall of their Patron; for vntill that was past, no boat would stirre out of

Pompous solemnities.

the Harbour. The Palace, Temples, Alberges, and other principall houses, were sticke round on the outside with lampes, the evening before: and amongst other solemnities, they honoured the day with the discharge of all their Artillery. The Forts put forth their Banners, and every Alberge the Ensigne of his Nation, at night hauing Bone-fires before them; five great ones being made in the Court of the Palace; whereof, the first was kindled by the Great Master, the second by the Bishop, the third by the Prior, the fourth and fifth by the Marshall and Admirall. On the foure and twentieth of Iune, I departed from Malta in a Phalucco of Naples, rowed by five, and not twice so big as a Wherry, yet will for a space keepe way with a Gally. They vse to set forth in such boats as these, two houres before Sun-set, and if they discover a suspected saile betweene that and night (for the Turkes continually lie there in waite) doe returne againe: if not, they proceed; and by the next morning (as now did we) reach the Coast of Sicilia.

The end of the Sixth Booke.

NAV

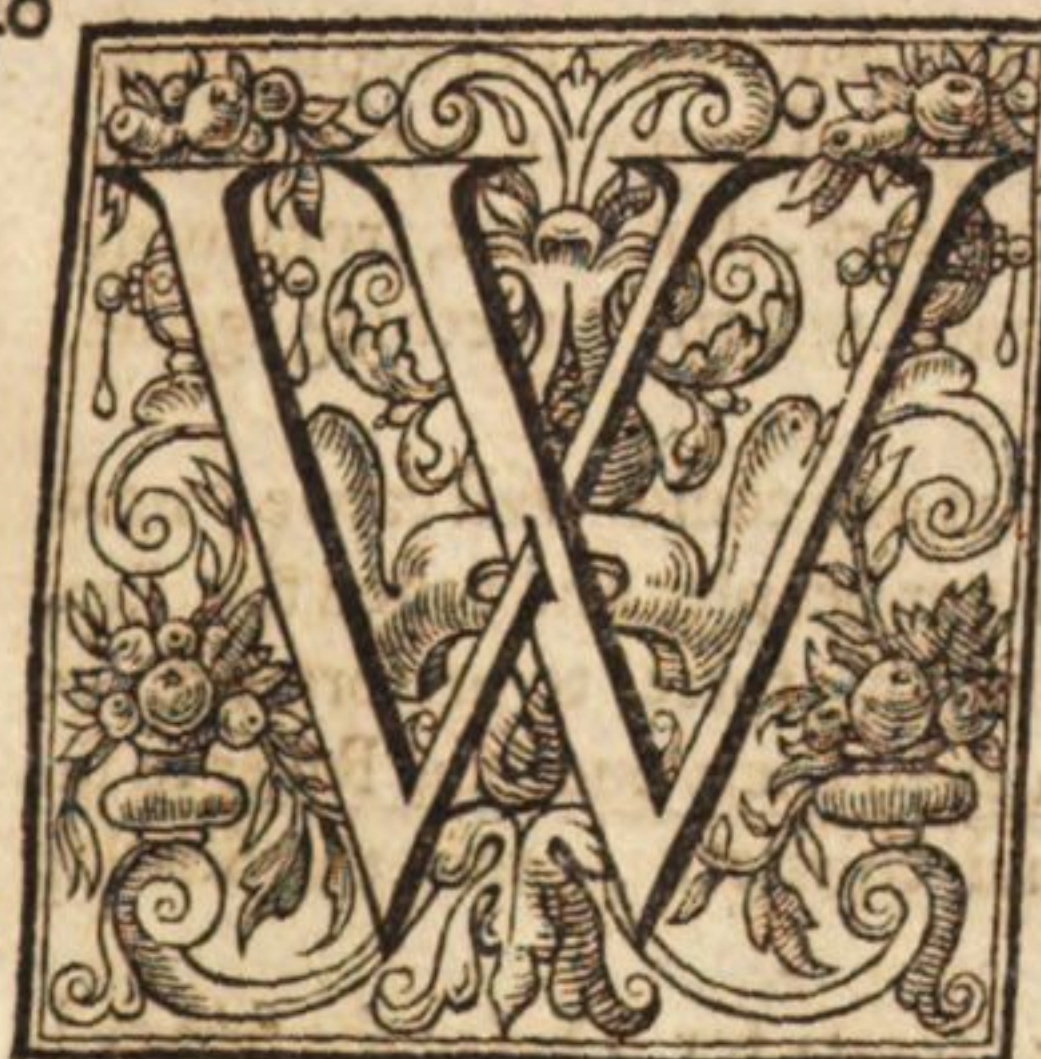


NAVIGATIONS, VOY-
AGES, AND DISCOVERIES OF
THE SEACOASTS AND INLAND RE-
GIONS OF AFRICA, WHICH IS GENERALLY
CALLED ETHIOPIA: BY ENGLISH
MEN AND OTHERS.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A true Relation of Master RICHARD IOBSON'S Voyage, employed
by Sir WILLIAM SAINT JOHN, Knight, and others; for the Dis-
couerie of Gambia, in the Sion, a ship of two hundred tons, Admirall;
and the Saint Iohn five, Vice-Admirall. In which they passed
nine hundred and sixtie miles vp the Riuer into the
Continent. Extracted out of his large
Iournall.



We set sayle from Grauesend, on Saturday the fift of October,
1620. From Grauesend. On the five and twentieth, we de-
parted from Dartmouth, we sayled from Dartmouth to the Ca-
naries.

The fourteenth of February, we came to an anchor in Tra-
uisco Road, where we found three Frenchmen, and one Flem-
ing. Francisco a Portugall here dwelling was busie to enquire if
we went to Gambia, hauing a letter as he said from M. Cramp,
who had lately departed thence for Sierra Lione, set forth by
the Company. This Portugall fearing iust reuenge for the ship
taken and men betrayed and murdered by them in Gambia, had
procured a Letter in behalfe of some of his friends. In

The Katherine
betrayed.

Portugals
which trade
Gambia.

the Riuer of Borsall we entred, where we tooke a small Boat belonging in part to Hector Nu-
mez, the principall in that Treachery and Murther aforesaid and detaind some of his goods
therein for satisfaction, taking thereof a publike Inuentorie, that if any other could lay iust
clayme they might be restored. This was done by punishing Numex, and to terrifie others
from like trecherous attempts, not without effect. The Portugals were glad they so escaped,
knowing and cursing Numex his villanie. The Portugalls which trade here, and inhabit the Ri-
uer are banished men, Renegadoes and baser people, and behaue themselves accordingly.

The general
winds.

We built a Shallop, and lanced it the two and twentieth. The next day we set sayle vp the
Riuer, and the tyde spent, anchored against a litle Iland on the South-side some foure leagues vp.
From October till May, the winds are generally Easterly, and downe the Riuer which much
hindred our course vp the same. We past vp by tydes, intending to stay at a Towne called Tan-
koronalle, but ouer-shot it in the night, and the next morning were against another Towne foure
leagues

Tankoronalle.

- Tindobauge.* leagues higher, called *Tindobauge*. Our ship with her Ordnance might here come both sides the Riuer.
- Here dwelt *Emanuel Corseen* a *Portugall*, which told vs that Master *Tomson* was killed by one of his Company, and that the rest were in health. It was intended the *Sion* should stay here, and therefore the Kings Customers were paid, who dwelt some fixe miles from the Riuer, but had his drunken Officers to receiue them.
- The Voyage vp the Riuer.* Leaving her with five and twentie men and boyes. On Wednesday, the nine and twentieth, the *Saint Iohn* and two shallops, we set sayle vp the Riuer twelue men in the bigger, with *Henry Lowe*, and thirteene in the lesser with my selfe, which with the Boat towed her vp in calmes.
- Pudding Iland. Maugegar.* On the first of December, we came to *Pudding Iland*, sixteene leagues from the ship. The second, we anchored against a little Creeke which leads into a Towne *Maugegar*. We went to this Towne, meeting by the way a *Portugall*, called *Bastian Roderigo*, who gaue mee an Ounces skinne. On Munday the fourth, the King with his *Alcade* came aboard, and drunke himselfe with his Consorts so drunke, that the Customs were deferred till next day. *Henry Lowe* agreed for a house, and left there *Humfrey Davis*, *Iohn Blithe*, and one *Nicholas* a prettie youth, which two last dyed there. On the seuenth, we passed thence by a Towne on the North-side, called *Wolley, Wolley*, bigger then any wee had yet seene, and in the after-noone came to an anchor at *Cassan* (where the *Katharine* was betrayed) where no *Portugall* would now be seene. This King is vnder the great King of *Bursall*. The *Alcade* shewed vs friendship, and told vs that the *Portugals* had hired men of that Towne to kill vs as we went vp, in some narrower Strights of the Riuer, for feare whereof we could not get any *Blackman* to goe with vs to be our Pilot and Linguist. This Towne is populous and after their manner warlike. We here had intelligence, that Salt is a good Commoditie about in the Riuer, and that within eight dayes there would come a Carauan from *Tynda* for Salt before this place.
- Pomeron. Ieraconde.* On the fourttenth, we came to a Towne on the South-side, called *Pompeton*, about which dwells no *Portugall* in this Riuer. Next morning we came to the Port of *Ieraconde*, two miles from which dwelt *Farran* a perpetuall Drunkard, but which held his Countrey in greatest awe. Hence *Henry Lowe* sent a slaue with a Letter to *Oranto* sixteene miles off, where the *English* dwelt. On the seuenteenth, *Matthew Broad* and *Henry Bridges* came to vs by Land, which were exceeding glad after so long space to see their Countrymen, as we also to heare them report their securitie amongst those wild people. *Broad* said, much good might bee done vp the Riuer, but that it must be done without delay, the Riuer falling daily. Conming within fixe miles of *Oranto* we landed and went thither, where *Brewer* which had beene at *Tinda* with *Tomson*, filled vs with golden hopes. But the neglect of bringing Salt thorough ignorance or emulation was a hinderance. The King of *Oranto* abode on the other side of the Riuer; his name *Summa Tumba*, a blind man and subiect to the great King of *Cantore*. We went to him and had a speech made to him of thankfulness, for our Countreymens kind vsage; His answer was repeated by the mouth of another, after the fashion of the Countrey: which Ceremonie done, he made hast to drowne his wits in the *Aquanita* and good liquor we brought him. His Custome paid, we departed.
- English at Oranto.* The one and twentieth, I sent away my Boat, & the next day came abundance of people; some to sell; all to begge; the King sometimes by his Wife, sometimes by his Daughter, but euery day his Sonnes were there, and likewise diuers others of the better sort, but Count, from many great persons: which word they vse for commendations. You must returne something againe, or it will be ill taken.
- Oranto.* On Christmas day, *Ferambra* sent vs as much Elephants flesh as one could well carrie, new killed. This *Ferambra* went foure miles off, and was a friend of our people, and when the *Portugals* had dealt with the King of *Naoy*, to kill them all, who sent his forces to performe it, he put himselfe and his people in Armes for their defence, and conueyed them ouer the Riuer to his Brother, called *Bo Iohn*, and saued their goods. On the one and thirtieth, came the Shallop backe.
- Ferumbra said.* We being ten white men, went the second of Ianuary from *Oranto* for *Tinda*: the first tyde we went to *Batto*, *Bo Iohns* Towne, and there agreed with a young *Marybucke* to goe with vs. *Lowe*s emulation hindred vs with delayes, both now and before. On the sixth, *Sumaway*, King of *Bereck* vnder the great King of *Cantore*, came aboard with his Wife, and begged our courtesie. We tooke in *Sanguilly*, a blacke Boy, who had liued with Master *Tomson*, and spake prettie *English*. On the ninth, we anchored in a vast place both at noone and night, where was a world of Sea-horses, whose pathes where they went on shore to feed, were beaten with tracts as great as *London* high-way. Next morning we anchored at *Massamacoadum*, fifteene leagues from *Pereck*. On the eleuenth, at *Benauko*. The twelfth, after rockie passages to *Baraconda*. The tyde went no further. Beyond were no Townes, neere the Riuer, nor Boates nor people to be seene.
- Batto.* On the fourteenth, *Bacay Tombo*, the chiefe man of the Towne, came a board with his wife, and brought vs a Beeffe. We hired another *Marybuck*, because they are people which may trauell free-
- Sea-horses, high-ways.*

freely: & now were ten white and foure blacke. Hauing now the streame against vs, we durst not for feare of Rockes in the night, nor could for immoderate heat in the Suns height proceed, but were forced to chuse our houres in the morning till nine, and after three in the afternoone. We past by *Wolley* a small Riuer, and found about shallow waters, wherein were many Sea Horses curuetting and snorting hard by vs, one came swimming by vs dead and stinking, yet the *Negros* were displeased they might not eate him.

On the seuenteenth, on both sides the Riuer we saw thousands of Baboones and Monkies. A Sea Horse gaue the Boat a shrewd blow, but did no harme. We had still our Canoe before vs to sound the depth.

10 On the eighteenth, we were forced to enter the Riuer naked, very fearefull of the Bumbos, (so they call the Crocodiles) and carry the Boat against the current, and ouer or thorow the sand, heauing and shouing till we come in deepe water.

The nineteenth, we met with a violent current, that all the strength of sixe Oares could preuaile, but a mile in an houre. The twentieth, on the Star-board side, we had *Cantore* Riuer, which hath a faire entrance, where *Ferran Cabo* is the great King. On the one and twentieth, we sent a shoare to the Mountaine tops, whence might be perceiued onely Desarts, replenished with terrible wild Beasts, whose roaring we heard euery night. The Blackes are so afraid of the Bumbos, that they dare not put their hands into the water, diuers of them being by them deuoured. Yet did they auoid from vs, whether it were our noise or multitude which caused it.

Some we saw thirty foot long, yet would not come neere vs. On the two and twentieth, wal-

20 king on the banke, I espied sixteene great Elephants together hard by me. A Blacke with me fell a trembling. The sedge in the place was almost as high againe as our heads; so that we could not be seene till we were within Pistoll shot of them. We saw diuers little ones by their sides. We made an offer to shoot, but the Peece would not off, which they perceiuing began to run, in a miles space not so much as turning nor looking behind them; making speed to the Mountaines, like a Deare in the Forrest. The *Moors* wondred at our aduenture. On the three & twentieth, we were faine to enter the water, & by strength of hand, to carry the boat a mile & a halfe into deeper water. On the foure and twentieth, we towed her, sometimes adding haling by the Boats side, as sholds and trees permitted: and met with one vehement current, ouerthwart broken rockes, so that we were forced to hold her by force, till one taking the Anchor on his neck, waded about that quicke fall, and letting it fall, we haled by our havor, and escaped that gut.

30 The five and twenty, troubled with sholds, we heard as we passed, a gush of water, hidden by the greene trees, with which water we stored our selues; that of the Riuer being so ranke with a muskie sent of the Crocodiles, as we supposed that it was distastefull; whereas this was pleasant. One of our *Moors* was taken, and like to be lost in a Whirlepoole; notwithstanding, he could swimme well, had not one of our men laid hold on him as he rose the third time, almost spent, from vnder water. On the sixe and twentie, we were comforted with the sight of the hill of *Tinda*, being high rockie land. We lent three *Moors* thither with a present to the King, and to *Buckor Sano*, a Merchant of *Tinda*, intreating him to come downe to vs with prouision, for we had no flesh. Deare and Fowle were plentifull on both sides the Riuer, had we bene prouided of a good Peece. And the Riuer fish did so taste of Muske, that (like the water) we could

40 not endure the shoare. I went ashaore to view the Riuer, & might see sometimes twentie Crocodiles one by another: and in the night, specially towards breake of day, they would call one to another, much resembling the sound of a deepe Well, and might be easily heard a League. We past the sholds, and against *Tinda* Riuer, recouered steepe water, and saw many Sea Horses, which loue deepe waters. On the thirtieth, we killed an Anthelope bigger then any *Windsore* Stagge, the blood of him drew a world of Eagles, and other Fowle; amongst which came one Stalker, a Fowle higher then a man, which we likewise killed. Presently after, came our men backe with *Buckor Sano*'s brother, and a seruant of the Kings, with Hens. Our Deare was killed in good season for their entertainment: the report passing among them current, that with

50 our thunder (so they called our Guns) we could kill whatsoever we would. They much fearing the same, as hauing neuer seene or heard it, whereof we made good vse. On Thursday, the first of February, came *Buckor Sano* with a troupe of forty people, amongst which his wife and daughter. Hauing tasted of our strong Waters, hee lay drunke aboard that night (he was neuer so after) and was sicke the next day. He gaue vs a Beafe, and many of the people brought Goats, Cocks, and Hens, which we bought easily. On Saturday, we began to trade our Salt, which is the chiefe thing they desired; other things they asked for, which we had not prouided: slaues (he told vs) were the things they held dearest; for any thing else we should

haue, if we would maintaine our comming thither, he would prouide it. We had some Elephants teeth, *Negros* Clothes, Cotten Yearne, and some gold of them. We refused to buy Hides, because we would not lade our Boat downe the Riuer, the water falling euery day, which wee kept note of by the shoare. The people came daily more and more to vs, and vpon the shoare they built houses, we also had a house open to trade vnder, so as it seemed like a pretty Towne. Our Blackes went ouer the Riuer, and three dayes after brought other people, which built a Siege

Towne

Marybuckes sacred persons, by the superstition of those parts, and are their Priests and Merchants.

Sea-horses bounding in the fresh water, both in the water and on shoare. They are like a horse, but with claws on their feet, and short legs, tuskes, manes, &c. Monkies and Baboones, Crocodiles thirty foot long. Elephants.

Muskie water distastefull.

Tinda.

Muskie fish.

Antelope.

Gun-thunder.

Salt, chiefe trade.

Towne on the other side the Riuer. And within three dayes there were five hundred, which were a more Sauage people; hauing breeches of beasts skins, neither had they euer seene any white people before. The women would run and hide themselves when we came neere them at their first comming; but after grew bold to buy and sell with vs. These people likewise were all for Salt, and had Teeth and Hides store. Our Salt was almost gone before they came; for we had but forty bushels at first.

Baiay Dinko was the chiefe man, & called by the name of his Countrey, vnder the great King of *Cantor*. Iuddies or Fiddlers. He bought and sold &c. for vs.

Baiay Dinko the chiefe was aboard, very desirous we should come againe. On that side wee saw likewise there was Gold, and those people had familiarity with each other, whereby it seemed they had trade and commerce, by some higher part of the Riuer.

On the seuenth, the King of *Ielicot* on *Tinda* side, vnder the great King of *Wolley*, came downe with his Iuddies or Fiddlers, which plaid before him and his wiues, such being the fashion of the great ones. These Iuddies are as the *Irish* Rimers: all the time he eats, they play and sing songs in his prayse, and his ancestors: When they die, they are put in an hollow tree vpright, and not buried, we gaue him a Present, and he a Beefe to vs.

Nuts of precious esteeme. He seemeth to be the *Cola*.

On the eighth, *Buckor Sano* would needs be stiled the white mans *Alcaid*; I tooke it kindly, and put about his necke a string of Christall, and a double string of Currall. *Broad* gaue him a siluer chaine, and with drinking a cup of *Rosa-solis*, and shooting off five Muskets, a solempne cry, *Alcaide, Alcaide*, was proclaimed: he adding his fiddlers musicke, the people also ready with their bowes and arrowes, his wife with matts on shoare to attend the solemnity. So soone as he came on shoare, he frankely gaue his nuts to the people, reioycing in this new honor. These nuts are of great account through all the Riuer, and are a great fauour from the King: five hundred of them will buy a wife of a great house. Their taste is very bitter, but causeth the water presently after, to taste very pleasant. This done, he went to the Kings house, who sate without doores, their fashion being as soone as it is darke, to make a fire of Reed without doores, and the best sort to haue matts, on which to sit downe, and vse their Ceremonies. He placed me by the King, and went himselfe sixe paces off, right before him, and made a speech, which one repeats after him as he speakes, to intreat his kind vsage to the white men. The King answered with a like speech, giuing vs liberty to shoot any thing on the land, and none should offend vs. *Buckor Sano* kneeled downe, and gaue him thanks, and sent vnto him in our behalfe the Currall and Christall. Whereupon the King made a long speech, concluding, that he would giue him that land whereon we were, for vs, for euer. Vpon which words, *Buckor Sano* pulled off his shirt in token of thankfulness, and kneeled downe naked, vntill diuers *Marybuckes* with their hands raked vp a heape off the ground, vpon which he lay flat with his belly, and couered him with the earth lightly from head to heele. Then with his hands he threw the earth round about amongst vs all: after which, the *Marybuckes* gathered a round heape againe together, and compassing it with a round ring of the same earth, wrote with his finger as much as the round would containe: which done, *Buckor Sano* tooke of that earth into his mouth, and put it forth againe, and then taking both his hands full of the earth, and our two *Marybuckes* following him vpon their hands and knees, they came to me where I sate, and threw it into my lap. This done, he rose vp, and two women were ready with clothes to wipe him, and a third woman with a cloth to fan him, and stepping a little off, he had his best clothes brought him, which he put on, and his sheafe of arrowes about his necke, a bow and an arrow in his hand. He came in againe, and twenty more, with bow and arrowes, after he had gone twice or thrice about, presenting himselfe by drawing his arrow vp to the head, as if he were to shoot, he deliuered them, and sate downe by me. The rest with their bowes and arrowes came one after another, and kneeling at his foot with their faces, from him presented their bowes, as hee did. Then began others to dance after their fashion, at the end whereof they began to make seuerall speeches, (for euery one of the better sort will haue his speech) wherewith we were weary, and left them for that night. Our manner was to set our watch with a Psalme, which they hearing, would be still, and after a shot would leaue vs quiet till morning.

The Countrey giuen to the English.

In this manner the Kings take possession of the lands they came to.

Iron preferred before Gold.

Much Gold.

Combaconda. *Tombuto*.

I shewed this *Buckor Sano* a small Globe, and our Compasse, whereupon he told vs that he had seene with his eyes a Countrey Southward, whose houses were all couered with gold, the people wearing iron in rings through their lips and eares, and other places, to which place hee told vs it was foure moones trauell. Hee told vs likewise of a people which hee called *Ara-becke*, who came vnto this Countrey, and would be at a Towne, called *Mombarr*, but sixe dayes iourney from *Tinda*, the second moone after, which was in March. And there was a Town called *Iaye*, from whence much gold came, but three dayes iourney from *Mombarr*, whither these *Ara-beckes* went not. More I might haue knowne, had not the emulations of my companie hindered, who would not suffer the blacke boy to let me know what he speake.

Some people which came to vs, were of *Combaconda*, a Towne foure dayes iourney thence, which we thinke is *Tombuto*. A *Marybucke* was here of Master *Tomsons* acquaintance, borne in *Iaye*, which would not company with the people of *Tinda*, but came to vs, and told vs that many people were comming, but were sent backe by some that returned, and reported our Salt was gone. He offered, if we were past these people, he would vndertake to bring vs to *Mombarr* and

and Gago, We made haste to be gone: for by our marke the water was sunke aboute fixe inches, promising to returne in May, when the water increased. We called this place Saints Johns Mart.

On Saturday the tenth of February, we came away, the wind and streame serued, but wee durst not sayle for the sholds, nor row by night. On Wednesday at night, hauing but three miles to Baraconde, by the Moores intreatie wee went thither ouer Land, and passed easily in fixe dayes downe, what had cost vs twelue dayes labour and trouble. We had a great chase at an Elephant, wounded and made him flie, but lost him in the high sedge, and after found him in the Riuer, where being shot in the eare he turned head on vs, and made vs row off, and leaue him thrice wounded, our Peece failing in the discharge.

Munday the nineteenth, we came to Butto, Bo Johns Towne, wee had out first Marybucke and the blacke Boy which spake English, whose age of fixteene yeares was now ripe for their Circumcision. Hither we came in season for that Solemnitie, hearing before we came, shoutes, Drummes and Countrey Musicke. The Boy knew the meaning, and told vs it was for cutting off prickles, a world of people being gathered for that purpose, like an English Faire. Vnder euerie great tree, and among all their houses at night were fires without doores, and in especiall places dancing, the Muscull Instruments made with Keyes like vnto Virginals, whereupon one playes with two stickes which haue round Balls of leather at the end, about their wrists Iron Bracelets, They are called Ballardes, and contayne some seuentene Keyes. The women for the most part dance with strange bending of their bodies, and cringing of their knees, their legges crooked, the standers by keeping a time in clapping their hands together to grace the dance. If the men dance, it is one alone with such Swords as they weare, naked in his hand, with which he acteth.

About two furlongs from their houses vnder a great tree were many fires, and much drumming with great noyse: here they said were those which were cut, but would not suffer mee to goe see. Some distance beyond we might heare a great roaring noyse, which they fearefully said was the voyce of Hore, that is, after their imposture a Spirit, which approacheth at great Feasts, for whom they prouide store of Rice, Corne, Beeffe, and other flesh readie drest, which is instantly deuoured. And if he be not satisfied, he carries some of their Sonnes (the vncircumcised Females he regards not) and keepes nine dayes or more in his belly, then to bee redeemed with a Beeffe, or other belly-timber: and so many dayes after must they be mute, and cannot be enforced to speake. This seemes an illusion of their Priests to exact Circumcision, and the hoarseness of some shewed, they had lost their throats in that roaring. This roaring, shouting and dancing continued all night. We saw our blacke Boy circumcised, not by a Marybucke, but an ordinary fellow hackling off with a Knife at three cuts his prapuce, holding his member in his hand, the Boy neyther holden nor bound the while. He was carryed to the rest, nor would they suffer our Surgeon to heale him. The people in twentie miles space came in to this Feast with their prouision.

I made haste backe to Setico, to meete the Tinda Merchants, and on the fixe and twentieth, being within two miles of the place, I receiued a great and dangerous blow by a Sea-horse which endangered our sinking, but we made shift to stop it with some losse. We came to Setico foure miles from the water side, the greatest Towne we saw in the Countrey, higher then which the Portugall Trade not, and from hence carry much Gold; the most of the Inhabitants Marybuckes, and the Towne gouerned by one of them, called Fodea Brani. They are stored with Asses and Slaues, their Merchandize Salt. The chiefe Marybucke dying, there came multitudes of people to his Funerall. Of the Graue-Earth digged for him euery principall Marybucke, made a Ball mingled with water out of one pot, which they esteemed as a Relike. They lay all sweet smels they can get into the ground with him, and tooke it kindly that I bestowed some. Much Gold is buried with them, or before by themselves in a priuate place, for their vse in another World. Much singing, or howling, and crying is vsed many dayes about the Graue. This recourse was also to establish his eldest Sonne in his dignitie, to which many Presents are sent. I saw among other beasts one Ramme of a hayrie Wooll like Goats. Sonnes succeed their Fathers, but the Kings Brethren take place before the Sonnes. The sicknesse of our men in the Saint Johns, hastened my departure.

Sunday the eleuenth of March, I returned, and on Wednesday came to the Saint John. The next day, I set forward to the Sion, and on Saturday came to Pompetan, where the Portugall made vs good cheere. Hee told vs of the Devils giuing notice of our beeing in the Riuer, and comming vp, which the circumstances made probable. On Munday, we came to Cassan, a hill where the Sion did ride: the Master and many others dead, and not about foure able men in the Company.

Here we lay from the nineteenth of March, to the eighteenth of Aprill, wee weighed and came the next morning to anchor against Wolley, Wolley, vnder the King of Cassan. Whiles wee were there, came a new King from the King of Bursall to take possession of the Countrey, the old King being elected as the Sonne of a Captiue woman, whereas this was right Heire by both

Parents, and now come of age, who now transported himselfe and his over the Riuer, to giue place to this new King, which promised vs all kindnesse.

The twentieth, we came to *Mangegar*, within a mile of which, euery Munday is a great concourse and market, but miserable Merchandize. The last of Aprill, the Saint *Iohn* came to vs, and the fourth of May we sayled downe the Riuer together. From May to October, it blowes vp the Riuer except in the *Ternado*, which comes for the most part South-east. On the eighteenth, we prepared our Shallop. On the nineteenth, we set vp Tents on the shoare. The King of the Countrey called *Cumbo*, came to vs, and was very kind and familiar, promising all fauour, labours of calking and other businesse, watching and Musketos, which here exceedingly abounded, did much molest vs. On the ninth, wee turned out of the Riuer. Next morning before day, we had a violent storme, or *Ternado*, with Thunder, Lightning, and exceeding store of raine. This weather is frequent from May to September. Wee put in at *Tranisco* for Workmen, our Carpenters being dead. Thence we hasted home.

CHAP. II.

* Translated out of Dutch by G. Artus Dantisc. and the sixth part of De Bry, his Ind. Orient. The Voyage from the Tessel, Nouember the first, 1600. til Ianuary the third, when they arriued at Mourre, I omit.

*A description and historicall declaration of the golden Kingdome of Guinea, otherwise called the golden Coast of Myna, lying in a part of Africa, shewing their beliefe, opinions, traffiquing, bartering, and manner of speech; together with the situation of the Countrey, Townes, Cottages, and Houses of the same; with their Persons and Proportions, Hauens and Riuers, as they are now found out and discovered: all perfectly viewed and curiously discovered, and written by one that hath oftentimes bene there. Translated out of Dutch, conferred also with the Latine Edition, * and contracted.*

§. I.

What course the ships hold which seeke to goe to the Gold Coast of Guinea. Of Cape Verde, and the course from thence.



Each ships as passe by the Ilands of *Canadai*, must thence (if they will haue traffique at *Cape Verde*) hold their course South and by East, and South South-east, till they be vnder fifteene degrees, and then seeing no Land, they must hold their course East, till they find Land, and not South because of stormes, which alwayes come from the East, and hauing done at *Cape Verde*, they must hold their course somewhat South and by West, vntill they be a good way from the Land, or at least without it, for that commonly they can hardly get from the Land, by reason of the stormes, and the wind that comes out of the Sea, which alwayes driueth them to the Land, whereby commonly men are neerer to the Land, then oftentimes they thinke they are. And those that meane also to traffique on the Coast of *Manigette*, when they are about the *Bassis* of *Rio grande*, then they must seeke to get to the Land, that they may enter into *Sierra Leona*, and other Riuers, there to make their profit, and all along the Coast in other Riuers and Townes, vntill they come to *Cape de las Palmas*, and then they must take their course along by the *Cape de tres puntas*. But they that desire not to goe neerer to *Cape Verde*, or the *Graine* * Coast, but only seeke to goe right forth, to the Gold Coast of *Myna*, hold their course by the Ilands of *Canaria*, and sayle Southward, vntill they haue past by the Ilands of *Cape Verde*, leauing them commonly on *Bagh-boord*, or as the wind serueth them, being vnder ten, nine, or eight degrees, then they begin to make towards the Land, and to hold their course South and by East, and by the same course to seeke to get about all *Bassis* and shallowes, without altering their course, for they that fall vpon *Saint Annes* shallowes, lying vnder sixe degrees, haue much labour and pain before they can get off from them again; and on the other side they lose a great deale of time, oftentimes thinking that they are off from the shallowes, when their ship is still vpon them, which is because it is no continuall shallow, but full of deepe pits: for in one place you shall haue three fathome deepe, and then againe ten fathome, and then againe, the streame driues you still to Land, so that many men by meanes of their negligence know not what to do, and are put to much trouble before they can bring their Voyage to an end. Now, sayling further, and comming vnder seuen and sixe degrees, there commonly you find calmes, specially, when it

Sierra Leona. & las Palmas.

* The *Graine* Coast, is *Manigette*, so called of a kind of Grape. *Baixas de S. Anna*.

it is not a time of Trauadoes, which is in Aprill, May, and Iune, whereof men are in great feare. It fell out so with vs, that beeing vnder those highthes, we were twentie dayes driuing in a calme, without winning any great highth, and that which we wonne with the Current, the next day we lost it againe with a contrary wind; so that you must beware of the Land in any hand, specially, those that goe to *Brasilia*, for they must take heed, not to goe too neere the Land, lest the calme taketh them: I once found a ship thereabouts, which thought to sayle to the Bay, *de Todos los Santos*, and thinking that the streame draue him vpon the Coast of West India, fell there vpon the Graine Coast, so that hee was forced to goe backe againe, and beeing not able to fall into his right course, hee was constrained to leaue it, and in stead of sayling to *Brasilia*, he was forced to goe to Saint Thomas, so that vnder those highthes, you can doe nothing with the wind, but onely by the current, which alwaies runnes East with the bough.

They that sayle to East India, also shunne this calme as much as possible they may, to get a-boue the sand, or rife of *Brasilia*, for otherwise they must whether they will or not, goe to Cape *Toxes Gonsalues*, and then sayle along vnder the Equinoctiall Line, at least three or foure hundred miles, before they can get againe into their right course, as it happened not long since to some of our ships, which was a great hinderance vnto their Voyage, further hauing past this calme, and towards the Land about Cape *de las Palmas*, or to some other places, which you know, then you must hold your course along by the Land, but no neerer to the Land then eight and twentie fathomes deepe, till you come to Cape *de tres punctus*, where the Golden Coast begins, and where the *Hollanders* traffique with the *Negroes*.

20 First, passing the River of *Senega*, you begin to draw neere to Cape Verde, which is a piece of Land easily to be knowne, for the first point sheweth it selfe with two hillockes or houels, and lyeth farre into the Sea, and on both the North and South-side thereof loseth the Land, but Southward from the point, about halfe a mile from the Land, there is an Iland seene, whereon many Fowles breed, and great numbers of Egges are found therein, behind this Iland there lyeth a great Rocke, a little separated from the Land. This Iland is very vnfit to rayse shallops on, you may sayle betweene the Land and this Iland, with a ship of three hundred and twentie tuns, but not without great feare, for that there are many Rockes lying vnder the water, but for the best securitie of ship and goods, it is better to sayle on the West side of the Iland to the other Iland, where shallops may be set together, which you may see being right against the first Iland, lying about three miles Southeast from the other: these Ilands are not inhabited, and there is nothing to be had in them but great store of ballast and wood to burne, but for that there is a conuenient Valley to make shallops in, therefore those places are much vsed, and are the cause that many ships sayle to them, but on the firme Land there are great store of *Negroes* inhabiting, which traffique with all Nations.

The Countrey people goe naked, only that they hang a piece of Linnen cloth before their priuie members, but their *Gouernours* (as *Captaines* and *Gentlemen*) are better apparelled then the common sort of people, and are well knowne by their Garments to be such. They go in a long Cotton Garment close about them like a womans smocke, full of blue stripes, like feather bed tikes, on their armes they weare many foure-cornerd leather bagges, all close ioyned together, and the like vpon their legges, but what is within them, I know not, because they will not let vs see. About their neckes they weare Beads made of Sea-horse Teeth, and some Corals, or Beades which wee bring them, on their heads they weare Caps of the same stuffe that their clothes are, they are people that are very industrious and carefull to get their liuings, their chiefest Trade is Husbandry, to sowe Rice and Corne: their great riches is in Cowes, which there are very scant and deare, but further into the Countrey there are great store, for that men lade whole ships full of Salt hides at *Porta dallia*, which they take in exchange or barter for Iron, which place lyeth but seuen or eight miles from Cape Verde. They make very faire Iron worke, and in that Countrey, there is great store of Iron spent, specially faire long barres, whereof they are as curious as any man in the World can be, those they vse to make Instruments of, wherewith to fish, and to labour vpon the Land, as also to make weapons, as Bowes, Arrowes, *Aponers*; and * *Assagayen* they haue no knowledge of God, those that traffique and are conuersant among strange Countrey people, are ciuiller then the common sort of people, they are very greedie eaters, and no lesse drinkers, and very lecherous, and theeuish, and much addicted to vncleanenesse: one man hath as many wiues as hee is able to keepe and maintaine.

The women also are much addicted to lecherie, specially, with strange Countrey people, of whom they are not ialous, as of their owne Countrey people and Neighbours; their Religion is after the manner of *Mahomets* law, for circumcision and such like toyes. They are also great Lyers, and not to be credited, the principall Commodities that men traffique for there, are Hides, Amber-greece, Gumme of *Arabia*, Salt, and other wares of small importance, as Rice, Graine, Teeth, and some Ciuet. The *Portugals* also dwell there, with other Nations, wherewith they may freely traffique, because they are not subiects to the King of *Spaine*; and besides, that they are not Masters of the Countrey, and haue no command but ouer their slaues. The *Negroes* are vnder the command of their owne *Gouernours*, which are called *Algaier* in their Language, which is a Captain of a Village, for euery Village hath his feuerall *Algaier*, and when

All Saints Bay.

See what happened to the *Dragon* and *Hector* in *Captaine Keelings* Voyage, Lib. 3. Description of Cape Verde.

The people & their apparell.

Kind of Darts made Iauelin-fashion at both ends.

Their women.

Commodities.

any ship come to anchor there, then the Captaine comes presently aboard with a Canoe, to aske Anchoridge money, which is commonly three barres of Iron, but of such as know not their custome, they take as much as they can; their bodies are very blacke, and of a good proportion. When they speake, they put out their neckes, like Turkie Cockes, and speake very fast. They haue a speech by themselves.

The course
from Cape
Verde.
Miles are to
be vnderstood
Dutch, or as
the Latin
hath, leagues
leacæ seu mil.
gallica.

*Nesurade R.
Chofes.

Note.

Melli.

Leauing Cape Verde, to saile to the Golden Coast of *Myna*, the course is best (if the wind will serue) along by the land, to the place where you will Trafique, and deale with the *Negros*: from Cape Verde to *Rio de Gambia*, it is fife and twenty miles, from *Rio Gambia* to the *Baixas* of *Rio Grande* thirty miles, from thence to *Sierra Liona*, threescore miles; there is a good place to lie in the Winter time, for in the entrie of the Riuer you haue fife fathome deepe at the least, 10 and so for the space of fourteene miles going South-east, towards the Roade, you haue sixteene, fourteene, twelue, ten, and eight fathome water: from the Riuer of *Sierra Liona*, to *Rio de Galinas*, (that is, the Riuer of *Hens*, because there arne many Hens, and very good cheape, at a Mefken a peece) forty miles, from *Rio de Galinas* to Cape de *Monte* eighteene miles, the land of Cape de *Monte* reacheth South-east, and by South, it is a low land, but the Cape is high land, like a hill, or like a horse necke, with a falling in: from Cape de *Monte*, to Cape dos *Baixas*, fiftie miles; from Cape de *Bassis* to Cape de *das Palmas*, fiftie miles. These are the three principallest Capes of all the gold Coast; this Cape lieth vnder foure Degrees, and is the furthest land of all the Coast, which reacheth towards the Equinoctiall line, all the land for the most part lieth South-east, and North-west, low ground, sometimes rising, but no high hills to be seene inward 20 to the land; from Cape *das Palmas*, to Cape de *Apollonia*, and so to Cape de *tres Punctus* sixtie miles, from Cape de *Monte*, to Cape de *Miserade*, *sixteene miles (this Cape is a high land) from Cape de *Miserade* to *Rio de Ceste*, foure and twentie miles, all along hither to you, haue good Anchor ground at twelue fathome, the West point is rising land, like to a hill that riseth and sheweth it selfe within the Countrey, when you are North) from it you are then right against *Rio de Cestes*, before in the mouth of the Riuer, there lieth a small Island, and the Village where you Traffique, lieth a mile vpwards within the Riuer. From *Rio de Cestes* to Cape *das Baixos* fife miles, this Cape sheweth like a saile, and it is a white Rocke which lieth out into the Sea, being two miles from the Cape you saw, foure and thirty, and fife and thirty fathome water, good Anchor ground, you may hold your course along by the land at two and thirty, 30 three & thirty, and foure & thirty fathome deepe; but go no neere if you desire not to go to the gold Coast, because of stormes, with a wind out of the Sea, as also because of Rockes, and foule ground, that are, and is found to be there, which will rather hurt, then doe you good. From Cape de *Bassis* to *Sanguin* three miles, there is much Graine to be bought, and good Traffique to be made. From *Sanguin* to *Bosoe* a mile and a halfe, there also is Traffique; from *Bosoe* to *Sertres* two miles, there also you may Traffique, and it is a good place: from *Sertres* to *Botowa* two miles, it is also a good place to Traffique in: from *Botowa* to *Synno*, fife miles. There also is Traffique; from *Synno* to *Sonweroboe* three miles, from *Sonweroboe* to *Baddoe* two miles, from *Baddoe* to *Cron* two miles; from *Cron* to *Wappa* foure miles; from *Wappa* to *Granchetre* two miles: This the *French* men call *Paris* (from *Granchetre* to *Goyana*, foure miles, thither there commeth great store of Graine to sell, and it is a good place to Traffique in with the *Negros*, 40 from *Goyana* to Cape de *das Palmas* three miles, all this from Cape Verde to Cape de *das Palmas* is called the Graine or golden Coast (otherwise *Mellegette*) wherein the Kingdome of *Mellie* is contained, which by vs that are the *Netherlanders* is called the Graine Coast: but by others it is called the Coast of *Mellegette*: This Kingdome of *Mellie* hath an other Kingdome vnder it, called *Bitonni*, which lieth not farre from *Rio Cestes*.

The Kingdome of *Mellie* is rich of Corne, Graine, Rice, Cotten, and Flesh, and some Elephants, where by they sell many of their teeth vnto strangers. The inhabitants are mischieuous and cruell, (yet better in one place then in another) alwayes seeking to spoile and intrap strangers, that come thither, and cruelly to murder them; but some Countrey-men are better welcome vnto them then others, and those are *Frenchmen*, because of their long Traffique 50 into those Countreys. The *Portugalls* come very little thither, one Countrey men are better entertained in one place then in another, & that by reason they haue sometimes swaggred there abouts, and for that cause the *Negros* seeke to be reuenged. The greatest Traffique here is Graine, Teeth, and some Rice; other Wares that are there to be had cannot be bartered for in any great quantity, as gold and Teeth, for there is little to be had, but other necessities for sustenance of man, are there reasonably to be had, and wine of Palme, which they draw out of the trees, is there very delicate, exceeding sweet, and as excellent as any can be found in those Coasts. The Inhabitants are subiects to their Captain, whom they call *Taba*, and are very submis- 60 sive and ready to obey his commandement. The Kings or Captaines of their Villages, are very graue, and rule with great seueritie, holding their subiects in great subiection. Their Language differereth in the one place from the other: but most of them speake a little *French*, by reason, that they are vsed to deale much with the *French* men, and so get some part of their speech, as they on the gold Coast also doe, who likewise speake a little *Portugall*, by reason also that the *Portugalls* in times past vsed to Traffique much there. They are very expert in husbandry, as to some

some Graine, wherewith they haue a great Traffique, they are also very cunning, and fine workmen to make many fine things; specially, very faire Canoes or small Scutes, wherewith they also rowe into Sea, which they cut out of a whole tree (like to a *Venetian Goudel*) which are very swift to goe; the men haue as many wiues as they can maintaine, but they keepe them very short, and lobke neere vnto them. They are likewise very lealous of their wiues: for if they perceiue that any of their wiues haue plaid false with them, they will seeke great reuenge against the partie that hath done them the wrong, and will make warre vpon him, and for that cause, raise all their Countrey, so that the women are not here so common, as on the golden Coast of *Mina*, and else where. Passing further from Cape *dás Palmas*, you find many Riuer,

10 where you may barter for great store of Teeth, to Cape *de Tres Punetas*, and for that cause it is called the tooth Coast.

Passing Cape *de Apolonia*, (which lieth betweene Cape *las Palmas*, and Cape *de Tres Punetas*) five miles further: there lieth a small Castle, but not strong, which is held by the *Portugalls*, the Village is called *Achombene*, and the Castle *Ariem*, there many *Negros* dwell, but come seldom aboard our ships that lie there at Anchor, which the *Portugalls* forbid them to doe. Thus you haue read the Description of the Graine or gold Coast, as also the Tooth Coast, and now you shall read of the Coast of *Mina*. * And first of the Iron people in this golden Coast.

* See Cap. 8.

§. II.

How they marrie each with other, and what goods their Fathers giue with their Children; their House-keeping together; the womans lying in; education of their Children: Their proportions, industrie and conditions.

When their children begin to attaine to yeeres of discretion, and are able to be married to a wife, Then the father seeketh out a wife for his Son, which he thinks wil like his Son well, and yet he neuer saw, nor knew her before, & without wooing each other. Who being thus brought together, the Father giueth nothing at all with his son towards household; but if he hath gotten any thing himselfe, by fishing or carrying Merchants aboard the ship, that is his owne to begin household withall. But the Brides friends, giue the value of fourteene Gulderns in gold with their daughter, for their marriage good; which is to be vnderstood, that if they be any thing worth, then the Father giueth his daughter a *Peso* and a halfe of gold, and the mother halfe a *Peso* of gold: which after our reckoning altogether, is halfe an ounce of gold Troy weight, which they giue them to buy wine *de Palma*, to keepe their Bridall withall: for she hath nothing else, but that which her Father and Mother giueth her, for she getteth nothing in her youth, as her husband did. And if it be a Kings sonne or daughter, they also giue no more with them to their marriage; for it is a common custome with them to giue no more with their daughters in marriage, then they giue them as a liberalitie, but when they goe to keepe house, they giue them a slaue to serue them. Besides this, the Bride in the presence of her friends which come to the Banquet, maketh a promise, and sweareth, to be true to her husband, and not to vse the bodily company of any other man; but the man taketh no such oath, but is free thereof.

Provision of a wife.

Portion.

Rites of marriage.

Now, if she chanceth to commit whoredome with an other man, either willingly or against her will, and that her husband heareth thereof, then he must put her away for it; and the man that hath committed the act, shall forfeit to the King foure and twenty *Pesos* (which after our account is nine ounces) of gold. But if it be a *Dutch* man, he payeth no fine, because he is a stranger, and knew not whether the woman was married or not, which excuseth him: yet the fault is laid vpon the woman that hath done such an offence, and she must pay to her husband foure *Pesos*, or halfe an ounce of gold, because she committed adultery with another man. If she hath gotten any thing; but if she hath nothing, and cannot pay the fine to her husband, it excuseth her not: for if he hath no great fantasie to his wife, or that they haue little affection one vnto the other; if he will, he may put her away from him, and as then the band of Matrimonie is broken betweene them, and he may take an other wife when he will.

Diuorce and forfeiture.

But if he cannot learne that his wife hath committed such a fact, by information of other men, but presumeth it of himselfe, or suspecteth that his wife hath laine with any other man, he chargeth her with it, and making her eate certaine Salt, vseth other Ceremonies of their Idolatrous *Fetissos*, wherewith the woman knowing her selfe to be cleere, and not to haue committed adultery with an other man, willingly taketh her oath. But knowing her selfe to be faulty, she dare not take her oath fearing, that if she should forswear her selfe, her *Fetisso* would make her die, whereby oftentimes the wife discouers her owne offence, and procureth the means to moue her husband to be deuorced from her, which chiefly hapneth, by meanes of the Ielousie; which the man hath of his first wife, for it causeth a great hatred and contention be-

Trial of Ielousie.

H h h h h 2

twene

tweene them, because it is a great scandall vnto him, and oftentimes there groweth so great strife about it, that he seeketh to murder the man that doth the fault, and although he hath paid the fine imposed vpon him, the married man hath the Priuiledge to driue him out of the Towne.

Polygamy.

Further, when they keepe house together, if the man beginneth to thriue, and hath meanes to buy an other wife, he may not buy her without the consent of his first wife, vnlesse he were at controuersie with her, and put her away, for some thing that he could charge her withall; but with her good will he may buy another. He giueth his first wife sixe Englishen of gold, or two, three, foure or five, as much as he can get, or hath need of, keeping his other wife for his slaue, or to serue him, or for his Etigufou, or in our Language, his Whore or Concubine, to whom he beareth not so great affection, nor is not so iealous of her, as of, and to his wife, and those serue for euery man, for he may complaine of no man for her, nor cause him to pay any fine for her. His first wife waxing old, and her mind being not so much addicted vnto lust, if he perceiueth it, then he cleaueth to his yonger wife, to haue his pleasure with her, and euer after esteeming most of her, maketh his old wife doe the household worke, giuing her meat and drinke as long as she liueth, and putteth her not away, but she is forced to serue the yong wife, and shall neuer trouble her selfe with any thing, but onely to eate and drinke well, to haue a care to please her husband, and to doe whatsoeuer he commandeth.

Their meates.

Although a man hath as many wiues as he is able to keepe, yet all are not of one, but of severall ages, the one yonger then the other, that they may be the better serued by their wiues. For when the eldest can doe no more for age, (that he may not want worke) and that the yongest wiues might doe him more pleasure, they make most of the yongest; and euery wife dwelleth in a house by her selfe, although he had ten wiues, as many of them haue. The wife keepes her husbands money, and when he needeth any, he fetcheth some of her. They eate not one with the other, but either of them alone by themselves; the husband eateth with one of his companions that he dealeth with, or with whom he goeth to Sea: his wiues also eate with their friends or neighbours, euery one bringing their meat with them, and so make good cheare together, and at euening, the women goe home to their houses againe, and are together but in the day time. The man and wife lie each of them in a severall roome, at night, spreading a mat vpon the ground, and lay a wooden stoole vnder their heads, in stead of a pillow, and then making a little fire of wood, when it burneth they lie downe, with the soles of their feet before it, that the heat thereof might draw out the cold, which they by day haue drawne vp into them from the earth (by going bare-footed, esteeming it to be very good for them, which we must also acknowledge. Now, when he hath a desire to vse any of his wiues, either he calleth or fetcheth her, and that night helieth with her, & the next day, she goeth to her house againe, where she dwelleth, not once making any of the rest acquainted, what she did that night, or that her husband lay with her; for then they would be too iealous.

Beds.

The Irish doe the like.

Child-birth.

Being with child, when their time of deliuerance, and bringing forth of their child into the world commeth, when she is in labour, both men, women, maids, yong men & children, run vnto her, and she in most shamelesse manner, is deliuered before them all. I would say much more hereof, but in respect of the credit of women, I will leaue it. When the child is borne, she goes to the water to wash & make cleane her selfe, not once dreaming of a moneths lying in, nor of making Caudles of Ipocras, and other wines, as women here with vs vse to doe: they vse no Nurfes to helpe them when they lie in child-bed, neither seeke to lie dainty and soft; but they presently take a spoonefull of Oyle, and a handfull of Manigette or Graine, whereof they make a drinke, and drinke it vp.

Names.

The next day after, they goe abroad in the streets, to doe their businesse, as other women doe. They giue their child such a name, as they thinke good to themselves, and blesse the same with their *Fetisses*, and other witchcrafts, and when time serueth, circumsise both boyes and girles: at which time they make a great feast, whereof they make great account. But where the women are most shamelesse at the time of the birth of their children, the men in three moneths after, lie not with that wife, nor once haue the vse of her body, which neuerthelesse, I thinke they doe not, for any shame or regard that they haue, to deale with that woman, but onely because they haue other wiues enough. They take the yong child as soone as it is borne, and wrapping a cleane cloth about the middle thereof, lay it downe on a mat vpon the ground, and not in a cradle, and there let it turne and sprawle about, and doe what it will, and when it is two or three moneths old, the mother ties the child with a peece of cloth at her backe, and so lets it hang there, as the high *Dutches* wiues vse to follow their husbands in the warres. When the child crieth to sucke, the mother casteth one of her dugs backward ouer her shoulder, and so the child suckes it as it hangs. The women goe vp and downe from place to place, and still carry their children in that sort, as lightly, as if they had nothing at their backes, the childs head lies iust vpon her shoulder, and so she goes shaking of the child most pitifully to behold, whereby we wondered that they brake not the childs ioyns, by bearing them in that sort, being so young, and yet you find very few or no lame persons in those Countreys. They teach their children

Vfage of children.

dren to goe very young, for they make no reckoning thereof, and suffer them to creepe and runne abroad when they are very little, and teach them to speake very soone, whereby you find many children there among them that can both goe and speake ere they bee a yeare old, and some of them speake so plainly, that you may vnderstand what they say in their Language, for they speake and goe farre sooner then our children doe, which we wondred at, besides this, they are strong, fat and well disposed, whereof we will speake hereafter in another place.

- The children being a moneth or two old, then they hang a Net about the bodie thereof, like a little shirt, which is made of the barke of a tree, which they hang full of their *Fetisses*, as golden Croffes, strings with Corall about their hands, feet, and neckes, and their haire is filled full of shels, whereof they make great account, for they say, that as long as the young childe hath that Net about him, the Deuill cannot take nor beare the child away, and leauing it off, the Deuill would carrie it away, for they say, the childe being so little, it would not bee strong enough to resist the Deuill, but hauing that Net vpon the bodie, it is armed, and then the Deuill hath no power ouer it; the Corals which they hang about the child, which they call a *Fetisso*, they esteeme much, for that hanging such a *Fetisso* about the childes necke, they say, it is good against vomiting; the second *Fetisso*, which they hang about his necke, they say, it is good against falling the third, they say, is good against bleeding; the fourth, is very good to procure sleepe, which; they hang about the necke thereof, in the night-time, that it may sleepe well; the fift, is good against wild beasts, and the vnwholsomenesse of the Aire, with diuers other such like *Fetisses*, each hauing a name a-part, to shew what vertue it hath, and what they are good for, and they credibly beleue them to be good against vomiting, falling, bleeding, (which they presently helpe) and for sleeping, they feed their young children with all kind of grosse meates, almost from the first, for when they leaue suckling (they suffer them not to suck long) then they beginne to learne the childe to eate of their grosse meates, and to drinke water; when they be vsed thereunto, then they take little heed to them, but beate the children lying downe in their house, like Dogges, rooting in the ground like Hogges, whereby it falleth out that the young children soone learne to goe.
- Euery woman bringeth vp her owne children, and each child knoweth the Mother, and remaineth with her, vntill the Father either buyeth it of her, or that it goeth away from the Mother, it oftentimes falleth out, that the Husband taketh the child from the Mother, & selleth it to other men for a slaue. When they begin to goe, they presently learne to swimme, and to runne into the water, and when they are first borne they are not blacke, but reddish, as the *Brasilians* are; and then by little and little begin to be blacke, and at last, to bee as blacke as Pitch, and growing bigger, run vp and downe like Sauage men, Boyes and Girles together, fighting one with another, taking each others meate from them, and from their child-hood vpwards, begin to be enuious one against the other, and so grow bigger and exercise all kind of villanie and knauerie, their Parents not once teaching them any ciuilitie, nor shewing them what they should doe, suffering both Boyes and Girles to goe starke naked as they were borne, with their priuie members all open, without any shame or ciuilitie.
- They vse to beate and chasten their children most cruelly, striking them with great staues, in such sort that we wondred that they did not breake their bones, which they doe not, but for some great cause (whereby their children respect them much) and for that they beate them cruelly, so that they doe not easily forget it. Other good Discipline they teach them not, but they grow vp like wild trees: hauing spent their time thus vnciuilly, and beginning to be eight, ten, or twelue yeares old, then their Parents begin to instruct and teach them to do some thing, and to labour with their hands, the Fathers teach their Sonnes to spinne Thred made of barkes of Trees, and to knit Nets, which hauing learned they goe to Sea with their Fathers to fish, and when they know how to rowe, and to guide a Boat, then two or three Boyes will goe out together in a Canoe or Almadia to fish, and that which they take they carrie to their Parents for food, but when they are eightene or twentie yeares old, then their Sonnes beginne to deale for themselues, and leaue their Fathers, and go and dwell two or three of them together in a house, buying or hyring a Canoe, (which is one of their Boats) and therewith goe to Sea together, and what fish they get they sell for Gold, first, keeping as much as serueth for food for themselves, with that they sell, they buy a fathome of Linnen cloth, which they hang about their bodies, and betweene their legges, wherewith they couer their priuie members, for then they begin to be shame-faced; whence they proceed furtlier and beginne to deale and traffique with Merchandize, and to carrie it aboard the ship in their Canoes, and serue Merchants to carry them to and from their ships, and so learne to deale with Gold, and to get some thing. After that, beginning to be amorous, and to looke after young Wenches, then they are esteemed to bee men, which when their Fathers perceiue, they looke them out Wiues, and then they marrie, which they doe very young, so that in those Countries, Children get Children. Touching the Girles, they also begin to worke, and that some-what sooner then the Boyes, they learne to make Baskets, Mats and straw Hats of Greene Rushes, which they fold with their hands, they also learne to make Caps, Purfes, and apparell made of barkes of Trees, dyed with all kinds of colours,

Deuillish preseruatiues against the Deuill.

Fetisses.

Colour.

Correction.

Arts.

First, apparell.

Wiuing.

lours, most cunningly done, as if they were fastened together with cords, much to bee wondred at, they also learne to grind their Corne or Millia, and thereof make Bread, which they goe and sell for their Mothers, and bring them the money to buy other meate withall, and whatsoever they get, they giue it to their Mothers, who for that (when they marrie) giue them some gift, as I haue said before. In this sort the Girles begin to labour, and to learne to doe household worke, wherein according to their manner of house keeping, they are very curious, and exceed the men in cunning workmanship.

Their limbes
and members.

Long nailes, a
signe of idle
Gentrie.

The men in those Countries are of a very good proportion, with faire members, strong legs, and well-shaped bodies, which is easily to be seene, for that they goe almost naked of their bodies, they haue round faces, and no great lips, nor wide mouthes, as the *Barbarian Moores* haue, but their Noses are flat, which they make flat when they are young, for they esteeme a flat Nose to be a great ornament vnto them, and to say truth, it doth not amisse in them, for that according to the proportion of bodie, it beautifieth their faces: their eares are small, their eyes white, their eye browes very great, white teeth in their mouthes, (for they keepe their teeth very cleane, scouring them with small stickes, and thereby make them very smooth, and shining like Iuorie) they haue little beard, and are at least thirtie yeares of age, before they haue any. They haue broad sholders, thicke armes, great hands, and long fingers, and let their nailes grow very long, which they keepe very cleane with scraping, for some of them let them grow as long as the ioynt of a mans finger, which they esteeme for a great ornament, for that cause thinking themselves to be Gentlemen. The Merchants also that dwell within the Land, vse those long nailes for a great shew, for they keepe them as white as Iuorie, by scraping them, and againe they haue good vse for them, for that sometimes when they haue not a Spooone by them, and that they vntie their Purfes to weigh Gold, and wanting a Spooone to take it out, for haste they vse their long nailes, and therewith put the Gold into the Scales, and I haue seene some of them at one time, take at least halfe an ounce of small Gold like sand out of their Purfes. They haue small bellies, long legs, broad feet, and long toes, little haire vpon their bodies, curled haire vpon their heads, but not so much curled as the *Tawnie Moores*, for theirs is almost like bristels, and not like Wooll. In the palmes of their hands, vnder their feet, and vnder their lips, they are very white, their skins are as soft as Veluet, and smooth, which they raze not, they likewise haue a great priuie member, whereof they make great account, therein they much surpass our Countymen.

As they grow in yeares, they become blacker and blacker, at thirtie yeares of age beeing in their best time, but when they are seuentie or eightie yeares old, then their blacknesse beginnes to decay, and their bodies become yellowish, and their skins begin to be rugged, and to wrinkle like *Spanish Leather*; they exceed all other *Moores* in *Africa*, for proportion and stature of bodie.

Their wits are
subtletic.

Stomackes.

Stomacks and
reuenge.

Superstition.
Nicetic.

Easements.

Courtise and
begging.

The men are industrious and subtill persons as can be, good Workmen or Labourers, strong of bodie, strait, and very vpright, ingenious to learne any thing, and readie to conceiue it: for any thing whatsoever they see done before them, they will soone imitate and counterfeit; they are of a very sharpe sight, and see further then our *Netherlanders*, for if there be any ships at the Sea, they will see them sooner then we; they are subtill Merchants to traffique with all, and euerie day more and more learne of the *Netherlanders*, so that in time they will surpass them, for they haue good skill and knowledge in the Merchandizes which we sell them, they are hard of complexion, and haue very hot stomackes, for they are able to digest raw and most strange meates (whereat we wondred) for if they had an Ostridge maw, they could not better digest such raw meate as they many times eate, as I will further declare, when I speake more of their manner of feeding. They are very enuious and spitefull one against the other, and will beare malice against a man ten yeares together, and when they haue the meanes to be reuenged, then they will make their malice knowne, and vntill then keepe it secret.

They are Idolatrous, and very superstitious in their Religion. They haue a strong complexion or saour of their bodies, much like Oyle of Palme, wherewith they often anoint themselves. They are very curious to keepe their bodies cleane, and often wash and scoure them. They are much troubled with Lice and Fleas. They are not ashamed to shew their naked bodies, but they are very carefull not to let a Fart, if any bodie be by them; they wonder at our *Netherlanders*, that vse it so commonly, for they cannot abide that a man should Fart before them, esteeming it to be a great shame and contempt done vnto them; when they ease themselves, they commonly goe in the morning to the Townes end (where there is a place purposely made for them) that they may not bee seene, as also because men passing by should not bee molested with the smell thereof, they also esteeme it a bad thing that men should ease themselves vpon the ground, and therefore they make houses which are borne vp aboue the ground, wherein they ease themselves, and euery time they doe it, they wipe; or else they goe to the water side, to ease themselves in the sand, and when these Priuie-houses are full, they set fire in them, and let them burne to ashes: they pisse by Iobs as Hogs doe, and not all at one time; they are very couetous, and much addicted thereunto, and they can begge so well, and are so expert therein, that they surpass all the

the beggers in our Countrey, who although they had set ten or twelue yeeres ordinarily at the Church doores, in *Holland* or *Zeland*; or gone from doore to doore to begge an almes: yet they cannot haue their lessons so perfectly as these. And although they are very hard and nigardly, and will giue but little, yet when they haue gotten any thing by their begging, then they will be somewhat liberall thereof, when it costs them nothing.

They are very lecherous, and much addicted to vncleannesse; especially with yong women, *Lechery*. whereby they are much subiect to the Poxe, and other vncleane diseases, that are gotten thereby; which they make small account of, and are nothing ashamed of them. They are no lesse giuen to drinking; for they are great drunkards, and dainty mouthed; and can eate and drinke *Drunkennesse and greedinessse.* of the best. In their feeding, they are very greedy. They cannot endure that any raine should fall vpon their bodies, and therefore they shun it. They are very great liars, and not to be credited. They are likewise much inclined to theft, for they will steale like dogs, for their Kings and *Lying and stealing.* Captaines practise it, and they are so well vsed thereunto, that they cannot leaue stealing. They are very expert and cunning to fish, and to till the land, and in their apparell, and going very proud, they are very stout, proud and curious in all their actions. They are not to be trusted nor credited, for they are no good pay-masters, you were as good giue it, as trust them with any thing. They are of a very good memorie, and will remember a thing long. They are by nature warme and hott, and therefore cannot endure cold, they are not frugal, for whatsoever they get, they spend it presently: for it grieues them to keepe it, so that therein they are like to little children, that can keepe nothing. They are excellent *Swimmers and Diuers in the water,* and are so expert therein, that they much surpasse our Countrey men.

§. III.

Of their Apparell, Customes within doores, Manner of diet, Merchandising; the vse of Dache; Wares carried thither.

Although their apparell and manner of dressing is not variable, yet they take a great *Cutting their haire.* pride therein; as first, in cutting their haire, euery one of a seuerall fashion, and as finely as he can deuise it: some with a halfe moone, some crosse wise, others with three or foure hornes vpon their heads, and euery one a seuerall way, so that among fiftie men, you shall scarce find two or three that are cut alike. On their armes they hang Iron rings, three *Rings.* or foure vpon one arme cut, some round, others flat, which are raced, and markt as we make fairings for children. About their neckes they were a string of Beades, of diuers colours, which our *Netherlanders* bring them; but the Gentlemen weare Rings of gold about their necks, on their feet, they weare many strange wreathes, which they call *Fetissos*, (which name they deriue from *Fetissos* their Idolatry) for when they eate or drinke, then they power meat and drinke vpon them: and first giue them to eate and drinke. At their knees also they weare a string of *Venice* beades, *40* with some gold among them, of diuers fashions, much after the manner that our yong maids weare their Corall bracelets about their armes. They weare caps made of Barkes of trees, with a long string hanging at them, which they bind about their heads, after the *Turkish* manner, in stead of a hat-band, painted and dyed of diuers colours. They also make caps of Reeds, they *Caps.* likewise haue hats of Straw, as we haue, and some of greene Rushes, they also make caps of Dogs and Goats skins; which they spread vpon a blocke of wood, all finely made, they weare at least two fathome of Linnen about the middle of their bodies, and betweene their legs, and round about them like a girdle, and let it hang downe beneath their knees, like the *Portugals* Breeches; and when they goe out of doores, they take a fathome of Linnen cloth, Sey, or Stuffle, and weare it about their neckes, and crosse vnder their armes like a Cloake, and in their hands they weare *50* an Asagaie or two, and when they goe in this manner in the streets, they haue a Boy or a Slaue following them, which carrieth a stoole after them, and where they stay, there their slaues sets downe their stooles for them to sit and prate; they are very proud in their going, for they goe *Pride.* very slowly, and vse a long pace as they goe along through the streets, they looke forward, and neuer cast vp their eyes, vntill some body that is better then themselves, speaketh vnto them, and with them they will stand and talke, and make them an answer; but if they be such as are of meaner qualitie then themselves, to them they will make no answer: but with an angry countenance, and despitefully, saying, hold your peace, speake not to me, esteeming themselves embased, by speaking to a meaner person then themselves in the streets; for there are very great men among them, very proud in speech, and doe much honour and reuerence to strangers, to the *60* end you should doe the like to them.

When they goe to Sea, then they put off their clothes, and taking a little peece of Linnen or cloth, about a handfull broad, tie that about their bodies, and betweene their legs, before their priuy members, and when they goe on land againe, then they put it off, and wash themselves.

Salutations.

selues from head to feet, and anoint their bodies with Oyle of Palme, or fat of beasts, to make them shine; and betweene their toes put Soape, to keepe them cleane: they also vse to anoint their bodies to keepe them from the biting of Flies. In the morning, when they goe out and meet with any of their friends or acquaintance, they salute each other very solemnly, bidding them good morrow, embracing each other in their armes, & putting forth the two fore-fingers of their right hands, one to the other, they hold each other fast by them, and kinckling them twice or thrice together, at euery time bowing their heads, they say, *Anzy, Anzy*, which in their Language is good morrow.

Their lust.

The *Portugals* in *Mina* marry *Mullato* women, halfe white, halfe blacke, because white women cannot liue there. These weare their haire short, as the men, weare many Corals, and are 10

Through you is my name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles. Rom. 2. 2. Let Christians read this with shame, especially travellers. Let not Heathens be made worse by Christians which, alas, is now common in all remote parts. And this is one chiefe cause of the death of so many there. Combes for courtesie.

brauely apparelled. But of the Native women of these parts. First, I will tell you of their Natures, Complexions, and Conditions: from their youths vpwards, they are giuen to Lust and vncleanness, for a great while they goe with their priue members vncouered, as I said before; and as they had no shame at all, so when they begin to weare some thing vpon their bodies, they begin to expresse shamefastnesse, but then begin to be lecherous, which they naturally learne from their youth vpwards: and before the *Netherlanders* and *Portugals* dwelt among them, and Traffique in that Countrey, the women were not so proud nor curious, as they are now; but that they haue learned much of vs, by seeing that we rather desire a handsome, then an euill fauoured wench; and for that cause, they giue themselues thereunto, that they might be beloued of vs; for they esteeme it to be good fortune for them to haue carnall copulation with a *Nether-* 20

lander, and among themselues, brag and boast thereof. In former time, they vse to goe starke naked vntill they were very great, as yet they doe among those that dwell within the land, as the *Negros* themselues haue told vs; but on the Sea side they are growne more shamefast, by meanes of such as comes out of *Europe* to Traffique with them. They are also theeuish, but thereof they haue not so much need as the men. They are very proud in their gate and apparell, they curle and fold the haire of their heads, making a hill in the middle of their heads like a Hat, such as the *Dutch* Gentlewomen vse to weare, and round about the same, they make round strikes as bigge as a Dollor, which they dresse and trim so long, till it be as they would haue it; and then they anoint it with Palme Oyle, which makes it very much frizled, They haue long Combes with two teeth onely, each tooth being a finger long, which they thrust into their 30

Racing.

haire, and combe it therewith; for they are troubled with Lice: they vse their combes also for a kind of salutation or reuerence, which they doe vnto men; for when they bid one good morrow, and kincke fingers together, they put their combes out of their haire, and put them in againe, which they vse for a kind of reuerence, instead of bowing their heads. Vpon their foreheades they cut three or foure slashes in the flesh, about the length of the ioint of a mans finger, and also on their cheekes not farre from their eares, which they suffer to swell, and rise vp, about the breadth of a knife, which they couer ouer with painting, and vnder their eye browes, they also make white strikes, and on their faces they set white spots, which a farre off shew like Pearles. They also race their armes and their breasts with diuers kinds of cuts, euery morning putting diuers colours vpon them, whereby they shew like blacke silke doublets cut and pinckt, 40

Rings.

or like a womans Sattin stomacher, they weare eare rings of Copper or Tin, and Copper bracelets about their armes, and some of Iuorie, and vpon their legs also they weare many red and yellow Copper Rings. But a yong maid that is vnmarried, weareth many Iron Rings about her armes, sometimes thirty or forty vpon one arme: a Whore (by them called *Etigafou*) oftentimes weare Copper Rings vpon her legs, with Bells hanging at them, which she goes ringing through the streets. They are well proportioned and membred, much surpassing our women, in strength and agility of body, both when they are deliuered of their children, and otherwise, as I haue said before. They are very wise and diligent in house keeping, good House-wiues and Cookes, but not very skilfull to make cleane & scoure their Copper Kettles & Dishes, to make them shine. They keepe no more Household-stuffe then they haue need of, you find the women 50

Signe of riches

more at home in their houses, then the men commonly are; for they vse not to goe abroad to prate with their neighbours, they are not ouer fruitfull: for commonly it is two or three yeeres before they are with child, which I thinke proceeds from their hot natures, and the aire of the Countrey, and secondly, because their husbands haue so many wiues, two, three, foure, fise, and fixe, and some more, each one as he hath power and abilitie to keepe them; and with them, he lieth according to their manner, euery one her turne, and vseth not one onely, but hath so much to doe with them all, that it is long before some of them are gotten with child. Their men are diligenter therein then we are, & the first thing they will tell you, is of their wives and children, for he that among them hath many wiues and children, hee is a rich man. The women teach their daughters from their youths vpwards, to bake bread, and to grind Millia, with other Housewifery; whereby it cometh to passe, that they haue good skill in house-keeping, because they are brought vp therein from their youths. They are alwaies rubbing their teeth with a certaine kind of wood, where with they make them so smooth that they shine, as is before said, as white as Iuory: and in truth those white teeth make a faire shew in their blacke faces. They 60

wee

weare a fadome and ſome a fadome and a halfe of linnen cloth about their bodies, which hangeth from beneath their breſts or their nauels down to their knees, then they take a piece of red, blue, or yellow cloth, whereof they make a Girdle, and put it about them, and on it they hang their Kniues, Purſes with monie, and ſome Keies, and although they haue but few Cheſts or Cubboards, yet they hang Keies at their Girdles, becauſe it makes a faire ſhew. They alſo hang diuers Wiſpes of ſtraw about their Girdles, which they tie full of Beanes, and other Venice Beades, eſteeming them to be their *Fetiſſos*, or Saints, ſome of them take a piece of cloth, others a Mat made of barks of Trees, others a piece of a Carpet, and weare it about their bodies, and ſo euery one weares ſomething, and this they doe within the houſe, but when they goe to Market to buy ſomething, then they put off thoſe things, and goe and waſh themſelues in a Kettle of water from the head to the feet, and then they take another piece of Linnen to put about their bodies, and another Girdle, and another fadome or two of Linnen Cloth, and hang it about their bodie, from their breſts downe to their feet like a Gowne, and vpon it weares another thing of Sey or of ſtriped linnen, and that ſhe carries vpon her ſhoulders, and vnder her arme like a Cloake, and carries a wooden Platter in her hand which ſhe beares vp a high, and ſo goes to Market, and when ſhe comes home againe from the Market or other places where ſhe hath beene, ſhe puts off thoſe cloathes, and put on worſe, for they are more ſparing then the men, and therefore they carrie the Parſe, and when their Huſbands will haue any monie, they muſt come to them for it.

Apparell and ornaments.

The women haue the gouernment of their Houſes, and the men take care as much as lyes in them, to earne ſomething, but the women prouide the meate to ſerue for their daily food, although they eate a part, they buy no more meate euery day, then ſerueth them for that day, or they can eate at a meale. In the euening they goe to their houſes that ſtand without the Towne, and are full of Millia (which is their kind of Corne) where they take a certaine quantitie, as much as they need for their Houſe, and with a ſtaffe ſtampe it, as wee uſe to ſtampe Spice in a Grocers ſhop, and that is their manner of threſhing, then they fanne it in a wooden diſh, till it be cleane, but ſuch as haue ſlaues make them doe it. This Millia is a faire white Seed, when it is broken, as hereafter I will ſhew, ouer night they ſteepe this Millia with a little Mais in faire water, and in the morning after they haue waſht, and made themſelues readie, they take the Millia and lay it vpon a ſtone, as Painters doe when they grind their colours, then they take another ſtone about a foot long, and with their hands grind the Millia as ſmall as they can, till in a manner it be dough, and then it ſheweth like baked Buckway Cakes, they temper their dough with freſh water and Salt, and then make Rowles thereof as bigge as two fiſts, and that they lay vpon a warme harth, whereon it baketh a little, and this is the bread which they uſe. The *Negroes* of the Caſtle *Damina*, bake faire bread of Mais, which is almoſt like our wheaten bread, and that they cut in Rowles: they can alſo bake it ſo hard, that it will keepe two or three monethes ſweet and liard, for they furniſh their ſhips and laſts with ſuch bread, when they ſend them to the Ilands of *Saint Thomas*, or to *Angola*, others that haue not the meanes to haue ſuch bread, they goe to Market to buy it, and call it Kangues, when the Fiſher-men come out of the Sea with their fiſh, then the women carrie it to the Market, where euery one comes to buy that and fleſh, fruite, and other things. They uſe altogether raw and ſtrange kind of meates, as handſuls of Graine or Manigette, (and will drinke vp whole Romers full of Aquauite at a draught) Dogs, Cats, and filthy ſtinking Elephants, and Buffolds fleſh, wherein there is a thouſand Maggets, and many times ſtinkes like carrion, in ſuch ſort that you cannot indure the ſmel thereof; there are likewiſe little Birds as bigge as a Bul-finck, of a grey colour, with red bills, which very cunningly make their Neſts vpon the ſmalleſt ends of the branches of trees, thereby to preſerue themſelues from Snakes or other venomous beaſts. Thoſe they eate aliue, feathers and all.

Their houſewiferie.

Making of bread.

Raw food.

Filthy food.

I haue beene told by ſome of the *Moores*, that the Countrie people dwelling within the Land, eate dried Snakes, and the Boores or Slaues, as alſo the common people which dwell vpon the Sea-ſide, although they haue better prouiſion of meate then thoſe that dwell further into the Land, yet they are of ſo hot a nature, that they eat raw Dogs guts, and neuer ſee the nor roaſt them, which we our ſelues ſaw: And there was one of their Boyes left aboard a *Netherlanders* ſhip for a pawne for debt, which Boy was ſo greedie to eate raw meate, that although he had ſufficient meate with them in the ſhip, yet hee would eate the Hens meate out of their Troughes. This Boy made a ſticke, and at the end thereof hee draue a naile with the point vponwards, and went and lay by the Hens Cage, and when any of them put out their heads to eate meate, he ſtrooke them in the heads, and killed them, and then hee went and ſhewed the Sailers, that ſome of the Hens were dead, which he did to the end he might eate their raw guts, and would not ſtay ſo long vntill the guts were made cleane, but tooke them and eate them raw as they came out of the Hens bellies. They eate alſo great ſtore of old ſtinking fiſh, which is dried in the Sunne, but to ſay, that they eate ſuch kind of raw meates for neceſſitie and no other, were vntruth; for they alſo are very daintie, and can eate good meate when they haue it. There are women

A greedie Boy.

Their Trees.

Palme-oile.

women that dwell in the Castle among the *Portugals* that can dresse meate well, they eate also many Hens, Goats, Oxen, and Hartes, but such meate is not eaten by the common people, but those that eate them are Gentlemen, or such as are rich, and are able to buy them; they also eate Iugnamis, Bannanas, and Patates. They haue three kind of trees, as the Palme-trees, whereof some are Females which yeeld no wine, but beare Grapes as bigge as Plummes, of an Orange colour, at the one end being some-what blackish: those Grapes they peelee to the stones, and thereof they make Oile, which they call Palme Oile, which is verie delicate and good, which they vse to dresse their meate withall, and make good sawce thereof for their fish, the thickest of this Oile they vse to anoint their bodies withall, to make them cleane, and the women vse it to frizell their haire, the veines are as great as Acornes, and as hard as a stone, at the end thereof hauing three round holes, they beate them in pieces, and within them find certaine Nuts, like little earthen pellets, much like hazell-nuts, but when you eate them, they taste of the wood, and are verie drie.

Drinking.

Vnciuill feeding.

Strange hunger in so hot a Climate.

Good fellowship, or prodigalitie.

Their trading.

First simplicity

First trading.

They likewise haue many Beanes and Pease, whereof some are like *Turkie* Beanes of a purple colour, those Beanes are good and fat, which they dresse with Oile of Palme, and it is a very excellent meate and nourisheth well, but the other kind of Beanes and Pease, they vse not to eate, for they haue no great quantitie of them, growing thereabouts. The Iugnamis also they vse in many places in stead of bread. Their drinke commonly is nothing but water, but yet in some places they brew a little Mais in water, which beeing sodden together, is almost like a kind of beere, which they also vse much to drinke and call it Poitou, others buy a pot of Palme-wine, and becaule that will not continue long, therefore foure or fise of them goe together, and buy a pot or two: a pot of theirs is ten pots of ours, and that they pay for together, which they powre into a great Cabas, which growes vpon Trees, whereof some are halfe as big as a Kilderkin, and will hold at least twelue Kans, and then sit downe round about it to drinke, whereof euerie man sendeth his louingest and truest wife a little pot full home to drinke, and the first draught that they drinke, they take it out of the Cabas with a smaller Cabas, and when the first man drinks, the rest stand vp, and taking his Cap or Hat off, lay their hands vpon his head, and with a loud voice cries, *Tantosi, Tantosi*; at the first draught, they drinke not the Cabas full out, but leaue a little in it, which they throw vpon the ground, saying, *I. O V*, as giuing their *Fetissos* that to drinke, and if they haue other *Fetissos* on their armes or feete, they spit drinke out of their mouthes vpon them, as if they gaue them drinke also; for they are of opinion, that if they doe it not, or forget to doe it, they should not drinke their wine quietly together, but that their *Fetissos* would let them. Naturally they are great Drinkers, and vse no lesse vnseemelineesse in their feeding, but eate as vnmanerly and greedily, as if they were a companie of Hogs: for sitting down vpon the ground to eate, they stay not till they haue eaten one morsell vp, but still cramme in, and they put not their meate into their mouthes, but pull their meate in pieces, and take it vp with their three middlemost fingers, and gaping, cast it so right into their mouthes, that they neuer faile nor cast it beside their mouthes, whereat we wondred much. They are alwayes hungry, and would willingly eate all day long, which shewes that they haue very hot mawes, and although the Countrey is very hot, whereby the heate of the Aire commonly should fill mens stomakes, yet they are hungrie, and wee *Netherlanders* are not weake stomaked there, but alwaies haue good appetites, whereby I am of opinion, that heate in those Countries makes men hungrie: but becaule I am no Doctor of Physicke, I will not intreate thereof. And becaule they make great account of that drinking together, they are verie earnest and industrious to get something, and to make prouision of Gold, which hauing gotten, they cannot be frugall or sparing, but presently goe and drinke it with their companions, now one, and then another, euerie one his turne, and if one gets more then his fellowes, then hee must be liberaller then his fellowes, that is, when they begin to deale with the Merchants, and to goe aboard the ships, and he that is poore or hath not much, can hardly beare companie to drinke, because they are not sparing, when they haue gotten any thing.

As I haue vnderstood by the Inhabitants of those Countries, before the *Portugals* came thither to deale with them, they had very little or no kind of Merchandize to traffique withall, or to liue by, but liue vpon that which they got from others by force, which was not much, specially to get any thing to apparell themselves; for before that time they went all naked, as I said before, much lesse had they any cattle or victuals for their maintenance, but only such as the *Portugals* brought thither, and by that meanes the Countrey was filled and replenished with diuers kinds of beasts and Corne, whereby at this day, there is almost all kind of things that are necessarie and needfull for mans sustenance, and otherwise to bee had in those Countries. And within a while after, the *Portugals* began to traffique and deale with the Sauage Inhabitants, they likewise began to know their Merchandize.

At the first, in former time they came and brought their Gold vnto the *Portugals*, and bought of them such things as they wanted, as Linnen Cloth, &c. but the people dwelling further within Land, durst not venture to come to the *Portugals* to deale with them, as wondring at them,

them, it being a fearefull thing vnto them to see white men apparelled, and they themselves blacke and vnapparelled, (as the like happened vnto our men; for at the first they were afraid to see *Blacke Moores*) and therefore they brought their monie to those that dwelt on the Sea side, where the *Portugals* traffique, and told them what wares they would haue, and they went to the Castle, and bought such things as they desired, as Iron, Tinne, Copper Basons, Kniues, Cloth, Linnen, Kettles, Corals, and such like wares, and the Merchants that sent them to the *Portugals*, paid them for their paines, vpon euery Peso of Gold by them disbursed, so that if they bestowed many Pesoes, they received a good deale of monie for their Factoridge, and by that meanes they got their liuings.

- 10 But after that, when we began to traffique thither, (the first that went from hence thither out of *Holland*, to deale with the *Negroes*, beeing called *Barent Erickson* of *Medenblicke*) and found what profit the *Portugals* did there, we increased our Trade thither, and sent more ships with the said *Baront*, as a fit man for it, because he knew the Coast, as hauing beene there with the *Portugals*. But hauing no place vpon the Land (as the *Portugals* had) to carrie our wares ashore, and to lay it in Ware-houses to traffique with them as time serued, and durst not, or else might not goe on Land, we were constrained to stay with our shippes at anchor before their Townes, attending for the Merchants, that came aboard our ships with their Canoes, at which time the *Negroes* seeing that wee had Merchandize aboard, imboldened themselves to traffique with vs, and brought their Gold aboard our ships, and for that at this present they deale but little with the *Portugals*, but only with our Countreymen, therefore I will shew in what manner they deale with vs.

First Dutch Trade.

In the morning betimes, they come aboard our ships with their Canoes, or Scutes to traffique with vs: and the cause why their Merchants came so early aboard, is, for that in the morning the wind, which they call *Bofone*, blowes off from the Land, and then it is calme smooth water, for about noone the wind which they call *Agom Breton*, begins to blow out of the Sea, and then they row to Land againe: for the people that dwell within the Land, can hardly brooke the Seas, for when they are aboard the ship, they can scarce goe or stand, but lie downe and spue like Dogges, and are verie Sea-sicke; but their Rowers and Pilots that bring them aboard, are hardie enough, and neuer are sicke, by reason of their daily vsing to the Seas. But some of their

Wind in the morning from land & calme.

- 30 Merchants when they come aboard our ships, are so sicke, that they cast out all they haue within their bodies; and by reason of their beeing so sicke in faire weather, they are so afraid of the wind (when the waues goe any thing high) that they make as much haste home as they can, and some of them dare not venture vpon the Seas to goe aboard the ships, but deliuer their monie to the Pilots or Factors, telling them what Merchandize they desire to buy, and those *Tolken* come with the Gold aboard the ships, hauing a Purse which hangeth about their middles, wherein they put their Gold, and euery senerall mans Gold is in a piece of Cloth or Paper by it selfe, and they can tell which is euery mans, and what wares hee desireth to haue for it, and sometimes they haue twelue or ten mens Gold to bestow, which is called an *English* of Gold, and of some two, three, or foure, and when any of their monies is not waight, then they put it into 40 their Purse, and carrie it to the man againe, for if they should put any thing to it, to make it full waight, the Merchant would not giue it them againe, for they weigh their Gold first vpon the Land, and know how much it is before they send it aboard the ship, for they credit not one the other, and when they haue bestowed their monie, then we must giue them some-what to boot, which they call *Dache*.

Dache.

- When we began to traffique here in the Countie with two or three ships, as one of *Middleburgh*, one of *Amsterdam*, and one of *Schiedam*, and that all our ships met and lay at anchor together to sell our wares, the one ship seeing that the other traffiqued more, and vented more wares then his fellowes, to find the meanes to get the Merchants aboard their ships, they willed the Pilots (with whom they must hold friendship, for they carrie the Merchants aboard) to bring them aboard their ships, and they would giue them something for their labours, and the Pilots accordingly to get something, brought them aboard that ship, which had made them that offer, for they are verie couetous, which the other ships perceiuing, willed the Pilots to bring the Merchants aboard their shippes, and they would likewise giue them something: and they made them answere, that if they would giue them as much as the other did, they would come aboard their ships, which they promised to doe, and gaue them more *Dache* then the other, and by that meanes driue the Merchants, Pilots, and *Tolken* aboard their ships, which the other ships seeing, and thinking that their Merchants wares cost them no more then the others, gaue them more *Dache* then the others, and by that meanes struing one with the other, they deminished one and the others gaine, and in fine, their gifts grew to such a rate, that at this day, their *Dache* amounteth vnto fixe or seuen per cento.

Vndermining and defrauding Merchants.

- 60 And now it is come to passe, that whereas the Countie people and Merchants were wont to pay the litridge and brokeridge to the Pilots and *Tolken*, to carrie them aboard the ships, they sought to the Merchants and Countie *Moores* to get them into their Canoes, for greedinesse of *Dache*, which they got of the Factors for their labours, to bring the Merchants aboard, and thereby

thereby in stead of paying them for going aboard, they giue the Merchants much *Dache*, in regard of the great profit they get thereby.

Aske my fellow if I be a Thiefe.

Coozening Knaues.

White Devils can hardly make blacke Saints.

Wares for these parts of Guinea, and for what vſe.

Many Merchants comming to the Sea ſide to buy wares, ſome of them a hundred or two hundred miles from within the land, bring great ſtore of gold, & haue diuers ſlaues with them, which they lade with the wares which they buy in the ſhips, wherof ſome haue twenty, others thirtie, and ſome more, as they haue meanes, and according to the trade that they vſe: which Merchants or *Moariſh* countrey people, know the houſes or lodgings, where they vſe to lie, and waigh their money to their Tolke or Hoſte, and tell them what goods or wares they will haue; who coming aboard, commonly bring one of the Merchants with them, for they truſt not one the other, and leaue the reſt with their ſlaues vpon the land, which tell them what wares they deſire to haue; and if it be a Merchant that can ſpeake no *Portugall* ſpeech, they will preſently tell you, and will the Faſtor not to ſpeake *Moriſh* ſpeech vnto them, becauſe their Merchant is one that dwels farre within the land; thereby giuing you to vnderſtand, that they meane to deceiue him, and to beguile him of much money. The poore Merchant being ſicke, and lying in the ſhip ſpuing like a dogge, in the meane time the Brokers make the match for them, telling the Faſtors how much ware they deſire to haue for ſo much gold; for that the wares are commonly ſold all at one price: The Tolken makes not many words with the Faſtors, but ſet certaine wares before the Merchant, as little as they can to content him for his money, and the price being made with him, he weighes their gold, and takes the wares, and goes on land againe; and the Merchant being gone home, then the Pilots and Tolken come aboard the ſhips againe, to fetch that which they haue coozoned the Merchant off: ſo that oftentimes the Merchants are deceiued of a third part of their goods by ſuch practiſes: others, while he lookes about, or turnes to ſpue, ſteale a peece of the Merchants gold, and put it into their Mouthes, Eares, or Noſtreils, making the Merchant beleue that his money is too light: the Merchant for his part, ſeeing that by meanes of their theeuery his money will not reach out; becauſe it is too light, that it may weigh more then it is, blowes in the Ballance, which the Faſtors oftentimes perceiuing not, and thinking that they haue their full waight, are by that meanes deceiued, and come ſhort of their reckoning; ſo that they haue a thouſand deuices to ſteale, and to beguile the Merchants. At firſt they were woont to be very ſimple in their dealing, and truſted the *Netherlanders* very much, wherat we wondred: for they were of opinion, that white men were Gods, and would not deceiue them; and then tooke the wares vpon their words, without reckoning it after them, whereby they were deceiued: for, that if they bought ten fathome of Linnen cloth, they found but eight, and by that meanes, loſt two fathome, and other things after the rate, which the Faſtors did ſo groſſely, that the Merchants in the end perceiued it, and began to looke better to themſelues, and grew ſo ſubtil in their reckoning, that if they bought one hundred fathome of Linnen, they could reckon it to a fathome, and tell whether they had their meaſure or not; ſo that now if you doe them any wrong, by meaſuring or reckoning, they will not come aboard your ſhip any more; and which is more, for any bad looke, or haſtie word that you ſhall giue them, they will neuer be friends with you againe.

Troubles and warres in the *Netherlands*, constrained vs to ſeek Traffique here alſo, and to vndertake this voyage, by that meanes to put the *Portugalls* from it, which in the end we did, for that ſince the *Netherlanders* came hither to Traffick with the *Negroes*, *Moores*, the *Portugalls* haue beſt trading, and are wholly decayed. Firſt, we bring them great ſtore of ſlight Linnen cloth, whereof there is very much ſpent in thoſe Countries, for they apparell themſelues therewith, and it is the chiefeſt thing they vſe for that purpoſe: beſides this, we carry them great ſtore of Baſons, as little Baſons, Barbers Baſons, Baſons to drinke in, Platters of Copper, flat Baſons, great broad Copper pans, at the leaſt two fathome about, and ſmall Poſnets without edges: The ſmall Baſons they vſe to put Oile in, wherewith they anoint themſelues, and the greater ſort of them they ſet in the graues of the dead, & vſe them to carry diuers things in. The Barbers Baſons they vſe to waſh themſelues in, & when they cut their haire, platters they vſe to lay ouer others to couer them withall, to keepe duſt and filch from falling into their things. The great broad Pans, are by them vſed to kill a Goat or a Hogge in, and to make it cleane therein, in ſtead of a Tub. The Poſnets they vſe to dreſſe their meat in, which ſerueth them to very good purpoſe, they will not haue them with ſteales, as we vſe them here with vs, and many other ſuch like Baſons of Copper, which our ſhips bring thither in great quantities, and therewith fill the Countrey ſo full; and by meanes thereof, they are ſold as good cheape there vnto the *Negros*, as they are bought in *Amſterdam*; and although there are ſo many of thoſe Baſons brought thither, and no ware that weareth ſo much, as Linnen, yet you ſee but few old Copper things there, and therefore you muſt thinke, that there is great ſtore of people inhabiting further within the land, which vſe ſo great quantitie of ſuch things.

We carrie thither great ſtore of Kettles, which they vſe to fetch water in, out of their pits and Valleyes, and ſome red Copper pots Tinned within, wherein they vſe to put water, in ſtead of a barrell of beare to drinke; earthen pots they vſe alſo to drinke out of. Iron is vſed by them to make their weapons, as *Aſſagaie*, cutting Knives, *Poniards*, &c. The *Aſſagaies* & *Poniards* they

they vse for the warres. The cutting Kniues, to Till and cut vp the ground, in stead of Spades, and some to cut wood withall, and to vse about their Building, for they haue no other Tooles: They also buy great store of Red, Blew, Yellow, and Greene Rupinsh cloth, which they vse for Girdles about their middles, to hang their Kniues, Purfes, Poniards, and such like things at. They vse white *Spanish* Serges to weare vpon their bodies, in stead of Clokes, Rings of Copper and Brasle, which they weare about their armes and feet for a great pride. They also vse Tin things, as Rings for their armes, but not many. They vse many Kniues which wee make with vs in *Holland*, and call them *Docke Messen*. They also vse great store of *Venice* Beads, of all kinds of colours, but they desire some colours more then others, which they breake in foure or fve peeces, and then grind them vpon a stone, as our children grind Cherrie stones; and then put them vpon strings, made of Barke of trees, ten or twelue together, and therewith Traffique much: Those ground Corals they weare about their neckes, hands and feet. They also vse round Beads, and specially great round Counters, which they hang and plait among their haire, and let them hang ouer their eares. Pins they vse to make Fish-hookes, Horse tailes they vse when they daunce, & also when they sit still, to keep the flies from their bodies; Looking-glasses, and small Copper milke Kans, with many such like things. But the chiefeft wares that are vttered there, and most vsed among them, is, Linnen, Cloth, Brasle, and Copper things, Basons, Kettles, Kniues, and Corals.

At first we vsed many times to deceiue them, not onely in measuring of Linnen, but in deli- uering them broken and patcht Basons, and peeced Kettles for their money; rotten Cloth, through the which they might haue sifted Beanes; Kniues that were so rustie, that they could hardly without breaking pull them out of their sheathes, with such like wares. But now by vse and experience, they haue attained to such skill in our wares, that they are almost able to surpasse vs therein. For, first, when they buy any Linnen cloth, they looke if it be not to slight and thin, and whether it be white and broad; for they are very curious to buy white and broad Linnen, and respect not the strength so much as the breadth of the Linnen: for they vse to hang it about their bodies, specially the women, which desire to haue it hang downe from vnderneath their breasts, to their knees. Secondly, they take Woollen cloth, and hold it vp a- gainst the light, to see if it be thin. They draw the Kniues out of the sheathes, to see if they be not rustie. They looke vpon the Basons one by one, to see if they haue no holes in them: or whether they be broken, and the least hole that they spie in them, they lay them away, and desire to haue others for them; and also if they be but a little foule or greasie, they will none of them: And for quantitie and qualitie make triall of all other wares, as curiously as in *Eu- rope* is done.

Their know- ledge in our warres, and tri- all thereof,

to gillie & numbering

Market how they are kept No Market on their Sabbath

§. IIII.

What Custome the Merchants pay to their Kings. Their Measures, Weights, Scales, Markets: Also their Sabbath, Fetissos and superstitions.

He Kings haue their Customes dwelling vpon the Sea Coast, where the ships lie to Traffique with the Countrey people, and they are placed there, to see that the Kings lose not their Rents and Imposts, and that it may be the better paid them, and no deceit vsed, they appoint one of their Sons or some one of their neerest friends to be present with them. Those Customers receiue the Customs of the fish, which is taken in his precinct, or before his Hauen, and to that end he hath a measure to measure it withall, and if the measure be not full (of any fish whatsoever) then it payeth no Custome, but if their fish bee more then filleth that measure, then he taketh the fifth fish thereof, or as much as he thinketh good to take for his Custome, and that is presently sent to the King of that quarter by his slaues, which euery morning come thither to fetch the fish.

Customes.

Such Merchants as come thither a great way out of the Countrey, pay to the King of the Ha- uen where they goe to Traffique, the weight of sixe pence in gold, for their passage through his Countrey, and whether they intend to buy much or little, the passage money is all one, and when they haue Traffique with the Factors in the ships, and come to land, the Customer taketh a part of their goods from them, which is commonly a fourth part of that which they haue bought, and carrieth it away with him, then the Merchant takes the rest and carrieth it to his lodging, which done, he goeth backe againe to the Customer (whom they call *la guarda*, within *Portugall* is the watch) and agree with him, and pay him as little as they can, and so haue their goods againe, and if they haue bestowed lesse then two ounces of gold vpon wares, then there is no set Custome to bee paid for it, but they giue as much as they can agree vpon for it, with the Customer, and that is the Customers owne profit, in stead of his wages, but whatsoe- uer

Toll.

uer they buy about the value of two ounces of Gold, then they must pay an *English* of Gold for custome thereof, those two ounces of Gold they call Benda.

Fines.

Also if they haue stolne any thing from any of their Countrie people, they also pay monie for it, as the case requireth. And also when they haue laien with another mans Wife, then the King hath a forfeit paid vnto him for it. And when the Countrie people come to Market with their weapons, they must leaue their Weapons in some place, or else they must pay a forfeit, which is fixe penie weight in Gold, if they come with any Armes or Weapons to their Seawtownes. And they also that counterfeit false Gold, with diuers other forfeitures, which are all paid to the King, whereof the Customer euerie three monethes maketh his account, and payeth it vnto the King. 10

Weights and Scales.

They make Weights of Copper of diuers sorts, and haue little Copper Scales which are round, and hollow like an Orange peece. A Benda is their greatest weight, which with vs is two ounces; Benda-assa, is halfe a Benda, which is an ounce. Assuwa, is two Pesos and a halfe. Eggeba, is two Pesos, or halfe an ounce. Seron, is a Peso and a halfe. Eufanno is a Peso or a Loot. Quienta, is three quarters of a Peso, each Peso is a Loot. Media taba, is a quarter of a Peso, or a small parcell. Agiraque, is halfe a Peso, or halfe a Loot, each Peso is a Loot; so that their weights are all one with ours for the names, but differ in the pound a Peso and a halfe, which is a Loot and a halfe, so that their weights are so much lighter then ours.

Measures and Telling or numbring.

They measure their Cloth by two fathome together, which they cut one from the other, and call it Iestam, and sell their Linnen in that sort among themselves, and those two fathome after our measure is a stork and three quarters, and they are verie subtil in measuring of their Linnen, and can reckon that so many of our storkes make so many of their fadomes. They cut their Woollen-cloth in pieces not about a handfull broad, which they vse in stead of Girdles about their middles, and sell the Cloth in this sort among themselves in this manner, and vse no other kind of measure thereunto. They are not verie subtil nor expert in telling, specially to reckon, for when they haue past the number of ten, they rehearse so many words one after the other for one number, that they are so cumbred, that they cannot tell how to get out of it, and so sit buzzing so long, till at last they haue forgotten their number, and are forced to begin to tell againe, but since they began to deale with the *Netherlanders*, and were to reckon about the number of ten, for they vse no more among them, they tell till they come to ten, and then take one of their fingers into their hands, and then tell to ten againe, and then take another finger into their hand, and so proceed till they haue both their hands full, which in all maketh an hundred, then they marke that vp, and then begin againe to tell to ten, and vse the same order as before. 30

Markets how they are kept. No Market on their Sabbath.

Euerie Towne hath Market daies specially appointed, vpon the which you find more to be bought then vpon other daies, and euerie Towne hath his Market vpon such a day, as the others haue it not, and so euerie one differeth vpon their daies, and when their Market daies come, they haue two daies Market one after the other, wherein the principall Boores or Countrie people, come from diuers places to traffique with the ships. They haue their Sunday also, but on that day they doe nothing.

Wares.

In the morning betimes, as soone as it is day, the Countrie people come with their Sugar Canes to the Market, carrying two or three bundles together vpon their heads, which are bound vp like faggots, and being in the Market they vnbind them, and so lay them downe vpon the ground, which done, the Inhabitants of that place come to buy them, some two, others three, and some more as they haue need of them, whereby they haue soone sold their Sugar Canes, for they vse many of them to eate, and as soone as they haue sold their Sugar Canes, then the women come to the Market with their wares, who bring Oranges, Limons, Bannanas, Backouens, Potatoes, Indianias, Millia, Mais, Rice, Manigette, Hens, Egges, Bread, and such like necessities, which those that dwell on the Sea-side haue need of, and are sold both vnto the Inhabitants, and to the *Netherlanders* in the ships, which come thither to buy it. The Inhabitants of the Sea-side, come also to the Market with their wares, which they buy of the *Netherlanders*, as Linnen Cloth, Kniues, ground Corals, Looking-glasses, Pinnes, arme Rings, and Fish, which their Husbands haue gotten in the Sea, whereof the women buy much, and carrie them to other Townes within the Land, to get some profit by them, so that the fish which is taken in the Sea, is carried at least an hundred or two hundred miles vp into the Land, for a great Present, although many times it stinkes like carrion, and hath a thousand Maggots creeping in it. Those women are verie nimble about their businesse, and so earnest therein, that they goe at least fise or fixe miles every day to the places where they haue to doe, and are laden like Asles: for at their backes they carrie their children, and on their heads they haue a heauie burthen of fruit, or Millia, and so goe laden to the Market, and there she buyeth fish, to carrie home with her, so that oftentimes they come as heauily laden from the Market, as they went thither. These pay no custome to the King, but if they find any *Fetissos* in the way as they goe (which are their Idolatrous gods) they giue them some of their fruit or Millia to eate, which is as much as if they gaue them the tenth part thereof. 60

Superstition.

Tithes.

Thole

Those women goe seuen or eight together, and as they passe along the way they are verie merrie and pleasant, for commonly they sing and make a noise; about noone the Countrey people begin to come to the Market with their Palme-wine, which they carrie in pots, some bringing one some two pots, as they are able, they come armed to the Market, hauing a hewing Knife at their Girdles, and two or three Assagayes in their hands, but when they enter into the Market, then they set their armes in a certain place appointed thereunto, and when they haue sold and goe home againe, euery man takes his weapons and goes his way, not once changing one with the other, but euery man takes his owne, and when the *Netherlanders* and the *Negroes* haue done traffiquing: when the Countrey people come to the Market with their wine, 10 looke what the Pilots or Rowers (that carried the Merchants aboard the ships) haue gotten, or that was giuen them for *Dache*, by the Factors, therewith they buy Palme-wine, and drinke it vp together, they pay for their Wine either with Gold, or Linnen; but for the most part, they pay for it with Gold, which they weigh verie narrowly, one vnto the other, and when there are many Merchants, and that the Wine is much desired, then it is oftentimes deerer then *Spanish* Wine is with vs.

Besides this, the Market folke know euery one their place, and where to sit to sell their wares, as those with fruit stand in one place, they with Sugar Canes in another place, they with Wood, Water, and Bread by themselues; and those that sell Wine in a place by 20 themselues, but the Palme-wine which is brought thither by Sea, from other places, that is neuer brought to the Market, for many times when it comes in the Canoes in the euening, when the people haue need thereof, as soone as it is brought on Land, the *Negroes* stand readie vpon the shoare watching for it, and going to the Merchants, euery one takes a Pot, and carries it away, so that they haue presently sold it, & the Merchant needs not feare that his Wine will sowre for want of vtterance, for they are so greedie of it, specially for to drinke, that oftentimes they fight and fall together by the eares for it.

They vse no monie nor any kind of Mint, wherewith they pay each other, but when they buy any thing they pay for it with Gold, and that by weight, and it is a verie small parcell that bath not some kind of weight to weigh it withall, and they pay each other with foure square pieces of Gold, weighing a graine or halfe a graine. The cause why they pay in this sort, 30 and haue this custome, is by meanes of the *Portugals*, of the Castle of *Myna*, which shewed them this way, for before the *Portugals* came thither, the *Negroes* knew no such thing, but when they bought any thing, they exchanged ware for ware, but the *Portugals* coming thither had no monie to pay them, when they bought fruits or other victuals to eat, and therefore they desired to pay with *Kacrawen*, in stead of monie, & so it is the custome about the Castle of *Myna*, that they haue great store of *Kacrawen*, which they vse for paymet more then in other places. In places where the *Portugals* are not known, the *Negros* vse not that kind of Mint, but sel their Gold as it commeth out of the Earth, for they know not how to melt or vse their Gold as the *Negros* do, that deale with the *Portugals*, and in stead of monie paid one the other in small stones: they vse also small pieces of Iron of a finger length, with a halfe Moone thereon, which they vse in stead 40 of monie, and haue no other kind of monie in the Golden Coast of *Guinea*, then such as I said before, wherewith they pay each other.

Although they are altogether wild, rough, and vnciuill, hauing neither Scripture nor Bookes, nor any notable Lawes that might be set downe, or declared to shew the manner of their policie and liuing, yet when they haue past the six daies of the weeke in labour and paines taking, to get their liuings, the seuenth day they leaue working, and reckon that to bee their day of ease, and abstinence from worke, or their Sunday, which they call *Dio Fetissos*, which in our speech should signifie Sunday, but they obserue it not vpon our Sunday, nor vpon the *Iewes* Sabbath Day, but hold it vpon Tuesday, the second working day in the weeke; what law or opinion they haue to moue them thereunto, I know not, but they hold Tuesday for their Sunday, and that day the Fishermen goe not to the Sea for fish: The women and Countrey people that 50 day bring no Wine to the Market, but all the Wine which that day they draw out of the trees, they deliuer it vnto the King, which in the euening hee giueth vnto his Gentlemen, and they drinke it among them. That day they doe no kind of worke, nor traffique with other but such as dwell on the Sea-side, refraine not for all that to goe aboard the shippes, and to buy wares of the *Netherlanders*. In their Markets they haue a square place foure foot euery way, supported with foure Pillars, and about two cubits high from the ground, flat on the top, and couered close with Reedes, and hanged round about Wispes or *Fetissos* of straw, whereon they lay Millia with 60 Palme-oile or water, and giue their god that to eat and drinke to sustaine him withall, that he should not die for hunger or thirst, thinking that he eateth and drinketh it and liues by it, but the Birds of the Aire eat the graine, and drinke the water, and when it is eaten they anoint the Altar with Oile, and set more-meate and drinke vpon it, thinking thereby to doe their god great sacrifice and seruice.

They haue also a Priest, who in their speech they call a *Fetissero*, hee vpon their Sabbath day The *Fetissero*, sits vpon a stoele, in the middle of the Market before the Altar or place whereupon they sacri- or Priest,

Fetissos day.
An Ethnick
Sabbath.

Fetissos meate.

- fice vnto their *Fetisso*, then all the men, women and children come and sit round about him, and there he speaketh vnto them, & they sit still to heare him: but what it is, or what it meaneth that cannot I learne, nor perceiue, neither can you get it from them, for I haue oftentimes asked them about it, but they will not tell, but are ashamed to declare it. But I haue seene this *Fetissero*, haue a pot with a certaine drink, (wherein there was a Snake) standing by him, and a Wispe, and some women with their little children went to him, which children hee stroaked with colour, or with some of that drinke, and so they went away, which I ghesse to be a kind of Salve against their *Fetisso*, for they esteeme their *Fetissos* to be both good and euill. And when their *Fetissero* hath made an Oration vnto them, then he stands vp and smeareth the Altar with his Wispe, and drinke out of his pot, and then the people vsing certaine words and making a great noise among them, clapping their hands together, cry *I. ou, I. ou*, and therewith their preaching is done, and so euerie one goes home to his house.
- Their Mattins. They hang many straw Wispes vpon their heads, and thinke thereby to bee free and safe as long as they weare them, and that their *Fetissos* can doe them no harme. In the morning betimes when they haue washt their bodies cleane, they stroake their faces with white stripes, made of earth like chalke, which they do in honour of their *Fetisso*, and vse it in stead of praiers in a morning; when they eat any thing they present their *Fetisso* (the straw Wispes which they weare about their legges) the first bit, and also the first draught that they drinke, giuing him to drinke, which if they doe not, they thinke they shall haue no good lucke that day, for they perswade themselues that their *Fetisso* would not otherwise suffer them to be quiet. When the Fishermen take but small store of fish, then they thinke that their *Fetisso* is angrie, and therefore will giue them no fish, then they make a great crie among them, and goe to their *Fetissero*, and giue him Gold to coniure their *Fetisso*, to send them store of fish. This Coniurer presently goes, and makes all his Wiues (two, three or foure, or as many as he hath) put on their best apparell and ornaments, and with them goes howling and crying round about the Towne, striking themselues vpon their breasts, and clapping their hands flat together, and so making a great stirre and noise, goe to the Sea-side, and taking boughes from the trees, hang them about their neckes: those trees they esteeme to be their *Fetissos Dufianam*, who they thinke send them fish. Then, the Coniurer or he that should bewitch the *Fetissos*, comes with a Drumme, and plaies or sounds before the trees, which they esteeme to be good for that purpose, which done hee goes to his Wiues vpon the strand, and when they haue spoken one vnto the other a good while, he casteth Millia into the Sea for his meate, with other colours, thinking that thereby their god is appeased, and will let them take fish enough.
- When the King receiueh not custome enough, to maintaine himselfe withall, then he goeth to a tree which he esteemeth to be his *Fetisso*, and sacrificeth vnto it, carrying it meat and drink; then the Coniurers come and coniures the tree, to tell them whether there will any Merchants come or not, which to doe they make a heape of ashes, in forme like a Sugar-loafe, and cutting a bough from the tree sticke that in it, then they take a Basen of water and drinke out of it, and therewith sprinkle the bough of the tree, which done they speake each to other, and then againe they sprinkle more vpon it, after that they take some of the ashes, and be-dawbe their faces therewith, end in that manner vse many foolish and vaine Ceremonies, and not long after they shall heare a voice which is the Deuill, that saith something vnto them, and therewith they goe home againe, and bring word what their *Fetisso* hath said. They hang many of those things about their children for diseases, as is said before, as also of their drinke of ieaousie.
- When any man dieth, they also make a *Fetisso*, and desire it to bring the bodie into the other world, and not to trouble it in the way as it goeth, then the next our neereft kinsman killeth a Hen, and dresseth it ready to be sodden, which done, they goe and sit in a corner of their house: and with him take all his *Fetissos*, and place them in order, as their greatest god in the middle, and the rest of meaner sort by it, then he takes certaine beades, some made of shels, some of Beanes and great Pease, and others of feathers, mixed with Buttons made of barkes of trees, and hangs them vpon the *Fetissos*. After that they take the bloud of the dead Hen, and therewith spinkle their *Fetisso* (for a dead man must offer bloud vnto his god) then hee fetcheth certaine Herbs out of the fields, and hangs them about his necke like a chaine. In the meane time, while the man is in this sort made readie. The Hen is sodden, and being sodden then he brings it, and putting it in a Platter, sers it in the middle of the *Fetissos*, which done, hee beginneth to coniure, vsing many words, and casteth water or wine of Palme vpon his *Fetisso*, then he takes two or three of the Greene leaues, which he hath about his necke, and rolleth them betweene his hands, making a little bowle or bale thereof, which he takes in the two fore-fingers of both his hands, and thrusts it betweene his legges, twice or thrice one after the other, saying, to his *Fetisso, Ancie*, which is as much as if he should say, All haile. After this he wringeth the sap out of that ball, and lets it drop vpon his *Fetisso*; which done he laies the ball vpon the ground, and takes two or three leaues more of the Herbs he hath about his necke, and rolles them in his hands, and hauing made them in a Ball, thrusts them betweene his legges, speaking certaine words as afore said, and then lets the sap drop vpon his *Fetisso*, and this he doth vntill such time

as he hath rolled and wrung all the Greene Herbs in that sort, which he had about his neck; then he takes all the balls or leaues together in his hand, and thereof maketh a ball as bigge as a mans fist, wherewith he wipeth his face, and that also is a *Fetisso*, which being done the dead bodie shall rest in peace, and therewith he packeth vp all his trinkets, and laieth them aside vntill another time, that some other bodie setteth him a worke. This kind of Superstition they esteeme for a great holinesse for their bodies, for when they goe to warre they hang such beades about their neckes, armes and legges, thinking that their *Fetisso* will defend them thereby, and preserve them from killing, and thinke that they need not feare any thing. They esteeme the *Pittoir* also for a god, for when they goe from one Towne to another, and heare it call, they are exceeding ioyfull and glad, for they say that it is a *Fetisso*, which speaketh vnto them, saying, that all those that then trauell in the way, shall haue no hurt, nor need feare any danger, for he will defend them from all men that seeke to molest them, and wherefoeuer they heare it crie, there they set Millia for him to eate, and pots full of water to drinke, and dare not passe that place without giuing it something, whereby in some corners of streets, and in the Woods you shall see a number of pots, and other meates as Millia, Mais, &c. which they set there to honour the *Fetisso* the *Pittoir*, whereby it appeareth that they make great account of Birds and also of some fishes, as of the Tonny, which they by no meanes will take, but esteeme it to be their *Fetisso* or Sea-god. They take many Sword-fishes, and cutting of the Swords they drie them, which they also esteeme for a great *Fetisso*. Others put their trust in some trees, and when they

Amulets, could

Pittoir a Fetisso.

Bird and fish gods.

Tree gods, they killed a Dutchman for cutting these trees against their will.

Hill-gods.

Opinions of the soules departed.

Of God.

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desire to know any thing they goe to those trees, where the Deuill oftentimes appears in forme of a blacke Dogge, or of such like things, and many times inuisibly, and maketh answer v no such things as they aske him. So that if you aske them any thing touching their beliefe, and they giue you no answer, which maketh any shew of truth, then they say that their *Fetisso* said so, and willed them to doe it, for they esteeme him for their god, and vse many foolish toys and vaine shewes when they pray to him, and serue him, thinking that it doth them good, and that they merit much thereby, yet it helpeth them not. But they rather find themselves deceiued, and as they deale with the Deuill, and put their trust in him, so he rewardeth them, and yet they desire not to heare of him, but feare him much.

There are some hills in those Countries, whereon oftentimes it thundereth and lighteneth, and thereby manie times some Fishermen, or other *Moorees*, are cast away or receiue some great hurt, which causeth them to thinke that their god is angry, and would haue some meate and drinke, or wanteth some other thing, and by that meanes they hold manie hills to be their gods, and set meate and drinke vpon them to pacifie them withall, and they dare not passe along by them, without going vp and giuing them something, fearing that if they did it not, they would doe them some hurt, and make each other beleue such things, and whatfoeuer they beleue, and once conceiue in their heads, it will neuer be extirped, but haue as firme an opinion of their *Fetissos* as possible may be. But when the *Netherlanders* saw them vse such vaine toys, which were so foolish, and laught and iested at them, they were ashamed, and durst make no more *Fetissos* in our presence, but were ashamed of their owne apishnesse.

We asked them of their Beliefe, and what opinion they had of diuers things; as first, when they died what became of their bodies and soules. They made vs answer, that the bodie is dead, but they knew not what any resurrection at the latter day meant, as wee doe: but when they die they know that they goe into another World, but they know not whither, and that therein they differ from brute beasts, but they cannot tell you to what place they goe, whither vnder the Earth or vp into Heauen, but when they die, they vse to giue the dead bodie something to carrie with him, whereby it is to be marked that they beleue that there is another life after this, and that there they haue need of such things as they haue here on Earth, for when they lose any thing, or when any of their friends die, then they thinke that those that are dead came and fetcht it away, and that they had need of it, but they know not what the Soule nor the Resurrection is.

Secondly, asking them of their god, they made answer, that hee is blacke like themselves, and that he was not good, but did them much hurt. Whereunto we said, that our God is white as we are, that he is good, that he doth vs much good, that he descended downe vpon Earth to saue vs, and how he was put to death by the *Jewes* for our sakes, that when wee die wee goe to dwell with him in Heauen, and that there we neither need meat nor drink, whereat they wondered, and willingly heard vs speake of those things, and said that we were Gods children, and that he told vs all things, but yet they murmured, saying, why doth not your God tell and giue vs all things (as well as he doth to you) and why doth he not also giue vs Linnen, Cloth, Iron, Basons, and other kinds of wares; whereunto we made answer, that our God sent vs all those things, and yet that he forgot not them, (although they knew him not) and sent them Gold, Palme-wine, Millia, Mais, Hennes, Oxen, Goats, Bannanas, Iuiamas, and other fruits, to sustaine them withall, but that they denied, or else they could not conceiue that such things came from God; but to the contrarie said that God gaue them no Gold, but that the Earth gaue it them, wherein they digge to find it: that hee gaue them no Millia nor Corne, but that they

Miserable and
ridiculous
blindnesse.

sowed it, and reapt it themselves, and that the Earth gaue it them; that the trees which they had planted gaue them their fruits, and were first brought thither by the *Portugals*; that yong beasts came of the old, that the Sea gaue them fish, which they tooke themselves, with many other such like things, which they would not acknowledge came from God, but from the Earth and the Sea, each according to their natures, but they acknowledge that Raine came from our Sauionr Christ, and that by meanes of our God they had much Gold, for that by meanes of the Raine they found their Gold, and their Fruits and Plants grew, and waxed ripe by meanes of the moysture, and for that we brought them euerie thing readie made to their hands, therefore they thinke that wee find all such things, and need but goe into the fields to fetch them, as they doe their Fruits.

Feare of
Thunder.

And when it happened that some of our *Hollanders* being in their Houses, when it beganne to Raine, Blow, Thunder and Lighten (whereof they are in great feare) went forth through the streets, not once shunning the Thunder and Lightning, neither did it once hurt them, they wondred thereat, for they were afraid that if they should come out of their Houses at that time, that it would not be good for them, for that many times, (when it Thundreth and Lighteneth there) it hapneth that some of them that are traouelling abroad, are carried away by the Deuill, and throwne dead vpon the ground, whereby they are as much afraid thereof, as any man possible can be. And for that they know that our God dwels aboue in Heauen, when it Thunders and Lightens they point vpwards, and call him *Iuan Goemain*. And once wee had a *Negro* aboard our ship, whom we kept prisoner because he brought false Gold, and gaue it out for good, which *Negro* euerie morning tooke a Tub with water in it, and washt his face therein, which done, he tooke his hands full of water, and cast it over his head, speaking diuers words vnto himselfe, and after that spit in the water, and vsed many other Apish toyes, which wee seeing, asked him why hee did it, and hee made answere, that hee prayed his *Fetisso* that it might raine, that so his friends might find much Gold to release him, that hee might goe home againe.

Circumcision.

They circumcise their young children, therein following the *Mabometicall* Law, with diuers other opinions which they hold thereof, as thinking it euill to spit vpon the Earth, besides many other Superstitions which they vse, but affirme, that they altogether vse those toyes, and only trust in their *Fetissos*, were an vntruth, for many of them that can speake *Portugall* (as hauing dealt with them and also daily traffique with vs) beginne to leaue those foolish toyes, and to haue some vnderstanding of Gods Word, which they doe by reason that wee mocke and iest at their foolish Ceremonies, and for that they say that wee are Gods Children, therefore they beleue much of that which we say vnto them, and begin to know God, but it is without any ground, for they grounded in their owne Superstitions, because they are not otherwise instructed.

Some haue
some smacke of
Christianitie.

But the *Negros* which dwell among the *Portugals*, know much of God, and can speake of his Commandements, as I haue found some among them, that could tell of the birth of Christ, of the Lords Supper, of his bitter Passion, and death of his Resurrection, and diuers other such like points, concerning our Christian faith; specially, one whom I knew well, and that was my good friend: for he could write and read *Portugall*, and was indifferent well learned in the Scriptures. And which is more, when we spake vnto him, and argued vpon some points against the *Romish* faith, or against the Religion which the *Portugals* had taught him (for he had dwelt with a Monk in the Cattle of *Mina*) he would dispute the contrary with vs, and shew that it was otherwise set downe in such a Gospel, and in such an Epistle of the Apostles, & that it must so be vnderstood: whereby we may perceiue, that those among them that haue any vnderstanding of the Christian faith, are sharpe witted, and will soone comprehend any thing: but it seemeth, that it hath not pleased God to call them to the vnderstanding of the Christian faith, and therefore we are much bound to prayse and thanke God, that it hath pleased him to vouchsafe vs the knowledge of his holy Word, and to vnderstand and know what belongeth vnto our saluation.

V.

Of their Houses, Townes, Countrey wayes, Warres, Armes, State of their
Kings, Iudgements, Lawes, Iustice, Thefts, Promises,
Oathes, and other Rites.

Their houses.



Heir Houses are not very curiously made, but altogether slight, much like to a number of Hog-sties, and I am of opinion, that in many Countreys, there are better Hog-sties then their Houses are; I cannot liken them better to any other thing, then to Souldiers Cabins in Sconces and Bulwarkes: for a man might say, that they haue taken a paterne by them. To build them first, they take foure Posts or Trees, which they thrust deepe

deepe into the ground, which stand foure square; that done, they lay other Beames or Trees vpon them, and bind them fast together; then they take a number of thin small stickes, and inclose their Houses round about, and those they bind very close together, so that you can hardly thrust your hand in betweene them: then they make Morter of a certaine kind of yellow earth, which they find in the fields, and that they beat very small and thin, so long till it be like vnto Pot-earth, which they take in their hands, and dawbe it vpon the smal stickes round about their Houses, from the foot to the top, where they desire to haue it close, and with their hands thrust it in betweene the chinckes of the stickes, that it may hold fast, as if it were betweene Lathes, and when they haue made their Houses close in this manner, which is almost halfe a foot thick
 10 in the wallles; then they let it stand and drie, so hard that it is like vnto stone, and being well dried, then they make an other kind of Morter of Red earth, which is as thin as water, and take a wispe of straw in their hands, and therewith wash all their house round about within; which serueth them in stead of Painting, whereof they make great account, and take a great pride to paint their houses in such sort, some with white, some with red, and others with blacke, as best liketh them; for the first thing they shew you when you come into the Countrey is their houses. To couer them, they take two foure square Couerings of Palme tree leaues: they tie fast together, and so close, that they are able to hold out the Raine, which they lay vpon their houses for the Roofe thereof, and bind them fast together, and when it is faire cleare
 20 Sunne-shine weather, then they open the Roofe of their house, like two wings, vnder-propping it with stickes, and so let the Sunne shine into their houses, and when it raineth, they let them fall downe againe close together. Before their house they make a foure square hole, like a doore, and make a doore of Reeds, which they open and shut, and bind it too with Withes. The floores are flat and very even, couered with Red earth, as if they were paved, and in the middle thereof commonly they make a round hole to fet their pot with Palme wine in, when they drinke together: in this sort they make two or three houses close together, which are placed foure square; and in the middle of them, there is a place wherein the women dresse their meat; in which houses they dwell together, as the women in the one, the man in the other, for they are asunder one from the other, and make as many as they haue need of, and those houses they inclose round about with a pale of Reeds, or straw of Mais, a mans height, or as high as the wallles of their houses, which are also but a mans height: so that if it were not for the couering of the
 30 house, which standeth paint-house wise, a man could not goe ypright in their houses. Their houses stand altogether in a heape; but because they separate them one from the other by those pales of Straw, by that meanes they shew like streets, and are somewhat separated one from the other. Their streets are so little and narrow, that but one man alone can goe in them, and when it raineth it is very slipperie to goe in their Townes, because the earth is so fattie, but when the Sunne shines, it drieth vp againe, and becomes as hard as a stone.

When you will goe into one of their houses, you must goe so long through the streets, till you find a doore open, wherein being entred, you must passe through all the Roomes, till you find the place where you would be. Their houses are not very full of House-hold stufte, but commonly they haue wooden Chests, which they buy of the *Netherlanders*, wherein they locke
 40 vp their things, so that you see but little of their House-hold stufte abroad.

The Kings or Gouvernors houses are commonly in the Market places, which are paled alone by themselves, and separated from all the rest, hauing no other neighbours dwelling by him, but onely his wiues and children (for he is commonly better furnished thereof, then the meaner sort of men.) His house is greater and higher then the rest, and hath many roomes which passe one into the other, couered ouer with Reeds, each chamber by it selfe, wherein his men dwell, and his watch stayeth all the day long. In the middle of his house he hath a foure square place all open, but couered ouer for the Sunne, where in the day time he sitteth, with his Gentlemen that come to speake with him, and to passe the time away; at the Kings doore there are alwaies
 50 two pots set deepe into the ground, which are full of fresh water, and euery day are fild with new water, which I thinke are set there for their *Fetisses* to drinke.

Their Townes that stand vpon the Sea-side are not very faire, but rather filthie places, and stinke like carrions, by reason of the filth which they carry and lay without, not farre from them; and many times, when the wind blowes from the Land, you may smell the stinke of them, aboue a mile and an halfe into the Sea. The Townes that lie inward to the Land, are richer of Goods and Gold, then the Sea-townes, and fuller of Houses and Men; besides that, they haue more Merchants dwelling in them: for, those on the Sea-side are not so rich, nor of so great power, as being for the most part Interpreters, Rowers, Pilots, Seruants, Fisher-men, and Slaves to the Inhabitants of the Townes. The King keeps his Court in the neereſt Towne, that standeth within the Land whereof he is King, and placeth a Captaine in the Sea-townes which are vnder his command. The Land-townes are very great, but they haue no Gates, Walls, nor Forts, nor any strength to resist the force of Enemies. I haue heard some of the *Negroes* that dwell within the Land, say, that there are many great Townes within the Land, much and farre exceeding the Hauen or Sea-townes.

These

Kings Houses.

Townes.

Aziem.

Anta.

Rio S. Georgio.
Cama.Agitaky.
Comando.Terra pequina.
Mina.
Cape Croffo.

1592.

Infantin.
Cormantin.

Biamba:

Berqu.

They vse to reckon the Gold Coast to begin from Cape *De tres punctas*, to *Rio de Volta*. This Cape *De tres punctas* lieth vnder foure degrees and an halfe; and because it hath three Points or Heads, which reach into the Sea, therefore it is called the Cape *De tres punctas*; but, for that the *Portugals* haue a Castle there, called *Aziem*, the *Negroes* are not suffered to deale with the *Hollanders*.

Eastward fise miles lower there lieth a place, called *Anta*, and there the ships commonly cast forth their Anchors; for there the *Negroes* buy much Iron, and are very expert to make Ironworke. Those People traffique much with Palme-wine, whereof they haue great store, as of Hens, Goats; and diuers Fruits, Iugnamas, and Annanasos; and when the time commeth that they draw their Wine out of the Trees, then the Canoes come thither with their *Negroes* and Merchants, at the least, ten or twentie miles from within the Land to buy Wine, so that it is carried almost all the Coast along, and great traffique made therewith. This Wine they esteeme very good for their men to drinke, because it is not so sweet as the Wine which is farther within the Countrey, which is not mixed with Water, as this Wine is. The other Wine they esteeme to be good to be drunke by their women because it is not mixed, but is exceeding sweet, and soone makes the women merrie. A mile lower lieth *Rio de St. Georgio*, and a place, called *Iabbe*, and *Cama*, where the *Portugals* also haue a House: and because this Quarter is very fruitfull, there dwells three or foure *Portugals* there, which receiue the Custome of the Fish, which is taken by the *Negroes* in the Riuer, and buy great store of other victuals, which they send continually to the Castles of *Aziem* and *Mina*, to victuall them withall. Before this Riuer there is a great Sand, which stretcheth farre into the Sea, whereby you cannot enter into it with any ships, but onely with great Canoes. And a mile lower there lieth a Village, by the *Negroes*, called *Agitaky*: by the *Portugals*, *Aldea de Torto*; and by the *Netherlanders*, *Comando*: but yet it is not *Comando*, although we call it so; for *Comando* lieth vpon the Hill, where the Kings dwell. They of *Edom*, *Wassa*, *Comando*, and other Townes, come to this Hauen to buy their Wares: there we sell many *Venetian* Madrigetten, and Corals (for the common people traffique much therewith by grinding and selling them one vnto the other) small Copper Basons, and blue Cloth: broad Linnen is well sold there. In this place men sell not any Wares in great quantities, but all in small parcels; & for that there are so many small parcels sold there, therefore it is the worst place of all that Coast forgiuing of *Dachios*: and for that their Gold, for the most part, is molten, and cut in smal pieces, therefore there is much deceit therein, for they mixe much yellow Copper among it, and many times bring Copper in stead of Gold; and for those two Points it is the worst place to deale in throughout all the Coast. They haue the greatest number of Canoes in all the Countrey besides; for many times they goe to Sea early in the morning, with seuentie or eightie Canoes, and enter as farre into the Sea as you can well discerne them, and about noone-time they come home againe with their Fish, for there they are very expert in fishing. It is likewise no lesse prouided of Fruits, for there is no place in all the Land, where a man may haue greater store, nor better cheape Fruit, then there, especially a kind of Fruit, called, *Bannana*; and for that cause it is by vs called, the Fruit Market. When you saile somewhat lower, and are North North-east from the high Hill of *Comando*, there is a place called, *Terra pequina*. Neere to that is the Castle of *Mina*, with a *Portugall* Garrison to prohibite Trade.

Sailing a long mile lower, you come to a place called, *Cape Croffo*; this Cape or Point is a great place of traffique, where the *French* men in time past vsed much to lie with their ships, and to traffique in the Countrey, and in the yeare 1590. or 1591. there was a ship of *Deepe* set vpon, by them of the Castle of *Mina*, whereof most of the men were slaine, and the rest made Slaues; and when we began first to traffique there, in the yeare 1592. there were some of our *Hollanders* slaine in a Boat at the same place; but now the ships begin to traffique there againe, because of the great quantitie of Gold which is brought thither from *Foetu*, *Abrenbon*, and *Mandinga*, and other Townes, which lie aboue two hundred miles within the Countrey. Sailing a mile lower, you come to the chiefe place of Traffique in all the Countrey, called *Mourre*. A mile lower there lieth a place called, *Infantin*, and two miles farther there lieth a towne called *Cormantin*, vnder the King of *Foetu*. There the *Hollanders* fetch their hoops, to bind their water vessels withall; for there are the best. Sailing foure miles lower, you come to the high hill of *Mango*, whereon the *Negros* offer sacrifice to the Deuill, but there is no Traffique. A mile lower there is a Village called, *Biamba*, where they keepe good store of Cowes, for it is good Pasture ground. The Inhabitants vse great Traffique along the Coast, by selling their Cattle; and because that there, there are many proper women; diuers of the *Negroes* come from other places of the Countrey thither to buy women, and to fetch slaues to serue their turnes withall; The Countrey people thereabouts are good husbandmen, and sow much Millie, presse good store of Palme wine, and bring great number of yong Cattle vp. Three miles lower, there lieth a place called, *Berqu*, the Village lieth vpon a hill, there the *French* men vsed much to Anchor with their ships. Those people speake another Language, and to that place all the people forwards speake one Language. The people are very Ingenious to make all kind of things, special-

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ly of gold, for they can make faire Chaines of gold, with other faire things, as Rings, &c. There they brew a kind of drinke called Pitouw, which is much like small Beere. They haue great store of Hens, and better cheape then in other places: there also they take the greene Birds, called Parrots. The Inhabitants in their time vsed to buy great store of Iron, for they haue many Smithes, whereby they make faire Armes, but now there comes no more ships thither, they goe with their Canoes to *Ackra*, which lieth foure miles lower; which is a low land vpon the Strand, hauing a halfe tree made in forme of a Gibet, which they esteeme to be their *Fetisso*. The *Portugalls* were wont to haue a Castle there, but for some mischiefe that they had done to the Inhabitants, the *Negroes* tooke their Castle by force, slew all the *Portugalls*, and brake downe
 10 the Castle. There againe they vse another Language, they are a craftie and subtle people, and the subtillest of all that Coast, both for Traffique and otherwise. They haue very few Canoes to fish or goe to Sea withall; but those they haue are very great, for I haue seene one that was cut out of a tree, which was fise and thirty foot long, and fise foot broad, and three foot high, which was as bigge as a Shallop; so that it would haue held thirty men at the least. They come not often to buy wares, but obserue certaine dayes in the weeke to that purpose, and then they come with great store of money, bringing the gold as it is found in the hilles. Two miles below that, there lieth a place, called *Nengo*. A mile lower, lieth *Temin*; And a mile lower then that, another place, called *Chinka*, where the *Hollanders* begin to place boats to traffique with the *Negroes*, which from the yeere one thousand sixe hundred, was first begun to be known vnto vs.

20 They make warre for a small matter, for the Kings are so enuious and angry one against the other, and so proud, that they cannot endure their equalls; whereupon they challenge one the other to the Battell, and to fight together in the field. The King giues warning to the Townes vnder his command, to will the Captaines with their men to come to him, to fight against the enemies: their enemies likewise doe the like, and so make preparation to fight one against the other. The Kings of those Townes haue certaine men, that are their Souldiers or slaues (which are as much as Souldiers) who euery day watch in the Kings house, and are as it were his guard. They are very proud of their offices, and in the streets they goe stately, looking vpon themselves, some times striking with their armes ouer their heads, and sometimes leaping backward and forwards, and round about; looking fiercely, as if they would deuoure all the
 30 world. They goe to the warres with the King, and if not then, they stay continually with him, to guard his person: and when the time commeth that they must fight, euery one prepareth himselfe thereunto, in the best manner that hee can. First, they paint their faces with colours, some Red, others White, and others Yellow; and also their breasts and the whole bodies with Crosses, Strikes, and Snakes, and many such like things; They also take their Beads with them, wherewith they make their *Fetissos*, and hang them about them, and thinke when they haue them about them, that their *Fetissos* will defend them, and that they shall not be slaine. They make and wreath a Ring of boughes of trees, as thicke as a mans arme, which they put about their neckes, to beare off the blowes of their Knives, in stead of Gorgets; on their heads they weare Caps made of Libards or Crocodiles skins: on their bodies they weare a Cloth Gir-
 40 dle which they thrust betweene their legges with a peece of Cloth of a handfull broad, to couer their priuities withall; for then they weare as few clothes on their backs as they can, that they may not be cumbred therewith when they fight, in their Girdles they sticke a hewing Knife or a Poniard; in their left hands bearing their shields, which are almost as long and as broad as themselves, in their right hands they hold their *Affagaies*, wherewith they sling each at other, some of them haue two, some three, foure, or more as they are able, and such as are not able, to haue shields and *Affagaies*, they carrie Bowes and sheaues of Arrowes, made of
 50 skins, full of smal Arrowes with Iron heads at the ends, wherewith they wil shoot most cruelly. The Boyes or Seruants carrie the Drums into the warres, whereon they play, others haue hornes of Elephants Teeth, wherewith they blow. When all is prepared, and euerie *Morinni* or Gentleman with his men are readie, they all meet at the Kings Court, and so goe with their Wiues, Children, and all their Household together to the Warres, where the battaile should bee fought, and if it be a Warre which concerneth them much, and wherewith they are much moued, and prouoked to ouercome their Enemies, then they burne their owne Houses, and all their Townes, that their Enemies may haue no such aduantage against them, as also because their minds should not be moued to looke and harken home-ward, but rather to giue them the better courages to set vpon their Enemies. But if it be a Warre of no great importance, and that will be soone ended, then they burne not their Houses nor take not their wiues and children with them, but they leaue their Townes, and send their wiues and children to the next place, with whom they haue no enmitie, which take all their household-stuffe with them, leauing their
 60 Houses emptie, without any kind of thing in them, as if they had wholly abandoned their Townes, and when their Warre is ended, then their wiues and children rturne againe to their owne Townes withall their stuffe.

Their warres
and Martiall
Customes.

Affagay a kind
of Dart.

The Souldiers on both sides meeting together in the fields, doe the best they can to destroy their enemies, both by casting at each other with their *Affagaies*, and by blowes. They can cast so exceeding

Exact skill
with Darts.
Man-eaters.

exceeding strait, right and sure with their Assagaies, that they will not faile to hit a Stiuer or piece of monie as bigge as a Groat, the rest shoot with poysoned Arrowes. The Drummes and Hornes are heard to make a great noise when they fight together, and in this Warre whosoever is taken Prisoner they make him a slaue all his life long, and such as are slaine, their bodies are drest and eaten as good meate. Their Warres are not so cruell as they seeme, nor according to the noise and preparation by them made, and their Warre continueth not long, but is soone ouer-past and ended. They also burne each others Houses and Townes, and driue the Inhabitants out of them.

Securitie.

It hapneth oftentimes, that although they haue no great controuersie with each other, they make peace together, promising not to warre one against the other, and to assure and confirme their promises, they beleue no words, but they send each other a man for a suretie, whom they keepe by them, and this man whom they deliuer in this sort for a suretie, is one of the chiefe of their Towne, who being brought to the place where he must remaine by the Kings slaues, he himsele being brauely drest, and sitteth vpon a slaues sholder, and in that sort is carried to the King, and to him they shew much honour, and yet they watch him narrowly.

They also buy many Peeces, and begin to learne to shoot in them, and haue the vnderstanding to know that a long Peece carrieth further then a short, which both the *Portugals* and wee also teach them. They are very expert in making of Armes, for they make Poniards of an ell long without hilts and foure fingers broad, with two edges, the handle being of wood, with a pummell at the end, they couer the handle ouer with a plate of Gold, or with the skinne of a certaine kind of fish which they take, which with them is esteemed as much as Gold is with vs, they make sheathes of Dogs or Goates skinnies, and aboue at the end of the sheathe, in stead of a chape they put a great red shell, as broad as a mans hand, which is in great estimation with them, others that haue not the abilitie to buy such shels, make or buy hewing Kniues in fashion like a Gammon of Bacon, broad at the end and narrow before, which cut but on the one side, and in stead of a red shell, they trimme them with an Apes or a Tygres head, and those they sticke in their Girdles, on the one side, and weare them as they goe along in the streets, and carrie their Assagaies in their hands, and if they haue a seruant or a slaue, they make him beare their Assagay and Shield before them, and they follow them with a staffe in their hands. The Merchants trauell in the Countrie with their Armes, and their seruants or slaues likewise carrie Armes with them, who commonly haue Bowes and Arrowes, because they are Weapons which are least cumbersome to bee carried, for they can carrie them about their neckes.

Their Armes

Their Assagaies are made of diuers fashions and of many sorts, but for the most part of Iron, at least two foot at both ends, and that part which they hold in their hands is of wood, both the ends are as heauie of Iron one as the other, because they should weigh an euen weight, and for that one should not be heauier then the other, for if it should they could not strike nor cast right with them. They are very curious of their Armes, for they will alwaies haue sixe or seuen of those Assagaies in their Houses, which stand in the ground one by the other, with their Shields hanging by them; those Shields they make of wooden hoopes, which they fold one within the other, and so make them foure square, but some-what bowing like a Buckler, and they are commonly six foot long, and foure foot broad, in the middle they make a crosse of wood, and bind it vpon the rest of the hoopes, to hold them the faster together, thereof also they make their handles whereon they beare their Shields: some of them of the better sort couer their Shields ouer with an Oxe-hide, and put a plate of Iron vpon it two foot long, and a foot broad. They make great account of their Shields, thinking that vnder them they haue a great safeguard for their bodies. They make their Bowes of very hard wood, the stringes are made of the barkes of trees, their Arrowes are of thinne and tuffe wood, the Feathers are made of the haire of a Dogges skinne, wherewith they couer almost halfe their Arrowes, and on the ends they put small Iron heads, which heads when they goe to warre one against the other, they anoint with poyson, which is the iuyce of certaine Greene Herbs, but they must not carrie such poysoned Arrowes but in time of warre, and that vpon paine of a great forfeit, or some other punishment to be inflicted vpon them that beare such Arrowes about them, their sheafes they make of Goats skinnies, which they hang about their neckes, and put their Arrowes into it. Their Drums are made of hollow trees, which are couered ouer with Buckes skinnies, with wooden pinnes, and strike vpon them with wooden stickes made like Spooones or Ladels. Those Drums commonly lie before the Kings Captaines and Guards Houses, and are sometimes twentie foot long, whereon they play when the King makes a Feast. They also make smaller Drums of hollow trees, which they hang about their neckes, and goe about the Towne, playing on them, those Drums are round aboue, and vnder very narrow like a funnell, no man may vse them but Gentlemen. They make Hornes of Elephants Teeth, and race them finely with manie stickes in them, and in the middle of the Horne they make a small hole which is foure square, and blow at that, but no man may vse them but only the King or the Captaine.

Choice of the
King.

They choole their Kings by the most voices and consents of the common people, for their King-

Kingdomes are not successiue to any of their children or Kinsmen, but when their King is dead, they choose another to gouerne them, and to possesse the Kingdome, and hee dwelleth in the deceased Kings Court, and possesseth all that he findeth therein, at his first entrie into the Kingdome, he must buy good store of Cowes, and Palme-wine, and bestow a Banket vpon his subiects, for they make great account of a King that is liberall, and feasteth them, but if their King be couetous, and seeketh to heape vp good store of Gold, they hate him, seeking all the meanes they can to find some cause to driue him out of his Kingdome, and to choose a better according to their minds. As it hapned in my time to the King of *Saba*, (who had bene King of *Infantim*) and was made King of *Saba*, whom they draue out of his Kingdome, and taking all his goods from him, made him goe to *Infantim* againe, from whence he came, and chose another in his place that pleased them better. And for that cause, the King that will bee well beloued of his subiects, euerie three monethes when his Guard or Customers come to pay him that which they haue receiued at the Sea-side, and of the Countrey people for custome, he must make a Banquet, and spend more then he receiue at that time, and then he biddeth his *Morrimis* (which is as much to say as a Gentleman or one of his Counsell) and buyeth many Cowes or Oxen, and also all the Palme-wine in the Countrey, that he can get which is giuen by him to the common people, who at that time are very merrie and ioyfull, singing and playing vpon their Drums. The heads of the Cowes are made cleane and fairely painted and hanged full of *Fetissoes*, which done, they are hang'd very orderly in the Kings thamber one vnder the other, in stead of Pictures, and for a great honour vnto the King, whereby such strangers as come to the Kings Court, may perceiue that he is a good King, and for that cause is much esteemed and beloued of his people. Besides this, they hold another Feast day euerie yeare, as being the day of their Coronation or their *Fetissoes* day, then the King inuitheth his Neighbour Kings and Captaines, with all his Gentlemen to a Banquet, and makes a great Feast, and that day he prayeth to his *Fetisso*, and he himselfe sacrificeth vnto him, which he doth but once a yeare. This *Fetisso* is the highest tree in the Towne, which is the Kings *Fetisso*, vpon this Festiuall day they vse manie Apish Toyes, as Fencing, Drumming, singing and leaping, the women also are verie merrie and dance, and euerie King holdeth his Feast day apart, and they doe it one soone after the other, which they doe in their Summer time.

The Kings Feasts

His wiues.

His Guard.

His Viador, or Treasurer.

His children.

- 30 On their Sunday at night the King makes a Feast, and buyes vp all the Palme-wine which is drawne out of the Trees that day, and biddeth his wiues and children to Supper, and his chiefest Gentlemen, at which time they are verie merrie, for hee eates but one day in a weeke with his wiues and children, and that is vpon their Sunday. These women are verie seruiceable to the King their Husband, and euerie one of them feasteth him to winne his loue, so that he wanteth no seruice at their hands: euerie one of his wiues hath his goods and riches apart by her selfe, and keepeth and feedeth her owne children, and shee that is in fauour with the King, wanteth nothing.
- 40 When the Kings wiues go abroad, they leane vpon the shoulders of other women that serue them, and are their slaues, and their children are also carried vpon the shoulders of other of the Kings slaues, hee himselfe commeth little abroad, but stayeth alwayes in his House, sometime he sitteth at his doore but not often, his House is watcht both day and night by his slaues, which watch armed in his Court, and in his Chamber, and when he goeth out they attend on him and goe round about him. In the morning betimes and late in the euening, his slaues blow those Hornes of Elephants Teeth, which make a prettie sound, for they haue the slight to draw their breath in and out as they list, and can answere one the other when they blow, when the King comes out of his Chamber, his wiues stand readie to attend on him, to wash his bodie all ouer, and then to anoint it with Palme-oile, after that hee eateth some-what, and so sets himselfe downe vpon a stoole, and in his hand hee holdeth a Horle or an Elephants tayle to keepe the Flies from his naked bodie, he is brauely drest after this manner; his Beard is knotted with golden Corals, and other costly things, on his armes and legges hee hath Rings of Gold and other faire Beades of Corall, and the like also about his necke, and so hee sitteth all the day talking with one or other, for he wanteth no company to passe the time away, they haue one attending on them, whom they call *Viador* (which word they haue learned of the *Portugals*) hee is the Kings Treasurer, and keepeth his Gold and other Riches, receiue and payeth all, and doth all other busineses for the King. This man is next vnto the King, and he commonly hath more golden Rings about his necke, armes and feet, then the King himselfe. When the Kings children are of some yeares, if they will haue any thing they must looke to get it, for the King may giue them nothing to liue idly vpon, for the common people would murmure at it, if the King should giue somewhat vnto them, he might doe wrong to his Gentlemen, but hee giueth them their Patrimoniall goods when they marrie as their custome is; and besides, that he giueth them euery one a slaue to serue their turnes with all, and they haue nothing else of their Fathers, whereby it falleth out, that when they waxe old, and seeke not to doe any thing, they are no more respected then another man is. The King keepes them with him to serue him, and when he maketh peace with any other Towne or King, then he imploresth his children, and sends his sonnes

sonnes for hostages, that they may begin to be honored, and thereby attaine to great estate: the reuenues of the Fruits, Fish, Wine, and Palme-oile, which the King hath, are sufficient to maintaine the King, and his Wives, and Children. His Millie, whereof he maketh Bread, is sowed and reaped for him, at other mens charges; whereby he hath a good life (but yet miserable in respect of ours.) When the King dies he is honourably buried after their manner, and then presently they choose another, one that is not of the last Kings kindred; but they choose a strange man, whom they thinke good; and by no meanes they will choose any that in any point held with, or fauoured the last King. Having made him King, they bring him to the Palace, and he taketh the gouernment vpon him, and hath all the treasure and goods of the dead King, which he got during the time of his Raigne; and that he holdeth, so that the dead Kings Children enioy not a penie: but that which he had when he was chosen King, that they take and part among them, as their custome is. 16

Lawyers.

They vse no Counsellors, nor Attorneys, but euery man must tell his owne tale to the Iudge, who sends for the accused partie; after whose answere, the Plaintiffe speaketh againe: and in this sort they are each of them heard to speake foure or fve times, and when the one speaketh the other must hold his peace till he hath done, for they must not interrupt one the other when they speake, vpon paine of corporall punishment, so that although they bee wild men, and without any ciuilitie or good behauiour; yet therein they vse a very good and laudible custome. When the Iudge hath heard them say what they can, according to his owne mind, hee giueth Iudgement, which they must stand vnto without appeale. If it bee any thing concerning the King, whereby he is to haue any forefeiture or otherwise, the Iudge receiueth it, and demandeth it of him that is to pay it, in the Kings name, which he must pay presently without delay, and if he be not able to doe it, he must presently depart from thence to another Towne, or some other Kings Iurisdiction, and there stay till he hath contented his King, & payed his Fine. If it be a controuersie which is to be determined among them, and they cannot agree thereon, then they will seeke to kill each other, or challenge their aduerse parties to fight with them, appointing a day and place when they will meet with their Armes to end or determine their controuersie. In the meane time they make their cause knowne to some of their friends, and desire their helpe, (for each of them may haue three or foure men to helpe them) and commonly they are of their neereft friends and kindred; and when their appointed day is come, each of them goeth with his companions to the same place, and when they meet together with their Shields and Asagaies to defend themselves withall, they place themselves orderly in the field one right ouer against the other, the Plaintiffe and the Defendant standing in the middle, and so begin to cast and shoot at each other with their Asagaies, and shoot in that sort so long vntill that some of them on both sides are hurt, and fall to the ground. Then they cease their Fight, and so their quarrell endeth. But his side on whom the dead man is found to be slaine, or that hath lost the victorie, come to the other partie and desire to haue the man out of their companie, that was the cause of that Combat, in stead of the dead man that is slaine. And if he runneth away, and getteth to another Towne, they will follow him, and will neuer leaue before they haue gotten him into their hands, and none of their Kings may giue such a man freedome, nor keepe him secretly in his Towne, but if he can find him in his Towne, he must deliuer him to those that seeke after him, and if he doth it not, then they make complaint to their King, and so, many times one King makes warre vpon another for that cause; when they haue found him, he is deliuered to the wife the dead man, and shee keepeth him for her Slaue, or else shee sells him to another: but if hee hath any meanes to pacifie the woman, or the friends of that man, and to redeeme himselfe out of bondage, he may doe it, and goe freely abroad. They are very great controuersies that are ended in this manner, for they are no common men that end their quarrels in such sort. 20

Combats.

Their Lawes
and execution
of Iustice.

The Plaintiffe certifies the Captaine, who causeth a Drum to be sounded by one of his Slaues, and he goeth round about the Towne with the Drum about his necke, and with him there goeth two boyes more, each with a Cow-bell in their hands, without Clappers, and they strike vpon them with stickes made of wood, and when they haue gone in this sort round about the Towne (which is a signe vnto the people that Iustice is to be executed) then the Captaine with his Gentlemen comes and sit round together in the Market-place; each man with his Armes, wherewith all the people assemble together, knowing not what the matter is, and goe to the Market-place, where their common assemblies are made, the women standing in one place, the men in another, to heare what the Captaine will say; and he that is accused is presently taken, and kept prisoner in the Captaines house, and if it be a weightie matter, he is bound; if otherwise, he is onely kept by the Executioner, and he must not depart from thence before his cause be tried, in the meane time, the Captaine with his Gentlemen sit still in the Market-place, to heare the complaints made against the Prisoner, and send him word by his Slaues what accusations are laid against him, whereunto he must presently, without delay, make answere; otherwise, if he cannot excuse himselfe, he must pay the penaltie which he hath incurred; and if he cannot pay it, he must in the Kings behalfe be sold as a Slaue, towards the payment of his Fine, and euer after, while he liueth, he must be a Slaue: but if he hath done any offence that deserueth 30

ueth death, he may redeeme his life with money, if hee can agree with the King, and content him; which money is diuided among the *Morinni*, which haue the one halfe, and the King the other halfe, without giuing any to the friends of the dead man. And if it be one that hath incurred the danger of paying a Fine for lying with another mans wife, being accused to haue won her thereunto by false promises or by force, and hath not kept his promise with her; then the King first taketh all his goods from him, as forfeit vnto him; and the woman must pay two or three ounces of gold for a Fine vnto her husband, or as he fauoreth her, and she can agree with him; otherwise he may put her away, and take another wife, and the womans friends goe and burne, or pull downe the mans house that hath done the fact, and doe him all the mischief they can, to make him to leaue the Towne, that they may heare no more of him. In my time, while I lay there, it hapned that a man came from one Towne to another, to gather vp his debts, which man a yeere before had layne with another mans wife, and the same woman was then by chance come to the same Market, and seeing him, went straight and complained to the *Ane*, (which is the Captaine) who presently caused him to be taken; and their Counsell being assembled, there before them the woman complained that he had forced her, and had not paid her according to his promise: he made answere, that he did it with her good-will, and although neither of them both were of that Towne, yet their cause was heard, and as good Iustice vsed towards them, as if they had beene Inhabitants of that place, and after long disputation by them made, the *Fetissero* (which is the Priest that coniureth their *Fetissos* or gods) came thither with a certaine Drinke in a pot, and set it downe before the Captaine, the woman tooke the pot and drunke thereof, to iustifie that he had not contented her for the losse of her honour; and if hee would haue drunke thereof before the woman drunke, to iustifie that he had paid her, and owed her nothing, then he had beene quit from paying any thing; but knowing himselfe to be guiltie, he durst not drinke, but was found guiltie, and was iudged to pay a Fine of three Bendaes, which is sixe ounces of gold.

This Drinke among them is as much as an Oath, and is called *Enchionkenon*; which they make of the same Greene herbs whereof they make their *Fetissos*; and as they say, it hath such a force, that if a man drinketh it falsely, their *Fetisso* causeth him presently to die; but if they drinke it innocently, then their *Fetisso* suffereth them to liue. By reason of the great hatred and enuie which they beare one vnto the other, they accuse each other, although it bee for a thing that hath beene done ten yeeres before, so that there is no quarrell but it is called in question. And if a man hath married or bought the sister of that man that is to pay a Fine vnto the King, and is not able to doe it, then his sisters husband must ioyne with him to doe it, and helpe him to pay his Fine, so they dwell both vnder one Iurisdiction, and for that they must agree together; for before all things the King must be paid his Fines, by one meanes or other, or else they must goe out of his Countrey, and dwell in another place; and so if he be not able to pay his Fine, then he taketh all his Wiues and Children, and goeth to another Towne, and which is more, all the friends they haue dwelling in that Towne must also goe with him, and dwell all in that place, vntill they haue agreed with, and paid the King his Fine: and when they come againe, then they goe to all their acquaintance and aske them forgiuenesse, and seeke and make peace and friendship with them, as they had before; the man going to his friends, and the woman to hers. The cause why their friends also depart and leaue the Towne, is, because they should not bee molested nor troubled by the King for the same. The Fine which they pay for Theft, is sixe ounces of gold, or three Bendaes of their weight; for in that Countrey they are not put to death for it. But if they steale any thing from the *Netherlanders*, they pay no Fine, but onely when they steale one from another. If any man hath falsified Gold, and carried it to the *Netherlanders*, and that they complaine thereof vnto the King; he must pay a Fine for it, as the case requireth. If much Gold bee falsified, many times they are sold for Slaues. And all these Fines are the Kings, to maintaine his expences. If it be a case wherein any man hath deserved death, and that he cannot pay the King but with his life, then he is iudged to die, and without any more delay, the Executioner, or hee that is appointed to doe it, taketh him, and bindeth his hands behind him, and then couering his eyes, leadeth him into a Field, or a Wood, or where he thinketh best, (hauing no place purposely appointed to doe it in) and being there, maketh him kneele downe, and stoope with his head, and taking an *Affagaie*, steppeth backe, and strikes him into the bodie, wherewith he falleth downe, then he takes his cutting Knife, and cuts off his head, and then hee is dead; for they beleue not that a man is dead before his head is cut off, and therefore when they put any man to death, they cut off his head; which done, hee cuts his bodie in foure quarters, and casts them into the field, to bee deuoured by Beasts and Birds. But their friends come and fetch the head, and keepe it for a great Present, seething it in a Kettle, and then eate the broth thereof; which done, they take the bare Scull, and hang it by their *Fetisso*. The women at that time make a great noise with crying and howling, and take the quarters, and carrie them into the fields: when the execution is done, there are no Officers by, but onely the Executioner and the Partie that is to be executed; but when it is done, then they come about him, and lament the dead man, as aforesaid.

K k k k k

For

Lacedemonians
Theeues.

For stealing, I am of opinion, that of all the Nations in the World, they haue not their Masters. They esteeme it a shame to steale one from another, but when they haue stolne any thing from the *Netherlanders*, they esteeme it to be a credit vnto them and bragge thereof, for they esteeme vs to be craftie and subtill men, and when they haue stolne any thing from vs, they thinke themselves to be the subtiller and craftier, and seeke to bee honoured for doing so braue an action.

Lacedemonians.

Lead, that is nayled without vpon the ships, to keepe them from being eaten by Wormes, rustie Nayles, Greale, Weights (which they hide in their Haire, Mouthes, or Eares) any other small matters are exercise of their Theft; yea, although they be neuer so great Merchants, and bestow two or three pound of Gold with you for Merchandize, and haue no need to steale, but if any thing bee taken from them, they make so many words and such a noyse, as if it were a matter worthy of death.

They say that they may steale, and we not: I askt them the cause why; they made answer, that we are rich and had great store of wares, and brought ships full vnto them, and tooke great paines and labour to sell it, and were so long before we sold it, that they thought it fit to helpe vs therein, that we might the sooner be rid thereof, that we might fetch others, and that wee were clothed, and they went naked, and had nothing vpon their bodies, and that therefore it was freer for them then for vs to steale. When they haue taken any thing and that you misse it, you must presently search them all, for they steale very cunningly, and giue it one vnto the other, and when they come together they part it among them; when you haue found it, and know who stole it, then you must beat him well, be he neuer so great a Merchant, and the rest of the *Negroes* will laugh at him and mocke him, because hee did his businesse no better: but when they perceiue that their Theft is discovered, then they leape ouer-boord and get away, fearing to be beaten, and if you let them goe and beate them not at that time when you take them, then they feare a greater matter and expect more blowes, and that you will intrap them, and therefore they will commonly euer after shunne that ship and goe aboard another: but if you beate them for their labours when they doe it, they will not hate you for it, nor shunne the Ship, but will come the next day againe to deale and traffique with you.

Promises.

In their Promises or Oathes which they make vnto vs, they are vnconstant and full of vn-truth, but such promises as they make among themselves, they keepe and obserue them well, and will not breake them: when they make any Oathes or Promises, specially, when they will shew it to our *Netherlanders*. First, they wipe their faces vpon the sole of your foot, and then doe the like vpon their shoulders and brests, and vpon all their bodies, speaking thrice each to other, saying, *Iau, Iau, Iau*, euerie time clapping hands together, and stamping with their feet vpon the ground, which done, they kisse their *Fetisso*, which they haue vpon their legges and armes: some for the more assurance of their Promises and Oathes, will drinke certaine drinke, as I haue said before: but he that should repose much trust therein, should soone find himselfe deceiued, because they are not to be credited further then you see them.

Oathes.

¶ VI.

Of their Summer and Winter; And of their manner of Tilling and Sowing the Land; Their Corne, Rents, Raines; Beasts and Hunting: Fowles, Trees, and Fruits.

Barren Summer and fertile Winter.



Although it is alwayes warme in those Countries, yet they haue a difference in the time of the yeare, and so they account some monethes for their Summer, and some for their Winter. The difference which they haue therein is the weather; for both in Summer and Winter the trees are greene, and some of them haue leaues twice a yeare. In Summer their fields are bare, and in Winter they are full of Corne, and are very greene, so that they haue their Haruest in Winter. The Dayes and Nights are of one length, or else there is little difference: for the Sunne riseth and goeth downe there, commonly at sixe of the clocke, but it is risen at least halfe an houre aboue the Horizon, before it sheweth it selfe, so that you shall seldome see it cleerely rise and goe downe. The Fruits are there as plentiful and abundant in Winter, as in Summer. When the weather is warmest, and that the Sunne is aboue their heads. They esteeme that time to be their Winter, which beginnes in the monethes of April, May, and Iune; because as then it raineth and is very foule weather there with Thunder and Lightning, (which the *Portugals* call, *Tranados*, and they *Agombreton*) which foule weather and raine followeth the Sunne, and riseth vp with his highth, at that time they are most cumbred with raine: but in their Summer they are not so much troubled with it, but then the Earth dryeth and is hard and vnfruitfull, and therefore they shunne that time to sow their Millie and Mais in, but when that time is gone, to beginne their Husbandrie, they goe into the Woods or Fields, and there seeke out a good place, which they thinke fit for their pur-

Myths.

purpose to sow their Corne in, to serue to maintaine their Wines and Children.

No man hath any Land to himselfe which he can or may keepe to his owne vse, for the King hath all the Woods, Fields, and Land in his hands; so that they may neither sow nor plant therein but by his consent and licence, which, when they haue obtained, and haue a place permitted them to sow their Corne in, then they goe with their slaues and burne the Woods, trees, roots and shrubs with all the rubbish downe to the ground: then they goe with their long chopping-knives which they call *Coddon*, and scrape and raze vp the ground with *Colen* (and all that serueth them to fatten their ground) about a foot deepe, and let it lye eight or ten dayes, and when all of them haue tilled their ground, euery man makes readie his seed to sow it with all, vpon their Sunday, and then they go to their Kings or Gouvernors House, of that quarter: for, first, they helpe to till his ground, and to sow his Corne, and go all together to his field, and take all the rubbish out of the Earth and cast it into the middle of the field, and then once againe rake the Earth and sow their Corne in the field. They begin vpon a Sunday, and first serue their Gouvernour or King, and when they haue done his worke, the Captaine sendeth into the field a great number of Pots with Palme-wine, and a sod Goat, with good store of other meat, according to the number of Workmen, and there they sit downe together and make good cheare, and at that time they burne the roots, and sit and sing and make a great noise about them, all in the honour of their *Fetisso*, to the end that he should let their Corne grow well and prosperously vp. When their Captaines or Kings Land is tilled and sowed, the next day they goe to another mans ground, and doe with it as they did with the Kings ground, and there also make good cheere as they did before, and are merrie together, and so forth with the rest whome they helpe. The Corne soone groweth vp, and lyeth not long in the ground: when it is as high as a mans head, and beginnes to sprout, then they make a wooden House in the middle of the field, couered ouer with Reeds, and therein put their Children to watch the Corne, and to driue away the Birds, wherewith they are much cumbred. They weed not their Corne, but let it grow vp weeds and all.

Their Husbandrie.

The Millie hath long eares, and is a seed of colour like Hempe-seed, and long like Canarie-seed, it hath no shels, but groweth in a little huske, and is very white within. This kind of graine they alwayes had, and serue their turnes therewith before the *Portugals* came thither. It groweth and is ripe in three months, and when it is cut down, it lyeth a month after in the fields to dry, and then the eares are cut off and bound in sheafes, and so carryed home to their Houses. They vse the straw to couer their Houses withall. This Millie is a verie excellent graine, hath a good taste and is wholsome to eate, it is sweet in your mouth, but gnasheth in your teeth, which commeth of the stone wherewith they grind it. When they haue vsed the Land, and their Haruest done, then they sell part of their Corne to other men, which are not able to sow it, and by that meanes get a good quantitie of Gold; they giue some to their King for the rent of his Land, and carrie it home to his House, euery one as much as he thinketh good. For there is no certaine summe appointed for them to pay, but euery one giueth according to his abilitie, and the quantitie of ground that he hath vsed, and bringeth it vnto the King, so that hee hath at least fise or sixe Bendas of Gold of them at one time, which they carrie altogether to their King, who welcommeth them, and thanketh them for their *Dache* or Gift, and for their labours giueth them their bellies full of meate and drinke, and that they pay to the King for the farme of his Land, and no more.

Millie.

The Corne by the *Indians* called Mais, by the *Portugals* or *Spaniards*, *Indian-wheat*, and by the *Italians*, *Turkish-corne*, is a Graine almost knowne throughout all the World, and was brought out of West India into Saint Thomas Iland, and they of Saint Thomas (after they had built their Castle) brought it thither for to serue their necessitie withall, and sowed it there, for before the *Portugals* came into those Countries, the *Indians* knew it not, but they sowed it first in that Countrey, and disperfed it abroad among the wild *Indians*, so that now the Countrey is full thereof, and at this present there is great abundance in *Guinea*. They vse to mixe it with their Millie, and sometimes take halfe Millie and halfe Mais. The *Negroes* that dwell among the *Portugals*, grind it alone without any Millie, and make excellent bread thereof, wherewith they sustaine themselves, and sell it to the *Portugals*: they know how to bake it in such sort, that it will endure good three or foure monethes. The Children also eate it in stead of bread, which they set awhile vpon the fire, and then crush the Corne out of the huskes, such as eate much thereof and are not vsed vnto it, vse to bee Scuruie and Itchie, or else to bee troubled with great bloud Veines, for it increaseth bloud: it is no lesse nourishing then Corne in the *Netherlands*, and in a manner tasteth like our Corne.

Their Mais.

The people of the West Indies can make Wine of Mais, which they call, *Chicka*, wherewith they will make themselves drunke, as if it were of Wine made of Grapes, and for that they know, that Corne sodden or steeped in water maketh a kind of drinke, wherewith a man may make himselfe drunke. Therefore they lay this kind of Graine to soake in the water till it is soft, and then they brew thereof, as some of the *Negroes* in *Guinea*, which deale with the *Portugals*, also doe, and call it *Poisson*.

This Mais will grow in a moyst fatty and hot ground, and beares twice a yeere: it is not sowed like other Corne, but it is thrust into the ground, as we vse to doe Beanes in our Countrey: it lieth not long in the ground, but soone springeth vp, and groweth higher then a mans length above the ground, like to great Reeds that grow in the water, or in drowned land, where-with husbandmen vse to couer their shades: euery Reed hath his eares whereon the Corne groweth, and notwithstanding, that they are heauy eares, as big as yong Cucumbers, and sharpe about like the top of a Steeple, yet euery Reed hath seuen or eight eares vpon it. I haue told five hundred and fiftie Graines vpon one Reed, which came of one Graine alone. They are of diuers colours, as White, Blacke, Yellow, Purple, &c. and sometimes you shall haue three or foure colours thereof in one eare. There are two sorts thereof, great and small, the great Graine is stronger then the small. They vse the Reed to couer their houses.

Raine hurtfull. They shun the Raine, and esteeme it to be very ill and vnwholesome to fall vpon their naked bodies, which they doe not without great reason, for wee find our selues to bee much troubled therewith, when we trauell, specially when it raineth much, and maketh great *Trauados*, as it doth once a yeere. In those Countreys, which is in Aprill, May, and Iune; at which time there are such Tempests of Thunder, Lightning, wind, and Raine, that it is incredible, specially the Raine vnder the Equinoctiall Line, is so vnwholesome and rotten, that if a man hath bene in the Raine, and is thorow wet, and so lieth downe to sleepe in his Cabin, in his wet clothes, without putting them off, he is in danger to get some sicknesse; for it breedeth Feuers: and againe, if you drie not your wet clothes presently in the Sun, but forgetting them, chance to let them lie, they will rot with the force of the water, in such sort, that you may plucke them in peeces with your fingers. And they find no lesse vnwholesomenesse therein; for when it begins to Raine, they get them out of the way, and if any drops of water fall vpon their naked bodies, they shiuer and shake, as if they had a Feuer, and cast their armes ouer their shoulders to keepe the Raine from them: which they doe not, because the water is cold, for often times it is as warme as if it were sodden: but because of the vnwholesomenesse for their bodies, which they find thereby. And when they haue troden in the day time in the water with their feet, at night they make a fire, and lie with their soles of their feet against it, which they doe, to draw the moysture of the water, which is gotten into their bodies, out againe at their feet: then they anoint their bodies with Palme Oyle, which they vse also for a beautifying to make their bodies shine, and that they doe to shunne the Raine water within those Countreys (as many men write) is very vnwholesome, and thereof many and dangerous diseases are ingendred.

I haue omitted the fish and fishing: their beasts, &c. They haue Elephants, Leopards, Tigers, Cats of the Mountaine, Monkeys, Foxes, Harts and Hinds; it is said, that in this Countrey there are white Elephants: but I could neuer vnderstand it from the *Negros* themselves.

Great Snakes. There are the greatest and most venomous Snakes that euer was seene, there was one in my time taken there (as the *Negroes* told me) which was thirty foot long, and as much as fixe men could carrie; There is also a beast like a Crocodile, but it neuer goeth into the water, as the Crocodile doth; which is called *Languad*.

Spiders. There are Spiders as big as the palme of a mans hand, and great store of them. Camelions and Agtissen a great number, but they esteeme not them to be venomous, for they drie many of them & eat them. There are many Dogs & Cats, such as we haue, but their Dogs haue sharper snowts then ours, and their chaps full of wooll, they cannot barke nor make a noise, they are very faire beasts for colour, as blacke, red, white, and yellow Spaniels, &c. They are also a little smaller footed then ours, so that they are not much vnlike the Dogs in our Countrey, but they are vnlike to ours in one thing, for when you strike them, they run away, and make no noise, nor once offer to bite you; but when you run away from them, and are afraid of them, they will leape at you, and bite you by the legges: those Dogs they vse for their necessitie, and eate them, and in many places of the Countrey they are brought and driuen to the Market like sheepe or hogges, being tied one to the other with strings, they are called *Ekie*, or *Cabra de matto*, which is a wild sheepe, it is the first gift which a man of that Countrey giueth when he buyeth his Gentilitie, they make much of our Dogs in these Countreys, for when they barke, they thinke they speake; and for that cause esteeme greatly of them.

Cats. Cats also are there much esteemed, because they take Mice, wherewith the Inhabitans of the Townes are much troubled, they are called *Ambaio*, they haue very faire skins, and are very good Mousers, they vse also to eate them, they were first carried hither out of *Europe*.

Elephants. If they know where any Elephants are, they vse all the meanes they can to take them, for they eate them also, although they should stinke like a Carrion, and that a thousand Maggots crept out of them. Where they know that they vse often times to come, they make great pits, which they couer ouer with straw and foule leaues of trees, which the Elephant knowing nothing of, goeth that way as he was wont to doe, and fallies into the pit, and cannot get out againe.

The *Negroes* hearing that hee is fallen into the pit, run thither with their weapons and smite him into the body with *Aslagaies*, and so kill him; which done, they leape into the pit, and cut him in quarters, and euery one may go and fetch his part thereof when he will, of the hide they make stools to sit on: the taile is giuen to the King to beat the Flies from his naked body, and are much esteemed off there; with no lesse subtiltie they take the Leopards; for they doe them more hurt then other beasts: and because it is a cruell beast to spoyle and destroy men, keeping in the way where men should passe along. In euery foure cornered way, or at the end of the street, they make houses with wooden pales, which are like to Rat traps, wherein they put Hens, Sheepe, and other things which he desireth to eat, where the Leopard coming to eat his prey, is taken with the fall of the trap, and kild with an *Aslagaie*; they esteeme much of the skin, whereof they vse to cut Girdles, and to make Caps. There are no Horses in that Countrey, and when there were some brought vnto them for a great Present, they kild them, and ate them: because their flesh seemed sweet vnto them. Leopards.

The Oxen and Cowes that are found in that Countrey are not very great; but of bignesse like great Calues: their hornes stand backward on their heads, they are not milkt, for they giue none; they can hardly bring vp their yong Calues, by reason of the small moysture that the Cowes giue their Calues, by meanes of the drie Countrey wherein they are, and by reason of the heat of the land. Oxen.

The Hens and Goats, (which with them are sheepe) that they haue there, were brought them thither by the *Portugalls* of *S. Thomas*, the Hens prosper and encrease well there, and are so fat with the Millie that groweth there, as if they were Capons; but they are commonly smaller then ours, the Egges which they lay are no greater then Pidgeons Egges. The Doues which they haue there, were also brought them thither by the *Portugals*, and are called *Abrauma*, which is as much to say, as Birds brought thither vnto them by white men. They are very like to our Pidgeons, but their heads are lesse, like Sea-mewes, there is no great store off them in the Countrey. Hennes.
Doues.

The Hogs also were brought them by the *Portugals*, and are called *Ebbio*; they are very little, but very sweet and pleasant to eat, but not so good as the Hogs in *Mosambique*, where the Hogs flesh is as daintie as Hens flesh: and because it is a very vnwholesome place, they giue their sicke men Hogs flesh to eat, in stead of Hens flesh: they haue also not long since gotten some Geese out of a ship of *Holland*, which they call *Apatta*, which are there much esteemed of because they are but few. Hogges.

The Countrey is full of Monkies, of diuers formes, for some of them haue white beards, and blacke Moustachoes, with speckled skins, their bellies white, and vpon their backes they haue a broad Tawnie stroke, with blacke Pawes and a black Tayle, and by vs are called *Beard-men*. There are some called white Noses, because no part of them is white but onely their Nose, there is a third sort called *Boertkens*, those shun men very much, and stinke filthily, by nature they are very crafty: the fourth, are very like to the *Jacken*, which are found in the Graine Coast; there are also many Monkies of diuers other fashions, they take the Apes and Monkies with springes which hang vpon the trees, where into the Apes and Monkies leape, and are taken by the *Negroes*. Muske Cats are there in great abundance, the *Portugals* call them *Cato degalia*, which is *Agalia* Cats; the *Negroes* call them *Kankan*, those kind of Cats are also found in *East India*, and in *Iana*, but they are not so good as those in *Guinea*; or of the golden Coast, they are there called *Castory*, those Cats are much esteemed of by the *Portugals*, whereby they reape great profit, specially by their *Agaly* or Muske, which they take from them, and make them cleane, and then it is put into glalles, and carried into *Lisbon*, it is a kind of beast much giuen to bite, and to eat flesh; because they giue them flesh (as Hens, Pidgeons, Goats, and other costly meats) to eat. They ease themselves in a place apart, and leaue it, and neuer lie in it; it is almost like a Foxe, but their tayles are like other Cats, their skins are speckled like a Leopards skin: the *Negroes* take many of them in the woods when they are yong, and so bring them vp: but because they haue no skill there how to vse them, they sell them to strangers. The Male Cats are the best, and yeeld the most *Agalia*, by reason that the Females pisse in the cod wherein the Muske groweth; and pisse it out with their water; when you perceiue that they teare their bagge, you must take their *Agalia* from them, for they doe it to be rid of it: the wilder and worse they are to rule, so much the costlier and better their *Agalia* is. Monkies.
How taken.
Musk-cats.

There are Hares also in this Countrey, specially in a place called *Akra*, in forme like ours, and because that Countrey is low Sandy Ground, therefore they are found more there then in any other part of that Coast: when the *Negroes* will take them, they goe a great number of them together, to the place where the Hares are, euery one taking with him two or three cudgels of wood, as long as a mans arme, and there they compass the field round about, and standing about their holes, make such a noyse and crying, and clapping their stickes one vpon the other, that the Hares are so feared therewith, that they leape out of their holes, and are by them kild with those Cudgels, which they cast at them, and by that meanes get many of them. Harts and Harts. Hinds are sometimes found there also, but in some places more then others, they are of the same

fashion that ours are in the Low-countreyes, but they haue another kind of hornes then ours, they haue no expresse kind of Instruments to take them withall : but when they see them goe to the water to drinke, they strike them into the bodie with an Aslagaie and kill them. Hunting to take wild beafts is lawfull for any man to vse in those Countreys, if they can take them, without punishment for doing it: There are many other kinds of beafts of such, seuerall sorts, that a man cannot tell what to make them; but for that the *Netherlanders* that vse to *Guinea*, dare not goe farre into the Countrey to take wild beafts, least they should be taken and intrapped by the *Portugals* or their adherents, and made slaues all their liues long : therefore there are many wild beafts that are not knowne by vs, and which the Inhabitants themselues know not, nor can not tell by what names to call them.

Parrots.

Parokites.

The Birds that are found there, are of diuers sorts, and are little birds like vnto ours; first, there are blew Parrots, whereof there are great store, which being yong, are taken out of their nests, and made tame, hauing not flowne abroad, they are better to teach, and to learne to speake; but they will not prate so much as the greene *Brasilian* Parrots doe. They haue also an other kind of greene Birds, as big as Sparrowes, like the *Catalinkins* of *West India*, but they cannot speake. Those Birds are called *Asuront*, and by our *Netherlanders*, called *Parokites*. They are taken with Nets, as you vse to take Sparrowes. They keepe much in low Land, where much Corne or Millie groweth; for they eat much thereof. Those Birds are very kind one to the other; for when you put a male and a female in a Cage, they will alwaies sit together without making any noyse. The female is of such a nature, that when she is coupled with the male, she respecteth him much, and letteth him sit on the right hand, setting her selfe on the left hand; and when he goes to eat, shee followeth him; and so they liue together quietly, being almost of the nature of the Turtle-doues. They are of a very faire greene colour, with a spot of orange-tawnie vpon their Noses.

There are another kind of *Parokiten*, which are much like them, being of the same nature and condition, but are of colour as red as bloud, with a spot of blacke vpon their Noses, and a black Taile, being somewhat greater then the *Parokites*. There are other Birds not much vnlike to Gold-finches, all their bodies being yellow, those Birds make not their Nests in the field, for feare of Snakes, and other venomous beafts; but make their nests very craftily vpon the branches of high trees, and there lay their egges to keepe themselues from venomous beafts. They haue other small Birds, not much vnlike to hedge Sparrowes; but they keepe in the Fields among Corne, those Birds they thrust into their mouthes aliue, and eat them Feathers Bones and all: they haue store of Muschen, with many other kind of small Birds.

Fierce Birds.

Pheasants.

Pea-cockes.
Pittoirs.Speckled
Crows.

Burning Flies.

The haue a kind of Birds like Eagles, which haue heads like Turtle-cocks, those Birds are hurtfull, and very fierce, and doe much harme to the *Negroes*, whereby they are much troubled, and therefore they carry them meat vp to the hilles, and call them *Pastro de Diago*: which is the Birds of their god, and therefore they doe them no hurt, knowing well that they would reuenge themselues well enough: they lie alwayes in myre and durt, and stinke as ill as a priuie, and you may smell them as farre off. They haue some water Snites, but not many. And Turtle-Doues, which haue a blacke stroke about their neckes like a crowne. There are many Pheasants, not much vnlike ours for fashion, but haue not such feathers, for they are speckled blacke and white, and without long tayles as ours haue; they are not of so good a taste as other common Hens are. Peake-cockes also I haue seene there, not much vnlike our Peake-cockes; but there is some difference in the Feathers, for some of them are of other colours. *Pittoirs* I haue seene there, as I said before, which they esteeme for a great *Fetisso*, and a South-sayer. Cranes also there are many, and Kites also of the same fashion that our *Holland* Kites are. There is a kind of Birds also there, which are like Storkes, but they haue not so long red Bills, and make not such a noise. Speckled Crows, and gray Sea-mewes are there in great abundance, with diuers other kinds of Birds, not much vnlike ours, but if you marke them well, there is difference betweene them, as some in their feathers, others in their Bills, the third in their feet, and the fourth in their heads, so that there is some difference, although they resemble much; and because Birds are little taken and shot in those Countreyes, for that they haue no kind of Instruments to doe it withall, there are great store in the Countrey, and by that meanes, both the beafts and the Birds waxe very bold. There are many Owles and Bats which flie by night, and store of great greene Frogs, and gray Grashoppers, and many great land Crabs, which keepe in the earth, and are of a purple colour, which they esteeme for a great present. When I went by night to walke in the fields, I saw things in the grasse that shine like fire coales, which I tooke vp and tied them in my handkercher, which made it show with the light of the beast as if it had burnt: and when I went into the Towne to the *Negroes*, and shewed it them, they wondered thereat, and the next day when I lookt on them, they were small blacke Flies, like *Spanish* Flies, but were as blacke as Pitch: Flies, Mothes, and Bees are there also to be seene. The Bees make their Hiues vpon trees. There are great store of blacke Ants, which make holes in the earth, like field Mice, the Ants doe much hurt to the Bees, and eat vp there Hony and Waxe.

Ban-

Bannana, in *Brasilia*, *Pacona*; and the tree *Paguoner*, in *Malabar*, *Patan*, &c. is the fruit whereof *John Huyghen* writeth, and calleth it *Indian Figs*, this tree hath no branches, the fruit groweth out of the tree, and hath leaues at least a fathome long, and three spannes broad. Those leaues among the *Turkes* are vsed for Paper, and in other places the Houses are couered therewith, there is no wood vpon the tree, the out-side (wherewith the tree is couered when it be-
 10 ginneth to waxe old) is like the middle part of a Siue, but opening it within, there is nothing but the leaues, which are rolled vp round and close together, it is as high as a man, on the top the leaues begin to spring out, and rise vp an end, and as the young leaues come forth the old wi-
 20 ther away, and begin to drie vntill the tree comes to his growth, and the fruit to perfection: the leaues in the middle haue a very thicke veine, which diuideth it in two, and in the middle of the leaues, out of the heart of the tree, there groweth a flowre as bigge as an *Eltridge Egge*, of a russet colour, which in time waxeth long like the stalke of a *Colewoort*, whereon the Figges grow close one by the other, when they are still in their huskes, they are not much vnlike great
 30 Beanes, & so grow more and more vntill they be a span long, and foure thumbes broad like a *Cu-
 40* cumber, they are cut off before they are ripe, and are in that sort hanged vp in bunches, which oftentimes are as much as a man can carrie. It also yeeldeth good *Tremuells* like Milke (when the tree is cut downe) which commeth out of the bodie thereof, hauing hanged three or foure
 50 dayes, they are through ripe, the tree beares but one bunch at a time, whereon there is at least one hundred Figges and more, and when they cut off the bunch of Figges, the tree also is cut
 60 downe to the ground, the root staying still in the Earth, which presently springeth vp againe, and within a moneth hath his full growth, and all the yeare long no time excepted. The tree beareth fruit, the fruit is very delicate to eate, you must pull off the huske wherein the fruit
 70 lyeth, very delightfull to behold, the colour thereof is whitish and some-what yellow, when you bite it, it is soft, as if it were Meale and Butter mixed together, it is mellow in byting, it cooleth the maw, much thereof eaten maketh a man very loose and raw in the throte, it ma-
 80 keth women lecherous if they eate much thereof. Some are of opinion, because it is so delicate a fruit, that it was the same tree that stood in *Paradise*, whereof God forbad *Adam* and *Eue* to eate. It smels like *Roses*, and hath a very good smell, but the taste is better. The *Portugals*
 90 will not cut it through with a Knife, but breake it, by reason of a speciall obseruation which they haue in the cutting thereof, which is, that then it sheweth like a crosse in the middle of the fruit, and therefore they thinke it not good to cut it.

Bannanas, or
Indian Figges.

The *Bachouens* (by vs so called) are very like the *Bannanas*, for the condition and forme is all one, only that the fruit is smaller, shorter, white of colour within and sweeter of taste, and is esteemed to be wholsomer to be eaten then the *Bannanas*, but there is no such great quantitie
 10 of them, and for that they were first brought out of the Kingdome of *Congo*, into other Coun-
 20 tries, they haue gotten the name thereof.

Bachouens, or
Bannanas de
Congo.

The *Annanas* is also a delicate and pleasant fruit for smell, and of the best taste that any fruit can be, it hath also diuers seuerall names, there are two sorts, the Male and the Female, the *Ca-
 30* narians call it, *Ananasa*; the *Brasilians*, *Nana*; those of *Hispaniola*, *Iaiama*, and the *Spaniards* in
 40 *Brasilia*, *Pinas*, because one of them found that and the *Pinas* first in *Brasilia*, it is as great as a
 50 Mellon, faire of colour, some-what yellow, Greene and carnation, when it begins to bee ripe, the greenenesse thereof turneth into an Orange colour, it is of a pleasant taste, and hath a fine
 60 smell like an *Apricocke*, so that it is to be smelt farre off, when you see the fruit as farre off, being
 70 Greene, it shewes like *Artichokes*, and is eaten with Wine, it is light of digestion, but eating
 80 much thereof it inflameth a mans bodie. In *Brasilia* there is three sorts thereof, each hauing a
 90 seuerall name: first, *Iaiama*; the second, *Boniamia*; the third, *Iaiagma*: but in *Guinea* there is but
 100 one sort. The time when they are in their flowre is in Lent, for then they are best, it growes
 110 halfe a fathome aboue the ground, the leaues thereof are not much vnlike *Semper Vnum*, when
 120 they are eaten, they are cut in round slices, and sopt in *Spanish* wine; you cannot eate enough
 130 thereof, it is verie hot of nature, and will grow in moist ground, the sops that you take out of
 140 the Wine tastes like sweet Muske, and if you doe not presently wipe the Knife wherewith
 150 you cut the fruit, but forgetting it let it lye halfe an houre, it will bee eaten in, as if there had
 160 beene strong water laid vpon it, being eaten in abundance and without knowledge, it causeth
 170 great sicknesse.

Annanas.

There are great store of *Iniamus* growing in *Guinea*, in great fields, which are sowed and planted like *Turnips*, the root is the *Iniamus*, and groweth in the Earth like *Earth-nuts*, those
 10 *Iniamus* are as great as a yellow root, but thicker and fuller of knots, they are of a Mouse-co-
 20 lour, and within as white as a *Turnip*, but not so sweet, being put in a Kettle and sodden with
 30 flesh, and then peeled and eaten with Oyle and Pepper, they are a very delicate meate, in ma-
 40 ny places it is vsed for bread, and is the greatest meate that the *Negroes* eate.

Iniamus.

The *Battatas* are somewhat redder of colour, and in forme almost like *Iniamus*, and taste like *Earth-nuts*, those two kinds of fruit are very abundant in *Guinea*, they are commonly
 10 roasted, or else eaten with a hodge-pot in stead of *Parfenips* or *Turnips*.

The *Palme-wine* tree is almost like the *Cocos* tree, or a *Lantor*, with diuers others, and are
 20 of

Palme-wine
tree.

of three or foure sorts, most of them haue all one kind of leafe, but in manner of wood they are vnlike, for this tree is shorter of wood then the rest, the Wine is drawne out of those trees by boring them, from whence there issueth a sap like Milke, which is very coole and fresh to drinke, at the first when it is drawne, it is pleasant and sweet, hauing stood a while, it is as sowre as Vineger, so that you may vse it in a Sallet, but being drunke sweet and fresh, it causeth a man to void vrine well, whereby in those Countries, there are very few found, that haue the disease of the Stone; drinking much thereof a mans head will soone be light, the lightnesse which a man hath in his head thereby, causeth it not to ake. When it commeth first out of the tree it is sweeter of taste, then when it hath stood awhile, but yet it is esteemed to bee better when it hath stood awhile, and is some-what settled, then presently to bee drunke, for it standeth seething and bubling, as if it hung ouer the fire and sod, so that if it were put into a Glasse and stopt vp, without letting any ayre come into it, the force thereof would breake the Glasse in pieces, but being a meale tyde olde, it is nothing worth, because it is so sowre, and then it is of another colour verie waterish, therefore it is much mixed with water and seldome comes pure to the Market, as it is taken out of the tree, which is done partly to increase their Wine, as also that then it is the sweeter to drinke, and hath the taste of Syder, and the colour of Must, when the tree is old, and will yeeld no more Wine at the top, it is cut downe at the foot, and a fire made at the root thereof, where they set a pot whereinto the Wine (by meanes of the heate) runneth, the tree beeing changed, and yeelding no more profit, there groweth another tree out of the roote thereof, but it is halfe a yeare old before it giueth any Wine. In the morning betimes an houre before day, the Wine is drawne out and brought to the Market at noone-time.

Palmitas tree.

The Palmitas tree is not much to be seene in *Guinea*, but for that a *Negro* in that Countrey shewed me some of the fruit thereof, I thought good to say something of it in this place, it is a tree without branches, on the top of the tree the fruit groweth, and it is almost like the Ananas when it is ripe. It is outwardly of a faire gold colour, and within it hath graines like Pomegranates, they are of a very sweet taste, the other is hard and vnfit to eate.

LIB. VII.

Of their Gentlemen, and how they are made; Their Dancings, Sports, Diseases, Cures, Visitations, Mournings, Funerals: and of their Gold.

Ambition of Gentrie.



Here are many Genelemen in that Countrey, but of small meanes, for assoone as they haue bought their Gentilitie, they are then poorer, and in miserable estate then they were before, and for that they thinke to be men of great account when they are Gentlemen, they seeke much after it, and begin to gather some wealth from their youths

Gifts for it.

vpwards to obtayne the place of a Gentleman. First, they giue three gifts to be made a Gentleman, the first gift is a Dogge, which they call *Cabro de Matto*, which is as much to say, as a Field-sheepe. The second Gift, is a Sheepe or a Goat. The third Gift, is a Cow, with many other things, and then he is made a Gentleman. These Gifts are giuen among those that are Gentlemen, and are giuen the one now, the other at another time, as the man that is made a Gentleman can best doe it, and hath the meanes to performe it, and then hee makes the Capitaine acquainted with it, which done, he buyeth a Cow, which is carryed and tyed in the Market place, and then it is made knowne to the people, that such a man shall bee made a Gentleman at such a time, in the meane time all those that are Gentlemen make themselues as fine as they can to goe with him, and to fight and shew many Apish Toyes. The man that is to bee made a Gentleman, makes all things readie, as meate and drinke to entertayne his Guests, and to bid them welcome in good sort, he buyeth Hens and many pots of Palme-wine, and sendeth euery Gentleman a Hen and a pot of Palme-wine home to his House, to make merrie withall.

Creation.

When the Feast day comes, the Inhabitants assemble together vpon the Market place, the men (as he masters) goe and sit on the one side, hauing many Instruments, as Drums, Hornes, Bels and other things with them. The Capitaine armeth himselfe, and with him hath many young Batchelors with Shields and Assagaies, their faces being coloured and their bodies painted with red and yellow Earth, which makes them looke like a company of yong Deuils. The man that is made a Gentleman is accompanied with a number of other Gentlemen, hauing a Boy behind him which carryeth his stoole to sit vpon when hee goes to speake with any man, and his fellow Gentlemen come to salute him, and wish him good fortune in his new estate, at which time they take a great deale of straw in the one hand, and lay it vnder his feet, which he treadeth vpon (the like also they vse when their owne friends come to visit them, and bring them

them any Presents, which they vse for a great honour.) The wiues of the Gentlemen goe to her, to doe all the honour they can to the wife of the Gentleman that maketh the Feast, and dresse her finely, folding her haire with many golden *Fetisses*, and Crosses, putting about her neeke a Ring of gold, and in the one hand shee carrieth a Horse-taile, and on her right arme shee hath a Ring of gold, at each end thereof hauing a round thing like the Lid of a Pot, all made of gold; and being readie, they are placed in order, as their manner is, one after the other; then the Cow is led forth, and then all the Gentlemen in the Towne come and follow them, as it were on Procession, dancing and leaping round about the Towne, and when they come againe into the Market-place, the Cow is bound to a stake, and there they make a great noise with Drummes and Pipes, and the young Bachelors with fencing and leaping, with their Shields and Aslagies, now in one place, then in another, making, as they thinke, great ioy about the Gentleman; euery man seeking to excell each other, and to get most praise and commendation.

The women also make no lesse adoe with singing and dancing, sometimes carrying both the Gentleman and his wife, vpon a stoole, round about the Towne, casting white Meale in their faces, and in that sort make great pastime three dayes together, and euery night they are led home to their houses, and watcht by the other Gentlemen. The next day he is fetcht by a great number of people, and great honour done vnto him as before; at which time hee hangs a white Flag out of his house, which doth signifie ioy, or open house. The third day, the Cow is killed by the Executioner, and quartered; and euery man hath a piece of the flesh thereof, that they also may be participants of the Feast: but the man and the woman that maketh the Feast, may not eate of the Cow, for they make them beleue, that if they eate any thereof, they shall die within a yeere after. The Feast day being ended, the head of the Cow is carried home to his house, which he hangeth vp, and painteth it with diuers colours, hanging many straw *Fetisses* vpon it, which is a signe of his Gentilitie, and a warrant to proue him to be made a Gentleman.

Then he hath great priuiledge, for he may buy Slaues, and doe other things which before he might not haue done. When he is made a Gentleman he is very proud thereof; for, the first thing that they will tell vnto a Stranger, is, that they are Gentlemen, and that they haue many Slaues, esteeming themselues to be great Masters; but it falleth out oftentimes, that after their feasting is done, and he made a Gentleman, that then hee is poorer then he was before, because he disbursed all his money to get it, and then he must goe out to fish againe and doe other things, if he will get his liuing. This kind of Gentilitie costs him about eight Bendas, which is a pound of gold; but deducting that which is giuen for Presents of other men which bring them to him, each man according to his meanes and abilitie, it standeth him not in aboue halfe a pound of gold. Those Gentlemen haue a Fellowship among them, and euery yeere make a Feast, and then bid their Friends to be merrie with them, and make good cheere; at which time they hang their Cowes or Sheepes heads, with Millie strawes, and paint them with white colour, signifying thereby the remembrance of their Feast. Besides this, the Gentlemen haue an other Feast amongst them, vpon the sixth day of Iuly, at which time they paint their bodies with white and red stripes, and hang a Garland made of greene boughs and straw about their necks, which they weare all that day, that you may know the Gentlemen from the rest, and then also they hang their Cowes and Goats heads full of *Fetisses*, as before; in the euening they meet together at a Banquet, in the house of the Captaine, where they are very merrie together, eating and drinking their heads and bellies full, till they are drunke.

They make themselues very fine, especially the women, when they goe to dance, wherein they take a great pride. They hang many Copper, Tin, and Iuorie Rings about their armes, and on their legs they put Rings with many Bells, that they may sound when they dance. Their heads are frizled, and dressed with a tuft of haire. They wash their bodies faire with water, and then anoint them with Palme-oile, to make them shine. Their teeth also they rub with a hard sticke: then they put a piece of white linnen about their bodies, which hangs from ynderneath their breasts, downe below their knees; and commonly about euening they assemble together, and goe to the Market-place to dance there. Others haue instruments whereon they play, as some Copper Basons, whereon they strike with wooden Sticks. Others haue wooden Drums, cut out of an hollow Tree, covered ouer with a Goats Skin, and play vpon them. Others haue round Blockes, cut very handsomly and euenly, whereon also they strike with wooden Sticks. Others haue Cow-bells. Some haue small Luits, made out of a piece of wood like a Harpe with sixe strings of Reeds, whereon they play with both their hands, euery one hauing their seuerall Instruments, and each keeping good correspondence with their fellowes Instruments. Others sing, and begin to dance two and two together, leaping and stamping with one of their feet vpon the ground, knocking with their fingers, and bowing downe their heads, and speaking each to other; in their hands carrying Horse-tailes, which they cast sometimes on the one shoulder, then vpon the other, vsing certaine order in their sports, one following the other, and each doing as the other doth. Other women take straw, which they let fall to the ground,

Priuiledges:

Annuall Feasts

Their dances.

ground, and then dancing vpon it, cast it vp againe into the aire with their feet, and catch it as it falleth with their hands, so that they play many apish and childrens sports, thinking that they doe excellent well; but they desire not to be seene by strangers, because they laugh and iest at them, and then they are ashamed.

The yonkers.

This continuing an houre or an houre and an halfe, euery one goes home againe, as hauing ended their sports. There are houses also among them, wherein young men and maids vse to dance and play. The young Bachelors vse to drinke themselves drunke, and by night runne through the streets with their Armes and Aslagies, making a great noise with crying and shouting, as if a companie of young Devils ran about the streets; and meeting with other companies, with whom hauing some words, they fight together; wherein they are so earnest one against the other, that they are almost readie to kill each other, and many times cannot leaue off. They will not lightly beginne to quarrell, for they are not so hastie, but will indure much, specially of strangers, before they will quarrell; but if they once beginne, they are not easily pacified, but are very earnest and hastie to set vpon their aduerse Parties, and to be reuenged, though it should cost them their liues, and they haue very quicke hands to thrust and to strike.

Their wounds and maladies.

Their bodies are subiect to many sicknesses and diseases, which they esteeme but little, and make no account of wounds or hurts. The sicknesses wherewith they are most troubled, are Poxe, Clap-dollars, Botches, Wormes, paine in the head, and burning Feuers. These diseases they get from foule and filthie women, whereunto they are much addicted, and although they haue any diseases by such meanes, which are not without much danger, yet they esteeme not much of them, but passe them away as if they ayled nothing, and are not faint-hearted, but of a hard complexion; suffering their wounds to swell and putrifie, without any meanes of remedie applied thereunto; for they neither haue nor vse any Physicke among them, to ease them in their sickness, nor Surgeons or Physicians to heale their wounds, but suffer their wounds and diseases to haue their course, vnlesse any of our Surgeons giue them any Physicke or Surgerie. For the Pox and Clap-dollars they vse much Salsaparillia, which the *Hollanders* ships bring them; which Salue they seethe with salt water, and drinke the water for drinke against the Pox, and such like diseases, and also against the Wormes that are in their legs, (as I will declare more at large) wherewith also we are much troubled, whereunto they vse no remedie at all, but suffer their legs to continue so, vntill they heale and waxe better of themselves. For the paine of the head they vse certaine Pap, which they make of greene leaues, and therewith anoint the place where their paine is; and if they haue any swelling about their bodies, which breaketh not out, then they take a knife and cut two or three long slashes therein, and so giue the wound a meanes to worke, and to heale vp, and grow together againe; which is the cause that they haue so much knobd flesh, and so many slashes in their bodies: but is well to be discerned, whether they be cut and made in their flesh to beautifie and set out themselves, or wounds and sores that are healed vp againe. They also vse no letting of blood, but onely make a hole in their bodies with a knife to let their blood come out: when they haue any other naturall sicknesses, they will not helpe nor comfort one the other; but if any of them be sicke, they will shun him as it were the plague, and spurne the sicke man like a Dog, and not once helpe him with a drop of Oyle or Water, although they haue neuer so much need; no, not the Father to the Sonne, but let them lie like Beasts, and die with hunger and sickness; so that they are not skilfull to helpe sicke persons.

Wormes in the legs.

Barbarous Inhumanitie.

Quarrels.

They make difference betweene the word *Morian* and *Negro*, for they will not bee called *Morians*, but *Negroes* or *Prettoes*, (which is as much to say) as Blacke men; for they say that *Morian* is as much to say, as Slaue or Captiue, and also a man that knowes nothing, or that is halfe a Foole; and therefore they will not be called *Morians*, but *Negroes* or *Prettoes*; for if you call them *Morians*, they will hardly speake vnto you, nor make you any answere. They make one the other Slaues, but in other sort then in *Congo* or *Angola*, for there you can lade no ships full of Slaues; but to the contrarie, they desire much to haue them, and buy them: yet there are both Slaues and Captiues; and for that in those Countries they take no great paines, nor need any great number of Slaues, therefore there is no great quantitie of them to be had, to sell them as they doe in other Countries, but onely among them of the Land, that haue need of them. Again, no man may buy or sell them, but such as are of great account and Gentlemen. They are marked with an Iron in their bodies, that if they chance to runne away, they may be knowne againe by their markes.

Such as are blind, or haue any other imperfections in their bodies, as being lame or Criples, and by reason thereof cannot get their liuings, the King placeth them with Smiths, to blowe their Bellows; others with those that presse Palme-boyle, or grind Colours, whereunto such deformed persons are fit; or to such Occupations and labours wherewith they can helpe themselves, and get their victuals; so that there you see none such as begge their victuals, but they are put in some place or other to earne their meate; so that the Inhabitants giue no meate one to the other. The Kings of the Townes haue many Slaues, which they buy and sell, and get much by them; and to be brieft, in those Countries there are no men to be hired to worke or

goe of any errand for money, but such as are Slaues and Captiues, which are to spend their dayes in slaerie.

Hatred and enuy is much vsed in those Countries, and to whomsoever they once beare hatred and enuy, they will hate them cruelly, and doe them all the hurt and villany that they can; on the other side, they beare a villany long in their minds, and will keepe malice in their hearts seven or eight yeeres, and when time serueth them, then show it openly; no lesse hatred and enuy is borne by one Towne vnto another, speaking all the villany they can, and extolling themselves as much as they may, to haue the honour of Traffique, and to the end that the ship should come and Anchor before their Townes, and by that meanes to bring the Countrey Merchants to Traffique there, wherein they are very diligent: and although one Towne lyeth but three or foure miles one from the other; yet they are as enuious one against the other as possible they can be, and report as hardly of their neighbours as they can imagine; that so they may get the *Netherlanders* to Traffique with them: and to that end, they strue to shew more friendship to the *Netherlanders*, one then the other, to draw vs to affect them, and bring the trade of Merchandize vnto them.

The men commonly liue there till they be old, as it seemeth by their faces and outward appearance, and as we conceaue; but they cannot reckon their owne ages, nor tell how many yeeres they haue liued. When they begin to be old, then they are not well proportioned nor seemely; but looke euill fauouredly, with gray beards, yellow wrinckled skins, like *Spanish Leather*, which proceedeth of the anointing of their bodies with *Palme Oyle*. They are likewise leane of Legs and Armes, and wholly mishapen, specially olde women, with their long breasts, which then shew and hang vpon their bodies like old Hogs bladders, they would not willingly be old; because as then they are not esteemed of, but much despised, and not respected, and as from their youths vpwards, to the best time of their liues, they still waxe of a fairer blacke colour, so when they are past that time, they begin to decay, and to lose their perfect blacknesse.

In their winter time, they are very sickly, & then commonly there is a great mortalitie among them, by meanes of the vnwholesomenesse of the aire, which they then endure: and when they die, their friends come to the dead mans house, and weepe and sorrow grievously for him, speaking vnto him, & asking him why he died, with many such like foolish Ceremonies, They take the dead body and lay it on a mat vpon the ground, & wind it in in a woollen, purposely made in that Countrey, of colour red, blew, blacke and white. Vnder his head they lay a wooden stoole, and couer or dresse his head with a Goats skin, and strew all the body ouer with ashes, and dust of Barkes of trees; they close not his eyes together, they lay his armes downe by his sides, and so let him lie halfe a day in the aire. If it be a man, his best beloued wife goes and sits downe by the body, and if it be a woman, the man goes and sits downe by her, crying and weeping, hauing in their hands a wispe of straw, or of Barkes of trees, wherewith crying and howling ouer the dead body, he or she wipeth his face, sometimes saying vnto it, *Auzy*, and making a great noyse; in the meane time, the friends or neighbours come to visite the dead, and to mone him for his misfortune, others (as the neere friends) being women, goe round about the house, singing and beating vpon Basons, sometimes comming to the dead body, and goe round about him singing and leaping, and kincking of hands, making a great noyse, and then againe goe round about the house singing and playing vpon Basons, which they doe twice or thrice one after the other.

In the meane time, preparation is made for the buriall, and to make good cheere together, after it is ended; to the which end, they dresse certaine Hens, and a Sheepe, and other meats which they are accustomed to eate, and while the dead bodie is aboue the ground, the eldest *Morinni* of that quarter, goes about from house to house with a Bason, whereon euery one must put the value of twelue pence in gold, with the which money they buy a Cow, which Cow is giuen to a *Fetissero* that vlieth to coniure their gods, to will him to coniure the *Fetisso*, to suffer the dead body to remaine and rest in peace, and to bring him into the other world, and not to molest him in the way, with this Cowes blood hee coniureth his *Fetisso*; (for a dead man must smeare his *Fetisso* with blood) then they bind the dead body vpon a planke, and carry him to the graue singing and leaping: the bodie is carried by men, and the women follow after one by one, about their heads hauing a Crowne or Garland of straw, and a staffe in their hands: the man, if it be a woman, goes next to the dead body crying to the graue, else there goes no man after it, vnlesse the dead body chanceth to be borne to another place to be buried; as sometimes it hapneth that they carry the dead body twenty miles off, from the place where he died, to be buried there: and then many men go armed with the body, to conuey it to the buriall: the body is carried to the earth, & the graue-maker maketh a graue about foure foot deepe, and there in he is laid; ouer the graue there are many sticke of wood aid, close one by the other: the women creepe to and fro ouer the graue, making a great noyse, with howling and crying, and ouer that, they lay the earth, and place it, and bind it about the same, as if it were a Chest: all his goods, as Apparell, Weapons, Pots, Basons, Toolles, Spades, and such Household-stuffe, wherewith he earned his

Old age and the effects.

Lamentable lamentings.

Funerall.

his liuing, are carried to the graue, and buried with him, which are set round about the graue, to serue his turne withall in the other world, as they did when he liued vpon the earth; other of the dead mans friends, bring some thing also to set in the graue for a memorie, which is put into the graue with the rest of his goods. If he were one that delighted much in drinking, & loued Palme well when he liued: they will set a pot of Palme-wine by him in his graue, because hee should not die for thirst, and what in his life he vsed, that is giuen him, and buried in his graue with him. If it be a woman that died in trauell of her child, the child is laid in the mothers right arme, and buried with her; aboue vpon the graue, there is a straw house made like a Sepulchre, wherein all the household-stuffe and other things are set. The graue-makers fee, is to haue halfe the goods that are set into the graue, but the friends of the dead content him, and he is paid for it; because they should let the goods stand still vntoucht: for it is a great credit to the friends of the dead to leaue good store of goods vpon the graue with the dead body; which they let stand there so long, till it be cleane consumed, and none of them will euer offer to take any of it away by any meanes whatsoeuer. The body being buried, they goe altogether to the Sea-side, or to some ot her Riuer, where the women goe in, & stand vp to their middle in waters, and taking vp water in their hands, cast it in their owne faces, and vpon their bodies, and wash their breasts, and all their bodies. Other women in the meane time play vpon Basons, and such like instruments, one of those women take the man or woman, whose husband or wife is dead, and leading them into the water, laid them therein flat vpon their backs, and take them vp againe; which they doe diuers times, speaking one vnto the other, and making great complaints. When he or she is well and cleane washt from the head to the foot, she leadeth them out of the water againe, and puts their clothes vpon their bodies again, & then they go together to the dead-mans house to make good cheere, and to drink themselues drunk. If it be a man that died that had children, the women must not retaine nor keepe any of his goods for the behoofe of the children: but must giue all the mans goods (both that which he had to his marriage, and which he got by his labour while he liued) vnto his Brethren, if he hath any liuing, and must not keepe any thing from them. If he hath no brethren, then the father if he be liuing, taketh all his sonnes goods, and inioyeth it. If it be a woman that dieth, then the husband must deliuer her marriage goods to her brethren, as aforesaid, without keeping any thing thereof for his children, so that no children in those Countreyes inherite their Fathers good, neither are they their Fathers heires: No more may the wife inherite any of her husbands goods, but it is all diuided among his brethren; but while their wiues liue, they giue her what they thinke good of that which they gaine, so yong maids and men must endeouour themselues to get some thing in their youths, that they may haue some thing when they marry and keepe houses.

Viaticum.

Kings Funerals.

For the Kings death, more sorrow is made by some of the Gentlemen, who in the Kings life serued him: when he is dead, giue him a slaue to serue him, & other men one of their wiues to wait on him, and to dresse his meat: others bring one of their sonnes to goe with the King into the other world; so that there are a number of people that are appointed to goe with the King to the other world: which are killed, and their heads cut off, but they know nothing thereof, for such men and women as giue them to the King when he is dead; tell not them that they shall be put to death, to goe into the other world with the King; but when the time comes, that the buriall is to be solemnised, they send them on some message, or to fetch water, and so following them, strike them through the body with an Asagaie, and kill them in the way: which done, they carry the dead body to the Kings house, whereby they shew what faithfull seruants they were vnto their King while he liued: others also doe the like, and those dead bodies are smeared with blood, and buried with the King in his graue, that they may trauell together. If any of his wiues loued him intirely, they suffer themselues to be kild with the rest, and are buried with him, that they may raigne together in the other world. The heads of the dead men and women, are set round about the Sepulchre and graue of the King, for a great brauerie and honour vnto him. Vpon the graue they set all kinds of meat and drinke, that they may eate some thing, and verily beleue that they eate and drinke it, and that they liue thereby, and for that cause the pots of Palme-wine, and of water, are continually fild vp: all his stuffe, as Armes and Clothes are buried with him, and all his Gentlemen that serued him, haue euery one of them their Pictures made of Clay, after the life, and fairely painted, which are set and placed orderly round about his graue, one by the other; so that their Kings Sepulchers are like houses, and as well stufte as if they still liued: which Sepulchres are so much esteemed off, that they are watcht both by night and by day, by armed men: to the end, that if he desireth to haue any thing, they should straight bring it him.

Gold how esteemed and found.

Gold at this day is as much esteemed off by them, as it is with vs, (of whom they say, Gold, is our God) and more too, for they are greedier and earnestest to haue it then we are, because they marke and see that the *Hollanders* take so much paines for it, and giue more Merchandise for it in Exchange, then euer the *Portugals* did.

For I am of an opinion, that there are few *Negroes* that dwell on the Sea side, that know where the Mines are, or that euer saw them, also there was neuer any *Portugall* or *Netherlander*

der at them, or neere them, but the Mines are well kept, and lookt vnto by the owners thereof; so I haue heard by some *Negroes*, that each King hath his Mines, and causeth the gold to be digged by his men, and selleth it to other Merchants, and so it passeth from one to another.

In what manner the gold is found in *Guinea*, I know not, but as some *Negroes* haue told me, they finde gold in deepe pits; which they digge vp, and that with the water it is driuen downe like Sand, at which waters and running springs, many people sit with spoones in their hands, and take vp the gold, sand and all, and put it into a Basen.

Some peeces are couered ouer with Chalke, and Earth, wherein they are found, the small gold; which is found in the Sand, they purge and make cleane in cleare running water, but yet they let some Sand and Grauell remaine among it, it is found in no great quantities, (as they themselves say) but with great paine and labour, for it costs many men their liues, which are smothered in the Mines; and a man that can find two or three Englishen of gold in a day, hath done well, and hath earned a good dayes hire. The halfe which is found is the labourers, and the other halfe is for the King, or for him that oweth the Mine; This I haue beene told by some of the *Negroes*. Gold by them is called Chika, and some great Merchants that dwell about the Maïne, bring the gold aboard the ships to buy wares, as it comes out of the Mine, and that is esteemed to be the best gold, wherein there is lest deceit, but the receiuer must looke well to it, to blow the sand cleane out of it, and to beat the yeallow earth with the stones out of it, with a hammer, and so he cannot lose by it: neuerthelesse, the gold that is brought rough out of the Mine, is esteemed to be better and richer, and more worth in euery Marke then the other.

It falleth out oftentimes, that some gold is more worth then others, which hapneth by meanes of the receiuers negligence, and many times as the Mines of gold fall out; for some of them are finer gold then others: and also the deeper that the Mines are digged, the gold falls out to be worse, and is more mixed with siluer, euen in the earth it selfe, then the gold that lieth higher in the earth.

Besides this, meane Merchants bring much molten gold, as Crakawen, arme Rings, Iewels, False gold, and other things, wherein there is most falshood vsed: for such *Negroes* as haue but small meanes to Traffique with vs, are more vsed and addicted to the falsifying of gold, then others are, wherein they vse great subtiltie, but we our selues are oftentimes the cause thereof; for we bring and sell them the matter, and the Instruments which they vse therein; and so deceiue our selues, and make a rod for our owne breeches: but they were wont to falsifie it more then now. For the *Portugals* hanged vp some for it. They haue good knowledge in Gold, and can soone perceiue whether it be good or falsified; but of other Iewels, as Pearles, Diamonds, Rubies, Emralds, and such like precious stones, they haue no knowledge, but they know fine red Corals wel, which are much esteemed off by them.

Siluer also is well, and too much knowne among them; because they vse it to falsifie Gold withall, and to make it of lesse value then it is. They learned of the *Portugals* to melt gold. They also haue found the meanes to put an edge of gold round about siluer, and Red Copper mixed together, letting the false mettle remaine in the middle of the peece, and so when hee that receiueth it, is in haste, and toucheth it but on the edge thereof, (where it is not falsified) with his Touch-stone, it passeth for good: but such must bee cut in sunder with a hammer, and then the falsifying is perceiued, and when they could find no meanes to falsifie the small fine Chika Foetu Gold, so that the receiuers had no suspicion thereof, and tooke the lesse heed there vnto, wee our selues brought them tooles to doe it withall: for wee brought them Files, and Sawes to sell, so that they filed the yellow Copper, and mingled it among the smal gold, that it could hardly be perceiued: because it was no smal, which was the subtillest falsifying of gold by them vsed, but when we blew the sand & dust out of it, then the Copper shewed it selfe, whereby it appeareth that the *Negroes* haue many wayes and deuises to falsifie gold, but such as looke narrowly vnto them, will not be deceiued: but to trie their falsifyings, the best way is to touch their gold, and to be warie of deceit, and of receiuing bad gold. An other way is to looke speedily vnto the *Negroes* themselves; To see if they haue bad gold or not, for when they bring bad gold, they will be in great feare, with your handling thereof, and when you offer to trie their gold, they will refuse it, and alter their colours, and shake and quauer withall.

The wormes in the legges and bodies, trouble not euery one that goeth to those Countreyes, but some are troubled with them, and some not, and they are found in some men sooner then in others, some haue a worme before the Voyage is done, and while they are still vpon the Coast, some get them while they are vpon the way, others haue them after their Voyage is full ended, some foure moneths after, some nine moneths after, and some a yeere after they haue made a Voyage thither: others haue made two or three Voyages thither, and neuer were troubled with those wormes.

Troublesome long-wormes.

* Ormus.
At Boghar in
Bactria, there
are the like,
supposed to
come by drink-
ing bad water
in that place,
as M. Ant. ten-
kinson observed

The *Negroes* themselves are much troubled with them, specially those that dwell about the castle of *Mina*, and it is a thing to be wondered at, for the *Negroes* that dwell but 25. miles lower Eastward, are not troubled with wormes as their neighbors are. And another* (whereof *John Huyghen* speaketh in his *Itinerario*) are troubled therewith, for the Islands of *East India*, *West India*, *China*, *Brasil*, and other strange Countries are not troubled therewith, nor know not thereof, and which is more; They of the Island of *Saint Thomas*, which men esteeme to be the vnwholesomest place in the world, and wherein so many men are sicke, and lose their liues, know not what those wormes meane, but wondred much thereat, when it was shewed them of such as had beene with the *Hollanders* in *Guinea*. The *Negroes* themselves knew not whereof they are ingendred, but the greatest presumption is, that they proceed and breed of the water which men buy of the *Negroes*, which they take out of Wells or Pits, and it is very likely (as we find by the experience) that they breed of the water; for in *Ormuz*, or in those parts, the fresh water is fetcht vp in pots by diuers, eightene fathome deepe vnder the salt water, which those people drinke, because they are there also troubled with wormes, and as some men write: the *Indians* themselves say, that they come of the water. Such as haue them are in great paine, for some of them can neither goe nor stand; some neither sit nor lie, others lie wholly in dispaire, as if they were sencelesse, and sometimes are faine to be bound; some haue them with a feuer, or shaking, as if they had a feuer; some get them on a sudden, others haue them before they know it, and haue little paine therewith; so that the wormes shew themselves diuers wayes: they appeare with a little Blain, others with a spot like a Flea-biting, others with a little swelling; so that you may often see the worme betweene the skin and the flesh, others shew themselves with bloody vains, &c. It must shew it selfe before men vse any remedie for it: neuerthelesse, it sheweth it selfe many times too much, and too soon, for it were better that it came not so soon, nor appeared at all, but suffered men to be at ease, it will seeke to helpe it selfe, and thrust out his nose, which a man must then take hold on, least he creepe in againe: he sheweth himselfe in diuers places, as in a mans legges, in the sole of the foot, in the armes, knees, buttocks, and commonly in places of a mans bodie, where there is much flesh; and some men haue them in their priue members, and which is more, in their cods, with great grieve and paine: for those that haue them there, indure extreme paine. But it is true, that one man hath lesse paine with them then another, and shal also be sooner healed of them then another: which commeth by the handling or dealing with them, for it is very good, when a man findeth himselfe to be troubled with them, to be quiet, specially being in his legs, and not go much, and to keepe the place warme where they begin to appeare; for thereby they shal indure lesse paine, for they come better out of a mans flesh with warmth, then with cold and disease. For some men haue little respected themselves when they haue had the wormes, so that they appeared with a great swelling, whereby they indured much paine, and were in hazard to loose their legges or their armes. When it comes forth so farre, that a man may lay hold on it, then they must draw him out till hee stayeth, and then hee must let it rest till hee beginneth to come forward againe; and as much thereof as is come out of the bodie, must bee woound vpon a sticke, or bound close to the hoole, with a thrid that hee creepeth not in againe. When hee commeth out euery time, he bringeth good store of matter with him, and a man must euery day looke vnto it, and draw him so long, till he be out, but you must not draw him too hard, least he should breake, so that by reason of the poyson that is in him, the wound will fester: It hapneth oftentimes, that after there is one worme drawne out of a mans body, that there commeth another in the same place, & hath his issue out at the same hole. Some men are soner rid of them then another, for some are eased in three weeks and lesse time, and some are three months in healing of them, some men haue more wormes then others, for some haue but one worme, and others ten or twelue, as I my self knew one that had ten wormes, hanging out at his body all at one time; and I haue known men that had wormes that began to open themselves, and crept in againe, and consumed away, so that they had no more trouble therewith but the next Voyage after. They are of diuers lengths, and greatnesse, some are of a fathome long, some shorter, as it falls out; in thickenesse they differ much, some are as thicke as great Lute-strings, and like common peare wormes, others like small Lute-strings, and some as small as silke or fine thred, some say that they are not liuing, and that they are but bad sinowes and no wormes. I haue not long since seene a man that had certaine wormes which shewed themselves, and the Surgeon drew a worme out with one pull, and the worme being drawne out, and held vp on high, wrung and writhed it selfe, as if it had beene an Eele, and was about five quarters long, and as thicke as a Lute-string, if it were but a sinow, it would haue no life in it, and therefore they are naturall wormes. The *Negroes* vse no kind of Surgerie for them, but suffer them to haue their course, and wash the sore with Salt-water, which they say is very good for it.

Note that our returne backe from *Moure*, we vse to put off from that place, from whence you must set sayle with a wind from the land, and hold your course as neere by as you can, losing no wind, and yet you shall hardly get aboute *S. Thomas*, or *Rio de Gabon*, because of the streame which driueth you East & by North, & East North-east towards the land. To the *Bouthes* of

Fernando

Fernando Poo, which you must beware off, for he that falleth into that *Bonthe*, will hardly get out, because of the streame, and is in danger to be cast away in that place, or else he must haue some stormes or winds out of the North, and so come out Southward, otherwise it is hardly to be done; for there are some, who hauing had the wind a little contrary, were fixe or seuen weekes before they could get to *Cape Lope Gonselues*. Heere you must note, that the neerer you come to the Equinoctiall line, the wind bloweth the more Southerly, so that as you passe vnder the line, the wind bloweth South, and South and by East, and somewhat higher, you must also note, when you see great flying Fishes, that you are not farre from *Saint Thomas*, or about *Ile De Principe*.

§. VIII.

The passage from the golden Coast to the Kingdome of Benni, or Rio de Benni, and Rio Floreado: The Citie, Court, Gentry, Apparell: also other places adioyning, described.

OR that the gold Coast reacheth no further then from *Cape De tres Punctas*, to *Rio de Volta*, therefore those that will goe from the golden Coast, to the Kingdome of *Benni*, hold their course along by the land, and along by the Riuer of *Rio de Valto*, *Rio de Ardra*, and *Rio de Lago*. These Riuer were neuer entred into, because there is nothing to be had in them, but a little quantitie of Elephants Teeth; so that the labour to fetch it, is not worth the paines, by meanes of the dangers that a man incurreth by entering into the Riuer, by reason of Sands. Before at the mouth of the Riuer of *Focrado*, there lieth an Iland, and the Riuer is so indifferent great, that a man may well know it. The land reacheth most (being about forty miles) to *Rio de Ardra*. This Riuer is much vsed to be entred into by the *Portugals*, and is well knowne, not because of any great commoditie that is therein to be had; but because of the great number of slaues which are bought there, to carry to other places, as to *Saint Thomas*, and to *Brasilia*, to labour there, and to refine Sugar: for they are very strong men, and can labour stoutly, and commonly are better slaues then those of *Gabon*, but those that are sold in *Angola* are much better. In this Riuer there is no speciall thing found, which is of any value, but some Blew, Greene, and Blacke stones, wherewith they grind colours, and for their fairenesse are desired of other *Negroes*, specially in the golden Coast of *Guinea*, where they are much esteemed of by them. There both the men and women are starke naked, vntill they be sold for slaues, so that they are not ashamed to shew themselves one to the other, as they themselves affirme, and by reason proue, saying, that a man more coueteth and desireth a thing that he seeth not, or may not haue, then that he seeth or may borrow or haue, and for that cause they hide not their priuie members. There the *Portugals* Traffique much with Barkes to buy slaues, and the Inhabitants are better friends with them, then with any other Nation; because they come much there, and for that no other Nations come to buy slaues there, but the *Portugals* onely. And there are some *Portugals* dwelling there, which buy much wares and Merchandizes, such as there to bee had. From *Rio de Ardra*, to *Rio de Lago*, is ten miles, and in that Riuer there is nothing else to buy, and therefore it is not much vsed, so that *Rio de Ardra*, is more vsed then *Rio de Volta*, and *Rio de Lago*; from *Rio de Lago* to *Rio de Benni*, is about twenty miles, so that *Benni* is esteemed to be part of the golden Coast, that is about one hundred miles from *Mourre*, so that in two dayes with helpe of the streame, a man may get thither, where as men are wont to be fixe weekes: before they could turne backe againe from whence they came.

The Towne seemeth to be very great, when you enter into it, you goe into a great broad street, not paved, which seemeth to be seuen or eight times broader then the *Warmoes* street in *Amsterdam*; which goeth right out, and neuer crooketh, and where I was lodged with *Matheus Cornelison*, it was at least a quarter of an houres going from the gate, and yet I could not see to the end of the street, but I saw a great high tree, as farre as I could discerne, and I was told the street was as much longer. There I spake with a *Neetherlander*, who told me that he had beene as farre as that tree, but saw no end of the street; but perceiued that the houses thereabouts bee much lesse, and some houses that were falling downe: so that it was to be thought, that the end thereof was thereabouts, that tree was a good halfe mile from the house where I was lodged, so that it is thought that that street is a mile long besides the Suburbs. At the gate where I entered on horse-backe, I saw a very high Bulwarke, very thicke of earth, with a very deepe broad ditch, but it was drie, and full of high trees; I spake with one that had gone along by the ditch, a good way, but saw no other then that I saw, and knew not well whither it went round about the Towne or not, that Gate is a reasonable good Gate, made of wood after their manner, which is to be shut, and there alwayes there is watch holden. Without this Gate, there is a

This was taken out of D. R.

The Citie of Benni.

These are Dutch miles.

great Suburbe: when you are in the great Street aforesaid, you see many great Streets on the sides thereof, which also goe right forth, but you cannot see to the end of them, by reason of their great length, a man might write more of the situation of this Towne, if he might see it, as you may the Townes in *Holland*, which is not permitted there, by one that alwaies goes with you, some men say, that he goeth with you, because you should haue no harme done vnto you, but yet you must goe no farther then he will let you.

Their Houses.

The Houses in this Towne stand in good order, one close and euen with the other, as the Houses in *Holland* stand, such Houses as Men of qualitie (which are Gentlemen) or others dwell in, haue two or three steps to goe vp, and before, there is, as it were, a Gallerie, where a man may sit drie; which Gallerie euery morning is made cleane by their Slaues, and in it there is a Mat 10
spred for men to sit on, their Roomes within are foure-square, ouer them hauing a Roofe that is not close in the middle, at the which place, the raine, wind, and light commeth in, and therein they lie and eate their meate; but they haue other places besides, as Kitchens and other roomes. The common Houses are not such, for they haue but one Wall before, wherein there is a wooden Doore, they know not how to make Windowes, but such light and aire as they haue, comes in at the roofe of the House.

The Court.

The Kings Court is very great, within it hauing many great foure-square Plaines, which round about them haue Galleries, wherein there is alwaies watch kept; I was so farre within that Court, that I passed ouer foure such great Plaines, and wheresoeuer I looked, still I saw Gates vpon Gates, to goe into other places, and in that sort I went as farre as euer any *Netherlander* 20
was, which was to the Stable where his best Horses stood, alwaies passing a great long way: it seemeth that the King hath many Souldiers, he also hath many Gentlemen, who when they come to the Court ride vpon Horses, and sit vpon their Horses as the women in our Countrie doe, on each side hauing one man, on whom they hold fast; and the greater their estate is, the more men they haue going after them. Some of their men haue great Shields, wherewith they keepe the Gentleman from the Sunne; they goe next to him, except those on whom hee lea-
neth, the rest come after him, playing some on Drums, others vpon Hornes and Fluits, some haue a hollow Iron whereon they strike. The Horse also is led by a man, and so they ride play-
ing to the Court. Such as are very great Gentlemen haue another kind of Musicke, when they ride to the Court, which is like the small Nets wherewith men in our Countries goe to the 30
Fish-market, which Net is filled full of a certaine kind of thing, which they strike vpon with their hands, and make it rattle, in like sort as if their Nets were filled full of great Nuts, and so a man should strike vpon it: those great Gentlemen haue many Seruants, that goe after them striking vpon such Nets. The King hath very many Slaues, both men and women, whereof there are many women Slaues seene, carrying of Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the Kings wiues. There are also many men Slaues seene in the Towne, that carrie Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the King; and many carrie Grasse, which is for their Horses; and all this is carried to the Court. The King oftentimes sendeth out Presents of Spices, which are carried orderly through the streets, and as the other things afore-
said are carried, so they that carrie them goe one after the other, and by them, there goeth one 40
or two with white Rods, so that euery man must step aside and giue them place, although hee were a Gentleman.

Sixe hundred
Wiues.

The King hath many Wiues, and euery yeere goes twice out of his Court, and visiteth the Towne, at which time he sheweth all his Power and Magnificence, and all the Brauerie he can, then he is conuoyed and accompanied by all his Wiues, which are aboue sixe hundred in number, but they are not all his wedded Wiues. The Gentlemen also haue many Wiues, as some haue eightie, some ninetie and more, and there is not the meanest Man among them but hath ten or twelue Wiues at the least, whereby in that place you find more Women then Men.

Gentlemen
their making.

They also haue seuerall places in the Towne, where they keepe their Markets; in one place they haue their great Market day, called *Dia de Ferro*; and in another place, they hold their 50
little Market, called *Ferro*: to those places they bring all things to sell, as quicke Dogs, where-
of they eate many, roasted Apes, and Monkies, Rats, Parots, Hens, Iniamus, Manigette in bon-
ches, dried Agedissen, Palme-oyle, great Beanes, diuers sorts of Kankrens, with many other
kinds of Fruits, and Beasts, all to eate. They also bring much Wood to burne, Cups to eate and
drinke in, and other sorts of wooden Dishes and Cups for the same purpose, great store of Cot-
ton, whereof they make Clothes to weare vpon their bodies. Their Apparell is of the same fa-
shion as theirs of the Golden Coast is, but it is fairer and finelier made; but to shew you the
manner thereof it would be ouer-long. They also bring great store of Iron-worke to sell there,
and Instruments to fish withall, others to plow and to till the land withall; and many Weapons,
as Assagaies, and Kniues also for the Warre. This Market and Traffique is there very orderly 60
holden, and euery one that commeth with such Wares or Merchandises to the Market, knowes
his place where to stand, to sell his Wares in the same, they also sell their Wiues as they doe in
the Golden Coast.

The

The Gentlemen goe with great Maiestie to the Court, hauing diuers kinds of Musicke with them, and are waited on by diuers other *Negroes*, one hauing a Drum whereon he playes, others with other Instruments; vpon the Horse there is a little wooden Stoole set, and on the Horse necke they hang a Cow-bell, which rings when the Horse goes; there goes two *Negroes* by him, on either side one, on whom he leaeth. Those *Negroes* that attend on him, come euery morning to the Gentlemans doore, and stay there till he comes out, to wait on him. Their Horses are very little, not much greater then Calues in our Countrey, which is the cause that our Horses are so much esteemed of in that Coast. The King hath many Souldiers which are sub-
iect vnto him, and they haue a Generall to command ouer them, as if he were their Captaine:

Their fash-
ions.

Wartea

10 This Captaine hath some Souldiers vnder him, and goes alwaies in the middle of them, and they goe round about him, singing and leaping, and making great noise, and joy. Those Captaines are very proud of their Office, and are very stately, and goe exceeding proudly in the streets. Their Swords are broad, which hang about their necke in a leather Girdle which reacheth vnder their armes: they also vse Shields and Aslagais, as they in the Golden Coast doe.

They cut their Haire diuersly, each after the best manner that they can. Their apparell also is the like, and vse strange customes, not one like vnto another, all finely made of Cotton, ouer the which they commonly weare *Holland Cloth*. The young Maides and Boyes goe starke na-
ked, vntill they marrie, or that the King giueth them licence to put on some Apparell; then

Apparell.

20 they make great ioy, because of the friendship the King therein sheweth vnto them, and then they make their bodies very cleane, and strike it ouer with white Earth, and are very stately, sitting in great glorie and magnificence. Their friends come vnto them, to congratulate them, as if the were a Bride. They are circumcised, both Boyes and Girles. They cut three great streakes in their bodies on either side, each streak being three fingers broad, which they doe from their shoulders downe to their waistes, which they thinke to be a great good deed tending to their saluation. They are very conscionable, and will doe no wrong one to the other, neither will take any thing from strangers, for if they doe, they should afterward be put to death, for they lightly iudge a man to die for doing any wrong to a stranger, wherein they vse strange Iustice: they bind the Offenders armes behind at his backe, and blind his eyes, then one of the

Wrong to a
Stranger.

30 Iudges comes and lifts him vp with his armes, in such manner, that his head lieth almost vpon the ground, then comes the Executioner and cuts off his head; which done, his bodie is quartered, and the quarters cast into the fields to bee deuoured by certaine Birds, which Birds they feare much, and no man dares doe them any hurt, nor chase them, for there are men purposely appointed to giue them meat and drinke, which they carrie with great magnificence, but no man may see it carried, nor bee present, but those that are appointed to doe it; for euery man runnes out of the way when they see those men come to carrie the Birds meate, and they haue a place where the Birds come purposely for it. They respect strangers very much, for when any man meeteth them, they will shun the way for him and step aside, and dare not bee so bold to goe by, vnlesse they be expressly bidden by the partie, and prayed to goe forward, and although
40 they were neuer so sore laden, yet they durst not doe it; for if they did, they should be punished for it: They are also very couetous of honour, and willingly desire to be praised and rewarded for any friendship they doe.

Birds supersti-
tiously respec-
ted.

Vpon the Iland of *Corisco*, or about *Rio de Angra*, in the mouth whereof the Iland of *Corisco* lieth. The Iland of *Corisco* is a bad place to dwell in, for no man dwelleth in it, for there is nothing to be had in it but fresh Water and Wood, so that the ships that come from the Golden Coast, and fall vpon it, provided themselves there, of Water and Wood. Within the Riuer there lieth three other small Ilands, which also are worth nothing, because they yeeld no profit, and there is nothing abounding in them but Wood. Those Ilands at this day are called (for before they had no names) the *Ile De Moucheron*, because one *Balthasar de Moucheron* had by his
50 Factors found them, wherein he caused a Fort to be made, in the yeere 1600. thinking to dwell there, and to bring great Traffique from other places thither. But they of *Rio de Gabom*, vnderstanding that there were Strangers inhabiting in them, sought all the meanes they could to murder them, and to take both the Fort and their Goods from them, which they did, before they had dwelt foure moneths there, (vnder a Captaine called *Edward Hesius*) and tooke the Sconce from them by force, murdering all the men that were in it, and called it the Iland of *Corisco*, which name it had of the *Portugals*, because vpon that Iland there are many Tempests of thunder and lightning, and great store of Raine, and therefore it is not good to inhabite in, and there will nothing grow therein but Cucumbers. It is well provided of fresh Water, excellent faire red Beanes, and Brasill wood, so exceeding faire and glistering, when it is shauen,
60 as any Glasse can be, which is so hard, that without great paine and labour it cannot be cut downe. The Iland is almost a great mile in compasse, but it is a bad anchoring place, when the *Trauaes* come.

Rio de Angra
Corisco.

Moucheron.

From *Rio de Angra*, to *Rio de Gabom*, is fiftene miles. The Inhabitants of *Rio de Gabom*, are not friends with them of *Rio de Angra*, for they oftentimes make warre one against the other, and

then againe make peace, so that the friendship betweene them is very small, they haue a King among them, but they are not so mightie as those of *Rio de Gabom*, but better people to deale withall then those of *Gabom*, for since the time that they of *Gabom*, tooke the Skonce and the goods of *Moncherom*, and kild the men, they of *Rio de Angra* would haue nothing to doe with them, but were grieued that it was done, but because they feared them of *Rio de Gabom*, and of *Pongo*; they durst not withstand them: with those *Negroes* there is much Traffique to be had, and there are many Teeth to buy, but not so many as in *Rio de Gabom*, but when you Traffique there you must not stay long with your shallop or boate there, for if you deale not with them for their Teeth in two or three dayes, you shall not deale with them at all, for by reason that few Pinnasses or shallops come thither to Traffique, therefore the *Negroes* bring all their Teeth thither at the first, to barter for other Wares. Their speech is not like theirs of *Gabom*, but for opinion and religion they are almost one, and agree therein.

R. Gabom.

The Riuer of *Gabom*, lyeth about fifteene miles Southward from *Rio de Angra*, and eight miles Northward from *Cape De Lopo Gonsalues*, and is right vnder the Equinoctiall Line, about fifteene miles from *Saint Thomas*, and is a great Land well and easily to bee knowne.

Pongo.

At the mouth of the Riuer there lyeth a Sand three or foure fathome deepe, whereon it beateth mightily, with the streame which runneth out of the Riuer into the Sea. This Riuer in the mouth thereof is at least foure miles broad, but when you are about the Iland called *Pongo*, it is not aboue two miles broad, on both sides the Riuer there standeth many trees. The Iland lyeth neere to the North, then the South, and a little further there is an Iland wherein there is good prouision to be had, as of Bannanas, Iniamus, and Oranges; about two miles within the Riuer you haue eight fathome deepe, good anchor ground. This Coast reacheth North and South, the depth a good way from the Land about a mile or a mile and an halfe; is, twelue and thirteene fathome, and halfe a mile from the Land, it is foure, fise, sixe, and seuen fathome, you may goe neere about it, because all along that Coast it is good anchor ground, by night you haue the wind off from the Land, and by day from the Sea. This Riuer hath three mightie Kings in it, which raigne therein, as one King on the North point, called *Caiombo*, and one vpon the South point, called *Gabom*, and one in the Iland, called *Pongo*, which hath a monitrous high hill; hee of *Pongo* is strongest of men, and oftentimes makes warre vpon him of *Gabom*, hee of *Caiombo*, is a great friend to him of *Pongo*, and the Inhabitants of the South point of the Riuer, are great friends with those of *Cape De Lopo Gonsalues*.

Three Kings.

Cape Gonsalues.

The twelfth of December, we got to *Cape Lopo Gonsalues*, where we found three ships lying at anchor, two of *Zeland*, and one of *Schiedam*. Touching their Religion, they neither know God nor his Commandements, some of them pray to the Sunne, others to the Moone, others to certaine trees, or to the Earth, because they receiue food from thence, so that they esteeme it a great fault to spit vpon the Earth, they goe little abroad in the streets, but when they goe abroad, they carrie a great broad Knife in their hands: both the men and the women haue their bodies pinkt in diuers sorts, strange to behold, wherein they put certaine Grease, mixt with colour, they will not drinke before they first put some of it out of the Pot or Kan, and when they eat they vse not to drinke, but when they haue dined, then they drinke a great draught of water, or of Palme-wine, or else of *Malaffo*, which is mixed or made of Honey water. In the morning as soone as it is day, they goe to salute their Commander, or *Chauenson*, and to bid him good morrow, and when they come to him they fall downe vpon their knees, and clapping both their hands together, say, *Fino, Fino, Fino*, whereby they wish peace, quietnesse, and all good vnto him.

Incestuous customes.

Apparell and ornaments.

They are much addicted to Theeuerie, and to steale some-thing, specially from Strangers, whereof they make no conscience, but thinke they doe well, but they will not steale one from another. The women also are much addicted to Leacherie and Vncleannesse; specially, with strange Nations, whereby they thinke they get great credit, and which is more, the men offer their wiues vnto strangers that come thither, and the King himselfe presenteth and honoureth Strangers with some of his Wiues, whereof he hath a great number. They haue a filthy custome among them, which is, that the King when any of his Daughters waxe great, hee taketh and keepeth them for his Wiues, and the vse of their bodies. The like is done by the Queenes his Wiues, when their Sonnes beginne to be great, for they lie with them, as well as the King doth with his Daughters. Their apparell is fairer then theirs on the Golden Coast, for they trimme their bodies more; about their middles to hide their Priuities. They weare a Mat made of barks of trees, which is coloured red, with a kind of red wood wherewith they dye it, vpon those Mats, they hang some Apes and Monkeyes skinned, or of other wild beasts, with a Bell in the middle, such as Cowes and Sheepe haue about their neckes. They paint their bodies red, with a colour made of red wood, which is verie good, but much lighter then Brasil-wood, oftentimes they make one of their eyes white, the other red or yellow, with a streake or two in their faces, some weare round Beades about their neckes made of barks, some small, some great, not much vnlike the Boxes, which men in *Hamborough* hang vp to put money in for the poore, but they will not suffer you to looke what is in them. The men and women also for the most part

goe

goe bare-headed, with their haire ihoared and pleated diuersly, some of them weare Caps made of the barks of Cocos or *Indian* Nut-trees, others weare bunches of feathers made fast to their haire with little Irons, some of them haue holes in their vpper lips, and through their Noses, wherein they put pieces of Elxen bones, as thicke as a Doller with a stalke, which shutteth the hole, which being thrust in comes out at the Nose, and ouer their mouthes, which serueth their turnes well and to good purpose, when they are sicke and fall into a swoond, and that men cannot open their hands by force, then they take that bone and crush the sap of some Greene herbe through it, wherewith they come to themselves again, so that they serue them for two purposes.

Some weare Rings in their lips and in the middle part of their Noses, some thrust small Hornes or Teeth through them, and weare them so, which they thinke to bee a great ornament vnto them, others boare a hole in their neather lips, and play with their Tongues in the hole; many of their men and women weare Rings in their eares, whereof some weigh at least a pound weight, some haue stickes thrust through them, of fise or sixe fingers long, most of them, specially the men weare a Girdle about their middles made of Buffols skin, with the haire still on it, which meeteth not together before by almost a hand breadth, with a piece thereof sticking out at each end, which is tyed together with a small cord of Threed, vpon their bellies they carrie a broad Iron Knife, the sheath thereof also being of Iron: some of those Girdles are a hand broad, and some two or three handfuls broad. Besides those, they vse another sort of Kniues, with two or three points, which are very fearefull to behold, wherewith they cast at a man, and wheresoever they hit they take hold.

They are better armed for weapons then they of *Myna*, or the Golden Coast, their Armes are Pikes, or *Assagaies*, Bowes, and Arrowes, long Targets made of barks of Trees. Their Drummets are narrow below and broad aboue, their Pikes are very cunningly made, for they are very curious Workmen in Iron; the women carrie their Husbands Armes for him, and when they will vse them, their Wiues giue them: they are cruell and fierce against their Enemies, and fight one against the other by Land and by Water in Canoes, and when they take any of their Enemies (they were wont in times past to eat them, but now they doe it not) they put them to great torture.

The women also set themselves out verie faire (as they thinke) and weare many red Copper and Tinne Rings vpon their armes and legges, some one, others two; which many times weigh three or foure pound weight, which are so fast and close about their armes, that men can hardly imagine how they get them on; those Rings also are worne by some men, but more by women. The women weare Aprons made of Rushes, which I haue seene them make. Touching their clothes and setting forth of their bodies, it is beastly and vnseemely. They haue no lesse vnseemelineffe in their eating and house-keeping, for they liue like beasts, and sleepe vpon Mats laid vpon the ground, which they make very cunningly. The chiefe meate they eate is *Iniamus*, *Batates*, and *Bannanas*. The *Bannanas* they vse in stead of bread, when it is well dried, they also eate fish and flesh, with Roots and Sugar-canes: they lay all their meate in one dish, and sit round about it, and eate like a company of beasts. Their King called, *Mani*, eateth his meate out of a Tinne Platter, but the rest in wooden Platters, sitting vpon a Mat spread vpon the ground.

The greatest labour the women doe, is to fetch water, to gather fruit, and to dresse their meate: their Houses are finely made of Reeds, and covered ouer with *Bannanas* leaues, and better and cleaner then the Houses in the Golden Coast. The King hath a faire House greater then any in all the Towne; he is called *Golipatta*, hee is brauely set out with many Beads made of beanes and shels, which are dyed red, and hanged about his necke, and vpon his armes and legs, they strike their faces with a kind of white colour, they are very much subiect to their Kings, and doe him great honour when they are in his presence: before his House there lyeth an Iron Peece, with certaine Bases which he bought in former time of the *Frenchmen*. They are verie subtile to learne how to vse all kind of Armes; specially, our small Gunnes. Their Winter is from April to August, at which time it is exceeding hot, and few cleere daies, and then it raineth mightily with great drops, which fall so hot vpon the stones that they presently dry vp, by which meanes also the waters are thicke and slimie, in the Riuer and also vpon the shoare. There is good fishing, Oysters grow on the branches of the Trees, which hang downe into the water. They draw their speech long, so that it is better to learne then theirs in the Golden Coast. The Cape is low Land, and is well to be knowne, for there is no Land thereabouts, that reacheth so farre Westerly into the Sea as that doth, it lyeth about a degree Southward from the Equinoctiall Line. When you are at the Cape, there is a Riuer which lyeth South-east from it, about three miles, whereinto the shallops commonly saile, to barter for some Teeth, which are there to bee had in the Village, which lyeth about foure miles vpwards within the Riuer: In this Riuer: there are many Sea-horses, and Crocodiles, so that it is thought that hee Riuer of *Nilus* ioyneth thereunto, and hath an issue there into the Sea: In this Countrey there are many cruell and strange beasts, as Elephants, Buffols, Dragons, Snakes, Apes, Monkeyes, which are very fearefull to behold, and very hurtfull.

Those

Cruelty of
Gabom.

Of diuers
parts of Guinea
and especially
of Cape Sierra
Leona, &c. See
Keelings and
Finches Jour-
nals before.

Those people are better to be dealt withall, then they of *Gabom*, and we find not, that they beare any spight or malice to the *Netherlanders*, (as they of *Gabom* haue done) in Anno 1601. to a ship called the *Palme-tree*, and to another, called the *Moorein* of *Delft*, as also to a *Spanish* Barke, who in short time, one after the other they fell vpon, and taking them, kild all the men and eate them, with diuers other such trickes more by them done: but for that it is good for the ships in that place to lie and refresh themselues, to fetch water, and to Calke them: therefore all the ships lie most at this place, to make themselues ready, and fit to returne backe againe. About this Cape there lie many Sands, whereon a ship might soone smite, but behind the bankes there is no feare, the Lead will giue a man meanes to find his way well enough.

CHAP. III.

The strange aduentures of ANDREW BATTELL of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola, who liued there, and in the adioyning Regions, neere eightene yeeres.

§. I.

ANDREW BATTELL, his Voyage to the Riuer of Plate, who being taken on the Coast of Brasill, was sent to Angola.

Abraham Cocke
Voyage.



N the yeere 1589, *Abraham Cocke* of *Lime-house*, began his Voyage toward the Riuer of *Plate*, with two Pinnasses of fiftie Tuns a peece: The one was called, the *May-morning*; the other, the *Dolphine*. We sailed from the Riuer of *Thames*, the twentieth of Aprill; and the fixe and twentieth of the same moneth, we put into *Plimmoth*, where we tooke in some prouision for the Voyage. The seuenth of May we put to Sea, and with foule weather were beaten backe againe into

Santa Cruz.

Calmes on the
Coast of Gui-
nea.

The Scorbute.
Cape de las
Palmas.

Trecherous
people.

San Tome.
Ilhas das Rolas.

They burne a
Village.
The Towne of
San Tome.

Cape de lopo
Gonsalues.

Some hurt.

They depart
from San
Tome.

Plimmoth, where we remained certaine dayes, and then proceeded on our Voyage: and running along the Coast of *Spaine*, and *Barbarie*, we put into the Roade of *Sancta Cruz*, and there set our Light-horse-man together, which we carried in two pieces; *Abraham Cocke* made great account hereof, thinking that this Boat should haue made his Voyage. This done, we put to Sea, and running along the Coast of *Guinea*, wee were becalmed, because wee wer so neere the Coast. Heere our men fell sicke of the *Scuruie*, in such sort, that there were very few sound. And being within three or foure Degrees of the Equinoctiall line, we fell with the Cape *De las Palmas*, where we had some refreshing, wherewith our men recovered. The people of the Cape *de las Palmas* made much of vs, saying, that they would trade with vs: but it was but to betray vs. For they are very trecherous, and were like to haue taken our boat, and hurt some of our men. From this Cape we lay South-west off, but the Current and the Calmes deceiued vs; so that we were driuen downe to the Ile of *Saint Thome*, thinking that we had beene farther off to the Sea then we were. And being in distresse for wood and water, we went in on the South end betweene *San Tome*, and the Ilands *Das Rolas*: where we rode very smooth, and with our Light-horse-man went on shoare, thinking to haue watered: but wee found none in the Iland. Heere we had great store of Plantans and Oranges. We found a Village of *Negroes*, which are sent from *San Tome*, for the *Portugals* of *San Tome* do vse, when their slaues be sicke or weake, to send them thither to get their strength againe. For the Ilands are very fruitful; and though there be no fresh water, yet they maintaine themselues with the wine of the *Palme* trees. Hauing refreshed our selues with the fruit of this Iland, we burned the Village. And running on the East side of *San Tome*, we came before the Towne; but we durst not come neere: for the Castle shot at vs, which hath very good Ordnance in it.

Then we lay East and by South toward the *Maine*, and in foure and twentie houres, we had sight of the Cape *De lopo Gonsalues*: and being within three Leagues of the said Cape, we cast about and stood againe toward the Iland of *San Tome*, and turned vp on the West side of the Iland: and comming to a little Riuer, which runneth out of the Mountaines, we went on shore with our Light-horse-man, with fixe or seuen Buts to fill with water. But the *Gouernour* had imbosked one hundred men of the Iland; and when we were on shore, they came vpon vs, and killed one of our men, and hurt another: wherefore we retired to our Boat, and gate aboard.

Then *Abraham Cocke* determined to fetch the Coast of *Brasill*, and lay West South-west into the Sea: and being some fiftie Leagues off, we fell into a Scull of *Dolphins*, which did greatly relieue vs: for they did follow our ship all the way, till we fell with the land: which was some

thirtie

thirtie dayes. And running along the Coast of *Brasil*, till we came to *Ilha Grande*, which standeth in five Degrees Southward of the line: we put in betwixt the Iland and the Main, and haled our ships on shoare, and washed them, and refreshed our selues, and tooke in fresh water. In this Iland are no Inhabitants, but it is very fruitfull. And being heere some twelue dayes, there came in a little Pinnasse, which was bound to the Riuer of *Plate*, which came in to water, and to get some refreshment: and presently we went aboard, and tooke the Portugall Merchant out of the Pinnasse, which told *Abraham Cocke*, that within two moneths there should two Pinnasses come from the Riuer of *Plate*, from the Towne of *Buenos Aieres*.

Ilha Grande in five Degrees to the South of the line, on the Coast of *Brasil*.

Buenos Aieres, *Bahia*.

From this Towne there come euery yeere foure or five Carauels to *Bahia* in *Brasil*, and to *Angola* in *Africa*: which bring great store of Treasure, which is transported ouer land out of *Pern*, into the Riuer of *Plate*. Then *Abraham Cocke* desirous to make his Voyage, tooke some of the *Dolphin* men into his ship, and sent the *Dolphin* home againe, which had not as yet made any Voyage. This Portugall Merchant carried vs to a place in this Iland, where there was a banished man, which had planted great store of Plantans; and told vs, that we might with this fruit goe to the Riuer of *Plate*: for our bread and victuals were almost all spent.

The *Dolphin* sent home.

The benefit of a banished man.

Ile de Labos Marinos.

With this hard allowance we departed from this Iland, and were fixe and thirtie dayes before we came to the *Ile de Labos Marinos*, which is in the mouth of the Riuer of *Plate*. This Iland is halfe a mile long, and hath no fresh water; but doth abound with Seales and Sea-morses: in such sort, that our Light-horse-man could not get on shoare for them, without we did beat them with our Oares: and the Iland is couered with them. Vpon these Seales we liued some thirtie dayes, lying vp and downe in the Riuer, and were in great distresse of victuals. Then we determined to run vp to *Buenos Aieres*, and with our Light-horse-man to take one of the Pinnasses that rid at the Towne. And being so high vp the Riuer as the Towne, wee had a mightie storme at South-west, which draue vs backe againe, and we were faine to ride vnder *Isla Verde*, that is, the Greene Iland, which is in the mouth of the Riuer on the North side.

Morses and Seales.

The Towne of *Buenos Aieres*.

Ile Verde.

Here we were all discomfoted for lacke of victuals, and gaue ouer the Voyage, & came to the Northward againe, to the *Ile de Sant Sebastian*, lying iust vnder the Tropicke of *Capricorne*. There we went on shoare to catch fish, & some went vp into the woods to gather fruit: for we weare all in a manner famished. There was at that time a Canoe fraught with *Indians*, that came from the Towne of *Spiritu Sancto*. These *Indians* landed on the West side of the Iland, and came through the woods, and tooke five of vs, and carried vs to the Riuer of *Ianeiro*. After this mischance, our Captaine *Abraham Cocke* went to Sea, and was neuer heard of more.

They returne Northward.

The *Ile de S. Sebastian*.

The Towne of *Spiritu Sancto*.

The Riuer of *Ianeiro*.

Andrew Battis and foure others taken.

Andrew Battis sent prisoner to *Angola* in *Africa*.

The Citie of *S. Paul*.

Quansa.

His Pilotage and sicknesse.

A trade for Elephants teeth, and Oyle of the Palme tree.

Ile de Calabes.

When wee that were taken had remained foure moneths in the Riuer of *Ianeiro*, I and one *Torner* were sent to *Angola* in *Africa* to the Citie of *Saint Paul*, which standeth in nine Degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line. Heere I was presently taken out of the ship, and put into prison, and sent vp the Riuer *Quansa* to a Towne of Garrison, which is one hundred and thirtie miles vp the Riuer. And being there two moneths, the Pilot of the *Gouernors* Pinnasse died: then I was commanded to carrie her downe to the Citie, where I presently fell sicke, and lay eight moneths in a poore estate: for they hated me because I was an *English-man*. But being recouered of my sicknesse, *Don Iohn Hurtado de Mendoza*, who then was *Gouernor*, commanded me to goe to the Riuer of *Congo*, called *Zaire*, in a Pinnasse, is to trade for Elephants teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palme-tree. The Riuer *Zaire* is fiftie Leagues from the Citie to the Northward, and is the greatest Riuer in all that Coast. In the mouth of this Riuer is an Iland, called the *Ile de Calabes*, which had at that time a Towne in it. Heere we laded our Pinnasse with Elephants teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palme, and so returned to the Citie againe.

§. II.

His trading on the Coast, offer to escape, imprisonment, exile; escape, and new imprisonment: his sending to *Elambo*, and *Bahia Das Vaccas*; Many strange occurrences.



Hen I was sent to *Longo*, which is fiftene Leagues to the Northward of the Riuer *Zaire*: and carried all Commodities fit for that Countrey; as long Glasse-beads, and round Blew beads, and Seed beads, and Looking-glasses, Blew and Red course cloth, and *Irish* Rugs, which were very rich Commodities. Heere wee sold our cloth at a great rate, for we had for one yard of cloth, three Elephants teeth, that weighed one hundred and twenty pound: and we bought great store of *Palme*-cloth, and Elephants tayles. So in little time, we laded our Pinnasse. For this Voyage I was very welcome to the *Gouernour*; who promised me my liberty, if I would serue him. So I went in his Pinnasse two yeeres and a halfe vpon the Coast.

Blew and Red course woollen cloth, and *Irish* Rugs, rich Commodities.

Then

A ship of Hol-
land, on that
Coast.
Imprison-
ment.
Massangano
Fort.
Sixe yeeres
miserie.

He fleeth from
Massangano.
The Riuer
Coanza.
Elamba.

Mani Cabech.
Lake of Ca-
sanfa.
The Towne of
Mani Casanfa, is
twelue leagues
from the Citie
of San Paulo.

The Riuer
Bengo.
Abundance of
dangerous
Crocodiles.
The Riuer
Dande.
Manibangono.

Bamba.

A.B. left alone.

His resolution.

He yeeldeth.
They were ta-
ken prisoners,
and sent again
to the Citie of
San Paulo.

Then there came a ship of *Holland* to the Citie, the Merchant of which ship promised to carrie me away. And when they were readie to depart, I went secretly aboard; but I was be-
wrayed by *Portugals*, which sailed in the ship, and was fetched on shoare by the Sergeants of
the Citie, and put in Prison, and lay with great bolts of Iron two moneths, thinking that the
Gouernour would haue put me to death: but at last, I was banished for euer, to the Fort of *Massangano*, to serue in the Conquest of those Parts. Here I liued a most miserable life for the space
of sixe yeeres, without any hope to see the Sea againe.

In this Fort there were *Egyptians* and *Moriscoes*, that were banished as my selfe. To one of
these *Egyptians* I brake my mind, and told him, that it were better for vs to venture our liues
for our libertie, then to liue in that miserable place. This *Egyptian* was as willing as my selfe,
and told me, he would procure ten of his conlorts to goe with vs. So we got three *Egyptians*,
and seuen *Portugals*. That night, we got the best Canoe that we could find, and went downe
the Riuer *Coanza*: and being as farre downe as *Mani Cabech*, which is a little Lord in the
Prouince of *Elamba*, we went on shoare with our twelue Muskets, Powder, and Shot. Heere
we sunke our Canoe, because they should not know where we went on shoare. We made a little
fire in the Wood, and scorched *Gmie* Wheat, which we brought from *Massangano* to relieue vs,
for we had none other food.

Assoone as it was night, wee tooke our iourney all that night, and the next day without any
water at all. The second night, we were not able to goe, and were faine to digge and scrape vp
rootes of Trees, and sucke them to maintaine life. The third day, wee met with an old Negro,
which was traouiling to *Mani Cabech*, we bound his hands behind him, and made him leade
vs the way to the Lake of *Casanfa*. And traouiling all the day in this extreme hot Countrie,
we came to the *Bansa*, or Towne of *Mani Casanfa*, which lieth within the Land twelue leagues
from the Citie of *San Paulo*. Here we were forced to aske water: but they would giue vs none.
Then we determined to make them flee their houses with our shot: but seeing that we were de-
sperately bent, they called their Lord *Mani Casanfa*, who gaue vs water and faire speeches, de-
siring vs to stay all night, onely to betray vs: but we departed presently, and rested that night
in the Lake of *Casanfa*.

The fourth day at night, we came to the Riuer which is toward the North, and passed it
with great danger. For there are such abundance of Crocodiles in this Riuer, that no man dare
come neere the Riuer side, where it is deepe. The fift day at night, wee came to the Riuer
Dande, and traouiled so farre to the Eastward, that we were right against the *Serras*, or Moun-
taines of *Manibangono*, which is a Lord that warreth against the King of *Congo*, whither wee
intended to goe. Here we passed the Riuer, and rested halfe the night. And being two leagues
from the Riuer, we met with *Negroes*, which asked vs, whither we traouiled. Wee told them,
that we were going to *Congo*. These *Negroes* said, that we were in the wrong way, and that
they were *Mascongors*, and would carrie vs to *Bambe*, where the Duke of *Bambe* lay.

So wee went some three miles East vp into the Land, till wee perceiued that we were the
wrong way: for we traouiled by the Sunne, and would goe no farther that way: and turned
backe againe to the Westward, they stood before vs with their Bowes, Arrowes and Darts,
readie to shoot at vs. But we determining to goe through them, discharged sixe Muskets toge-
ther, and killed foure; which did amaze them, and made them to retire. But they followed vs
foure or fife miles, and hurt two of our companie with their Arrowes. The next day, we came
into the borders of *Bamba*, and traouiled all that day. At night, we heard the surge of the Sea.
The seuenth day in the morning, we saw the Captain of the Citie come after vs with Horsmen,
and great store of *Negroes*. Hereupon our companie being dismayed, seuen of our faint-hearted
Portugals hid themselves in the Thicket. I and the foure *Egyptians* thought to haue escaped:
but they followed vs so fast, that we were faine to goe into a little Wood. Assoone as the Cap-
taine had ouertaken vs, he discharged a volley of shot into the Wood, which made vs lose one
another.

Thus being all alone, I bethought my selfe, that if the *Negroes* did take me in the Woods,
they would kill me: wherefore, thinking to make a better end among the *Portugals* and *Mul-
latos*, I came presently out of the Wood with my Musket readie charged, making none account
of my life. But the Capitaine, thinking that we had beene all twelue together, called to me, and
said, Fellow Souldier, I haue the Gouernours pardon, if you will yeeld your selues, you shall
haue no hurt. I hauing my Musket readie, answered the Capitaine, that I was an *Englishman*,
and had serued sixe yeeres at *Massangano*, in great miserie; and came in companie with eleuen
Portugals and *Egyptians*, and here am left all alone; and rather then I will be hanged, I will die
amongst you. Then the Capitaine came neere vnto me, and said, Deliuer thy Musket to one of
the Souldiers, and I protest, as I am a Gentleman, and a Souldier, to saue thy life, for thy reso-
lute mind. Whereupon I yeelded vp my Musket and my selfe.

Then the Capitaine commanded all the Souldiers and *Negroes* to search the Woods, and to
bring them out alieue or dead; which was presently done. Then they carried vs to the Citie of
San Paulo: where I, and the three *Egyptians* lay in Prison three moneths, with Collars of Iron,
and great Bolts vpon our legs, and hardly escaped.

At that time the Gouvernour sent foure hundred men, that were banished out of Portugall, vp into the Countrey of *Elambe*. Then I was with Proclamation through the Citie banished for ever to the Warres, and marched with them to *Sowonfo*, which is a Lord, that obeyeth the Duke of *Bambe*: from thence to *Samanibansa*, and then to *Namba Calamba*, which is a great Lord, who did resist vs: but we burned his Towne, and then he obeyed vs, and brought three thousand warlike *Negroes* to vs. From thence to *Sollancango* a little Lord, that fought very desperately with vs, but was forced to obey: and then to *Combrecaianga*, where we remayned two yeares. From this place wee gaue many assaults, and brought many Lords to subiection. Wee were fiftene thousand strong, and marched to the *Outeiro*, or Mountaine of *Ingombe*. But first we burned all *Ingafia*, which was his Countrey, and then we came to the chiefe Towne of *Ingombe*, which is halfe a dayes journey to goe vp.

Foure hundred banished Portugals employed in the Warres. *Sowonfo*. *Namba Calamba*. *Sollancango*. *Combrecaianga*. *Ingafia*. *Ingombe*.

This Lord came vpon vs with more then twentie thousand Bowes, and spoyled many of our men. But with our shot we made a great spoyle among them, whereupon he retyred vp into the Mountaine, and sent one of his Captaines to our Generall; signifying, that the next day hee would obey him. Thenext day he entred our Campe in great pompe with Drums, *Petos*, and *Pongoes*, or Waytes, and was royally receiued: and he gaue great Presents, and greatly enriched the Generall, and them which marched vp. Vpon the toppe of the Mountaine is a great Plaine, where he hath his chiefe Towne; verie fresh, full of Palme-trees, Sugar-canes, Potatos, and other roots, and great store of Oranges and Limons. Here is a Tree that is called *Engeraiy*, that beareth a fruit as big as a Pome-water, and hath a stone in it, present remedie for the Wind Cholicke, which was strange to the Portugals. Here is a Riuer of fresh water, that springeth out of the Mountaine, and runneth all along the Towne. Wee were here fise dayes, and then we marched vp into the Countrey, and burned and spoyled for the space of sixe weekes; and then returned to *Engombe* againe with great store of slaues, sheepe and Goates, and great store of *Margarite* stones, which are currant money in that Land. Here we pitched our Campe a league from this pleasant Mountaine, which remayned twelue monethes: but I was shot in my right legge, and many Portugals and *Mullatos*, were carryed to the Citie to be cured.

A fruit good for the Collick

Then the Gouvernour sent a Frigar to the South-ward with sixtie Souldiers, my selfe beeing one of the company, and all kind of Commodities. We turned vp to the South-ward till wee came into twelue degrees. Here we found a faire sandie Bay. The people of this place brought vs Cowes and Sheepe, Wheate and Beanes; but we stayed not there, but came to *Babia das Vacas*, that is, the Bay of Cowes, which the Portugals call, *Babia de Torre*, because it hath a rocke like a Towre. Here wee roade on the North-side of the Rocke in a sandie Bay; and bought great store of Cowes, and Sheepe bigger then our English Sheepe, and very fine Copper. Also we bought a kind of sweet wood, called *Cacongo*, which the Portugals esteeme much, and great store of Wheate and Beanes. And hauing laded our Barke wee sent her home: but fiftie of vs stayed on shoare, and made a little Fort with rafters of wood, because the people of this place are treacherous, and not to to bee trusted. So in seuentene dayes wee had fise hundred head of Cattell: and within tenne dayes the Gouvernour sent three shippes and so wee departed to the Citie.

Sending to *Babia das Vacas*, or *Babia de Torre*.

Store of Cowes, great Sheepe, and fine Copper. *Cacongo* a sweet wood.

In this Bay may any ship ride without danger, for it is a smooth Coast. Here may any shippe that commeth out of the East Indies refresh themselves. For the Portugals Carracks now of late come along that Coast, to the Citie to water and refresh themselves. These people are called, *Endallambondos*, and haue no gouernment among themselves: and therefore they are verie trecherous, and those that trade with these people must stand vpon their owne guard. They are very simple and of no courage, for thirtie or fortie men may goe boldly vp into the Countrey, and fetch downe whole Heards of Cattell. We bought the Cattell for blue glasse-beads of an inch long, which are called *Mopinder*; and payd fiftene beads for one Cow.

A good Bay and fit refreshing from the East Indies. *Endallambondos*. Cattell bought for blue glasse beads of an inch long.

This Prouince is called, *Dombe*, and it hath a ridge of high *Serras*, or Mountaines, that stretch from the *Serras*, or Mountaines of *Cambambe*, wherein are Mines; and lye along that Coast South and by West. Here is great store of fine Copper, if they would worke in their Mines: but they take no more, then they weare for a brauerie. The men of this place weare skinnes about their middles, and beads about their neckes. They carrie Darts of Iron, and Bow and Arrowes in their hands. They are beastly in their liuing, for they haue men in womens apparell, whom they keepe among their wiues.

Dombe. Mines of fine Copper. Men effeminate.

Their women weare a Ring of Copper about their neckes, which weigheth fiftene pound at the least, about their armes little Rings of Copper, that reach to their elbowes, about their middles a cloth of the *Insandie Tree*, which is neither spunne nor wouen, on their legs Rings of Copper, that reach to the calves of their legs.

The anyre of their women.

§. III.

Discoverie of the Gagas; Their Warres, Man-eating; Over-running Countries: His Trade with them, betraying, escape to them, and living with them, with many strange Adventures. And also the Rites and manner of life observed by the Iagges or Gagas, which no Christian could ever know well but this Author.

Benguele.

* Lopes was deceived in their originall. The Gagas, a most warlike people. He in discourse with me, called them Iagges, & their Chiefe the Great Iagge. I thinke he writ them Gagas for Iagges by false spelling. The Iagges Campe. Their manner of remoue. Their vaine-glorie.

The Benguelas slaughter.

The Gagas are the greatest Man-eaters in the World.

The Prouince of Bambala.

Mofarigosat, a great Negro Lord.

Our second Voyage turning vp along the Coast, we came to the *Morro*, or Cliffe of *Benguele*, which standeth in twelue degrees of Southerly latitude. Here we saw a mighty Cape of men on the Southside of the riuer *Cona*. And being desirous to know what they were, we went on shore with our Boat; & presently there came a troop of five hundred men to the water side. We asked them, Who they were? then they told vs, that they were the *Gagas*, or *Gindes*; that comes from * *Serra de Lion*, and passed through the Citie of *Congo*; and so trauelled to the East-ward of the great Citie of *Angola*, which is called *Dongo*. The great *Gaga*, which was their Generall, came downe to the waters side to see vs. For hee had neuer seene white men before. He asked, wherefore we came? we told him, that wee came to trade vpon the Coast: then he bade vs welcome, and called vs on shoare with our Commodities: we laded our ship with slaues in seuen dayes, and bought them so good cheape, that many did not cost one Riall a piece, which were worth in the Citie twelue Millie-reys.

Being readie to depart the great *Giaga* stayed vs, and desired our Boat to passe his men ouer the Riuer *Cona*: for he determined to ouer-runne the Realme of *Benguele*, which was on the North-side of the Riuer *Cona*. So we went with him to his Campe, which was very orderly intrenched with piles of wood. We had Houses provided for vs that night, and many burthens of Palme-wine, Cowes, Goats, and Flowre.

In the morning before day the Generall did strike his *Gongo*, which is an Instrument of War that soundeth like a Bell; and presently made an Oration with a loud voice, that all the Campe might heare, that he would destroy the *Benguelas*, with such couragious and vehement speeches, as were not to be looked for among the Heathen people: and presently they were all in armes, and marched to the Rivers side, where he had provided *Gingados*. And beeing readie with our Boat and *Gingados*, the Generall was faine to beate them backe, because of the credit who should be first. We carried ouer eightie men at once; and with our Muskets we beat the enemy off, and landed, but many of them were slaine. By twelue of the clocke all the *Gagas* were ouer.

Then the Generall commanded all his Drums, *Tauales*, *Petes*, *Pongos*, and all his Instruments of warlike Musicke to strike vp, and gaue the on-set, which was a bloudie day to the *Benguelas*. These *Benguelas* presently broke and turned their backs, and a very great number of them were slaine, and were taken Captiues, man, woman and child. The Prince *Hombiangymbe* was slaine, which was Ruler of this Countrey, and more then one hundred of his chiefe Lords, and their heads presented, and throwne at the feet of the great *Gaga*. The men, women, and children, that were brought in captiue alieue, and the dead CorpSES that were brought to bee eaten, were strange to behold. For these *Gagas* are the greatest Canibals and Man-eaters that bee in the World, for they fed chiefly vpon mans flesh, hauing all the Cattell of that Countrey.

They settled themselves in this Countrey, and tooke the spoile of it. Wee had great Trade with these *Gagas* five monethes, and gained greatly by them. These *Gagas* were not contented to stay in this place of *Benguela*, although they lacked almost nothing. For they had great store of Cattell and Wheate, and many other Commodities, but they lacked Wine: for in these parts there are no Palme-trees.

After the five monethes were expired, they marched toward the Prouince of *Bambala*, to a great Lord, that is called *Calicansamba*, whose Countrey is five dayes journey vp into the Land. In these five monethes space we made three Voyages to the Citie of *San Paul*, and comming the fourth time we found them not.

Being loth to returne without Trade, wee determined to goe vp into the Land after them; So we went fifty on shore, and left our ship riding in the Bay of *Benguela* to stay for vs; and marching two dayes vp into the Countrey, we came to a great Lord, which is called *Mofarigosat*: and comming to his first Towne, we found it burned to the ground, for the *Gagas* had passed and taken the spoyle. To this Lord we sent a *Negro*, which we had bought of the *Gagas*, and liued with vs, and bid him say, that he was one of the great *Gagas* men, and that hee was left to carrie vs to the Campe. This Lord bade vs welcome for feare of the great *Gaga*: but hee delayed the time, and would not let vs passe, till the *Gaga* was gone out of his Countrey. This Lord *Mofarigosat*, seeing that the *Gagas* were cleere of him, began to palter with vs, and would not let vs goe out of his Land, till we had gone to the warres with him; for hee thought himselfe a mightie

mightie man hauing vs with him. For in this place they neuer saw white man before, nor Gunnes. So we were forced to goe with him, and destroyed all his Enemies, and returned to his Towne againe. Then we desired him, that he would let vs depart: But he denyed vs, without we would promise him to come againe, and leaue a white man with him in pawne.

These *Portugals* and *Mulatos* being desirous to get away from this place, determined to draw lots who should stay: but many of them would not agree to it. At last they consented together that it were fitter to leaue me, because I was an *Englishman*, then any of themselves. Here I was faine to stay perforce. So they left me a Musket, Powder, and ihot; promising this Lord *Mofarigofat*, that within two monethes they would come againe, and bring an hundred men to helpe him in his Warres, and to trade with him: but all was to shift themselves away, for they feared that he would haue taken vs all Captines. Here I remayned with this Lord till the two monethes were expired, and was hardly vsed, because the *Portugals* came not according to promise.

The chiefe men of this Towne would haue put me to death, and stripped me naked, and were readie to cut off mine head. But the Lord of the Towne commanded them to stay longer, thinking that the *Portugals* would come. And after that I was let loose againe, I went from one Towne to another, shifting for my selfe, within the liberties of this Lord. And beeing in feare of my life among them, I ranne away, purposing to goe to the Campe of the *Gagas*.

And hauing trauelled all that night, the next day I came to a great Towne, which was called, *Cashil*, which stood in a mightie ouer-growne thicket. Here I was carried into the Towne to the Lord *Cashil*; and all the Towne great and small came to wonder at mee, for in this place there was neuer any white man seene. Here were some of the great *Gagas* men, which I was glad to see, and went with these *Gagas* to *Calicansamba*, where the Campe was.

This Towne of the Lord *Cashil* is very great, and is so ouer-growne with *Olicondie* Trees, Cedars, and Palmes, that the streets are darkened with them. In the middle of the Towne there is an Image, which is as bigge as a man, and standeth twelue foot high: and at the foot of the Image there is a Circle of Elephants Teeth, pitched into the ground. Vpon these Teeth stand great store of dead mens skuls, which are killed in the warres, and offered to this Image. They vse to powre Palme-wine at his feet, and kill Goats, and powre their bloud at his feet. This Image is called *Quesango*, and the people haue a great beliefe in him, and sweare by him; and doe beleue when they are sick, that *Quesango* is offended with them. In many places of this Towne were litle Images, and ouer them great store of Elephants Teeth piled.

The streets of this Towne were paved with Palme-canes very orderly. Their Houses were round like an Hiue, and within hanged with fine Mats very curiously wrought. On the South-east end of the Towne was a *Mokiso*, which had more then three Tunnes of Elephants Teeth piled ouer him.

From this Towne of *Cashil*, I trauelled vp into the Countrey with the *Gagas* two dayes, and came to *Calicansamba*, where the great *Gaga* had his Campe, and was welcome to him. Among the Caniball people, I determined to liue, hoping in God, that they would trauell so farre to the West-ward, till we should see the Sea againe; and so I might escape by some ship. These *Gagas* remayned foure monethes in this place, with great abundance and plentie of Cattle, Corne, Wine, and Oyle, and great triumphing, drinking, dancing, and banquetting with mans flesh, which was an heauie spectacle to behold.

At the end of foure monethes they marched toward the *Serras*, or Mountaines of *Cashindabar*, which are mightie high, and haue great Copper-mynes, and they tooke the spoyle all the way as they went. From thence they went to the Riuer *Longa*, and passed it, and settled themselves in the Towne of *Calango*, and remayned there fife or sixe monethes. Then wee arose, and entred into the Prouince of *Tondo*, and came to the Riuer *Gonsa*, and marched on the South-side of the Riuer to a Lord that was called *Makellicolonge*, neere to the great Citie of *Dongo*. Here we passed ouer mightie high Mountaines, and found it very cold.

Hauing spent sixteene moneths among these Canibals, they marched to the Westward againe, and came along the Riuer *Gonsa*, or *Gunza*, to a Lord that is called *Shillambansa*, Vnkle to the King of *Angola*. We burned his chiefe Towne, which was after their fashion very sumptuously builded. This place is very pleasant and fruitfull. Heere we found great store of wild Peacocks, flying vp and downe the Trees, in as great abundance as other Birds. The old Lord *Shillambansa* was buried in the middle of the Towne, and had an hundred tame Peacokes kept vpon his Graue: which Peacokes he gaue to his *Mokiso*, and they were called *Angello Mokiso*, that is, The Devils or Idols Birds, and were accounted as holy things. He had great store of Copper, Cloth, and many other things laid vpon his Graue; which is the order of that Countrey.

From this place we marched to the Westward, along the Riuer *Coanza*, and came right against the *Serras*, or Mountaines of *Cambambe*, or *Serras de Prata*. Here is the great fall of water, that falleth right downe, and maketh a mightie noyse, that is heard thirtie miles. Wee entred into the Prouince of *Casama*, and came to one of the greatest Lords, which was called *Casama*.

M m m m m

Lan-

Andrew Battell
left with the
AndalambandosIn danger of
death.Cashil a great
Towne.A Giantly Image called
Quesango, and
their Idolatrous Rites.
Their streets
and houses.
A Mokiso, or
Idoll.He cometh
to the Campe
of the great
Gaga.Of these *Gagas*,
reade also
Pigafettas book
of Congo, trans-
lated into Eng-
lish by M. Hart-
well, and my
Pilgrimage, 1. 7
But none could
so well know
them as this
Author, which
liued so long
with them.
The Riuer
Longa.
Calango.
Tondo.*Gonsa* Riuer, or
Gunza.Great cold in
the high
Mountaines.
Shillambansa
destroyed.Store of wild
Peacocks.
The Riuer *Co-*
anza.The Moun-
taines of silver.
A fall of waters
heard thirtie
miles.*Casama*.

Casoch a great Warriar.

The Authors deare-bought credit.

Massangano Fort.

He getteth a-gaine to the *Portugals*.

Discourse of *Calandola*, the great *Jagge*.

His dependence of the *Deuill*.

His seueritie.

Orations.

Their fortifying.

A River ha-ving great store of Gold, to the South of *Bahia das Vaccas*.

They found of this Gold.

Palme-wine, how drawne.

Such difference between *Waspes* and *Bees*.

What they doe being resisted.

Fruiges consumed more natur.

Stratagems.

His attire. *Bamba* shells, *Maso* shells, of great account among the *Gagas*.

Langere. He obeyed the Great *Gaga*, and carried vs to a Lord, called *Casoch*, which was a great Warriar; for he had some seuen yeeres before, ouerthrowne the *Portugals* Campe, and killed eight hundred *Portugals*, and fortie thousand *Negroes*, that were on the *Portugals* side. This Lord did stoutly withstand the *Gagas*, and had the first day a mightie battaile: but had not the victorie that day. So wee made a Sconse of Trees after their fashon, and remayned foure moneths in the Warres with them. I was so highly esteemed with the Great *Gaga*, because I killed many *Negroes* with my Musket, that I had any thing that I desired of him. He would also, when they went out to the Warres, giue charge to his men ouer me. By this meanes I haue beene often carried away in their armes, and saued my life. Here we were within three dayes Iourney of *Massangano*, before mentioned, where the *Portugals* haue a Fort: and I sought 10
meanes, and got to the *Portugals* againe with Merchant *Negroes*, that came to the Campe to buy Slaues.

There were in the Campe of the *Gagas*, twelue Captains. The first, called *Imbe Calandola*, their Generall a man of great courage. He warreth all by enchantment, and taketh the *Deuils* counsell in all his exploits. He is alwaies making of sacrifices to the *Deuill*, and doth know many times what shall happen vnto him. Hee beleueth that hee shall neuer die but in the Warres. There is no Image among them, but he vseth certaine ceremonies. He hath straight Lawes to his Souldiers: for, those that are faint-hearted, and turne their backs to the Enemie, are presently condemned and killed for cowards, and their bodies eaten. He vseth euery night to make a warlike Oration vpon an high Scaffold, which doth encourage his people.

It is the order of these people, wheresoeuer they pitch their Campe, although they stay but one night in a place, to build their Fort, with such wood or trees as the place yeeldeth: so that the one part of them cutteth downe trees and boughs, and the other part carrieth them, and buildeth a round Circle with twelue Gates. So that euery Captaine keepeth his Gate. In the middle of the Fort is the Generalls house, intrenched round about, and hee hath many Porters that keepe the Doore. They build their houses very close together, and haue their Bowes, Arrowes, and Darts, standing without their Doores: And when they giue alarme, they are suddenly all out of the Fort. Euery companie at their Doores keepe very good watch in the night, playing vpon their Drums and Tauals.

These *Gagas* told vs of a River that is to the Southward of the Bay of *Vaccas*, that hath great 30
store of Gold: and that they gathered vp great store of graines of Gold vpon the Sand, which the fresh water drieth downe in the time of raine. We found some of this Gold in the handles of their Hatchets, which they vse to engraue with Copper, and they called it Copper also, and doe not esteeme it.

These *Gagas* delight in no Countrey, but where there is great store of *Palmares*, or *Groues* of *Palmes*. For they delight greatly in the Wine, and in the Fruit of the *Palme*, which serueth to eat and to make Oyle: and they draw their Wine contrarie to the *Imbondos*. These *Palme*-trees are fixe or seuen fathoms high, and haue no leaues but in the top: and they haue a deuice to goe vp to the top of the Tree, and lay no hands on it, and they draw the Wine in the top of the tree in a Bottle.

But these *Gagas* cut the *Palme*-trees downe by the roote, which lie ten dayes before they will giue Wine. And then they make a square hole in the top and heart of the Tree, and take out of the hole euery morning a quart, and at night a quart. So that euery Tree giuerh two quarts of Wine a day for the space of fixe and twentie dayes, and then it drieth vp.

When they settle themselves in any Countrey, they cut downe as many *Palmes* as will serue them Wine for a moneth: and then as many more. So that in a little time they spoile the Countrey. They stay no longer in a place, then it will afford them maintenance. And then in Haruest time they arise, and settle themselves in the fruitfulest place that they can find; and doe reape their Enemies Corne, and take their Cattell. For they will not sowe, nor plant, nor bring vp any Cattell, more then they take by Warres. When they come into any Countrey that is strong, 50
which they cannot the first day conquer, then their Generall buildeth his Fort, and remayneth sometimes a moneth or two quiet. For he saith, it is as great warres to the Inhabitants to see him settled in their Countrey, as though he fought with them euery day. So that many times the Inhabitants come and assault him at his Fort: and these *Gagas* defend themselves and flesh them on for the space of two or three dayes. And when their Generall mindeth to giue the onset, he will in the night put out some one thousand men: which do emboske themselves about a mile from their Fort. Then in the morning the great *Gaga* goeth with all his strength out of the Fort, as though he would take their Towne. The Inhabitants comming neere the Fort to defend their Countrey, being betweene them, the *Gagas* giue the watch-word with their Drummes, and then the embosked men arise, so that very few escape. And that day their Generall ouer- 60
runneth the Countrey.

The great *Gaga Calando* hath his haire very long, embroydred with many knots full of *Bamba* shells, which are very rich among them, and about his necke a Collar of *Malo*es, which are also shells, that are found vpon that Coast, and are sold among them for the worth of twen-
tie

tie shillings a shell: and about his middle he weareth *Landes*, which are Beades made of the *Oltridges* Egges. He weareth a *Palme* cloth about his middle, as fine as *Silke*. His body is carved and cut with sundry workes, and euery day anointed with the fat of men. Hee weareth a peece of *Copper* crosse his nose, two inches long, and in his eares also. His body is alwaies painted red and white. He hath twenty or thirty wiues, which followed him when he goeth abroad; and one of them carrieth his Bow and Arrowes, and foure of them carry his Cuppes of drinke after him. And when hee drinketh, they all kneele downe, and clap their hands and sing.

Cruell brauery

They vse this ceremony in Florida.

Their women weare their haire with high trompes, full of *Bamba* shells, and are anointed with *Cinnet*. They pull out foure of their teeth; two aboue and two below for a brauery: And those that haue not their teeth out, are loathsome to them, and shall neither eate nor drinke with them. They weare great store of Beades about their neckes, armes and legs; about their middles, *Silke* cloathes.

Foolish Gallantry.

The women are very fruitfull, but they enioy none of their children: For as soone as the woman is deliuered of her Childe, it is presently buried quicke; So that there is not one Childe brought vp in all this Generation. But when they take any Towne, they keepe the Boyes and Girles of thirteene or foureteene yeares of age, as their owne children. But the men and women they kill and eate. These little Boyes they traine vp in the warres, and hang a collar about their neckes for a disgrace, which is neuer taken off till he proueth himselfe a man, and bring his enemies head to the Generall: And then it is taken off, and he is a Free-man, and is called

Generation of Vipers. A generation without generation of *Gaga*. *Panizaries*. Boyes trayned vp in the wars.

Gonso, or Souldier. This maketh them all desperate, and forward to be free, and counted men: and so they doe increase. In all this Campe there were but twelue naturall *Gagas* that were their Captaines, and foureteene or fifteene women. For it is more then fiftie yeares since they come from *Serra de Lion*, which was their natiue Countrey. But their Campe is sixteene thousand strong, and sometimes more.

These *Gagas* came from *Serra Leona*.

When the great *Gaga Calandola*, vndertaketh any great enterprize against the Inhabitants of any Countrey, he maketh a sacrifice to the Diuell, in the morning before the Sunne riseth. He sitteth vpon a stoole, hauing on each side of him a man Witch: then he bath fortie or fiftie women which stand round about him, holding in each hand a *Zeneras*, or wilde horses tayle, where with they doe flourish and sing. Behind them are great store of *Petes*, *Ponges*, and *Drummes*, which alwaies play. In the midst of them is a great fire; vpon the fire an earthen pot with white powders, where-with the men Witches doe paint him on the forehead, temples, thwart the breast and belly, with long ceremonies and enchanting tearmes. Thus he continueth till sunne is downe. Then the Witches bring his *Casengala*, which is a weapon like an hatchet, and put it into his hand; and bid him bee strong against his enemies: for his *Mokiso* is with him. And presently there is a Man-childe brought, which forth-with he killeth. Then are foure men brought before him; two whereof, as it happeneth, he presently striketh and killeth; the other two, he commandeth to be killed without the Fort.

His solemne sacrifice to the Devill.

Zebra.

Butcherly rites.

Here I was by the men Witches commanded to goe away, because I was a Christian. For then the Diuell doth appeare to them, as they say. And presently he commandeth fise Cowes to be killed in the Fort, and fise without the Fort: And likewise as many Goates, and as many Dogges; and the blood of them is sprinkled in the fire, and their bodies are eaten with great feasting and triumph. And this is vsed many times by all the other Captaines of their Armie.

When they bury the dead, they make a vault in the ground, and a seate for him to sit. The dead hath his haire newly imbroydred, his body washed, and anointed with sweete powders. He hath all his best robes put on, and is brought betweene two men to his graue, and set in his seate, as though he were aliue. He hath two of his wiues set with him, with their armes broken, and then they couer the vault on the top. The Inhabitants when they dye, are buried after the same fashion, and haue the most part of their goods buried with them. And euery moneth there is a meeting of the kindred of the dead man, which mourne and sing dolefull songs at his graue, for the space of three daies; and kill many Goates, and powre their blood vpon his graue, and *Palme-Wine* also; and vse this ceremony as long as any of their kindred be aliue. But those that haue no kindred think themselves vnhappy men, because they haue none to mourne for them when they dye. These people are very kind one to another in their health; but in their sicknesse they doe abhorre one another, and will shun their company.

Buriall of their dead. Cruel funerals.

Vnkind kinde.

¶. IIII.

His returne to the Portugals : inuasions of diuers Countries, abuse, flight from them, and lining in the Woods diuers moneths : His strange Boate, and comming to Loango.

Mafangano, a Towne of Portugal.

Salt Mines. Siluer Mines.

The Riuer Coanza.

Stone-salt, a speciall commoditye. The like is in Poland.

Andrew Battie made Sergeant of a Portugall Company.

Seignior Iuan de Continbo dieth.

Serras da Prata.

Newes of the death of the Queene of England, 1603.

Bamba. The Onteiro of Congo.

The Riuer Bengo. The Riuer Dande.

BEing departed from the *Gagas*, I came to *Mafangano*, where the *Portugals* haue a Towne of Garrison. There was at that time a new *Gouernor*, which was called, *Seignior Iuan Continbo*: who brought authority to conquer the Mines or Mountaines of *Cambamba*: and to performe that seruice, the King of *Spaine* had giuen him seauen yeares custome, of all the Slaues and Goods that were carried thence to the *West-Indies*, *Brasil*, or whither soeuer: with condition, that he should build three Castles; one in *Demba*, which are the salt Mines; the other, in *Cambamba*, which are the Siluer Mines; and the other in *Bahia das Vaccas*, or *The Bay of Comes*. This Gentleman was so bountifull at his comming, that his fame was spread through all *Congo*, and many *Mulatos* and *Negroes* came voluntarily to serue him. And being some fixe moneths in the Citie, he marched to the *Outaba* of *Tombe*: and there shipped his Souldiers in Pinnasses, and went vp the *Riuer Consa*, or *Coanza*, and landed at the *Outaba* of *Songo*, sixtie miles from the Sea. This Lord *Songo* is next to *Demba*, where the Salt Mines be. In this place there is such store of Salt, that most part of the Countrey are perfect cleere Salt, without any earth or filth in it: and it is some three foot vnder the earth as it were Ice: and they cut it out in stones of a yard long, and it is carried vp into the Countrey, and is the best commoditye that a man can carry to buy any thing whatsoeuer.

Here the *Gouernour* stayed ten daies, and sent a Pinnasse to *Mafangano*, for all the best Souldiers that were there. So the Captain of the Castle sent me down among an hundred Souldiers, and I was very well vsed by the *Gouernor*; and he made me a Sergeant of a *Portugall* Company, and then he marched to *Machimba*; from thence to *Cauro*, and then to *Malombe*, a great Lord. Here we were foure daies, and many Lords came and obeyed vs. From thence we marched to a mightie Lord, called *Angoykayongo*, who stood in the defence of his Countrey, with more then sixtie thousand men. So we met with him, and had the victory, and made a great slaughter among them. We tooke captiues all his Women and Children, and setled our selues in his Towne, because it was a very pleasant place, and full of Cattle and victuals. And being eight daies in this Towne, the *Gouernour* sickned and dyed, and left a Captaine in his roome to performe the seruice.

After we had beene two moneths in the Countrey of *Angoykayongo*, we marched toward *Cambambe*, which was but three daies iourney, and came right against the *Serras da Prata*, and passed the *Riuer Coanza*, and presently ouer-ranne the Countrey, and built a Fort hard by the *Riuers* side. Here I serued two yeares. They opened the Siluer Mines: but the *Portugals* did not like of them as yet; because they yeelded small store of Siluer. This new vp-start *Gouernour*, was very cruell to his Souldiers, so that all his voluntary men left him; and by this meanes he could goe no farther. At this time, there came newes by the *Iesuites*, that the *Queene* of *England* was dead; and that King *Iames* had made peace with *Spaine*. Then I made a petition to the *Gouernour*, who granted me licence to goe into my Countrey: And so I departed with the *Gouernor* and his Traine to the Citie of *Saint Paul*.

But he left five hundred Souldiers in the Fort of *Cambambe*, which they hold still. Then I went with a *Portugall* Marchant to the Prouince of *Bamba*: and from thence to the *Onteiro*, or Citie standing vpon a Mountaine of *Congo*; from thence to *Gongon* and *Batta*: and there wee sold our commodities, and returned in fixe moneths to the Citie againe. Then I purposed to haue shipped my selfe for *Spaine*, and thence homewards. But the *Gouernour* denyed his word, and commanded me to prouide my selfe within two daies, to goe vp to the Conquest againe. This *Gouernour* had serued his three yeares, and the Citizens looked euery day for another out of *Portugall*. So I determined to absent my selfe for ten or twentie daies, till the other *Gouernour* came, and then to come to the Citie againe. For euery *Gouernour* that commeth, maketh Proclamation for all men that be absent, to come with free pardon.

The same day at night, I departed from the Citie, with two *Negro* Boyes that I had, which carried my Musket, and fixe pounds of Powder, and an hundred Bullets, and that little prouision of victuals which I could make. In the morning I was some twentie miles from the Citie, vp along the *Riuer Bengo*, and there I stayed certaine dayes; and then passed *Bengo*, and came to the *Riuer Dande*, which is to the North-ward; purposing to know what newes was in the Citie, for I was neere the high-way of *Congo*: And one of my *Negroes* inquired of those that passed, and brought me word; That it was certaine, that the new *Gouernour* came not that yeare. Now I was put to my shifts, whether I would goe to the Citie againe and be hanged, or to stay and liue in the Woods: for I had runne away twice before. So I was forced to liue in the Wood a moneth, betwixt the *Riuers* of *Dande* and *Bengo*.

Then

Then I went to *Bengo* again, to *Mani Kaswea*, & passed ouer the Riuer, and went to the lake, of *Casansa*. Here is the greatest store of wild beasts, that is in any place of *Angola*. About this lake I staid six monethes, & liued only vpon dried flesh, as Buffes, Deere, Mokokes, Impolancas, and Ro-bucks, and other sorts which I killed with my Musket, and dried the flesh, as the Sauages doe, vpon an Hurdle three foot from the ground, making vnderneath it a great fire, and laying vpon the flesh greene boughes, which keepe the smoke and heate of the fire downe, and dry it. I made my fire with two little stickes, as the Sauages vse to doe. I had sometimes *Guiney Wheate*, which my Negro Boy would get of the Inhabitants for pieces of dried flesh. This Lake of *Casansa* doth abound with fish of sundry sorts. I haue taken vp a fish, that hath skipped out of the water on shoare, foure foot long, which the Heathen call *Sombo*. Thus after I had liued sixe monethes with dried flesh and fish, and seeing no end of my miserie, I wrought meanes to get away.

The Lake of Casansa.

The manner of the Sauages drying of their flesh.

In this Lake are many little Islands, that are full of trees, called *Memba*, which are as light as Corke, and as soft. Of these trees I built a *Iergado*, with a Knife of the Sauages that I had, in the fashion of a Boat, nayled with wooden pegs, and rayled round about, because the Sea should not wash me out, and with a Blanket that I had, I made a sayle, and prepared three Oares to row withall. This Lake of *Casansa* is eight miles ouer, and issueth into the Riuer *Bengo*. So I entred into my *Gingado*, and my two Negro Boyes, and rowed into the Riuer *Bengo*, and so came downe with the current twelue leagues, to the barre. Here I was in great danger, because the Sea was great; and being ouer the barre, I rowed into the Sea, and then sayled afore the wind along the Coast, which I knew very well, minding to goe to the Kingdome of *Longo*, which is toward the North: and being that night at Sea, the next day I saw a Pinnasse come before the wind, which came from the Citie, and was bound to *San Thome*, and shee came neere to mee. The Master was my great friend, for we had beene Mates together, and for pitie sake he tooke me in, and set me on shoare in the Port of *Longo*; where I remayned three yeares, and was well beloued of the King, because I killed him Deere and Fowles with my Musket.

He made a Boat with a Knife.

The Lake of Casansa falleth into Bengo.

Hee was three yeares in Longo.

30 Of the Prouince of Engoy, and other Regions of Loango, with the Customes there obserued by the King and people.

From the Point of the *Palmar*, which is the North-side of the Riuer *Zaire*, is the Port of *Gabenda*, where many ships vse to water and refresh themselves; and it is five leagues Northwards. This place is called *Engoy*, and is the first Prouince of *Longo*, and is full of Woods and Thickets. And seuen leagues North-wards of that place is the Riuer *Cacongo*; a very pleasant place and fruitfull. Here is great store of Elephants Teeth: and a Boat of ten tunnes may goe vp the Riuer.

Puntada Palmar.

Engoy is the first Prouince of Longo.

The Riuer Cacongo.

40 The *Mombales* haue great Trade with them, and passe the Riuer *Zaire* in the night, because then it is calme; and carrie great store of Elephants Teeth to the Towne of *Mani Sonna*, and sell them in the Port of *Pinda* to the Portugals, or any other stranger, that first commeth.

The Mombales.

And foure leagues from *Cacongo*, is the Riuer of *Caye*, or *Longo Leuyes*. This Towne of *Caye* is one of the foure Seates or Lordships of *Longo*: and then the *Angra*, or *Gulfe das Almadias*. In this Gulfe or Bay are great store of Canoes and Fishermen, because the Sea is smother there, then vpon the Coast. And two leagues North-ward is the Port of *Longo*. And it is a sandie Bay, and a ship may ride within a Musket shot of the shoare in foure or five fathomes.

The Riuer of

Caye, and some Golfam das Almadias.

The Port of Longo.

50 The Towne of *Mani Longo* is three miles from the waters side, and standeth on a great Plaine. This Towne is full of Palme and Plantan Trees, and very fresh: and their Houses are builded vnder the Trees. Their streets are wide and long, and alwayes cleane swept. The King hath his Houses on the West-side, and before his doore hee hath a Plaine, where hee sitteth, when hee hath any feasting or matters of warres to treat of. From this Plaine there goeth a great wide street some Musket shot from the place; and there is a great Market euery day, and it doth begin at twelue of the clocke.

The King hath his Houses on the West-side.

60 Here is great store of Palme-clothes of sundry sorts, which is their Merchandizes: and great store of Victuals, Flesh, Hens, Fish, Wine, Oyle and Corne. Here is also very fine Logwood, which they vse to dye withall: it is the root of the Logwood, which is the best; and *Molango* of Copper. Here is likewise great store of Elephants Teeth, but they sell none in the Market place. The King hath ten great Houses, and is neuer certaine to be found, but in the afternoone, when he commeth to sit. And then he keepeth alwayes one House. The House is very long, and at twelue of the clocke it is full of Noblemen. They sit vpon Carpets vpon the ground. The House is alwayes full of people till mid-night. The last King *Gembe*, neuer vsed to speake in the day, but alwayes in the night. But this King speaketh in the day: howbeit, hee spendeth most of the day with his Wiues. And when the King commeth in, he goeth to the vpper end of the House, where hee hath his seate, as it were a Throne. And when the King is set, they clap their

Fine Logwood Molango, or Copper. Elephants Teeth.

Colour of their children when they are borned.

their hands and salute him, saying in their Language; *Byani Pemba, Ampola, Moneya, Quesinge.*

The King Ma-
comas, or wiues. On the South-side of the Kings Houses he hath a circuit or Village, where his Wiues dwell: and in this circuit no man may come in paine of death. He hath in this place one hundred & fifty Wiues and more. And if any man be taken within this Circuit, if he be with a woman, or doe but speake to her, they be both brought into the Market place, and their heads bee cut off, and their bodies quartered, and lye one day in the streets. The last King *Gymbe*, had foure hundred children by his women.

Strange cu-
stome of drin-
king. When the King drinketh he hath a cup of wine brought, and he that bringeth it hath a Bell in his hand, and as soone as he hath deliuered the cup to the King, hee turneth his face from the King, and ringeth the Bell: and then all that be there fall downe vpon their faces, and rise not till the King haue drunke. And this is very dangerous for any stranger, that knoweth not the fashions: for if any seeth the King drink, he is presently killed, whatsoeuer he be. There was a Boy of twelue yeares, which was the Kings Sonne; This Boy chanced to come vnadvisedly when his Father was in drinking: presently the King commanded he should be well apparelled, & victuals prepared. So the youth did eat & drink: afterward the King commanded that he should be cut in quarters, and carryed about the Citie; with Proclamation that he saw the King drinke. Likewise for his Dyet, when it is dinner time, there is an House of purpose, where hee alwayes eateth; and there his Dyet is set vpon a *Bensa*, like a Table: then hee goeth in and hath the doore shut. So when he hath eaten, then he knocketh and commeth out. So that none see the King eat nor drinke. For it is their Beliefe, that if hee bee seene eating or drinking, hee shall presently dye. And this is an order with all the Kings that now are, or shall succeed, vnlesse they abolish this cruell custome.

Arrogating to
giue raine.
It raineth here
in December. This King is so honoured, as though hee were a God among them: and is called *Sambe* and *Pongo*, that is, God. And they beleue that he can giue them raine, when hee listeth. So once a yeare when it is time to raine; which is in December, the people come to begge raine, and bring their gifts to the King: for none come emptie. Then he appointeth the day, and all the Lords farre and neere come to that Feast with all their troupes, as they goe in the warres. And when all the troupes of men be before the King, the greatest Lord commeth forth with his Bow and Arrowes, and sheweth his skill with his weapons, and then he hath a merrie conceit or iest, that he speaketh before the King, and kneeleth at his feet, and then the King thanketh him for his loue: and in like manner they doe all. The King sitteth abroad in a great place, and hath a Carpet spread vpon the ground, which is some fiftene fathomes about of fine *Ensacks*, which are wrought like Veluet, and vpon the Carpet his seat, which is a fathome from the ground. Then he commandeth his *Dembes* to strike vp, which are Drums, so great that they cannot carrie them, and others that are very great. He hath also eight *Pongos*, which are his Wayters, made of the greatest Elephants Teeth, and are hollowed and scraped light: which play also. And with the Drums and Waytes they make an hellish noyse. After they haue sported and shewed the King pleasure, he ariseth and standeth vpon his Throne, and taketh a Bow and Arrowes in his hand and shooteth to the Skie, and that day there is great reioycing, because sometimes they haue raine. I was once there when the King gaue raine, and it chanced that day to raine mightily, which made the people to haue a great beliefe in their folly.

Some white
children borne
among them. Here are sometimes borne in this Countrey white children, which is very rare among them, for their Parents are *Negroes*. And when any of them are borne, they bee presented vnto the King, and are called *Dondos*. These are as white as any white man. These are the Kings Witches, and are brought vp in Witchcraft, and alwayes wayte on the King. There is no man that dare meddle with these *Dondos*. If they goe to the Market, they may take what they list, for all men stand in awe of them. The King of *Longo* hath foure of them.

Their Mekisso
and Checocke.
A Village cal-
led Kinga. This King is also a Witch and beleueth in two Idols, which are in *Longo*. The one is called, *Mokisso à Longo*, the other is called, *Checocke*. This last is a little blacke Image, and standeth in a little house, at a Village that is called, *Kinga*, which standeth in the landing place of *Longo*. This house of *Checocke* standeth in the high-way, and they that go by clap their hands, which is the courtesie of the Country. Those that be Crafts-men, as Fishermen, Hunters & Witches do, offer to this Idol, that they may haue good lucke. This *Checocke* doth sometimes in the night come and haunt some of his best Beloued: sometimes a man, sometimes a Boy, or a Woman. And then they be franticke for the space of three houes. And whatsoeuer the franticke Person speaketh, that is the will of *Checocke*. And they make a great Feast and dancing at his house.

Mokisso Gom-
beri. There is another *Mokisso*, which is also in *Kinga*, and it is called, *Gomberi*. It is the name of a woman, and is in an houle, where an old Witch dwelleth, and shee is called, *Ganga Gomberi*, which is, the Priest of *Gomberi*. Here once a yeare is a Feast made, and *Ganga Gomberi* speaketh vnder the ground. And this is a common thing euery yeare. I haue asked the *Negroes* what it was, and they told me, that it is a strong *Mokisso*, that is come to abide with *Checocke*.

Colour of
their children
when they are
borne. The children in this Countrey are borne white, and change their colour in two dayes to a perfect blacke. As for example, the *Portugals* which dwell in the Kingdome of *Congo*, haue some-

Sometimes children by the *Negro* Women, and many times the Fathers are deceived, thinking when the child is borne that it is theirs, and within two dayes it proueth the sonne or daughter of a *Negro*; which the *Portugals* doe greatly grieve at: for they reioyce when they haue a *Mulato* child, thought it be a battard.

The Towne of *Longo* standeth in the middest of the foure Lordships; and is gouerned by foure Princes, which are the Kings sisters sonnes. For the Kings sonnes neuer come to be Kings. The first is, *Mani Cabango*. The second, *Mani Salag*. The third *Mani Bock*. The fourth, *Mani Cay*. This *Mani Cay* is next to be King, and hath his Traine and Court as a Prince. And when the King dieth, he commeth presently into the seat of the King. Then *Mani Bock* commeth to *Cay*: *Mani Salag* commeth to *Bock*, and *Mani Cabango* commeth to *Salag*. And then they prouide another to goe to *Cabango*. So there be foure Princes that wait to be Kings, when their turnes come. The Mother of these Princes is called, *Mani Lombo*: and shee is the highest and chiefe woman in all the Land. Shee maketh choice of her husband, and when shee is wearie of him, she putteth him away, and taketh another. Her children are greatly honoured; and whosoever passeth by them, kneele downe and clap their hands, which is the curtesie of the Countrey. These Lordships are champaine grounds, and full of Corne, and Fruit. The men in this Kingdome make great store of Palme-cloth of sundrie sorts, very fine and curious. They are neuer idle: for, they make fine Caps of needle-worke, as they goe in the streets.

There is a place two leagues from the Towne of *Longo*, called *Longeri*, where all their Kings be buried: and it is compassed round about with Elephants teeth pitched in the ground, as it were a Pale, and it is ten roods in compasse.

These people will suffer no white man to be buried in their Land. And if any Stranger or *Portugall* come thither to trade, and chance to die, he is carried in a Boat two miles from the shoare, and cast into the Sea. There was once a *Portugall* Gentleman, that came to trade with them, and had his house on shoare. This Gentleman died, and was buried some foure moneths. That yeere it did not raine so soone as it was wont, which beginneth about December: so that they lacked raine some two moneths. Then their *Mokiso* told them, that the Christian which was buried, must be taken out of the earth, and cast into the Sea. And so he was taken vp, and cast into the Sea; and within three dayes it rained: which made them haue a great beliefe in the Deuill.

§. V P.

Of the Prouinces of Bongo, Calongo, Mayombe, Manikesocke, Motimbaz: of the Ape-monster Pongo, their hunting, Idolatries; and diuers other obseruations.

TO the Eastward of *Longeri* is the Prouince of *Bongo*, and it bordereth vpon *Mocoke*, the Great *Angeca* is King. In this place is great store of Iron, and Palme-cloth, and Elephants teeth, and great store of Corne. To the North-east, is the Prouince of *Cango*, and it is foureene dayes journey from the Towne of *Longo*. This place is full of Mountaines and rockie ground, and full of Woods, and hath great store of Copper. The Elephants in this place doe excell. Here are so many, that the people of *Longo* fetch great store of Elephants teeth, and bring them to the Port of *Longo*.

To the Northwards of *Longo* three leagues is, the Riuer *Quelle*: and on the North side is, the Prouince of *Calongo*. This Countrey is alwaies tilled, and full of Corne: and is all plaine and champaine ground, and hath great store of Honie. Here are two little Villages, that shew at Sea like two homocks: which are the markes to know the Port of *Longo*. And fifteene miles Northward is the Riuer *Nambo*: but it hath no depth for any Barke to goe in. This Prouince, toward the East, bordereth vpon *Bongo*; and toward the North, vpon *Mayombe*, which is nineteene leagues from *Longo*, along the Coast.

This Prouince of *Mayombe* is all Woods and Groues; so ouergrowne, that a man may trauaile twentie dayes in the shadow without any Sunne or heat. Here is no kind of Corne nor Graine: so that the people liueth onely vpon Plantanes, and Roots of sundrie sorts very good, and Nuts, nor any kind of tame Cattell, nor Hens. But they haue great store of Elephants flesh, which they greatly esteeme; and many kind of wild Beasts; and great store of Fish. Here is a great sandy Bay, two leagues to the Southward of Cape *Negro*, which is the Port of *Mayombe*. Sometimes the *Portugals* lade Logwood in this Bay. Here is a great Riuer, called *Banna*: in the Winter it hath no barre, because the generall winds cause a great Sea. But when the Sunne hath his South declination, then a Boat may goe in: for then it is smooth because of the raine. This Riuer is very great and hath many Ilands, and people dwelling in them. The Woods are so couered with Baboones, Monkies, Apes, and Parrots, that it will feare any man to trauaile in them alone. Here are also two kinds of Monsters, which are common in these Woods, and very dangerous.

Foure Princes in Loango.

Burial of their Kings.

No white man may be buried in Longo.

Bongo.

Calongo.

Mayombe.

Cape Negro is in sixteene degrees to the South of the Line.

Banna Riuer.

The

The Pongo, or
Giant-ape.

He told me in
conference
with him, that
one of these
Pongos took a
Negro Boy of
his, which li-
ued a moneth
with them. For
they hurt not
those which
they surprise at
vnawares, ex-
cept they look
on them, which
hee auoyded.
He said, their
highth was like
a mans, but
their bignesse
twice as great.
I saw the Ne-
gro Boy.

Their strength.
What the o-
ther Monster
should be, he
hath forgotten
to relate: and
these papers
came to my
hand since his
death, which
otherwise in
my often con-
ferences I
might have
learned. Per-
haps he mea-
neth the Pig-
mey Pongo-kill-
ers, mentio-
ned.

A Dog sold for
thirtie pounds.
The Towne of
Mani Mayombe.
The author
was twelue
moneths in
this Countrey.
All Angola cir-
cumcised.

His trauaile to
Mani Kefock.
Mani Seat.

Great store of
Logwood.
Mani Kefock.

The greatest of these two Monsters is called, *Pongo*, in their Language: and the lesser is cal-
led, *Engeco*. This *Pongo* is in all proportion like a man, but that he is more like a Giant in sta-
ture, then a man: for he is very tall, and hath a mans face, hollow eyed, with long haire vpon
his browes. His face and eares are without haire, and his hands also. His bodie is full of haire,
but not very thicke, and it is of a dunnish colour. He differeth not from a man, but in his legs,
for they haue no calfe. Hee goeth alwaies vpon his legs, and carrieth his hands clasped on the
nape of his necke, when he goeth vpon the ground. They sleepe in the trees, and build shelters
for the raine. They feed vpon Fruit that they find in the Woods, and vpon Nuts, for they eate
no kind of flesh. They cannot speake, and haue no vnderstanding more then a beast. The Peo-
ple of the Countrey, when they trauaile in the Woods, make fires where they sleepe in the
night; and in the morning, when they are gone, the *Pongoes* will come and sit about the fire,
till it goeth out: for they haue no vnderstanding to lay the wood together. They goe many
together, and kill many *Negroes* that trauaile in the Woods. Many times they fall vpon the
Elephants, which come to feed where they be, and so beate them with their clubbed fists, and
pieces of wood, that they will runne roaring away from them. Those *Pongoes* are neuer taken
aliue, because they are so strong, that ten men cannot hold one of them: but yet they take ma-
ny of their young ones with poisoned Arrowes. The young *Pongo* hangeth on his mothers bel-
lie, with his hands fast clasped about her: so that, when the Countrey people kill any of the
femals, they take the young one, which hangeth fast vpon his mother. When they die among
themselues, they couer the dead with great heapes of boughs and wood, which is commonly
found in the Forrests.

The *Morombes* vse to hunt with their Countrey Dogs, and kill many kinds of little beasts,
and great store of Pheasants. But their Dogs be dumbe and cannot barke at all. They hang
wooden clappers about their neckes, and follow them by the ratling of the clappers. The
Huntsmen haue Petes, which they whistle their Dogs withall. These Dogs in all this Coun-
trie are very little, with prickt eares, and are for the most part red and dunne. The *Portugall* ma-
stie Dog, or any other great Dog are greatly esteemed, because they doe barke. I haue seene a
Dog sold vp in the Countrey for thirtie pounds.

In the Towne of *Mani Mayombe* is a *Fetisso*, called *Maramba*: and it standeth in an high bas-
ket made like an Hiue, and ouer it a great house. This is their house of Religion: for they be-
leeue onely in him, and keepe his lawes, and carrie his Reliques alwaies with them. They are
for the most part Witches, and vse their witchcraft for hunting and killing of Elephants, and
fishing, and helping of sicke and lame men: and to fore-cast iourneyes, whether they shall
speed well or euill. By this *Maramba* are all thefts and murthers tried: for in this Countrey
they vse sometimes to bewitch one another to death. And when any dieth, their neighbours
are brought before *Maramba*: and if it be a great man that dieth, the whole Towne commeth
to sweare. The order is, when they come before *Maramba*, to kneele and claspe *Maramba* in
their armes, and to say, *Emeno, eyge bembet Maramba*: that is, I come to be tried, O *Maramba*.
And if any of them be guiltie, they fall downe starke dead for euer. And if any of them that
sweare hath killed any man or child before, although it be twentie yeeres past, hee presently
dieth. And so it is for any other matter. From this place as farre as it is to Cape *De lops Gon-*
salues, they are all of this superstition. I was twelue moneths in this place, and saw many die
after this sort.

These people be circumcised, as they be through all *Angola*, except the Kingdome of *Congo*,
for they are Christians. And those that will be sworne, to *Maramba*, come to the chiefe *Gan-*
gas, which are their Priests, or Men-witches; as Boyes of twelue yeeres of age, and men and
women. Then the *Gangas* put them into a darke house, and there they remaine certaine dayes
with very hard diet: after this they are let abroad, and commanded not to speake for certaine
dayes, what iniurie soeuer they be offered: so that they suffer great penurie before they bee
sworne. Lastly, they are brought before *Maramba*, and haue two markes cut vpon both their
shoulders before, like an halfe Moone; and are sworne by the bloud that falleth from them, that
they shall be true to him. They are forbidden some one kind of flesh, and some one kind of fish,
with many other toyes. And if they eate any of this forbidden meate, they presently sicken
and neuer prosper. They all carrie a relique of *Maramba* in a little boxe, and hang it about their
neckes, vnder their left armes. The Lord of this Prouince of *Mayombe*, hath the Ensigne or shape
of *Maramba* carried before him, whither soeuer he goeth; and when he sitteth downe, it is let
before him; and when he drinketh his Palme-wine, the first cup is powred at the foote of the
Mokiso, or Idoll; and when he eateth any thing whatsoeuer, the first piece he throweth to-
ward his left hand, with enchanting words.

From Cape *Negro* Northward is a great Lord, called *Mani Seat*; which hath the greatest
store of Elephants teeth of any Lord in the Kingdome of *Longo*: for, his people practise no-
thing else but to kill Elephants. And two of those *Negroes* will easily kill an Elephant with
their darts. And here is great store of Logwood.

There is another Lord to the Eastward, which is called *Mani Kefock*, and he is eight dayes
journey

journey from *Mayombe*. Heere I was with my two *Negro Boyes*, to buy Elephants haire and tayles; and in a moneth I bought twentie thousand, which I sold to the *Portugals* for thirtie Slaves, and all my charges borne. From this place I sent one of my *Negro Boyes* to *Mani* *Seat* with a Looking-glasse: he did esteeme it much, and sent me foure Elephants teeth, (very great) by his owne men; and desired me to cause the *Portugals*, or any other shippe, to come to the Northward of the *Cape Negro*, and hee would make fires where his landing place is: For there was neuer yet any *Portugall*, or other stranger in that place.

Twentie thousand Elephants tayles. A Trade a litle North ward of Cape Negro, which is about sixteene degrees to the South of the line. The *Matimbos* a people of very small stature, a kind of Pigmies. Women vsing Bowes and Arrows. Elephants, whether they shed their teeth.

To the North-east of *Mani Kesock*, are a kind of little people, called *Matimbos*; which are no bigger then Boyes of twelue yeares old, but are very thicke, and liue onely vpon flesh, which they kill in the Woods with their Bowes and Darts. They pay tribute to *Mani Kesock*, and bring all their Elephants teeth and tayles to him. They will not enter into any of the *Marombos* houses, nor will suffer any to come where they dwell. And if by chance any *Maramba*, or people of *Longo* passe where they dwell, they will forsake that place, and go to another. The Women carry Bow and Arrowes as well as the Men. And one of these will walke in the Woods alone, and kill the *Pongos* with their poysoned Arrowes. I haue asked the *Marombos*, whether the Elephant sheddeth his teeth or no? And they say no. But sometimes they finde their teeth in the Woods, but they find their bones also.

When any man is suspected for any offence, he is carried before the King, or before *Mani Bomma*, which is as it were a Iudge vnder the King. And if it be vpon matter that hee denyeth, and cannot be proued but by their oath; then the suspected person is thus sworne. They haue a kind of roote which they call *Imbondo*. This roote is very strong, and is scraped into water. The vertue of this roote is, that if they put too much of it into the water, the person that drinketh it cannot voyd yrine: and so it striketh vp into the braine, as though hee were drunke, and he falleth downe as though he were dead. And those that fall are counted as guiltie, and are punished.

The vertue of the roote *Imbondo*. He told me that this roote makes the water as bitter as Gall (he tasted it) and one roote will serue to try one hundred. They which haue drunke and made water after are cleared, before which if dizziness take them, they cry, *Vndoke, Vndoke*.

In this Countrey none of any account dyeth, but they kill another for him: for they beleeue they dye not of their owne naturall death, but that some other hath bewitched them to death: And all those are brought in by the friends of the dead which they suspect; so that many times there come fise hundred men and women to take the drinke, made of the foresaid roote, *Imbonda*. They are brought all to the High-streete or Market place, and there the master of the *Imbonda* sitteth with his water, and giueth euery one a cup of water by one measure; and they are commanded to walke in a certaine place till they make water, and then they be free: But he that cannot yrine, presently falleth downe, and all the people great and small fall vpon him with their knives, and beate and cut him into pieces. But I thinke the Witch that giueth the water is partiall, and giueth to him whom he will haue to dye the strongest water, but no man can perceiue it that standeth by. And this is done in the Towne of *Longo*, almost euery week in the yeare.

and presently execute them. See my *Relat. l. 7. c. 10.* which I writ from his mouth. Neither may this be ascribed to the vertue of the herbe, but to the vice of the Deuill, a murtherer and his Instruments. The *Ganga* or Priest. And therefore that coniecture seems vnprobable. For how could an ordinary tryall of life where are so many so perilous; and therefore curious (more then) spectators, not perceiue this in so long and frequent experience, which costs so many their dearest friends their dearest life? I thinke rather that this was the transcribers coniecture. I remember no such scruple in his Narrations to me, who knowes not the Deuils ambition of Deity, and cruell Misanthropie or man-hating? This is his Apish imitation of Diuinity, and those Rites prescribed for triall in case of Iealousie, *Num. 5.* In *Guinea* like triall is made by Salt, and also by the *Fetisseroes* pot. In *Benomotapa*, by a water also: in the *Maromba* triall before, and *Motamba* triall by hot Iron in *Angola*; the Plough-shares in old times with vs: and the tryall of Witches still in the East parts by water, &c. were not vnlike in deceiueable superstition.

§. VII.

Of the Zebra and Hippopotamus: The Portugals Warres in those parts: The Fishing, Graine, and other things remarkable.

IN this Kingdome there is no kind of tame Cattle but Goats; for none other Cattle will liue here. Oxen and Kine haue beene brought hither, but they presently dye: The Hennes in this place doe so abound, that a man may buy thirtie for the worth of sixe pence in Beads. Heere is store of Pheasants, and great plenty of Partridges, and wilde Fowle. Here is a kind of Fowle that liues in the Land bigger then a Swan, and they are like an Heron, with long legges, and long neckes, and it is white and blacke, and hath in her breast a bare place without Feathers, where she striketh with her Bill. This is the right Pelican, and not those Sea Birds which the *Portugals* call Pelicans, which are white, and as bigge as Geese, and those abound in this Countrey also.

Plenty of wilde Fowle. The right Pelican.

Here is also the *Zeuera* or *Zebra*, which is like an horse; but that his mane, his taile, his strakes of diuers colours downe his sides and legges, doe make a difference. These *Zeueras* are all wilde, and

The *Zeuera* or *Zebra*.

The Hippopotamus or Riuer Horfe.
A present remedy for the Fluxe.

and liue in great heards, and will suffer a man to come within shot of them, and let them shoote three or foure times at them before they will runne away.

Moreouer, there are great store of Sea or Riuer Horfes, which feed alway on the Land; and liue onely by Graffe, and they be very dangerous in the water. They are the biggest creature in this Countrey, except the Elephant: They haue great vertue in the clawes of their left forefoote, and haue foure clawes on euery foot, like the clawes of an Oxe. The Portugals make Rings of them, and they are a present remedy for the Fluxe.

The ZEVERA or ZEBRA.



The Port-wars in Congo.

The Generall of the blacke Campe.

The Portugals make warre against the Negroes in this manner. They haue out of Congo a Noble-man, which is knowne to be a good Christian, and of good behauiour. He bringeth out of Congo some one hundred Negroes that are his followers. This *Macicongo* is made *Tandala*, or Generall ouer the blacke Campe; and hath authoritie to kill, to put downe Lords, and make Lords, and hath all the cheefe doings with the Negroes. And when any Lord commeth to obey; first he commeth to the *Tandala* and bringeth his present; as Slaues, Kine, and Goats: Then the *Tandala* carrieth him before the Portugall Gouvernour, and bringeth two Slaues for the Gouvernours Page before he goeth in. Then he must haue a great gift for the Gouvernour; which is sometimes, thirtie or fortie Slaues, besides Cattle. And when he commeth before the Gouvernour, he kneeleth downe and clappeth his hands, and falleth downe with his face vpon the ground, and then he riseth and saith; *I haue beene an enemy, and now I protest to be true, and neuer more to lift my hand against you.* Then the Gouvernour calleth a Souldier which hath deserued a reward, and giueth the Lord to him. This Souldier seeth that he haue no wrong: and the Lord acknowledgeth him to be his Master; and he doth maintaine the Souldier, and maketh him rich. Also, in the warres he commandeth his Masters house to be built before his owne: and whatsoever he hath taken that day in the warres, he parteth with his Master. So that there is no Portugall Souldier of any account, but he hath his *Negro Sona*, or Lord.

Their Fishing on the Coast.

They vse vpon this Coast to Fish with harping Irons, and waite vpon a great Fish that cometh once a day to feed along the shoare, which is like a *Grampas*. Hee runneth very neere the shoare, and driueth great skuls of Fish before him: and the Negroes runne along the shoare, as fast as they are able to follow him, and strike their Harping Irons round about him, and kill great store of Fish, and leaue them vpon the Sand till the Fish hath done feeding; and then they come and gather their Fish vp. This Fish will many times runne himselfe on ground, but they will

will presently shoue him off againe, which is as much as foure or fise men can doe. They call him *Emboa*, which is in their speech, *A Dogge*; and will by no meanes hurt or kill any of them. Also, they vse in the Bayes and Riuers, where shoald water is, to Fish with Mats, which are made of long Rushes, and they make them of an hundred fathoms long. The Mats swim vpon the Water, and haue long Rushes hanged vpon one edge of the Mat, and so they draw the Mat in compasse, as we doe our Nets. The Fishes fearing the Rushes that hang downe, spring out of the water, and fall vpon the Mat that lyeth flat on the water, and so are taken.

A strange kind of fishing with Mats.

They haue foure sorts of Corne in *Longo*: The first, is called *Mafanga*, and it groweth vpon a straw as bigge as a Reede, and hath an eare a foote long, and is like Hemp-seed. The second, is called *Masembala*. This is of great increase: for of one kernell there springs foure or fise Canes, which are tenne foote high, and they beare halfe a pinte of Corne a peece. This graine is as big as Tares, and very good. Thirdly, they haue another that groweth low like Grasse, and is very like Mustard-seed: and this is the best. They haue also the great *Guiney Wheate*, which they call *Maf-impota*. This is the least esteemed.

Foure sorts of corne in *Longo*.

They haue very good Peason, somewhat bigger then ours: but they grow not as ours do. For the poodes grow on the rootes vnderneath the ground; and by their leaues they know when they be ripe. They haue another kind of Peason, which they call *Wandos*. This is a little tree; and the first yeare that it is planted, it beareth no fruit: but after it beareth fruit three yeares, and then it is cut downe.

Two sorts of Peason: how they grow.

Their Plantan trees beare fruit but once, and then are cut downe: and out of the root thereof spring three or foure young ones.

They haue great store of Hony, which hangeth in the *Elicondy Trees*. They gather it with an hollow piece of Wood or Chest, which they hang in the top of the Tree, and once a yeare it is full, by smoake rewarding the laborious Creatures with robbery, exile, death.

Their Hony.

THIS *Alicunde* or *Elicondy Tree* is very tall, and exceeding great; some as big as twelue men can fathome, spreading like an *Oake*; some of them are hollow, and from the liberall skies receiue such plentie of water, that they are *Hospitall* entertainers of thousands in that thirstie Region.

I added this that followes out of his owne reports to my selfe. Other like things you may find from his relation scattered in my Pilgrimage.

Once haue I knowne three or foure thousand remaine at one of those Trees, and thence receiuing all their watery promise for foure and twentie houres, and yet not emptie. The Negroes climbed up with pegges of hard Wooke (which that softer easily receiueth, the smoothnesse not admitting other climbing) and I thinke that some one Tree holds fortie tunne of water. This Tree affords no lesse bountifull hospitality to the backe then belly, yeelding (as her belly to their bellies, so) her backe to their backs: excepting that this is better from the younger Trees, whose tenderer backs being more seasonable for Discipline, are soundly beaten (for mans fault, whence came the first nakednesse) whereby one fathome cut from the Tree, is extended into twentie, and is presently fit for wearing, though not so fine as the *Iuzanda* tree yeelds. This tree yeelds excellent cloath from the inner backe thereof by like bearing. Of their *Palme Trees*, which they keepe with watering and cutting euery yeare; they make *Velvets*, *Sattins*, *Taffataes*, *Damaskes*, *Sarcenets*, and such like; out of the leaues cleansed and purged, drawing long threads, and euen for that purpose. They draw Wine (as is said) from the *Palme Tree*; there is another kind of *Palme Tree*, which beareth a fruite good for the stomacke, and for the Linner most most admirable.

The *Iuzanda*.

One *Crocodile* was so huge and greedy, that he deuoured an *Alibamba*, that is, a chained company of eight or nine *Slaves*; but the indigestible Iron paid him his wages, and murdered the murtherer, found after in his belly. I haue seene them watch their prey, haling in gennet, Man or other Creature into the water. But one *Souldier* thus wrapt in shallower water, drew his knife, tooke his Taker in the belly and slue him.

CHAP. IIII.

A report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Affrica: Gathered by
 PHILIPPO PIGAFETTA,* out of the Discourses of Master ED-
 VVARD LOPES a Portugall, translated out of Italian into
 English, by Master ABRAHAM HARTVELL,
 and here abreuiated.

* Anno 1588.

§. I.

The iourney by Sea from Lisbone to the Kingdome of Congo: Of the Ayre,
 Winds, Raines, Temperature thereof.



IN the yeare 1588. when Don Sebastian King of Portugall, embarked himselfe
 for the Conquest of the Kingdome of Morocco: Edward Lopes borne at Be-
 neuentum (a place foure and twentie miles distant from Lisbone, neere vpon
 the South shore of the Riuer Tagus) sayled likewise in the moneth of Aprill
 towards the hauen of Loanda, situate in the Kingdome of Congo, in a ship cal-
 led S. Anthony, belonging to an Vncle of his, and charged with diuers mar-
 chandises for that Kingdome: And it was accompanied with a Patache (which is a small vessell)
 whereunto the ship did continually yeeld good guard, and ministred great releefe, conducting
 and guiding the same with lights in the night time, to the end it should not lose the way, which
 the shippe it selfe did keepe. He arriued at the Island of Madera, belonging to the King of
 Portugall, distant from Lisbone about fixe hundred miles, where he remained fiftene daies, to
 furnish himselfe with fresh Victuall and Wine; which in great abundance groweth in that
 Island, yea and in mine opinion the best in the world, whereof they carry abroad great store
 into diuers Countries, and especially into England. He provided there also sundry other Con-
 fections and Conserues of Sugar, which in that Island are made and wrought both in great
 quantity, and also singular excellency. From this Island they departed, leauing all the Cana-
 ries belonging to Castile, and tooke hauen at one of the Islands of Cape Verde, called S. Anthony,
 without hauing any sight thereof before they were come vpon it: and from thence to another cal-
 led S. Iacopo, which commandeth all the rest, and hath a Bishop & a Chaplaine in it, that rule and
 gouerne them: and here they provided themselves againe of victuals. These Islands of Cape Verde
 were established by Ptolomee in the Tables of his Geography, to be the beginning of the West, toge-
 ther with the Cape or Promontorie which he termeth *Coron vltimum*, or the Islands Macarie or
 Blessed, which we commonly call *Fortunate*. In these Islands of Cape Verde: the Portugals do often
 arriue, and in those Countries do Traffike with sundry marchandises, as little balles of diuers
 coloured Glasse, and other such things, wherein those people doe greatly delight, and Holland
 cloath, and Caps and Kniues, and coloured Clothes: In exchange whereof they bring backe a-
 gaine, Slaues, Waxe, Hony, with other kind of food, and Cotten-cloth of sundry colours.

Now the shippe called S. Anthony, holding on his course, met with the generall windes,
 * and then turned their Prow and their Sayles, by North, and by North-west on the right hand
 towards the Kingdome of Congo. And sayling on-wards closely with the halfe shippe, they
 came in twelue daies and twelue nights, to the Island of S. Elena, not looking for the same, nor
 thinking of it. This Island was so called, because on the Feast day of S. Helena, which falleth
 vpon the third day of May, it was by the Portugals first descried. And as it is very small, so is
 it (as it were) singular by it selfe: for being situate in the height of sixteene degrees towards
 the Antarctike, it containeth in compasse nine miles about, and is farre distant from the firme
 Land.

From the Island of S. Helena, they made sayle with the same weather, and so within the
 space of seuentene daies came to the hauen of Loanda, which is in the Prouince of Congo, the
 winds being somewhat more calme then they were afore. This is a very sure and great hauen,
 so called of an Island of the same name, whereof we shall speake hereafter.

There are two courses of sayling from the Island of Cape Verde to Loanda; the one of them
 now declared, which being neuer vsed afterwards, was at the first attempted and perfor-
 med by the same shippe wherein Signor Odoardo went, being then guided by Francisco Mar-
 tinez the Kings Pilot, a man very greatly experienced in those Seas, and the first that euer con-
 ducted vessell by that way: the other is atchieued by passing along the Coast of the firme Land.
 From the Island of San Iacomo, they came to Cape Das Palmas, and from thence direct them-
 selues to the Island of San Thomas, which lyeth vnder the Equinoctiall; so called, because it
 was

Patache i. a
 Brigandine or
 a Pinnasie.

The Island of
 Madera.

The Canaries.

Isle of S. An-
 thony.

Isle of S. Iames.

* These gene-
 rall winds are
 the *Etesij*,
 which blow
 from some
 Northerly
 point vnto
 twentie nine
 degrees South
 latitude. For a-
 bout fixe mo-
 neths together
 for this cause
 they vse to set
 off toward Bra-
 zil, to gaine the
 wind and re-
 turne to Congo.

Isle of S. Elena,

all of Eben-
 wood.

The Port of

Loanda.

De las Palmas.

The second

course of say-
 ling to Loanda.

The Isle of S.

Thomas.

was discovered vpon that day, wherein the Feast of that Apostle is vsed to be celebrated. It is distant from the firme Land, one hundred and eightie miles, right against the Riuer, called *Gaban*, which is so termed because it is in shape very like to that kind of Vesture, that it is called a *Gaban*, or a Cloke.

The Hauen thereof is fore-closed with an Iland that raiseth it selfe in the Channell of the Riuer, whereunto the *Portugals* doe sayle with small Barkes from Saint *Thomas* Iland, carrying thither such things as vsually they carrie to the Coast of *Guinea*, and from thence carrying backe with them Iuorie, Waxe and Honey, Oyle of Palme, and *Blacke-moore* slaues. Neere to the Iland of Saint *Thomas*, towards the North lyeth another Iland, called the Ile of the Prince, distant from the firme Land one hundred and fife miles, being of the same condition and Trafficke, that the Ile of Saint *Thomas* is, although in circuit some-what lesse. This Iland of Saint *Thomas* is in fashion almost round, and in breadth containeth sixtie miles, and in compasse one hundred and eightie. Very rich it is and of great trafficke, discovered at the first and conquered by the *Portugals*, at such time as they began the conquest of the *Indies*. It hath diuers Hauens, but the principall and chiefeft of all, whereinto the Vessels arriuing there, doe with-draw themselves, is in the place, where the Citie standeth.

The Hauen of
S. Thomas.

The Ile of the
Prince.
The Ile of S.
Thomas.
Great trafficke.

The Iland breedeth an infinite deale of Sugar, and almost all kinds of victuals. In the Citie there are some Churches, and a Bishop, with many Clerkes and one Chaplain or Priest. There is also a Castle, with a Garrison and Artillerie in it, which beate vpon the Hauen, beeing a verie great and a safe Port, where many ships may ride. But a very strange and admirable thing it is, that when the *Portugals* did first come thither, there was no Sugar there planted, but they brought it thither from other Countreies: as they did Ginger also, which tooke roote, and grew there in most abundant manner. The soyle indeed is moyst, and as it were appropriated to foster the Sugar-cane, which without any other watering, multiplyeth of it selfe, and fructifieth infinitely: the reason whereof is, because the dew falleth there like raine, and moysteneth the Earth.

Sugar.
Churches.
A Castle.

Ginger.

There are in this Iland aboue seuentie Houses or Presses for making of Sugar, and every Presse hath many Cottages about it as though it were a Village, and there may bee about some three hundred persons that are appointed for that kind of worke: They doe every yeare loade about fortie great ships with Sugar. True it is, indeed, that not long agoe the Wormes (as it were a plague to that Land) haue deuoured the roots of the Canes, and destroyed the fruits of their Sugar, in such sort as now of the fortie ships, they doe not loade aboue fife or sixe Vessels with that Merchandize.

Seuentie houses
to make
Sugar in.

Wormes hurt-
full.

The Iland of Saint *Thomas* holdeth Trafficke with the people that dwell in the firme Land, which do vsually resort to the mouthes or entries of their Riuers: The first whereof (to begin withall) is named the Riuer of *Fernando di Poo*, that is to say, of *Fernando Pouldre*, who did first discover the same, and lyeth in fife degrees towards our Pole. Right against the mouth of it, riseth an Iland of the same name, lying thirtie and sixe miles distant from it. The second Riuer is called *Bora*, that is to say, Filth: The third, *La riniera del Campo*. The fourth, *di San Benedetto*. and the fifth, that of *Angra*, which in the mouth of it hath an Iland, called *di Corisco*, that is to say, Thunder. All these doe Trafficke the same Merchandizes, which we mentioned before.

The Riuer and
Iland of Fer-
nando Poo.

Riuer, Bora:
La Riniera del
Campo.

Riuer, di San
Benedetto.

Riuer, di Angra

The Ile of
Corisco.

The Cape of
Lupo Gonzale.

Zaire, the grea-
test Riuer of
Congo.

* Here begin-
neth the se-
cond chapter

as it is in the
Booke, which

method I haue

for breuitical-
tered, and

brought to
longer Para-
graphs.

The tempera-
ture of the

Kingdome.

The complexi-
on of the peo-
ple.

But to returne to the Voyage of Saint *Thomas*: departing from thence towards the South, we found the Cape of *Lupo Gonzale*, which standeth in the altitude of one degree beyond the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarctike, one hundred and fife miles distant from the foresaid Ile. And from thence they saile with Land winds, creeping still all along the Coast, and euery day casting Anchor in some safe place either behind some point, or else in some Hauen, vntill they come to the mouth of the greatest Riuer in *Congo*, called in their Tongue *Zaire*, which signifieth in *Latine*, *Sapio*, (in *English*, I know.) From whence if yee will goe through to the Hauen of *Loanda*, ye must saile the length of one hundred and fourescore miles.

The Kingdome * of *Congo* in the middle part thereof, is distant from the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarctike (iust where the Citie called *Congo* doth lye) seuen degrees and two thirds: so that it standeth vnder the Region which ancient Writers thought to be vnhabitable, and called it *Zona Torrida*.

The habitation there is exceeding good, the Ayre beyond all credit temperate, the Winter nothing so rough, but is rather like Autumne in *Rome*. The people vse no Furrer, nor change of apparell, they come not neere the fire, neither is the cold in the tops of the Mountaynes greater then that which is in the Plaines: but generally in Winter time, the Ayre is more hot then it is in Summer, by reason of their continuall raines, and especially about two houres before and after noone, so that it can hardly be endured. The men are blacke, and so are the women, and some of them also somewhat inclining to the colour of the wild Oliue. Their hayre is blacke and curled, and some also red. The stature of the men is of an indifferent bignesse, and excepting their blacknesse they are very like to the *Portugals*. The apples of their eyes are of diuers colours, blacke and of the colour of the Sea. Their lips are not thicke, as the *Nubians* and other *Negroes* are: and so likewise their countenances are some fat, some leane, and some betweene both, as in our Countreies there are, and not as the *Negroes* of *Nubia* and *Guinea*, which are very

Small difference between their dayes and nights. Their Winter and Summer.

deformed. Their nights and their dayes doe not greatly differ, for in all the whole yeare yee shall not discerne the difference betweene them to bee more then a quarter of an houre.

The Winter in this Countrey (to speake at large) beginneth at the same time, that our spring heere beginneth, that is to say, when the Sunne entreth into the Northerne Signes, in the moneth of March. And at the same time that wee haue our Winter, when the Sunne entreth into the Southerne Signes in the moneth of September, then beginneth their Summer. In their Winter it rayneth fve monethes almost continually, that is to say, in Aprill, May, Iune, Iuly and August. Of faire dayes they haue but a few, because the raine falleth so greatly, and the drops of it are so big, as it is a wonder to see. These waters doe maruellously supple the ground, which is then very dry, by reason of the heate of the Summer past, wherein it neuer rayneth for the space of sixe monethes together, and after the ground is full, and as it were ingorged with water, then do the Riuer swell beyond all credit, and are so replenished with troubled waters, that all the Countrey is surrounded by them.

The winds in this Countrey in Winter time

The winds which blow in these Moones through all this Region, are the very selfe-same that *Cesar* calleth by a Greeke word *Etesy*, that is to say, *Ordinary every yeare*: whereby are meant those winds that in the *Card* are noted from the North to the West, and from the North to the North-east. These winds do driue the Cloudes to the huge and high mountaynes, whereupon they rush with very great violence, and being there stayed of their owne nature, they are afterwards melted into water. So that when it is likely to raine, you shall see the Cloudes standing (as it were) vpon the tops of their highest hills.

The cause of the increase of *Nilus*, and other Riuer in *Aethiopia*. The Riuer *Niger*, or *Senega*, runneth Westward.

And hence ariseth the increasing and augmentation of the Riuer that spring in *Aethiopia*, and especially of *Nilus* and others, that discharge themselues into the East and West Ocean. And in the Kingdome of *Congo* and *Guinea*, through which runneth the Riuer *Niger*, so called by the ancient Writers; and by the new, termed *Senega*; you shall see the said Riuer increase at the very selfe-same time that *Nilus* doth; but indeed carrieth his waters towards the West, directly against the Islands of *Cape Verde*, whereas *Nilus* runneth by the Ile of *Meroe* in *Egypt* towards the North, refreshing and watering all those Regions that are full of scorching Heates, and Wildernes, and Deserts.

Nilus runneth North-ward. It seldome raineth in *Egypt* but onely in *Alexandria*, and the rains which there fall are vnwholsome.

Now, for as much as in the Regions of *Congo* and *Aethiopia*, it is alwayes woont to raine every yeare at a certaine set time, the swelling and ouer-flowing of the Riuer there, is of no great consideration, nor any strange accident to make account of. But in the Countries, that are farre distant and very dry, as in *Egypt*, where it neuer raineth (sauing onely in *Alexandria*, and the Territories thereof) it is accounted a marvellous matter, to see euery yeare so great a quantitie of thicke troubled water come vpon them, from places so remote, at a certaine set time, without missing: which water doth quicken the ground, and ministreth food both to man and beast.

Their winds in Summer time.

This is then the cause of the increase of *Nilus*, and other Riuer in that Climate, whereof the Ancients of olde times made so great doubt, and inuented so many Fables and Errours.

But in their Summer, which is our Winter, there blow other winds that are quite opposite to the former, euen in *Diametro*, and are noted in the *Card*, from the South to the Southeast, which out of all question must needs be cold, because they breathe from the contrarie Pole Antarcticke, and coole all those Countries, euen for all the World as our winds in Summer doe coole our Countries. And whereas, there with them, these winds doe make the Ayre very faire and cleere, so doe they neuer come vnto vs, but they bring with them great store of raine.

Cooling of hot Regions by the breeze or winds.

And certainly, if the breath of these winds did not refresh and coole these Countries of *Aethiopia*, and *Congo*, and other places neere about them, it were not possible for them to endure the heate, considering that euen in the night time they are constrained to hang two couerings ouer them to keepe away the heate. The same cooling and refreshing by winds, is common also to the Inhabitants of the Ile of *Candie*, and of the Islands in *Archipelago*, and of *Cyprus*, and of *Asia* the lesse, and of *Soria*, and of *Egypt*, which doe liue (as it were) with this refreshing of the fore-said winds of the North-west, and of the West: so that they may well bee called as they are in Greeke, *Zephers*, *quasi* *ζωοφόροι*, breeders of life.

No Snow nor Ice in *Aethiopia* or *Congo*.

Let it be also remembred, that in the mountaines of *Aethiopia*, and of *Congo*, and the Regions neere adioyning, there falleth no Snow, neither is there any at all in the very tops of them, sauing onely towards the Cape of *Good Hope*, and certaine other hills, which the *Portugals* call, *Sierra Nevada*, that is to say, the Snowie Mountaines. Neither is there any Ice or Snow to bee found in all the Countrey of *Congo*, which would be better esteemed there then Gold, to mingle with their drinckes: So that the Riuer there doe not swell and increase by melting of Snow, but because the raine doth fall out of the Cloudes for fve whole Moones continually together, that is to say, in Aprill, May, Iune, Iuly, and August: the first raine sometimes beginning on the fifteenth day, and sometimes after. And this is the cause why the new waters of *Nilus*, which are so greatly desired and expected by the Inhabitants there, doe arriue sooner or later in *Egypt*.

¶ I I.

Of the circuit of the Kingdome of Congo, and of the borders and confines thereof; As also of diuers bordering Nations: and remarkable Rarities therein.

THe Kingdome of Congo, is distinguished by foure borders: The first, of the West, which is watered with the Ocean Sea: The second, of the North: The third, of the East; and the last, which is towards the South.

And to beginne with the border lying vpon the Sea, the first part of it is in the Bay; called *Seno delle Vacche*, and is situate in the height of thirteene degrees vpon the Antarctike-side, and stretcheth all along the Coast vnto foure degrees and a halfe on the North-side, neere to the Equinoctiall; which space containeth six hundred and thirtie miles. This *Seno delle Vacche*, is a Hauen but of a moderate bignesse, and yet a good one, and able to receiue any ship that arriueeth. It is called *Seno delle Vacche*, that is to say, The Bay of Cowes, because thereabouts there are pasturing very many Herds of that kind of Cattle. The Countrey is plaine, and aboundeth with all manner of victuals, and there you shall find some kind of Metals to be publickely sold, especially siluer, and it is subiect to the King of *Angola*.

The Westerne border of Congo.
The Bay of Cowes.

A little more forward lyeth the Riuer *Bengleli*, where a certaine Lord, beeing subiect to the King of *Angola*, doth specially command: and about the said Riuer is a great compasse of Countrey, much like to the former. And a little further runneth the Riuer *Songa*, so called by the *Portugals*: wherein you may sayle fife and twentie miles vpwards in a Countrey also like to the former.

The Riuer Bengleli.
The Riuer Songa.

Then followeth the Riuer *Coanza*, which issueth out of a little Lake, fed by a certaine Riuer that floweth out of a great Lake, being the chiefe and principall Spring or Head of *Nilus*, whereof in the other part of this Discourse wee shall haue occasion to write. *Coanza*, at the mouth of it is two miles broad, and you may sayle with small Barkes vpwards against the streame about one hundred miles, but hath no Hauen. And here it is to bee noted, that all this Countrey which we haue here described, was wont to be subiect to the King of Congo: but a while agoe the Gouvernour of that Countrey is become the absolute Lord thereof, and professeth himselfe to be a friend to the King of Congo, but not his Vassall: and yet sometimes he sendeth the King some Present, in manner of a tribute.

The Riuer Coanza.

Beyond the Riuer *Coanza*, is the Hauen of *Loanda*, being in ten degrees, made (as it is said) by a certaine Iland, called *Loanda*, which signifieth in that Language, *Bald*, or *Shauen*; because it is a Countrey without any hills and very low: for, indeed, it scarce rayseth it selfe aboue the Sea. This Iland was framed of the sand and durt of the Sea, and of the Riuer *Coanza*, whose waues meeting together, and the filthy matter sinking downe there to the bottome, in continuance of time it grew to be an Iland. It may be about twentie miles long, and one mile broad at the most, and in some places but onely a bow-shoot. But it is a maruellous thing, that in such a sandie ground, if you shall digge to the depth of two or three hand-breadthes, you shall find sweet water, the best in all those Countries. Wherein also there is a very strange effect, that when the Ocean ebbeth, this water becommeth somewhat salt, but when it floweth to the top, it is most sweet. A thing that falleth out also in the Iland of *Cadis* in *Spaine*, by the report and testimonie of *Strabo*.

Strange water springs.

This Iland is the Mine of all the Money which the King of Congo spendeth, and all the people thereabouts. For vpon the shoares you shall haue certaine women, that vse to diue and ducke into the Sea, two yards deepe and more, and fill their baskets with sand, and afterwards diuide the grauell from certaine small Shel-fishes that are among it, which are called *Lumache*: and when these *Lumache* are seuered by themselves, then doe they picke out the Males from the Females, which they may easily doe, because the Female is more fine then the Male, and greatly esteemed for her colour, which is very neat, bright and pleasant to the sight. These *Lumache* doe breed in all the shoares of the Kingdome of Congo, but the best of all are those of *Loanda*, because they looke very fine, and of a very bright colour, some gray or ash-coloured, and some of other colours not so precious.

The money of Congo.

The Lumache of Loanda.

And here you must note that gold and siluer and metall is not of any estimation, nor in vse of money in these Countries, but onely these *Lumache*: so that neither with gold nor siluer, in masse or in coine you shall buy any thing there, but with these *Lumache* you shall buy both gold and siluer, or any thing else.

No metall-money.

In this Iland there are seuen or eight Townes, called in that Countrey Language, *Libata*, the principall whereof is *Spirito Sancto*: and therein dwelleth the Gouvernour which is sent from Congo, to minister Iustice and to gather the treasure of the moneyes of these *Lumache*. Here are also Goates and Sheepe, and Bores in great numbers, which being tame at the first, doe afterwards become wild and liue in the Woods. Here groweth also a tree, called *Enxanda*, which

Spirito Sancto.

The tree Enxanda.

Cloth made of
the barke of a
tree.

is a great one and alwayes greene, and endued with a singular qualitie. For from the boughes of it that sprout vpwards, there hang downe certaine threeds (as it were) which creeping in- to the Earth doe take roots, and out from these roots doe rise other trees, and so they multiply. And within the outmost barke thereof, there groweth a certaine kind of Pill like fine Linnen, which being beaten and cleansed, they spread out in length and in breadth, and therewith they cloath their men and women, that are of the basest sort.

Their Boats or
Canoes.

In this Iland they haue certaine vessels made of the bodies of Palme-trees, ioyned together and framed after the manner of our Boates, with a prow and a sterne, wherein they passe from place to place, both with Oares and Sayles. In these Boates they vse to fish about the Riuer, which are indeed exceeding full of fish, and sometime also they will goe ouer to the firme Land.

Shel-fishes
growing on
trees.
Ambixamatate.

In that part of this Iland, which is towards the maine Land, in certaine low places there grow certaine trees (which when the water of the Ocean ebbeth) discouer themselves: and at the feet thereof you shall find certaine other Shel-fishes cleauing as fast to the trees as may bee, ha- uing within them a great fish as bigge as a mans hand, and very good meate. The people of the Countrey know them very well, and call them *Ambixamatate*, that is to say, The fish of the Rocke. The shels of these fishes, they vse to burne, and thereof make very good Lime to build withall. And being like the corke or barke of the tree, which is called *Manghi*, they dresse their Oxe-hides withall, to make their shooe soles the stronger.

What kind of
money is vsed
in sundrie
Countries.

To be brieft, this Iland bringeth forth neither Corne nor Wine, but there is great store of vi- suall brought thither from all parts thereabouts, to fetch away these *Lumache*. For as in all o- ther places all things may be had for money of metall, so all things here are had for *Lumache*. Whereby may be noted, that not onely here in this Kingdome of *Congo*, but also in her Neigh- bour *Ethiopia* and in *Africa*, and in the Kingdome of *China*, and certaine others of the *Indies*; they vse moneyes of other matter then of metall, that is to say, neither gold, nor siluer, nor cop- per, nor any other mixture tempered of these.

Pepper mo-
ney, &c.

For in *Ethiopia*, their money is *Pepper*: and in the Kingdome of *Tombuto*, which is about the Riuer *Niger*, otherwise called *Senega*, their money is Cockles or Shel-fish: and among the *Azanaghi*, their moneyes are *Porcellette*: and in the Kingdome of *Bengala*, likewise they vse *Porcellette*, and metall together. In *China* they haue certaine Shel-fishes, called also *Porcellette*, which they vse for their money: and in other places Paper stamped with the Kings Seale, and the barkes of the tree called *Gelsomora*.

Great store of
Whales.

Neere to this Iland towards the outward Coast to the Sea, there swimme an innumerable sort of Whales, that looke blacke, and fighting one with another doe kill themselves: which afterwards being by the waues cast vp vpon the shoare, as bigge as a midling Merchants ship; the *Negroes* go forth with their Boats to fetch them, and to take the Oyle out of them, which being mingled with Pitch they vse to trimme their Vessels withall. Vpon the ridges or backs of these creatures, there grow many Shel-fishes, made like Snailles, Cockles, and Whelkes: whereof *Signor Odoardo* affirmed, that he had seene great store. He was also of opinion that Amber commeth not from these fishes. For ouer all the Coast of *Congo*, where there is an infinite number of them, you shall not find either Ambergriz, or any other Amber, blacke or white in any place.

Villa di San
Paulo.

Vpon the firme Land directly ouer against the Iland is a Towne, called *Villa di San Paulo*, al- together inhabited with *Portugals*, and their Wiues, which they brought with them out of *Spaine*: and yet it is not fortified. All this Channell is very full of fish, especially of *Sardinaes*, and of *Anchiones*; whereof there is so great store, that in the Winter time they will of them- selves leape vp to Land.

Store of fish.

Other kinds of most excellent fishes there are, as Soles, and Sturge- ons, and Barbelles, and all manner of daintie fish; and great Crabs, in strange abundance, and all very wholsome: so that the greatest part of the people that dwell about the bankes there, doe liue vpon them.

The Riuer
Bengo.

Into this Channell runneth the Riuer called *Bengo*, which is a very great one, and nauigable vpwards twentie fve miles. This Riuer with that other of *Coanza*, whereof I told you before, do make the Ile of *Loanda*, because when their waters doe meete together, they leaue their sand & filth behind them, and so increase the Iland. There runneth also into it another great Riuer cal- led *Dande*; which will receiue Vessels of an hundred tunne: and then another Riuer called *Lem- ba*, which neither hath Hauen, neither doe any ships enter into it. Very neere vnto this there is also another Riuer called *Ozone*, which issueth out of the same Lake, whence *Nilus* likewise springeth, and it hath a Hauen. Next to *Ozone*, there is another called *Loze*, without any Ha- uen: and then another great one with a Hauen called *Ambriz*, which runneth within foure leagues neere to the Royall Citie of *Congo*. Last of all, is the Riuer *Lelunda*, which signifieth a Trowt fish, and watereth the roots of that great Hill, whereon the Palace of *Congo* standeth, called by the *Portugals*, the *Oteiro*. This Riuer *Lelunda*, springeth out of the same Lake, from whence *Coanza* issueth, and taketh into it by the way another Riuer, that commeth from the great Lake: and when it doth not raine, then you may passe ouer *Lelunda* on foot, because it hath so little store of water in it.

The Riuer
Dande.

The Riuer
Lembe.

The Riuer
Ozone.

The Riuer
Loze.

The Riuer *Am-
briz*.

The Riuer
Lelunda.

The Oteiro of
Congo.

Next vnto this is the *Zaire*, a huge Riuer and a large, and indeed the greatest in all the King-
dome of *Congo*. The originall of this Riuer commeth out of three Lakes: one is the great Lake
from whence *Nilus* springeth; the second, is the little Lake aboue mentioned; and the third, is
the second great Lake which *Nilus* engendreth. And certainly, when you will consider the a-
bundance of water that is in this Riuer, you will say, that there was no need to haue any fewer
or lesser springs to make so huge a streame as this carrieth. For in the very mouth of it, which is
the onely entrance into it, the Riuer is eight and twentie miles broad, and when it is in the
height of his increase he runneth fresh water fortie or fiftie miles into the Sea, and sometimes
eightie, so that the passengers doe refresh themselves withall, and by the troublefomenesse of the

10 water they know the place where they are. It is nauigable vpwards with great Barkes a-
bout fise and twentie miles, vntill you come to a certaine straight betweene the Rockes, where
it falleth with such a horrible noyse, that it may be heard almost eight miles. And this place is
called by the *Portugals*, *Cachuiera*, that is to say, a Fall, or a Cataract, like to the Cataracts of
Nilus. Betweene the mouth of this Riuer, and the fall thereof, there are diuers great Ilands
well inhabited, with Townes, and Lords obedient to the King of *Congo*, which somtimes for the
great enmitie that is among them, doe warre one against another in certaine Boats, hollowed
out of a stocke of a tree, which is of an vnmeasurable bignesse, and these Boats they call *Lungo*.

The greatest Boates that they haue, are made of a certaine tree, called *Licondo*, which is so
great, that sixe men cannot compasse it with their armes, and is in length of proportion answe-
rable to the thicknesse, so that one of them will carrie about two hundred persons. They row
20 these Boates with their Oares, which are not tyed to any loopes, but they hold them at liberty
in their hands, and moue the water therewith at pleasure. Euery man hath his Oare, and his
Bow, and when they fight together they lay downe their Oare and take their Bow. Neither do
they vse any other Rudders to turne and gouerne their Boats, but onely their Oares.

The first of these Ilands, which is but a little one, is called, the Ile of *Horses*, because there
are bred and brought vp in it great store of those creatures that the *Greekes* call *Hippopotami*, that
is to say Water-horses. In a certaine Village within this Iland doe the *Portugals* dwell, hauing
withdrawne themselves thither for their better securitie. They haue their Vessels to transport
30 them ouer the water to the firme Land, vpon the South banke of the Riuer, which Land is cal-
led the Hauen of *Pinda*, where many ships doe ride that arriue therein.

In this Riuer there are liuing diuers kinds of creatures, and namely, mightie great Crocodiles,
which the Countrey people there, call *Caiman*, and Water-horses aboue named: And another
kind of creature, that hath (as it were) two hands, and a tayle like a Target, which is called,
Ambize Angulo, that is to say, a Hog-fish, because it is as fat as a Porke. The flesh of it is very
good, and thereof they make Lard, and so keepe it: neither hath it the saueur or taste of a fish,
although it be a fish. It neuer goeth out from the fresh water, but feedeth vpon the grasse that
groweth on the bankes, and hath a mouth like the muzzell of an Oxe. There are of these fishes,
40 that weigh fise hundred pounds apiece.

The fishermen vse to take them in their little Boats, by marking the places where they feed,
and then with their hookes and forkes, striking and wounding them, they draw them dead forth
of the water: and when they haue cut them in pieces, they carrie them to the King. For who-
soeuer doth not so, incurreth the penaltie of death, and so doe they likewise that take the
Trowt, and the Tench, and another fish called *Cacongo*, which is shaped after the likenesse of
a Salmon, sauing that it is not red: but indeed so fat it is, that it quencheth out the fire whiles
it is roasted or broyled. Other fishes also there are that are called *Fishes Royall*, which are carried
to the King, vpon very seuer and rigorous punishments.

Beyond this Riuer of *Congo*, there commeth downe another Riuer, which the *Portugals* call,
La Baia de las Almadias, that is to say, the Gulfe of Barkes, because there are great store of them,
50 that are made there, by reason of the abundance of Woods and Trees that grow thereabouts,
which are fit for that vse, and wherewith all the Countries round about doe furnish themselves.
At the mouth of this Bay there are three Ilands, one great Ile in the middle of the Channell,
which maketh a conuenient Hauen for small Vessels, and two other lesse, but none of them in-
habited.

A little higher runneth another streame, not very great, which is called, *De las Barreras Rossas*,
of the red Clay-pits, because it floweth from among certaine Rockes of Hills, whose Earth is
dyed with a red colour: where also there is a very high Mountaine, called by the *Portugals*, *La*
Sierra Complida, that is to say, the long Mountaine.

And yet going vp a little further, there are two Gulfes of the Sea in the likenesse of a paire
of Spectacles, wherein is a good Hauen, called *La Baia d'Aluaro Gonzales*, that is, The Gulfe
of *Aluaro Gonzales*. Beyond all these, are certaine hills and shoares, not worth the remem-
brance, vntill you come to the Promontorie, that is called by the *Portugals*, *Capo de Ca-*
terina, which is the border of the Kingdome of *Congo* towards the Equinoctiall, and is distant
from the Equinoctiall Line two degrees and a halfe, which is one hundred and fiftie Italian
miles.

The Northern
Border of
Congo.

The Bramas.
The Kingdom
of Loango.

The People of
Loango, circum-
cised.

The Countie
of Anzicos.

Sanders.

Medicines for
the French
Poxe.
For the head-
ache.

Their Bowes.

Their Arrows.

Their weapons

Now from Cape *De Caterina* on the North side, beginneth another Border or Coast of the Kingdome of *Congo*, which Eastward stretcheth it selfe to the place where the Riuer *Vumba* ioyneth with the Riuer *Zaire*, contayning the space of fixe hundred miles and more. Beyond this Coast of *Congo* towards the North, and vnder the Equinoctiall Line vpon the Sea shoare, and about two hundred miles within Land, (comprehending in that reckoning the aforesaid Gulfe of *Lope Gonzales*) the People called the *Bramas* doe inhabite in a Countrey, that is now called the Kingdome of *Loango*; and the King thereof, *Mani Loango*, that is to say, *The King of Loango*. The Countrey hath great abundance of Elephants, whose teeth they exchange for Iron, whereof they make their Arrow heads, their Kniues, and such other instruments. In this Countrie also, they weaue certaine Cloth of the leaues of Palme-trees, in sundrie sorts: as we shall tell you in some other place of this narration.

The King of *Loango* is in amitie with the King of *Congo*, and the report is, that in times past he was his vassall. The People are circumcised after the manner of the *Hebrews*, like as also the rest of the Nations in those Countries vse to be.

Beyond the Kingdome of *Loango*, are the People called *Anziques*, of whom wee shall deliuer vnto you a historie, which in trueth is very strange, and almost incredible, for the beastly and cruell custome that they vse in eating mans flesh; yea, and that of the neereft kinf-folkes they haue. This Countrey towards the Sea on the West, bordereth vpon the People of *Ambiu*; and towards the North, vpon other Nations of *Africa*, and the Wildernesse of *Nubia*; and towards the East, vpon the second great Lake, from whence the Riuer of *Congo* springeth, in that Part which is called *Anzicana*; and from the Kingdome of *Congo*, it is diuided by the Riuer *Zaire*, wherein there are many Ilands (as before is told you) scattered from the Lake downwards, and some of them belonging to the Dominion of the *Anziques*, by which Riuer also they doe traffique with the People of *Congo*. In this Kingdome of the *Anziques*, there are many Mines of Copper; and great quantitie of Sanders, both red and grey: the red is called *Tanilla*, and the grey (which is the better esteemed) is called *Chicongo*, whereof they make a powder of a very sweet smell, and diuers medicines. They doe also mingle it with the Oyle of Palme-tree, and so anoynting all their bodies ouer withall, they preferue themselves in health. But the *Portugals* vse it being tempered with Vinegar, which they lay vpon their pulses, and so heale the *French Poxe*, which they call in that Language, *Chitangas*. Some doe affirme, that this grey Sanders is the very *Lignum Aquila*, that groweth in *India*: and *Signor Odoardo* affirmed, that the *Portugals* haue proued it for the head-ache, by laying it on the coales, and taking the smoake of it. The pith and innermost part of the Tree is the best, but the outter part is of no estimation.

They make great store of Linnen of the Palme-tree, both of sundrie sorts and colours, and much Cloth of Silke, whereof wee will discourse more hereafter. The People are subiect to a King that hath other Princes vnder him. They are very active and warlike. They are readie to take Armes; and doe fight on foot. Their weapons are different from the weapons of all other people round about them: for, their Bowes are small and short, made of wood, and wrapped about with Serpents skins of diuers colours, and so smoothly wrought, that you would thinke them to be all one with the wood: and this they doe, both to make the Bowe stronger, and also to hold it the faster. Their Strings are of little wooden twigs like reeds, not hollow within, but sound and pliable, and very daintie; such as the *Canalieros* of *Portugall* doe carrie in their hands to beate their Palfreyes withall. They are of an ash-colour, and of a Lion-tawney, somewhat tending to blacke. They grow in the Countrey of the *Anziques*, and also in the Kingdome of *Bengala*, through which the Riuer *Ganges* runneth. Their Arrowes are short and slender, and of a very hard wood, and they carrie them on their Bow-hand. They are so quicke in shooting, that holding eight and twentie Shafts or more in their Bow-hand, they will shoot and discharge them all, before the first Arrow light on the ground: yea, and sometimes there haue beene seene diuers stout Archers, that haue killed birds as they flie in the aire.

Other weapons also they make, as Axes and Hatchets, which they vse and frame after a strange manner: for, the handle is shorter by the halfe then the Iron is, and at the lowest end of it there is a pommell, for the faster holding of it in the hand; and all covered ouer with the foresaid skinn of a Serpent. In the vppermost end of it, is the Iron very bright and shining, fastned to the wood with plates of Copper, in the manner of two nailes, as long as the handle: it hath two edges, the one cutteth like a Hatchet, and maketh a wound after the fashion of an halfe roundell; the other is a Hammer. When they fight with their Enemies, or defend themselves from their Arrowes, they are so exercised with a wonderfull speed and nimblenesse to manage their weapons, that whirling them round about, as it were in a circle, they keepe all that compasse of the ayre which is before them; so that when the Enemy shooteth, and the Arrow beginne to fall, it lighteth vpon the Hatchet, being so swiftly and vehemently whirled about, that it breaketh the force of the Arrow, and so it is repulsed: then doe they hang the Hatchet vpon their shoulder, and begin to shoot themselves. They haue also certaine short Daggers, with sheaths of the Serpents skins, made like Kniues with an haft vnto them, which they vse

vse to weare acrosse. Their Girdles are of diuers sorts; but the Men of warre haue their Girdles of Elephants skin, three good fingers broad: and because they are at the first two fingers thicke, and very hard to handle handsomely, by the heat of the fire they bow them round, and so with certaine buttons tye them ouerthwart about them. The men are very actiue and nimble, and leape vp and downe the Mountaines like Goats. Couragious they are and contemne death: men of great simplicitie, loyaltie, and fidelitie, and such as the *Portugals* doe trust more then any other. In so much as *Signor Odoardo* was wont to say, that if these *Anzichi* would become Christians (being of so great fidelitie, sinceritie, loyaltie, and simplicitie, that they will offer themselues to death, for the glorie of the world, and to please their Lords will not sticke to giue their owne flesh to bee deuoured) then would they with a farre better heart and courage indure martyrdom, for the name of our Redeemer *Iesu Christ*, and would most honourably maintaine our Faith and Religion, with their good testimonie, and example against the Gentiles.

The nature of the *Anzichi*.

Vain-glorious madnesse.

The nature of the *Anzichi* is such, that they will offer themselues to death, for the glorie of the world, and to please their Lords will not sticke to giue their owne flesh to bee deuoured.

Moreover, the said *Signor Odoardo* did likewise affirme, that there was no conuersing with them, because they were a sauage and beastly people, sauing onely in respect that they come and traffique in *Congo*, bringing thither with them Slaues, both of their owne Nation, and also out of *Nubia* (whereupon they doe border) and linnen Cloth (whereof we will tell you hereafter,) and Elephants teeth: in exchange of which chaffare they recarrie home with them, Salt, and these *Lumache*, which they vse in stead of money and Coyne; and another greater kind of *Lumache*, which come from the Ile of Saint *Thomas*, and which they vse to weare for Brooches to make themselues fine and gallant withall. Other Merchandises, also they carrie backe with them, which are brought out of *Portugall*, as Silkes, Linnen, and Glasses, and such like. They vse to circumsise themselues. And another foolish custome they haue, both men and women, as well of the Nobilitie, as of the Commonaltie, euen from their childhood, to marke their faces with sundrie slashes made with a knife, as in due place shall be further shewed vnto you.

Their merchandise.

Circumcision.

The *Anzichi* are circumsised, and marked in their faces.

A shambles of mans flesh.

Blind subiection.

A strange beastly custom

They keepe a Shambles of mans flesh as they doe in these Countries for Beefe and other vi-
tuals. For their Enemies whom they take in the Warres, they eate; and also their Slaues, if they can haue a good market for them, they sell: or if they cannot, then they deliuer them to the Butchers, to be cut in pieces, and so sold, to be roasted or boiled. And (that which a marvellous historie to report) some of them being wearie of their liues, and some of them euen for valour of courage, and to shew themselues stout and venturous, thinking it to bee a great honour vnto them, if they runne into voluntarie death, thereby to shew that they haue a speciall contempt of this life, will offer themselues to the butcherie, as faithfull subiects to their Princes, for whose sakes, that they may seeme desirous to doe them notable seruice, they doe not onely deliuer themselues to bee deuoured by them, but also their Slaues, when they are fat and well fed, they doe kill and eate them. True it is, that many Nations there are, that feed vpon mans flesh, as in the East *Indies*, and in *Brassill*, and in other places: but that is onely the flesh of their aduersaries and enemies, but to eate the flesh of their owne friends, and subiects, and kinfolk, it is without all example in any place of the World, sauing onely in this Nation of the *Anzichi*.

Their Apparell.

Their Language.

The Easterne border of *Congo*. The Mountaines of *Cryshall*.

The Mountaines of the Sunne.

The Mountaines of *Sal-Nitrum*.

The ordinarie apparell of these people is thus: The common sort goe naked from the girdle vpwards, and without any thing vpon their heads, hauing their haire trussed vp, and curled. The Noblemen are apparelled in Silkes and other Cloth, and weare vpon their heads, blue and red, and blacke colours, and Hats and Hoods of *Portugall* Veluet, and other kinds of Caps vsuall in that Countrey. And indeed, they are all desirous to haue their apparell handsome and neat, as their abilitie will suffer them. The women are all couered from top to toe, after the manner of *Africa*. The poorer sort of them doe gird themselues close from the girdle downewards. The Noble women and such as are of wealth, doe weare certaine Mantles, which they cast ouer their heads, but keepe their faces open and at libertie: and Shooes they haue on their feet, but the poore goe bare-foot. They goe very quicke and lightsome. Their stature is comely, and their conditions faire and commendable. Their Language is altogether different from the Language of *Congo*, and yet the *Anzichi* will learne the Language of *Congo* very soone and easily, because it is the plainer Tongue: but the People of *Congo* doe very hardly learne the Language of the *Anzichi*. And when I once demanded what their Religion was, it was told mee they were Gentiles, and that was all that I could learne of them.

The East Coast of the Kingdome of *Congo*, beginneth (as we haue told you) at the meeting of the Riuer *Vumba*, and the Riuer of *Zaire*; and so with a line drawne towards the South in equall distance from the Riuer *Nilus*, which lieth on the left hand, it taketh vp a great Mountaine which is very high, and not inhabited in the tops thereof, called the Mountaine of *Cryshall*, because there is in it great quantitie of *Cryshall*, both of the Mountaine and of the Cliffe, and of all sorts. And then passing on farther, includeth the Hills that are called *Sierras de Sol*, that is to say, the Hills of the Sunne, because they are exceeding high. And yet it neuer snoweth vpon them, neither doe they beare any thing, but are very bare and without any trees at all. On the left hand there arise other Hills, called the Hills of *Sal-Nitrum*, because there is in them great store

shore of that *Minerall*. And so cutting ouer the Riuer *Berbela*, that commeth out of the first Lake, there endeth the ancient bound of the Kingdome of *Congo* on the East.

Thus then the East Coast of this Kingdome is deriued from the meeting of the two foresaid Rivers, *Vumba* and *Zaire*; vntill you come to the lake *Achelunda*, and to the Countrey of *Malomba*; contayning the space of fixe hundred miles. From this line which is drawne in the Easterne Coast of *Congo* to the Riuer *Nilus*, and to the two Lakes (whereof mention shall be made in conuenient place) there is the space of one hundred and fiftie miles of ground well inhabited, and good store of Hills, which doe yeeld fundrie Metals, with much Linnen, and Cloth of the Palme tree.

The Arte of making Silkes, in this Eastern Coast, of Palm-trees.

And seeing wee are now come to this point of this discourse, it will be very necessarie to declare vnto you the maruellous Arte which the people of this Countrey, and other places thereabouts doe vse in making Clothes of fundrie sorts, as Veluets shorne and vnshorne, Cloth of Tissue, Sattins, Taffata, Damaskes, Sarcenets, and such like, not of any silken Stuffle, (for they haue no knowledge of the Silke-wormes at all, although some of their apparell bee made of Silke that is brought thither from our Countries.) But they weaue their Clothes afore-named of the leaues of Palme-trees, which Trees they alwaies keepe vnder and low to the ground, euery yeere cutting them, and watering them, to the end they may grow small and tender against the new Spring. Out of these leaues, being cleansed and purged after their manner, they draw forth their threeds, which are all very fine and daintie, and all of one euennesse, sauing that those which are longest, are best esteemed: for, of those they weaue their greatest pieces. These Stuffles they worke of diuers fashions, as some with a nappe vpon them like Veluet, on both sides, and other Cloth, called Damaskes, branched with leaues, and such other things; and the *Broccati*, which are called High and Low, and are farre more precious then ours are. This kind of Cloth no man may weare but the King, and such as it pleaseth him. The greatest pieces are of these *Broccati*: for they containe in length foure or fise spans; and in breadth, three or foure spannes, and are called *Incorimbas*, by the name of the Countrey where it groweth, which is about the Riuer *Vumba*. The Veluets are called *Enfachas*, of the same bignesse; and the Damaskes, *Infulas*; and the *Rasi*, *Maricas*; and the *Zendadi*, *Tangas*; and the *Ormesini*, *Engombos*. Of the lighter sort of these Stuffles they haue greater pieces, which are wrought by the *Anzichi*; and are fixe spannes long, and fise spannes broad, wherewith euery man may apparell himselfe according to his abilitie. Besides that, they are very thicke and sound to keepe out the water, and yet very light to weare. The *Portugals* haue lately begun to vse them for Tents and Bootheres, which doe maruellously resist both water and wind.

The Southerne Coast. The Mountaine of Siluer.

This Easterne Coast (as it is before set downe) endeth in the mountaine, called *Serras de Plata*, that is, the Mountaines of Siluer; and there beginneth the fourth and last border of the Kingdome of *Congo*, towards the South, that is to say, from the foresaid Mountaine to the Bay of Cowes on the West, containing in length the space of foure hundred and fiftie miles. And this Southerne Line doth part the Kingdome of *Angola* in the middle, and leaueth on the left hand of it, the foresaid Mountaines of Siluer; and farther beyond them towards the South, the Kingdome of *Matama*; which is a great Kingdome, very mightie, and absolute of it selfe, and sometimes in amitie, and sometimes at vtter enmitie with the Kingdome of *Angola*.

The King of Matama.

The King of *Matama* is in Religion a Gentile, and his Kingdome stretcheth towards the South to the Riuer *Braunagal*, and neere to the Mountaines, commonly called the Mountaines of the Moone; and towards the East bordereth on the Westerne bankes of the Riuer *Bagamidri*, and so crosseth ouer the Riuer *Coari*.

This Countrey aboundeth in Vaults of Crystall and other Metals, and all manner of victuall, and good aire. And although the people thereof, and their neighbour borderers doe traffique together: Yet the King of *Matama*, and the King of *Angola*, doe oftentimes warre one against the other, as we told you before: And this Riuer *Bagamidri* diuiderh the Kingdome of *Matama* from the Kingdome of *Monomata*, which is towards the East, and whereof *Iohn de Barros* doth most largely discourse, in the first Chapter of his tenth Booke.

¶ V I.

Of Angola, the Warres betwixt Congo and Angola: their manner of warfare.

The present Kingdome of Congo bounded. Of Bamba, one of the sixe Princes of Congo, and the Creatures therein.



OWARDS the Sea-coast there are diuers Lords, that take vpon them the Title of Kings: but indeed they are of very base and slender estate: Neither are there any Ports or Hauens of any account or name in the Rivers there. And now, forasmuch as we haue oftentimes made mention of the Kingdome of *Angola*, this will bee a very conuenient place for vs to intreat thereof; because it hath bene heretofore said, that the King of *Angola*,

Angola, being in times past but a Gouvernour or Deputie vnder the King of Congo; although, since that time he is become a Christian, he made himselfe a free and an absolute Prince, and vsurped all that Quarter to his owne Iurisdiction, which before he had in regiment and gouernment vnder another. And so afterwards in time conquered other Countries thereabouts; inso-much, as he is now growne to be a great Prince, and a rich, and in power little inferiour to the King of Congo himselfe, and therefore either payeth tribute, or refuseth to pay tribute vnto him, euen at his owne good pleasure.

The King of Angola freeth himselfe from subiection to the King of Congo, since Congo receiued the Faith.

It came to passe, that Don Giouanni the Second, being King of Portugall, planted the Christian Religion in the Kingdome of Congo; and thereupon, the King of Congo became a Christian. After which time the Lord of Angola was alwaies in amitie, and (as it were) a Vassall of the forenamed King of Congo, and the People of both Countreies did traffique together one with another, and the Lord of Angola did euery yeere send some Presents to the King of Congo. And by licence from the K. of Congo, there was a great trade betweene the Portugals and the People of Angola, at the Hauen of Loanda, where they bought Slaves, and changed them for other merchandises, and so transported all into the Ile of S. Thomas. Whereby it came to passe, that the traffique was here united with the traffique of S. Thomas: so that the ships did vse first to arrive at that Island, and then afterward passed over to Loanda. And when this trade began in proceesse of time to encrease, they dispatched their ships from Lisbone to Angola of themselves, and sent with them a Gouvernour, called Paulo Diaz of Nouais, to whom this businesse did (as it were) of right appertaine, in regard of the good deserts of his Ancestors, who first discovered this Traffique. To this Paulo Diaz, did Don Sebastiano King of Portugall grant leaue and authoritie to conquer, for the space of three and thirtie leagues upwards along the Coast, beginning at the Riuer Coanza towards the South, and within the Land also, whatsoeuer hee could get towards all his charges for him and his heires. With him there went many other ships that opened and found out a great trade with Angola, which notwithstanding was directed to the foresaid Hauen of Loanda, where the said ships did still discharge themselves. And so by little and little he entred into the firme Land, and made himselfe an house in a certaine Village, called Anzelle, within a mile neere to the Riuer Coanza, because it was the more commodious and nigher to the traffique of Angola. When the trade here began thus to encrease, and merchandises were freely carried by the Portugals, and the People of Congo to Cabazo, a place belonging to the Lord of Angola, and distant from the Sea, one hundred and fiftie miles, there to sell and barter them, it pleased his Lordship to giue out order, that all the Merchants should be slaine, and their goods confiscated, alledging for his defence, that they were come thither as spies, and to take possession of his estate: but in truth it is thought that he did it onely to gaine all that wealth to himselfe, considering that it was a People that did not deale in the habite of Warriors, but after the manner of Merchants. And this fell out in the same yeere, that the King Don Sebastiano was discomfited in Barbarie.

John the Second, King of Portugall, first brought Christianity into Congo.

Paulo Diaz, the first discoverer of this traffick, Don Sebastiano King of Portugall.

Paulo Diaz buildeth an house in Anzelle. The Author calleth him Lord, because he was then but a petie King.

When Paulo Diaz understood of this course, he put himselfe in Armes against the King of Angola, and with such a troupe of Portugals as he could gather together, that were to be found in that Countreie, and with two Gallies and other vessels, which he kept in the Riuer Coanza, he went forward, on both sides of the Riuer conquering, and by force subdued many Lords, and made them his Friends and Subjects. But the King of Angola perceiuing that his Vassals had yeilded to the obedience of Paulo Diaz, and that with all prosperous successe he had gained much Land upon him, hee assembled a great Armie to goe against him, and so utterly to destroy him. Whereupon Paulo Diaz requested the King of Congo, that he would succour him with some helpe to defend himselfe withall, who presently sent vnto him for ayde, an Armie of sixtie thousand men, vnder the conduct of his Cousin Don Sebastiano Mani-bamba, and another Captaine, with one hundred and twentie Portugall Souldiers, that were in those Countries, and all of his owne pay for the atchieving of this enterprise. This Armie was to ioyne with Paulo Diaz, and so altogether to warre against the King of Angola: but arriving at the shoare, where they were to passe over the Riuer Bengo, within twelue miles of Loanda, and where they should haue met with many Barkes to carrie the Campe to the other shoare, partly because the said Barkes had slacked their coming, and partly because much time would haue bene spent in transporting so many men, the whole Armie tooke their way quite over the Riuer, and so going on forwards, they met with the People of the King of Angola, that were readie to stop the Souldiers of Congo from entring vpon their Countreie.

Paulo Diaz, in Armes against the King of Angola.

P. Diaz demandeth succour of the King of Congo.

The militarie order of the Mociconghi (for by that terme wee doe call the naturall borne People of the Kingdome of Congo, as we call the Spaniards, those that are naturally borne in Spaine) and the militarie order of the People of Angola, is almost all one: for both of them doe vsually fight on foot, and diuide their Armie into severall troupes, fitting themselves according to the situation of the Field where they doe encampe, and aduancing their Ensignes and Banners in such sort as before is remembered. The remoues of their Armie are guided and directed by certaine severall sounds and noyses, that proceed from the Captaine Generall, who goeth into the midst of the Armie, and there signifieth what is to be put in execution; that is to say, either that they shall ioyne battell, or else retire, or put on forward, or turne to the right hand, and to the left hand, or to performe any other warlike action. For by these severall sounds distinctly deliuered from one to another, they doe all understand the commandements of their Captaine, as we here among vs doe understand the pleasure of our Generall by the sundrie stroakes of the Drum, and the Captaines sounds of the Trumpet.

The militarie order of the People of Congo.

How the Souldiers doe vnderstand the pleasure of their Generall.

Three kinds of
Instruments v-
sed in their
warres.

The vse of
these Instru-
ments.

The Militarie
apparell of the
better sort.

Their weapons

The Militarie
apparell of the
meaner sort.

The Issue of
this battell.

P. Diaz at
Luiola.

Three principall sounds they haue which they vse in Warre: One which is uttered aloud, by great Rattles, fastned in certaine Wooden Cases, hollowed out of a tree, and couered with Leather, which they strike with certaine little handles of Iuory. Another is made by a certaine kind of Instrument, fashioned like a Pyramis turned upward: for the lower end of it is sharpe, and endeth as it were in a point, and the upper end waxeth broader and broader, like the bottome of a Triangle, in such sort, that beneath they are narrow and like an Angle, and aboue they are large and wide. This Instrument is made of certaine thinne plates of Iron, which are hollow and emptie within, and very like to a Bell turned up-side-downe. They make them ring, by striking them with wooden wands: and oftentimes they doe also cracke them, to the end that the sound should be more harsh, horrible, and warlike: The third Instrument is framed of Elephants teeth, some great, and some small, hollow within, and blownen at a certaine hole which they make on the side of it, in manner of the Fife, and not aloft like the Pipe. These are tempered by them in such sort, that they yeeld as warlike and harmonious Musicke, as the Cornet doth, and so pleasant and iocund a noyse, that it moueth and stirreth up their courages, and maketh them not to care for any danger whatsoeuer. Now of these three senerall sorts of warlike Instruments, there are some bigger, and some lesse. For the Captaine Generall carrieth alwaies with him the greater sort, to the end that by them he may giue signification to the whole Campe what they shall doe. The particular bands and troupes of the Armie haue in like manner their smaller sort, and euery Captaine in his senerall Regiment hath also one of the smallest, which they strike with their hands. Whereupon it falleth out, that when they heare the sound of the generall Rattle, or Cornet, or the other third kind of Instrument, euery part of the Army doth presently answer in the same note, signifying thereby, that they haue well understood the good pleasure of the Captaine, and so consequently the under Captaines doe the like. Neither doe they onely vse these Instruments and sounds vniuersally, but also when they are in fight and in skirmish, the valiant and couragious Souldiers go before the rest, and with this kind of bells, which they strike with their wooden wands, they dance, and encourage their fellowes, and by the note doe signifie unto them in what danger they are, and what weapons they haue met withall.

The Military apparell of the better sort, and of the Lords of the Moci-Conghi, is this. On their heads they carie a Cap, which is garnished with sundry Plumes of the feathers of the Estridge, of the Peacocke, of the Cocke, and of other kinds of Birds, which make them to seeme men of greater stature then they are, and terrible to looke upon. From the girdle upwards they are all naked, and haue hanging about them from their necke, both on the right side and on the left, euen as low as to both their flankes, certaine chaines of Iron, with Rings vpon them as bigge as a mans little finger, which they vse for a certaine militarie pompe and brauery. From the girdle downe-wards they haue breeches of Linnen, or Sendale, which are couered with Cloath, and reach downe to their heeles, but then they are folded againe upwards, and tucked vnder their girdle. Vpon their girdle, which (as we told you) is made with exquisite and curious worke, they doe fasten certaine bells, very like to the instruments that are before named, which in moouing of themselves, and in fighting with their enemies, doe ring and make a noyse, and adde courage vnto them, while they are in combat with their aduersaries. Vpon their legges they haue likewise their Buskins, after the Portugall fashion. Their Armour we haue already declared, that is to say; Bow and Arrowes, Sword, Dagger and Target: but yet with this caueat, that whosoever weareth a Bow, he weareth also a Dagger, but no Target: for those two weapons may not be worne together, but Sword and Target they may lawfully weare both at once.

The common Souldiers goe all naked from the girdle-stead upwards, and haue the rest of their bodies armed with Bow and Arrowes, and Daggers. These are they that doe first offer the skirmish, going out before the rest of the Army, as it were senerally and dispersedly prouoking to fight, and receiuing the shot from a farre off, they turne and winde this way and that way, and doe nimbly leape from one side to another, to the end they may auoyd the lighting of their enemies Arrowes. Besides these, there are also certaine quicke and gallant young men, that runne out before the rest, which with the ringing of their bells (as before is said) are as it were comforters of their fellowes, and when they haue fought so much, that the Captaine thinketh them to be euen weary, then doth he call them backe with the sound of one of those instruments aboue mentioned: so that perceiuing the medley to wax hot, they turn about and retire themselves backe againe, and others succede in their places, which course is still obserued and kept vntill such time, as both the Armies doe indeed ioyne all their maine forces together, and so fight it out.

In the place aboue described, there were sundry encounters on the one side, and on the other. And in the first batailes the people of Congo remained Conquerors: but afterward, when they had diuers times fought together with great losse on both sides, and victuals began now to faile, and consequently men waxed sicke and died, the Campe of the King of Congo was dissolved, and euery man returned to his owne home.

In this meane while Paulo Diaz, though he could not ioyne his forces with the Army of his friends that came to succour him, yet set himselfe forwards, and passing ouer the Riuer stayed at Luiola, because it was a place very strong, and fit to resist the King of Angola. The situation of Luiola is this: The two Riuers, Coanza and Luiola doe ioyne together about one hundred and fife miles from the Sea shore, and a little aboue the said ioyning, these Riuers doe seuer themselves, for the space of an Harquebisse shot, so that they make as it were an Island betweene them. In which Island, at the mee-

ting

ting of the two Rivers there riseth a hill, which Paulo Diaz surprized and fortified for his better safety. And whereas in times past, there was neuer any habitation there, now at this present it is growne to be a pretty Countrey inhabited by the Portugals.

From this place thus surprized by Paulo Diaz, and called *Luiola*, you may saile along the River with certaine small vessels, euen to the Sea, and goe by land without any danger for the space of one hundred and fife miles. Neere thereunto are the hills, that are called the hills of *Cabambe*, producing infinite store of Siluer: which the said Diaz doth euery day by little and little endeavour to conquer. And these hills are the grand quarrell betweene him and the people of *Angola*. For knowing that the Portugals doe esteeme greatly of these hills, in regard of the
 10 Siluer pits which are there in great abundance; they doe vse all the force and skill they can to keepe the Portugals from them. They fight also with them in diuers other places: for the Portugals passing ouer the River *Coanza*, do continually make in-roades into the Countreies that are subiect to the King of *Angola*.

The hills
of
Cabambe.

The weapons of these peoples, are Bowes sixe handfull long, with strings made of the barks of Trees, Arrowes of Wood, lesse then a mans little finger, and sixe handfulls long. They haue Iron heads, made like a hooke, and feathers of Birds in the tops of them: and of these Arrowes they vse to carry to the number of sixe or seuen vpon their Bow hand, without any Quiuer at all. Their Daggers are fashioned with a haft after the manner of a Knife, which they weare at their girdle, on their left side, and hold them aloft in their hands, when they fight with them.

The weapons
of the people
of *Angola*.

20 By their Militarie actions and proceedings, you may obserue their great skill and good order in matter of warre. For in diuers batailes that were betweene them and the Portugals, it was plainly seene how they could chuse their aduantages against their enemies, as by assaulting them in the night time, and in rainy weather, to the end that their Harquebusses and Gunnes should not take fire; and also by diuiding their forces into many troopes, to trouble them the more. The King doth not vse to goe to the warre in his owne person, but sendeth his Captaines in his stead. The people are also accustomed to flye and runne away incontinently, as soone as they see their Captaine flaine, neither can they be perswaded to stay by any reason or argument, but presently yeeld vp the field. They are all Foot-men, neither haue they any Horses at all: and therefore the Captaines, if they will not goe on foote, cause themselves to bee
 30 carried on the shoulders of their Slaues, after one of the three manners, which we will shew vnto you hereafter.

Their militarie
actions.

This Nation goeth out to warre, in number almost infinite, and very confusedly: they leaue no man at home that is fit to carry a weapon: they make no preparation of victuals necessarie for the Campe: but such as perhaps haue any, conuey it with them vpon the shoulders of their Seruants, and yet they haue sundry sorts of creatures that might bee managed, and serue their turnes to draw, and to carry, as in the second part of this Treatise shall be described vnto you. And thereupon it falleth out, that when they come into any Countrey with their whole Army, all their food is quickly quite consumed, and then hauing nothing left to feed vpon, they dissolue their hoast euen in the greatest necessitie of prosecuting their enterprife, and so are inforced by
 40 hunger to returne into their owne Countreies.

Rudenesse of
art military,
and prouision
of and for souldiers.

They are greatly giuen to Divination by Birds: If a Bird chance to flye on their left hand, or cry in such manner, as those which make profession to vnderstand the same, do say, that it fore-sheweth ill lucke and aduersity, or that they may go no further forwards, they will presently turne backe and repaire home: which custome was also in the old time obserued by the ancient Romans, and likewise at this day by sundry other Pagans.

They are giue
to diuination
by Birds.

Now if it shall seeme strange to any man, that so few Portugall Souldiers, as Paulo Diaz retaineth there with him, and others of the Portugall Nation, which Trafficke into the Realme, and releue him with succours, being in number but three hundred at the most, accounting their Slaues, and also the Male-contents, the Rebels and Fugitiues of *Angola*, which daily resort vnto him, and amount not in all to the quantitie of fiftene thousand men, should be able to make so gallant a resistance against that
 50 innumerable rabble of Negroes, being subiect to the King of *Angola*, which are gathered there together (as it is said) to the number of a Million of soules. I answer, that great reason may be alleadged for the same. For the Armie of the Negroes is all naked, and utterly destitute of all prouision and furniture for Armour of defence: And as for their weapons of offence, they consist onely but of Bowes and Daggers (as I told you.) But our few Portugals that are there, are well lapped in certaine Iackets that are stuffed and basted with bombaste, and stitched and quilted very soundly, which keepe their Armes very safe, and their bodies downe-wards as low as their knees: Their heads also are armed with cappes made of the same stuffe, which doe resist the shot of the Arrow, and the stroke of the Dagger: Besides that, they are girt with long swords, and some Horsemen there are among them that carry
 60 speares for their weapons. Now you must vnderstand that one man on horse-backe, is of more worth then a hundred Negroes, because the Horsemen doe afright them greatly: and especially of those that doe discharge Gunnes and Peeeces of Artillarie against them, they doe stand continually in an extreame bodily feare. So that these few being well armed, and cunningly and artificially ordered, must needs overcome the other, though they be very many in number. This Kingdome of *Angola*, is full of people

Why so small a
number, as
Paulo Diaz had
with him, was
able to resist so
huge an Army
of the King of
Angola.

The kingdome
of Angola very
populous, sup-
posed to hold
a million of
fighting men.
The commodi-
ties of Angola.

A Dogge sold
for two hun-
dred and twen-
tie Duckets.
The money of
Angola.

The Religion
of Angola.
The language
of the people
of Angola.

The rest of the
Kingdome of
Angola descri-
bed.

Cape Negro i.
The blacke
Cape.

Monti Freddi.
i. The cold
Mountaines.

The Moun-
taines of Chri-
stall.

The West con-
taineth 375
miles.
The North
340.
The East 500.

The South 360

The kingdome
of Congo con-
taineth in com-
passe, 1685
miles.

In breadth
600. miles.

ple beyond all credite: For every Man taketh as many Wines as he listeth, and so they multiply infi-
nitely: But they doe not use so to do in the kingdome of Congo, which lieth after the manner of the
Christians.

This Kingdome also is very rich in Mines of Silver, and most excellent Copper; and for other
kinds of Metall, there is more in this kingdome then in any other Countrey of the world whatsoever.
Fruitfull it is in all manner of food, and sundry sorts of Cattell, and specially for great heards of Kine.
True it is, that this people doe lorne Dogges flesh better then any other meate: and for that purpose they
feed and fatten them, and then kill them and sell them in their open shambles. It is constantly affirmed, that
a great Dog accustomed to the Bull, was sold by exchange for two and twentie Slaves, which after the
rate of ten Duckets a poll, were worth in all two hundred and twentie Duckets: in so high a price and ac-
count doe they hold that Creature.

The Monyes that are used in Angola, are much different from the Lumache of Congo: for they of
Angola doe use Beads of Glasse, such as are made in Venice, as bigge as a Nut, and some of lesser
quantitie, and of diuers and sundry colours and fashions. These doe the people of Angola make, not
onely to use them for money, but also for an ornament of their men and women, to weare about their
necks and their armes, and are called in their tongue Anzolos: but when they are threaded upon a string
like a paire of Beads, they call them Mizanga.

The King of Angola is by religion a Gentile, and worshippeth Idols, and so doe all the people in his
Kingdome. It is true, that he hath greatly desired to become a Christian, after the example of the King
of Congo. But because there hath not beene as yet any possibilitie to send Priests vnto him, that might
illuminate and instruct him, he remaineth still in darknesse. The foresaid Signor Odoardo told mee,
that in his time the King of Angola sent an Ambassadour to the King of Congo, requesting that hee
would send him some religious persons to informe him in the Christian Religion: but the King of Con-
go had none there that he could spare, and therefore could send him none. At this day, both these
Kings doe Trafficke together, and are in amitie one with another: the King of Angola hauing now clea-
red and discharged himselfe for the iniuries and slaughters that were committed upon those of Congo,
and upon the Portugals at Gabazo.

The language of the people of Angola is all one with the language of the people of Congo, because
(as we told you before) they are both but one Kingdome. Onely the difference betweene them is, as
commonly it is betweene two Nations that border one upon another.

We haue signified vnto you heretofore, that the Bay of Cowes doth diuide the Kingdome of
Angola in the middest; and hitherto we haue treated but of the one halfe thereof: Now wee
will describe vnto you the second part of it, which lyeth from the said Bay of Cowes towards
the South. From this Bay then, to the blacke Cape, called Cape Negro, by the Coast of the
Ocean, they doe reckon two hundred and twenty miles, of such Countrey and soyle as the for-
mer is, and possessed by many Lords that are subiect to the King of Angola. From Cape Ne-
gro there runneth a line towards the East, through the middest of the Mountaines, that
are called, *Monti Freddi*, that is to say, The cold Mountaines: which also in some certaine
parts of them, that are higher then the rest towards the Equinoctiall, are tearmed by the Por-
tugals, *Monti Nensi*, or Snowy Mountaines, and so endeth at the rootes of other Mountaines,
that are called the Mountaines of Crystall. (Out of these Snowy Mountaines doe spring the
waters of the Lake *Dumbea Zocche*.) This foresaid line, from the Mountaine of Crystall,
draweth on-wards towards the North through the Mountaines of Silver, till you come to *Ma-
lemba*, where we told you the Kingdome of Congo was diuided, and parted the Riuer of *Coari*
in the midst. And this is the Countrey possessed by the King of Angola, whereof I haue no more
to say, then is already set downe, neither of the qualities of his person, nor of his Court.

Beginning therefore at the Riuer *Coanza*, and drawing towards the Equinoctiall three hun-
dred seuentie five miles, you shall finde the Riuer, that they call *Las Barreas Vermellias*, or the
Redde Pits, which are indeed the ragged ruines of certaine Rockes worne by the Sea; and
when they fall downe, doe shew themselues to bee of a red colour. From thence by a direct
line vpon the North, that which the King possesseth, is foure hundred and fifty miles. And then
the said line diuiding it selfe towards the South, passeth by the hills of Crystall (not those
that we told you before did belong to Angola, but others that are called by the same name) and
so by the Mountaines of *Salnitro*, trauersing the Riuer *Verbela*, at the rootes of the Mountaines
of Silver, it endeth at the Lake *Aquelunda*, which is the space of five hundred miles. The fourth
line runneth along the Riuer *Coanza*, which issueth out of the said Lake, and containeth three
hundred and sixtie miles. So that the whole Realme now possessed by *Don Aluaro*, the King
of Congo is in compasse, one thousand sixe hundred eightie five miles. But the breadth thereof
beginneth at the mouth of the Riuer *Zaire*, where the point is, which in the Portugall speech
is called, *Padraon*, and so cutting the Kingdome of Congo in the middle, and crossing over the
Mountaines of the Sunne, and the Mountaines of Crystall, there it endeth, containing the
space of sixe hundred miles, and within one hundred and fiftie miles, neere to the Riuer *Nilus*.
Very true it is indeed, that in ancient time the Predecessors of this Prince did raigne ouer many
other Countries thereabouts, which in proceesse of time they haue lost: and although they bee
now

now in the gouernment of others, yet doe the Kings of Congo, retaine still to this day the titles of those Regions, as for example, *Don Aluaro*, King of Congo, and of *Abundos*, and of *Mata-ma*, and of *Quizama*, and of *Angola*, and of *Cacongo*, and of the seuen Kingdomes of *Congere*, *Amolaza*, and of the *Pangelungos*, and Lord of the Riuer *Zaire*, and of the *Anziquos*, and *Anziquana*, and of *Loango*.

The title or
style of the
King of Congo.

This Kingdome is diuided into fixe Prouinces, that is to say, *Bamba*, *Songo*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta*, and *Pemba*. The Prouince of *Bamba*, (which is the greatest and the richest) is gouerned by *Don Sebastian Mani-Bamba*, cousin to the King *Don Aluaro* last deceased, and it is situated vpon the Sea-coast, from the Riuer *Ambrize*, vntill you come to the Riuer *Coanza* towards the South. This *Don Sebastian* hath vnder his Dominion many Princes and Lords, and the name, of the greatest of them are these, *Don Antonio Mani-Bamba*, who is Lieutenant and Brother to *Don Sebastian*, and *Mani-Lemba* another, and *Mani-Danda*, and *Mani-Bengo*, and *Mani-Loanda*, who is Gouernour of the Island of *Loanda*, and *Mani-Corimba*, and *Mani-Coanza*, and *Mani-Cazzanzi*. All these doe gouerne all the Sea-coast but within Land, for that part which belongeth to *Angola*, there are another people called the *Abundos*, who dwelling on the borders of *Angola*, are subiect to the said *Mani-Bamba*, and they are these, *Angaza*, *Ching-bengo*, *Motollo*, *Chabonda*, and many others of baser condition.

The first Prouince is *Bamba*, and the description of it. *Sebastian* chiefe Gouernour of *Bamba*, and those that rule vnder him.

Note, that this word *Mani*, signifieth a Prince or a Lord, and the rest of the word is the name of the Countrey and Lordship, where the Lord ruleth. As for example, *Mani-Bamba* signifieth the Lord of the Countrey of *Bamba*, and *Mani-Corimba*, the Lord of the Countrey of *Corimba*, which is a part of *Bamba*, and so likewise of the rest. This Prouince of *Bamba* consisteth with *Angola* on the South, and vpon the East of it towards the Lake *Achelunda*, lyeth the Countrey of *Quizama*, which is gouerned like a Common-wealth, and is diuided among a number of Lords, who indeed liuing at their owne libertie, doe neither obey the King of Congo, nor the King of *Angola*.

Mani, what it signifieth. The Confinnes of *Bamba*. The Countrey of *Quizama*. *Bamba* the principall Prouince of all Congo.

And to be short, these Lords of *Quizama*, after they had a long time quarrelled with *Paulo Diaz*, yet at last they became his subiects, because they would auoyd the yoke of the King of *Angola*, and by their good aid and assistance, doth *Paulo Diaz* greatly helpe himselfe against the said King of *Angola*.

Bamba yeeldeth for a need 400000. men of warre.

Now, the aforesaid Countrey of *Bamba*, (as we haue told you) is the principall Prouince of all the Realme of Congo, and indeed the very Key, and the Buckler and the Sword, and the defence thereof, and (as it were) the frontier which opposeth it selfe against all their Enemies. For it resisteth all the reuolts and rebellions of those quarters, and hath very valorous people in it, that are alwayes readie for to fight, so that they doe continually keepe their Aduersaries of *Angola* in great awe: and if it happen at any time that their King stand in need, they are alwayes at his command to annoy the other Countreies whensoever. When need requireth, he may haue in Campe foure hundred thousand men of Warre, and yet that number is but onely the fixt part of the whole Kingdome, though indeed it be the better part and the stronger. The principall Citie of this Prouince lyeth in the Plaine which is betweene the Riuer *Loxe* and *Ambrize*, and is called *Panza* (which is a common name for euery Towne.) There dwellerh the Lord of the Prouince, and it is distant from the Sea one hundred miles. In this Signorie also doe the hills begin, where the Mines of silver and other metals are found, and so stretch out towards the Kingdome of *Angola*. It is very rich, for vpon the Coast of the Sea there, they haue great store of the *Lumache*, which are vsed for moneyes ouer all the Kingdome of Congo: Besides, there is also a greater Trafficke and Market for slaues, that are brought out of *Angola*, then in any place else. For there are yearely bought by the Portugals aboue fise thousand head of Negroes, which afterwards they conueigh away with them, and so sell them into diuers parts of the World.

Panza the principall Citie of *Bamba*. Mines of silver and other metals. Incredible numbers of slaues yearely sold to the Portugals. One M. T. Turner which liued there, told me of 10000. slaues out of these parts of *Africa* yearely can yeeld, and that one Portugall in *Brasil* had 10000.

The people of this Prouince, are in Armes the most valiant of all the Kingdome of Congo. They goe armed like the *Slanonians*, with long and large Swords, that are brought them out of Portugall. There are among them very mightie men, that will cleaue a slaue in the middest at one blow, and cut off the head of a Bull at one stroke with one of those Swords. And (that which is more, and will peraduenture seeme incredible) one of these valiant men did beare vpon his arme a certaine Vessell of Wine, which was the fourth part of a Butte, and might weigh about three hundred twentie fise pound, vntill it was cleane emptied. Moreouer, they doe carrie Bow and Arrowes, whereat they are very quicke and nimble, and withall their long Targets made of the *Dants* skinne, whereof wee told you before, when wee made mention of the *Anzichi*.

Certaine creatures in *Bamba* Prouince. Elephants.

The creatures that are found in this Prouince, are first the Elephants, which do breed ouer all the Kingdome of Congo, but principally in the Countrey of *Bamba*, because it aboundeth in Woods, in pastures and in waters.

An Elephants foot foure span broad. The Elephant liueth 150. yeares.

Signor Odoardo told mee, that hee had oftentimes taken the measure of an Elephants foot in the dust, and one of them was in plaine Diameter foure spannes broad. But in these quarters they say that the Elephants doe liue one hundred and fiftie yeares, and that vntill the middle of their

An Elephants
Tooth of 100.
waight.

age they continue still in growing. And to confirme this truth he added, that hee had seene and weighed diuers of their Teeth (which are not of horne, as some thinke) and their waight amounted to two hundred pounds apiece, after the rate of twelue ounces to euery pound. In the Language of Congo, the Elephants Tooth is called *Mene-Manzao*, that is to say, The Tooth of an Elephant.

Certain haire
in the Ele-
phants tayle,
very precious.
M. Iobson gaue
me one of
these tayles
with such
blacke strong
haire.

Their Eares are greater then the greatest Targets that the *Turkes* vse to weare, in length fixe spannes, in shape like an Egge, and towards their shoulders they grow to be narrower and sharper. With their Eares, and with their Trunke, and with their Tayle, they beat away the Flies that trouble them.

They haue in their Tayle, certaine haire or bristles as bigge as Rushes or Broome-sprigs, of a shining blacke colour. The older they be, the fairer and stronger they bee, and of great price among them.

And for the cause lately rehearsed, many there are, which wayting for the Elephants, when they ascend some steepe and narrow way, doe come behind them, and with very sharpe Kniues cut off their Tayles: the poore beast being not able in those straites to turne backe to reuenge it selfe, nor with his Trunke to reach his Enemy. And this they doe, onely to haue those haire, which they sell for two or three slaues a piece. Other light and couragious persons there are, that trusting much to their swiftnesse in running, doe lye in a waite, and set vpon the poore beasts behind, whiles they are in feeding, and at one blow attempt to cut off their Tayles, and to endeavour to saue themselves by running away in a round. For the greatnesse of the beast is such, as out-right it is very swift, because it maketh very large strides, though indeed but slow, and in the plaine is farre quicker then any lustie Horse: but in turning round it loseth much time, and so the Huntsman escapeth in safetie.

The manner
of the Ele-
phants feeding
their want of
knees is a fable

In their feeding, they vse to shake and root vp the great Trees with the force of their shoulders, and strength of their whole backes: But the smaller Trees they take betweene both their Teeth, and so bow them and plucke them downe, that they may feede vpon the leaues of them: insomuch, as sometimes they breake one of their Teeth with so doing. And this is the cause why you shall find diuers of them in the fields that haue lost their Teeth. They chawe their meate with their short Teeth, which are not seene as their two long Tuskes are: and they carrie it to their mouth by their long Snout, or Trunke, which is to them in stead of an arme and a hand. The tip of their Trunke is fashioned and diuided into little slits, and (as it were) fingers, wherewith they will take vp very small things, as Nuts, and Strawes, and Berries, and so reach them to their mouth, as I, *Philippo Pigafetta* haue seene my selfe at *Lisbon*.

The shee-
Elephant.

The Females of these Creatures, doe beare their brood in their wombe for the space of two yeares and no more: And for as much as the yong Elephant cannot so quickly be brought vp, (for it groweth very slowly) the Milke is kept from it, and so it waxeth apt to feed of it selfe. And therefore Mother Nature hath provided that the Elephants are not great with young, but from seuen yeares to seuen yeares.

The Elephants
skinne.

Their skinne is hard beyond all credit. For being foure fingers thicke, it cannot be pierced, no not with the shot of an Harquebuss.

The manner
of taking the
Elephants.

The people of that Countrey haue not the skill to tame these beasts. Whereby they might reape great commoditie and profit, for carrying their stuffe from place to place for diuers other good vses. But yet they take them; by digging certaine deepe Trenches in the places, where they vse to pasture, which Trenches are very narrow at the bottome, and broad aboue, to the end the beast may not helpe himselfe, and leape out when hee is fallen into them. These Trenches they couer with Soddes of Earth, and Grasse, and leaues, because the beast should not see their traine, but passing ouer them remayne there entrenched. Whereupon the Gentleman beforenamed told me, that he had seene with his owne eyes a very strange and admirable thing in *Coanza*; namely, that a young Elephant following his Damme, fell downe by chance into one of these Pits, and after that she could not with all her skill and strength draw him out of it, she buried him therein, and couered him with Earth, with branches and with boughes, insomuch as she filled the pit vp to the top, to the end that the Hunters should not enioy her Calfe, choosing rather to kill it her selfe, then to leaue it to the mercie of the cruell Huntsmen. This louing and kind Mother, not fearing the people (that stood round about her, and shouted against her, and threatned her with sundry weapons, and vttered strange clamours and noyses to affray her, and cast many fires at her) but assuring her selfe in her owne strong and valiant nature, did labour and toyle from morning till night, that she might draw her Calfe out of the pit: and when shee found that it was not possible for her to archieue what shee desired, then she couered it in manner as we haue told you.

A strange ef-
fect of nature.

The nature of
the Elephant.

The Elephant is a very gentle beast, and trusteth greatly in his naturall strength. Hee feareth nothing, nor hurteth any man that doth not trouble him: and haunteth neere to mens houses, without doing any harme at all. If hee espie men that goe in his walke, hee will not meddle with them, vnlesse they seeke to molest him: sauing that sometimes peraduenture he will gently with his Snout, hoise them vpwards into the Ayre, whom hee meeteth withall in his way, and

and that is all the hurt he will doe vnto them. These Elephants doe greatly delight in waters. For *Signor Odoardo* affirmed, that in the way betweene *Cazanza* and *Loanda*, in a little grassie Valley he had seene about one hundred of them in a company, old and young that followed their Dammes: they vse to goe together in Herds, as Kine, and Camels, and other such like gentle Creatures doe, and not alone like Lions and other such wild beasts.

There are brought into the Countries of the *Anzichi*, some of the Hornes that grow vpon the nose of the Rhinoceros, that are both of great value and estimation, and also vsed for the helpe of diuers Diseases.

Rhinoceros, of
Abadas.
Lions.

There are in the Region of the *Anzichi*, Lions also, like the Lions that breed in other parts of the World, but they doe not vse to haunt the Region of *Bamba*: But in *Bamba* there are verie great store of Tygres, which are of the very same shape that those in *Florence* are, which *Signor Odoardo* saw there, and testified to be very Tygres indeed. They will not set vpon any men that are white, but onely such as are blacke: And it hath beene found, that when the white and the blacke haue slept together in the night-time, they haue slaine the black to deuoure them, and spared the white.

Tygres.

When they are hungry, they will be so bold as to fetch Cattle, euen out of the yards that are about the houses without any feare at all, when they cannot find any victuals abroad in the fields. They are very dangerous and hurtfull to all kinds of Creatures whatsoever they bee, and in that Language they are called, *Engoi*.

They are as fierce and cruell beasts as the Lion, and roare as the Lion doth. They are also altogether like the Lion, sauing onely in the colour of their haire; for the Tygre is spotted, but the Lion all of one colour. They vse to take and kill these Tygres after diuers manners. For besides that, which hath beene before spoken, they poyson them with *Sublimate*, or some other venome, mingled with flesh which is laid for them. Or else they tye young Goates at certaine Lines made like snares, and fastned about the stocke of a Tree, so that when the beast commeth to her prey, the Engine openeth it selfe, and the more the beast striueth withall, the more it is intangled, and so at last is hanged therein.

The manner
of taking the
tame Tygres.

Signor Odoardo told me, that he had gotten one of them, that was fifteene dayes old, and hee brought it vp with Goats Milke: which being afterwards growne bigger would follow him like a Dogge: and although it were tame, yet it would not willingly suffer any other to touch it, besides his Master. He would also roare mightily, and when hee was angry, his eyes would looke very terribly and fearefully. But in proceffe of time this Tygre killed a Dogge, belonging to the house, and also a Zebra, that were very deare to their Master, and thereupon, perceiuing how perillous a beast it was, hee slue it with an Harquebuss-shot. Hee reported, moreouer, that the Mostacchios of the Tygre are held in that Region to be mortall Poyson: for beeing giuen in meates, it procureth a man to die, as it were in a madnesse: And therefore the King doth punish all those that bring him a Tygres skin without the Mostacchios.

A tame Tygre.

There breedeth likewise in this Countey another Creature, which they call a Zebra, commonly found also in certaine Prouinces of *Barbary* and *Africa*, which although it be altogether made like a great Mule, yet is not a Mule indeed, for it beareth young ones. It hath a most singular skin, and peculiar from all other Creatures. For from the ridge of the chin downe towards the belly, it is straked with rowes of three colours, blacke, white, and browne Bay, about the breadth of three fingers a piece, and so meet againe together in a Circle, euery row, with his owne colour. So that the necke, and the head, and the Maine (which is not great) and the eares, and all the legs are so interchanged with these colours, and in such manner and order, as with out all faile, if the first strake beginne with white, then followeth the second with blacke, and in the third place the Bay: and so another course beginning in white, endeth still in Bay. And this rule is generally and infallibly obserued ouer all the bodie. The Tayle is like the Tayle of a Mule, of a Morell colour, but yet it is well coloured, and hath a glistering glosse. The feet like the feet of a Mule, and so are the hooves. But touching the rest of her carriage and qualities, she is very lustie and pleasant as a Horse: and specially in going, and in running, shee is so light and so swift, that it is admirable. Insomuch as in *Portugall* and in *Castile* also, it is commonly vsed (as it were for a Prouerbe) as swift as a Zebra, when they will signifie an exceeding quiknesse. These Creatures are all wild, they breed euery yeare, and are there in such abundance that they are innumerable. If they were made tame, they would serue to runne and to draw for the warres, and for many other good vses, as well as the best Horses that are.

The Zebra.

Necessitie hath taught them to vse men in steed of labouring Cattell. For either they lay themselves all along in certaine Litters (as it were) or else set themselves vpright, with shadowes ouer them to keepe them from the Sunne, and so they cause themselves to bee carryed too and fro, by their slaues, or by other men that for wages are alwayes readie at Poste-houses to that purpose. They that meane to iourney with speed, doe take with them many slaues, and when the first number are weary, then doe the second number vndertake the burden, and so successuely change one after another, as the *Tartarians* and *Persians* vse to doe with their Horses: and these men being thus accustomed to these labours, (and so often changing) will goe as fast as any *Po-stilion* gallop.

The manner
of the carrying
of the *Moci-
Conghi*.

The Dante.

There are also to be found in this Countrie, certaine other foure-footed beasts, somewhat lesse then Oxen, of colour Red, with hornes like Goats hornes, which are very smooth and glistering, and inclining to blacke, whereof they make diuers pretie knackes, as they doe likewise of the Buffes hornes. They haue their heads and their haire, like the heads & haire of Oxen: and their skins are of great estimation; and therefore they are carried into *Portugall*, and from thence into *Germanie* to be dressed, and then they are called *Dantes*. The King of *Congo* is very desirous to haue some men that had skill to cleanse them, and dresse them, and to make them fit for vse, to end he might employ them for Armour of defence. And yet those Nations doe already vse them for Shields and Targets; and doe find that they will resist the blow of a weapon, and especially the shot of an Arrow. They kill them with Harquebusses, and with Arrowes. But if they doe espie the Huntsman, they will set vpon him, and being by nature very fierce, and courageous, they will so knocke him and thumpe him with their feet, and their Muzzle (because they cannot doe him any harme with their hornes) that they will leaue him either halfe dead, or starke dead. There is also an infinite number of wild Buffes, that goe wandering about the Desarts, in the Kingdome of the *Anzichi*; and wild Asses likewise, which the *Greekes* call *Onagri*.

Wild Buffes.
Wild Asses.

Empalanga.

There are besides these, other beasts, called *Empalanga*, which are in bignesse and shape like Oxen, sauing that they hold their necke and head aloft, and haue their hornes broad and crooked, three hand-breadths long, diuided into knots, and sharpe at the ends, whereof they might make very faire Cornets to sound withall: and although they liue in the Forrests, yet are they not noysome nor harmefull. The skins of their neckes are vsed for shoo-soles, and their flesh for meate. They might likewise be brought to draw the Plough, and doe good seruice in any other labour, and tilling of the ground. Moreouer, they feed great herds of Kine, and tame Oxen, tame Hogs, and wild Boares, flockes of Sheepe and Goats. *Signor Odoardo* affirmed, that the Goats and the Sheepe doe bring forth two, and three, and foure Lambs or Kids at a time, and two, when they haue fewest, and neuer one alone at any time.

Other fruitfull
Cattell.

Wolues.

There are Wolues also which loue the Oyle of Palmes, beyond all measure. They will smell this Oyle as farre off, and steale it in the night time out of their houses of straw, and sometimes from those that carrie it by the way, whiles the poore soules doe rest themselves and sleepe. The Oyle (as shall be told you) is made of the Palme-tree; it is thicke and hard, like Butter. And it is a maruell to see, how these Wolues doe take a Bottle that is full of this liquor betweene their teeth, and so cast it on their shoulders, and runne away withall, as our Wolues here doe with a Sheepe. There are very great store of Foxes, that steale Hennes as our Foxes doe. And farther in this Countrie of *Bamba*, there is an innumerable quantitie of hunting game, as Stags, fallow Deere, Roe-buckes, and Gazels, whereof he affirmed that he had seene exceeding great herds, as also of Conies and Hares, because there were no Hunters to kill them.

Foxes.

Hunting
game.In Pemba, Ci-
uet-cats.

In the Region of *Pemba* there are many wild Ciuet-cats, which the *Portugals* call *Algazia*, and some of these, the people of that Countrie had made tame, that they might enioy their Ciuet, in the smell whereof they doe greatly delight. But this was before the *Portugals* did trafficke with those Countries. And in *Manibatta* there are caught many Sables, with very white haire, and exceeding fine, called *Incire*: but no man may weare these skinnes vnlesse the Prince permit him so to doe; for, it is held in great estimation, and euery Sable is worth a Slaue. Towards the *Anzichi* they catch Marterns also, wherewith they apparell themselves, as in due place we will note vnto you. Apes, Monkies, and such other kind of beasts, small and great of all sorts there are many in the Region of *Sogno*, that lieth vpon the Riuer *Zaire*.

In Anzigha,
Marterns.In Sogno, Apes,
and Monkies.Adders and
Snakes of an
huge scantling.The Author
doth not set
downe the
name. In Bra-
ssa they call it
Cucurynba.

Of Adders and Snakes you shall find some that are five and twentie spanne long, and five span broad: and the bellie and the mouth so large, that they can swallow and receiue into their bellie a whole Stag, or any other creature of that bignesse. And it is called, that is to say, A great Water-adder. It will goe forth of the water vp to the Land to prey for his victuals, and then returne into the Riuer againe, and so it lieth in both the Elements. It will get it selfe vp vpon the boughs and branches of Trees, and there watch the Cattell that feed thereabouts, which when they are come neere vnto it, presently it will fall vpon them, and wind it selfe in many twines about them, and clap his taile on their hinder parts, and so it straieth them, and biteth so many holes in them, that at last it killeth them. And then it draweth them into some Wood, or other solitarie place, where it deuoureth them at pleasure, skinnes, hornes, hooves and all. Now it falleth out, that when it is thus full, and (as it were) great with so monstrous a meale, it becommeth almost drunke, and very sleepe, so that any child may kill it. And in this sort will it remaine full and satisfied for the space of five or sixe dayes together, and then returne againe to prey. These Adders doe change their skinnes in their ordinarie seasons; yea, and sometimes after they haue eaten so monstrously, and the said Sloughs, when they are found, are gathered vp, and reserued for a shew of so vnmeasurable a Creature. These Adders are also greatly esteemed by the Pagan *Negroes*, for they doe vse to roast them, and eate them for meate, and make more account of them then they doe of Hennes, or any such delicate flesh. They find great store of them, when they haue occasion to burne their thicke Woods: for there they shall haue

haue them lying on the ground, roasted with the fire. Besides these there are Vipers also, well knowne vnto that People. Which Vipers are so venemous, that such as are bitten by them, doe die within the space of foure and twentie houres. But the *Negroes* are acquainted with certaine herbs that will heale their wounds.

There are also certaine other Creatures, which being as big as Rams, haue wings like Dragons, with long tailles, and long chaps, and diuers rewes of teeth, and feed vpon raw flesh. Their colour is blue and greene, their skinne bepainted like scales; and two feet they haue, but no more. The Pagan *Negroes*, doe vse to worship them as Gods, and at this day you may see diuers of them, that are kept for a wonder. And because they are very rare, the chiefe Lords there doe curiously preserue them, and suffer the people to worship them, which tendeth greatly to their profit, by reason of the gifts and oblations which the people offer vnto them. There are there also to be found Chamelions.

Other Serpents there are that are venemous, that carrie vpon the tippe of their tayle, a certaine little roundell like a Bell, which ringeth as they goe, so as it may be heard.

Estridges are found in those Parts of *Sundi*, and of *Batta*, that are towards the *Muzambi*. The young Estridges doe spring out of their egges; being warmed and disclosed by the eye and heate of the Sunne. Their feathers are vsed in stead of Ensignes and Banners in Warre, mingled with some plumes of the Peacocke, and are fashioned in the likenesse of a shadow against the Sunne. And forasmuch as I am fallen into the speech of Peacocks, I must tell you by the way, that in the Parts of *Angola*, there are Peacocks brought vp priuately in a certaine Wood that is compassed about with walls: and the King will not suffer any other bodie to keep those Birds but onely himselfe, because they are for the Royall Ensignes, as I told you before.

There are also *Indie-cocks*, and Hens, and Geese, and Duckes of all sorts both wild and tame: Partridges, so many as children take them with gins. Other Birds they haue likewise, as Pheasants, which they call Gallignoles, Pigeons, Turtles, and of these small Birds, called *Becca-fichi*, an infinite number. Birds of prey, as Eagles Royall, Faulcons, Gerfaulcons, and Sparrow-hawks, and others, great store, which notwithstanding the people neuer vse to hawke withall. Birds of the Sea, as Pelicanes (for so the *Portugals* doe call them) white and great, which swimme vnder the water, and haue their throats so wide, that they will swallow a whole fish at once.

This Bird hath so good a stomacke, and naturally so hot, that it easily digesteth the Fish that it swalloweth whole, and the skinne of it is so hot, that the people of that Countrie doe vse to weare them, and to warme their cold stomackes withall, and therefore make great reckoning of them. There are many white Herons, and grey Bittours, that feed in the Washes there, and are called, Royall Birds. Other Fowles there are of the likenesse of a Crane, with a red bill and red feet, as bigge as Storkes, and their feathers for the most part red and white, and some darke grey. Goodly Birds they are to looke to, and the people of the Countrie doe call them *Flemmings*, because they doe much resemble them, and are good meat to eate.

They haue Parrots of grey colour, great and very talkatiue: and others of greene colour, but they are little ones, and not so talkatiue. They haue likewise certaine small little Birds, which they call Birds of Musicke, and yet greater then the *Canarie* Birds, of feather and bill red: some greene, with their feet and bill onely blacke: some all white: some grey or dunne: some all blacke, and this kind is more sweet in their notes then all the rest afore-named; for you would thinke that they talked in their singing. Others there are of diuers colours, but they doe all sing in sundrie sorts, so that the chiefe Lords of those Countries, from ancient times to this day, haue continually kept them in Cages, and greatly esteemed them for their song.

§. II. III.

Of the fine other Prouinces of Congo, to wit, Sogno, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba.

His Countrie is bounded with the Riuer *Ambrize*, towards the North in seuen degrees and an halfe, and so trauersing the Riuer *Lelunda*, and the Riuer *Zaire*, it endeth at the Rockes, called *Berreuras Vermellias*, that is to say, the Red pits, which are in the Borders of the Kingdome of *Loango*. In the midst of this Prouince there is a certaine Territorie, called by the same name *Sogno*, where the Gouvernour of the Countrie dwelleth. The chiefe Lords that rule this Prouince, are called *Mani-Sogno*, that is, Princes of *Sogno*, and are commonly of the bloud Royall. The Prince that gouerneth there at this day, is called *Don Diego Mani-Sogno*. He hath vnder his dominion many other petie Lords, and other Prouinces, that in old time were free, and liued by themselves, as the People of *Mombalus*, situate somewhat neere to the Citie of *Congo*, which are now subiect to this government. And on the other side of the Riuer *Zaire* towards the North, is the Prouince of *Palmar*, that is to say, of *Palmes*, because there is great store of *Palme-trees* growing therein. Other Lords there are, that border vpon the King of *Loango*, who was sometime subiect to the King of *Congo*; but in proceffe

The second Prouince *Sogno*, and the description thereof. *Sogno* the chiefe Towne of this Prouince. * 1588. *Don Diego*, chiefe Gouvernour of *Sogno*, and those that rule vnder him.

The *Bramas*.

of time he became a free Lord, and now professeth himselfe to bee in amitie with the King of *Congo*, but not to be his vassall. The people that are vnder these Lords in those borders, are called the *Bramas*: and they reach within the Land, vnder the Equinoctiall line towards the East, to the bounds of *Anzicana*, all along the Mountaines which diuide them from the *Anzichi* vpon the North. They are called by the people of *Loango*, *Congreamolal*, because they were subiect to *Congo*.

The commodities of *Segno*.

In this Countrey of *Loango* there are many Elephants, and great store of Iuory, which they doe willingly exchange for a little Iron, so that for the naile of a ship (be it neuer so small) they will giue a whole Elephants tooth. The reason thereof, is either because there groweth no Iron in that place, or else they haue not the skill to get it out of the Mines where it groweth: But all the Iron they can get, they imploy for the heading of their Arrowes, and their other weapons, as we told you when we spake of the *Bramas*.

The manner of the life of the Inhabitants.

They make great store of Cloth of the Palme trees, whereof we made mention before: but these are lesser, and yet very fine. They haue great abundance of Kine, and of other cattell, before named. They are in Religion Pagans: their apparell after the fashion of the people of *Congo*: They maintaine warre with their bordering neighbours, which are the *Anzichi*, and the Inhabitants of *Anzicana*; and when they enterprise warre against the *Anzichi*, then they craue ayde of the people of *Congo*, and so they remaine halfe in freedome, and halfe in danger of others. They worship what they list, and hold the Sunne for the greatest God, as though it were a man, and the Moone next, as though it were a woman. Otherwise euery man chooseth to himselfe his owne Idoll, and worshippeth it after his owne pleasure. These people would easily embrace the Christian Religion: For many of them that dwell vpon the borders of *Congo*, haue beene conuerted to Christendome: and the rest, for want of Priests, and of such as should instruct them in the true Religion, do remaine still in their blindnesse.

Sunne worshipped.

The third Prouince *Sundi*, & the description thereof.

Sundi, is the neereft of all to the Citie of *Congo*, called, *Citta di San-Saluatore*, the Citie of Saint *Sanious*, and beginneth about fortie miles distant from it, and quite out of the Territorie thereof, and reacheth to the Riuer *Zaire*, and so ouer the same to the other side, where the *Caduta* or Fall is, which we mentioned before: and then holdeth on vp-wards on both sides towards the North, bordering vpon *Anzicana*, and the *Anzichi*. Towards the South it goeth along the said Riuer *Zaire*, vntill you come to the meeting of it with the Riuer *Bancare*, and all along the bankes thereof, euen to the rootes of the Mountaine of Cryfall. In the bounds of the Prouince of *Pango*, it hath her principall Territorie, where the Gouvernor lyeth, who hath his name from the Prouince of *Sundi*, and is seated about a daies iourney neere to the Fall of the Riuer, towards the South.

The chiefe Towne of *Sundi*.This Prouince of *Sundi*, is alwaies gouerned by the heire apparent of the King of *Congo*.

* 1588.

This Prouince is the chiefeft of all the rest, and (as it were) the Patrimony of all the Kingdome of *Congo*: and therefore it is alwaies gouerned by the Kings eldest Son, and by those Princes that are to succeed him. As it fell out in the time of their first Christian King, that was called *Don Iohn*: whose eldest sonne, that was Gouverneur heere, succeeded him, and was called *Don Alfonso*. And euer sithence, the Kings of *Congo* haue successiuelly continued this custome, to conigne this gouernment to those Princes which are to succeed in the Kingdome: As did the King that now is called *Don Aluaro*, who was in this gouernment before *Don Aluaro* the King his father died, and was called *Mani-Sundi*.

In all the kingdome of *Congo*, no man hath any thing of his owne whereof he may dispose, or leaue to his heires, but all is the Kings.

And heere by the way you must note, that in all the Kingdome of *Congo*, there is not any person that possesseth any proper goods of his owne, whereof he may dispose, and leaue to his heires: but all is the Kings, and he distributeth all Offices, all Goods, and all Lands, to whomsoever it pleaseth him; yea, and to this Law, euen the Kings owne sonnes are subiect. So that if any man doe not pay his tribute yearly (as he ought) the King taketh away his Gouernment from him, and giueth it to another. As it happened to the King that now liueth, who at the time that *Signor Odoardo* was at the Court, being of his owne nature very liberall, and bountifull beyond measure, and one that bestowed much vpon his seruants, could not discharge those impositions that the King had laid on him. Whereupon he was by the King depriued of his reuenues, of his gouernment, and of his royall fauour; that is to say, in that language, he was *Tombocado*, as we will declare more at full in the second part of this Discourse.

The manner of the life of *Sundi* Inhabitants.

Many Lords there are that are subiect to the Gouverneur of *Sundi*. The people doe Trafficke with their neighbour Countries, selling and bartring diuers things. As for example, Salt, and Cloathes of sundry colours, brought from the *Indies*, and from *Portugall*, and *Lumachette*, to serue for their Coyne. And for these commodities they doe exchange cloath of Palme Trees, and Iuory, and the skinned of Sables and Marternes, and certaine girdles wrought of the leaues of Palme trees, which are greatly esteemed in those parts.

There groweth in these Countries great store of Cryfall, and diuers kinds of Metall: but Iron they loue above all the rest, saying, That the other Metals are to no vse: for with Iron they can make Knives, and Weapons, and Hatchets, and such like Instruments, that are necessary and profitable for the vse of mans nature.

The Prouince of *Pango* in ancient time was a free Kingdome, that was gouerned of itselfe, and

and bordereth on the North vpon *Sundi*, on the South vpon *Batta*, on the West vpon the Countrey of *Congo*, and on the East vpon the Mountaines of the Sun. The principall Territorie, where the *Gouernors* dwelling is, hath the same name that the Prouince hath, (viz:) *Pango*. It standeth vpon the Westerne side of the Riuer *Barbela*, and in old time was called, *Pangue-lingos*: and intime afterwards, the word was corrupted and changed into *Pango*. Through the midst of this Prouince runneth the Riuer *Barbela*, which fetcheth his Originall from the great Lake, (whence the Riuer *Nilus* also taketh his beginning) and from another lesser Lake, called *Ache-lunda*, and so dischargeth it selfe into *Zaire*. And although this be the least Countrey of all the rest, yet doth it yeeld no lesse tribute then the rest.

The fourth Prouince *Pango*, and the description thereof. *Pango* the chiefe town of this Prouince *Barbela*.

- 10 This Prouince was conquered after the Countrey of *Sundi*, and made subiect to the Princes of *Congo*: and is now all one with it, both in speech and manners; neither is there any difference at all betweene them. The present *Gouernor* thereof is called, *Don Francesco Mani-Pango*, and hath remained in the government of this Region for the space of fiftie yeares, and no man euer complained of him.

Don Francesco, chiefe *Gouernor* of *Pango*.

The bounds of *Batta* are towards the North, the Countrey of *Pango*: on the East it taketh quite ouer the Riuer *Barbela*, and reacheth to the Mountaines of the Sunne, and to the foote of the Mountaines of *Sal-Nitre*. And on the South from the said Mountaines, by a line passing through the meeting of the Riuers *Barbela* and *Cacinga*, to the Mountaine *Brusciato*, that is to say, *Scorched*.

The fift Prouince *Batta*, & the description thereof.

- 20 Within these bounds is *Batta* contained, and the principall Citie where the Prince dwelleth, is likewise called *Batta*. In ancient time it was called *Aghirimba*, but afterwards the word was corrupted, and it is now called *Batta*. It was in old time a very strong and a great Kingdome, and voluntarily of it selfe, without any warre it ioyned it selfe with the Kingdome of *Congo*, peraduenture because there were some dissention among their Lords: and therefore it hath more preheminance then the rest of the Prouinces of the Kingdome of *Congo*, in priuiledges and liberties. For the Government of *Batta* is alwaies assigned to one, that is of the blood of the Kings of that Countrey, at their choise and pleasure, having no more respect to one then to another, so that he be of the stocke and blood Royall, neither to the eldest sonne, nor to the second. Neither yet goeth this Government by inheritance, but the King of *Congo* (as is told you before) doth dispose it at his owne pleasure to whom he thinketh best, to the end they should not vsurpe it by way of succession, or by rebellion. He dwelleth neerer the King then any other *Gouernour* or Lord of the Kingdome of *Congo*, and is the second person therein, neither may any man gaine-say his arguments and reasons, as they may any of the rest, for it is so decreed among them. Now if the line of the King of *Congo* should chance to faile, so that there were none of that blood to succeed, the succession shall fall vpon the *Gouernour* of *Batta*. He that now gouerneth there, is called, *Don Pedro Mani-Batta*.

Batta, the chiefe towne of all *Batta*.

The preheminance of the *Gouernor* of *Batta*.

Don Pedro, chiefe *Gouernor* of *Batta*.

1583. State ceremony.

- 40 Sometimes he eateth at the Kings owne Table, but yet in a baser seat then the Kings seat is, and that also not sitting, but standing; which is not granted to any other Lord of *Congo*, no nor to the sonnes of the King himselfe. His Court and his traine, is little lesse then the Court and traine of the King of *Congo*. For he hath Trumpets and Drums, and other instruments going before him, as becommeth a Prince.

He doth hold continuall warres with the *Pagans* that border vpon him, and he is able to gather together about seuentie or eightie thousand fighting men. And because he doth still maintaine warre with the people that are next him, he hath libertie granted vnto him to entertaine Harquebusiers, that shall be of his owne naturall subiects. For the King of *Congo* will not suffer any other *Gouernor* of any other Prouinces, nor any of their children, to haue any Harquebusiers that are borne within their Countrey, but onely the *Portugals*.

The King of *Congo* will not suffer any naturall borne subiect in *Congo*, to haue an Harquebusse.

- 50 Towards the East of *Batta*, beyond the Mountaines of the Sunne, and of *Sal-Nitre*, vpon the bankes of the East and West of the Riuer *Nilus*, and in the borders of the Empire of *Mohenbe-Muge* there liueth a Nation, which by the people of *Congo*, are called *Giaquas*, but in their owne language they are called *Agag*: Very fierce they are and warlike, much giuen to fight and pillage, and make continuall inroades into the Countreies neere adioyning; and sometimes among the rest into the Prouince of *Batta*. So that this Countrey must needs be in continuall Armes, and stand vpon good guard, and maintaine Harquebusiers to defend themselves from them.

The *Giaquas*. Of these, see *Andrew Battell*, which liued and warred with them.

The conditions of the people of *Batta*.

- 60 The Prince of *Batta* hath many Lords vnder him: and the naturall people of this Prouince are called *Monsobos*, and their language is well vnderstood by the Inhabitants of *Congo*. They are farre more rude and rusticall then the *Moci-Congi*, and the Slaues that are brought from thence, doe prooue more obstinate and stubborne, then those that come from other Countreies.

The sixt Prouince *Pemba*, and the situation thereof.

Don Antonio chiefe *Gouernor* of *Pemba*.

- The Prouince of *Pemba* is seated in the heart and middle of the Kingdome of *Congo*, compassed and comprised within the bounds before described, whose *Gouernor* is called *Don Antonio Mani-Pemba*, second sonne to King *Don Aluaro*, that dead is, and brother to the King that reigneth at this present. And for as much as his father did loue him dearly, he assigned vnto him

The chiefe
Citie of all
Congo, is situate
in this Pro-
vince of Pemba

The Courtiers
&c. dwell for
the most part
in Pemba.

him this Gouvernement, because he knew not what better thing to giue him, sauing the Realme it selfe : which in deed he would willingly haue bestowed on him, for that hee was more like vnto him in quality and nature then his eldest sonne was. But it would not be by reason of the law of the Kingdome, which would not haue yeelded thereunto.

This Countrey is the very Centre, and middest of all the State of Congo, and the originall of all the ancient Kings, and the Territorie where they were borne, and the chiefe and principall seat of all the other Prouinces and Principalities. And therefore the chiefe and royall Citie of all that Empire, is assigned to this Prouince, whereof we will hereafter deliuer you a full information. The Gouvernor of Pemba dwelleth in a Territory of the same name, situate at the foote of the scorched Mountaine, along the River *Loze*, which riseth out of the Lake, and runneth through the Region of *Bamba* into the Sea. The Courtiers and Lords, and Seruitors belonging to the King of Congo, haue their goods and possessions, and reuenues in this Prouince; because it is neere to the Court, and very conuenient for the conueighing of their victuals, and their other stufte vnto the Court. Some of these Lords, in that part specially, that bordereth vpon the aforesaid Prouince of *Bamba*, haue much adoe to keepe fight and defend themselves from the people of *Quizama*, because they are neere vnto them. For this people (as we told you) did rebell against the King of Congo, and reuolted from him, and doe professe that they will be at libertie, and gouerned of themselves.

HONDIVS his Map of Congo.



¶ V.

Of the situation of the Royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo: Of their first conuersion and Warre, thence arising betwixt the Kings two Sonnes.

The Territory
of the chiefe
Citie in all
Congo, containeth
in compasse
twentie
miles about.



Although the chiefe and Royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo be after a sort comprehended within the Prouince of Pemba, yet notwithstanding for as much as the gouernment thereof, and the Territorie thereunto belonging, which may in compasse amount to the space of twentie miles about, doth depend wholly of the King of Congo himselfe, we will place it in a seuerall Regiment, and intreat of it by it selfe.

This

This Citie is called *San Saluatore*, or *Saint Sauoir*, and in times past in that Countrie Language it was called *Banza*, which generally signifieth *The Court*, where the King or the Gouverneur doeth ordinarily sojourne. It is seated about one hundred and fiftie miles from the Sea, vpon a great and a high Mountaine, being almost all of a Rocke, but yet hauing a veyne of Iron in it, whereof they haue great vse in their housing. This Mountaine hath in the toppe of it a great Plaine, very well manured and furnished with Houses and Villages, contayning in circuit about ten miles, where there doeth dwell and liue; the number of one hundred thousand persons.

The chiefe Citie, called *San Saluatore*.
The situation of the Citie.
The Mountain whereupon it standeth.

The soyle is fruitfull, and the aire fresh, wholsome, and pure: there are great store of Springs, of indifferent good water to drinke, and at certaine times doe not harme any man: and of all sorts of Cattell great abundance. The top of the Mountaine is seuered and distinguished from all the rest of the Hill which is about it, and therefore the *Portugals* doe call it, *The Otheiro*, that is to say, A view, or a Watch-tower, or a Singular height, from whence you may take a sight of all the Champaine round about: onely towards the East, and towards the Riuer, it is very steepe and rockie.

The soyle, the aire, the waters and the Cattell.
The Otheiro.

For two causes did the Princes of this Kingdom place this habitation in the foresaid height of this Mountaine. First, because it lieth in the very middest, and (as it were) in the Centre of all the Realme, from whence hee may presently send aide to any part of his Kingdome, that may stand in need of reliefe: and secondly, because it is situated in a Territorie that is by Nature mounted aloft, hauing a very good aire, and of great safetie; for it cannot be forced. By the chiefe common high-way that goeth vnto the Citie, and looketh towards the Sea, being distant from thence one hundred and fiftie miles (as hath bene told you) which way is very large and competent, though it goe somewhat about in compasse, you shall ascend fise miles from the bottome to the top of the Mountaine. At the foot thereof on the East side there runneth a Riuer, whereunto the women doe descend by the space of a miles walke to wash their clothes. In diuers other parts thereof there are sundrie valleys planted and manured: neither doe they suffer any part of the Countrie thereabouts to be left vntilled or vnused, because it is the Countrie where the Court remaineth.

The reason why they build in this place.

1. In the middest of the Realme.
2. In a high place.

Five miles from the bottome of the Hill to the top. A Riuer at the Hill foot.

The particular situation of the Citie.
A seuerall place for the *Portugals*.
The Kings Palace.
The principall Church and Market place.

The Citie is seated in a corner or angle of the hill towards the South-east, which *Don Alfonso* the first Christian King did compasse about with walls, and gaue vnto the *Portugals* a seuerall place for themselves, shut vp likewise within walls. Then did he also inclose his owne Palace and the Kings Houses with another wall, and in the middest betweene these two enclosures left a great space of ground, where the principall Church was built, with a faire Market place before it. The doores and gates as well of the Lodgings of the Lords, as of the *Portugals* Inhabitations, doe open on the side of the said Church. For, in the vppermost end of the Market place doe diuers great Lords of the Court dwell, and behind the Church doeth the Market place runne into a narrow street, where there is also a gate, and beyond that gate many houses towards the East. Without these walls, (which doe enclose the Kings houses, and the Citie of the *Portugals*) there are a number of other buildings, erected by diuers Lords, every man making his seuerall choise of the place which he thinketh most fit and conuenient for his dwelling neere vnto the Court. So that the greatnesse of this Citie cannot well be determined or limited. Beyond these walls also, that thus doe compasse this Citie; there is a great champaine Plaine, full of Villages, and sundrie Palaces, where every Lord possesseth (as it were) a whole Towne within himselfe. The circuit of the *Portugals* Citie containeth about a mile; and the Kings houses as much. The walls are very thicke: the gates are not shut in the night time, neither is there any watch or ward kept therein.

Good store of waters

And although that Plaine doeth lie very high and aloft, yet is there great abundance of waters in it, so that there is no want thereof. But the Court and the *Portugals* Citie doe all drinke of a certaine Fountaine that springeth continually, towards the North, and lieth downe the hill, as farre as a Gunne will shoot: and from hence they doe fetch all their water, and bring it to the Citie in vessels of Wood, of Earth, and Leather, vpon the backs of their Slaves.

The Plaine very fruitfull.
Seuerall sorts of Graine.
Luco, Millet.

All this Plaine is very fruitfull, and well manured. It hath Meadowes full of Grasse, and Trees that are alwaies greene. It beareth sundrie sorts of Graine, but the principall and best of all is called *Luco*, which is very like to Mustard-seed, but that it is somewhat bigger. When it is grinded with Hand-querns (for so they vse to do) it yeeldeth a very white Meale, whereof they make Bread, that is both white, and also of a very good saueur, and wholsome withall: neither doth it giue place to our Wheat in any sort, sauing that they doe not celebrate the Sacrament with it. Of these Graines there now is great store, ouer all the Kingdome of Congo: but it is not long since that this Seed was brought thither from that part of the Riuer *Nilus*, where it falleth into the second Lake. There is also a white kind of Millet, called the *Mazza* of Congo, that is to say, The Corne of Congo: and another Graine which they call *Maiz*, but they make no account of it, for they giue it to their Hogs: neither doe they greatly esteeme of Rice. The foresaid *Maiz* they commonly terme by the name of *Mazza-Manputo*, that is to say, the *Portugals* Corne; for they call a *Portugall Manputo*.

White Millet, called the *Mazza* of Congo.
Maiz.

There

Diuers kinds
of Trees bea-
ring fruit.

Banana.

Diuers kinds
of Palme-trees.

The Oyle of
Palme.

The Bread of
Palme.

The fruit of
the Palme.

The Wine and
Vinegar of
Palme.

The fruit Cola.
See of it Fin-
ches Journall.

Andrew Battell
affirmed this
to be true.

Other kinds of
Palme-trees.

Trees called,
Ogheghe.

Great store of
stone to build
withall.

There are moreouer diuers and sundrie sorts of Trees, that beare very great store of Fruits, insomuch as the greatest part of the people doe feed vpon the Fruits of the Countrey, as Citrons, Lymons, and specially Oranges, very full of liquor, which are neither sweet nor sowre, and are ordinarily eaten without any annoyance or harme at all. And to shew the fruitfulness of this Countrey, the said *Signor Odoardo* reported, that he had seene from a kernell of the fruit of a Pome-Citrone, which was left within the rind thereof, there sprung vp within the space of foure dayes a pretie tall sprig. Other Fruits there are, which they call *Banana*, and wee verily thinke to be the *Muses* of *Egypt* and *Soria*, sauing that in those Countreies they grow to be as bigge as Trees; but here they cut them yeerely, to the end they may beare the better. The Fruit is very sweet in smell, and of good nourishment. In these Plaines there grow likewise sundrie kinds of Palme-trees; one that beareth Dates, and another that beareth the *Indian Nuts*, called *Cocoas*, because they haue within them a certaine shell that is like to an Ape: and thereupon they vse in *Spaine* to shew their children *Coccola*, when they would make them afraid. Another Palme-tree there groweth also very like to the former, but of a more strange and singular propertie: for it yeeldeth Oyle, Wine, Vinegar, Fruit and Bread. The Oyle is made of the shell of the fruit, and is of the colour and substance of Butter, sauing that it is somewhat greenish. They vse it, as other people doe vse Oyle and Butter, and it will burne like Oyle. They anoint their bodies withall; and besides, it is very good to eate. They presse it out of the Fruit, as Oyle is pressed out of the Oliues, and then they boyle it, and so preserve it. The Bread is made of the stone of the fruit it selfe, which is like to an Almond, but somewhat harder: and within the same is there a certaine kernell or pith, which is good to eate: very wholesome and of good nourishment. The whole Fruit, together with the outter shell is Greene; and they vse to eate it both raw and roasted. The Wine is drawn from the top of the Tree, by making an hole therein, from whence there distilleth a liquor like Milke, which at the first is sweet, but afterwards sowre, and in proceesse of time becommeth very Vinegar, to serue for Sallets. This Wine they drinke cold, and it moueth to vrine very much: so that in those Countreies, there is not a man that is troubled with Grauell or Stone in the bladder. It will make them drunke, that drinke too much of it: but indeed it is of a very good nutriment.

There are other Trees, that beare a certaine fruit, called *Cola*, as big as a Pine-apple, which hath within it other fruits like Chest-nuts, wherein are foure seuerall shells or skins, of red and Carnation colour. These they vse to hold in their mouthes, and chaw them, and at last to eate them, for the quenching of their thirst, and better relishing of their water. They comfort and preserve the stomacke, but aboue all other qualities, they are singular good against the diseases of the Liuer. And it is said, that the Liuer of a Henne, or of any other like Bird, which is putrified, and stinketh, being sprinkled ouer with the matter of this fruit, returneth into his former estate, and becommeth fresh and sound againe. This food is commonly and generally vsed among them all, and there is very great abundance of it: and therefore it is good cheape. Other kinds of wild Palme-trees there are, which yeeld diuers fruits that are eaten: and their leaues reserued to make Mats, wherewith their houses are couered; and Baskets and Skeps, and such other like Instruments that are necessarie for their daily vses. Other Trees there are likewise, called *Ogheghe*, which beare a fruit which is like a yellow Plumme, and is very good to eate, and hath a very sweet smell withall. Of these Trees they cut off the boughs, and plant them so thicke together, that they touch one another, and stand closely all in a ranke; so that when they are growne great, they make a strong Fence or wall about their houses, which being afterwards couered with Mats, it resembleth a handsome Court or Closse, wherein they vse to walke, (as it were) in an Arbour that maketh a great shadow, and defendeth them from the heate of the Sunne. In the midst of these enclosures, they vse to build certaine houses of wood, couered with straw, and diuided into sundrie conuenient roomes, all on the ground without any Stories or Sollers aboue them. These they doe line with very faire and delicate Mats, and furnish them with other ornaments in very handsome manner.

There are to be found among them many masses and lumpes of stone, which are of such thicknesse and hugenesse, that you may cut out a whole Church, euen of one whole piece; yea, and of the same kind of stone, whereof the *Obelisco* is made, that is erected before *Porta del Popolo* in *Rome*. Besides this, there are whole Mountaines of Porphyrie, of Iasper, and of white Marble, and of other sundrie colours, which here in *Rome* are called, Marbles of *Numidia*, of *Africa*, and of *Ethiopia*: certaine Pillars whereof, you may see in the Chappell of Pope *Gregorie*.

Other Stone there is, that is speckled with graines or strakes, but among all the rest, that kind is most admirable, which hath in it faire Iacynthes, that are good Iewels. For the strakes being dispersed like weynes ouer all the bodie of their Mother-stone, if you shall diuide them, and plucke them out as you would picke the kernells out of a Pomegranate, they will fall into graines and little pieces of perfect Iacynth. But if you please to make Pillars, or Obeliskes, or other such like memorials, of the whole masse, you shall see them shine and sparkle, full of most faire and goodly Iewels.

There

There are also other kinds of rare stones, which make a shew of metall in them, as of Copper, and of sundry other colours, that are very fresh, and bright, and smooth, whereof you may make Images, or any other worke of singular beautie. True it is, indeed, that they want Masons, and Cutters, and Playsterers, and Carpenters, and other such Artificers: for when the Churches, and the walls, and the other fabrickes in those Countries were built, the Workmen were brought thither out of Portugall.

Want of workmen to build.

There are also *Tamarindes*, and *Cassia*, and *Ceders* in such multitudes growing all along the River of Congo, besides other Trees of an unmeasurable length and thicknesse, that an infinite number of ships and houses may be builded of them. Their Gardens doe beare all manner of Herbes and Fruits, as *Pompions*, *Melions*, *Cucumbers*, *Coleworts*, and such like, besides other sorts that doe not agree with our Climates of Europe.

Stuffe for building ships and housing. Herbs & fruits.

The King of Portugall, Don Giouanni the second, being desirous to discover the East Indies, sent forth diuers ships by the Coast of Africa to search out this Navigation, who hauing found the Islands of Cape Verde, and the Ile of Saint Thomas, and running all along that Coast, did light vpon the River Zaire, whereof we haue made mention before, and there they had good Trafficke, and tryed the people to bee very courteous and kind. Afterwards hee sent forth (for the same purpose) certaine other Vessels, to entertaine this Trafficke with Congo, who finding the Trade there to bee so free and profitable, and the people so friendly, left certaine Portugals behind them, to learne the Language, and to Trafficke with them: among whom one was a Masse-priest. These Portugals conuersing familiarly with the Lord of Sogno, who was Uncle to the King and a man well stricken in yeares, dwelling at that time in the Port of Praza (which is in the mouth of Zaire) were very well entertained and esteemed by the Prince, and reuerenced as though they had bene earthly Gods, and descended downe from Heauen into those Countries. But the Portugals told them that they were men as themselves were, and professors of Christianitie. And when they perceived in how great estimation the people held them, the foresaid Priest and others began to reason with the Prince touching the Christian Religion, and to shew vnto them the errors of the Pagan Superstition, and by little and little to teach them the Faith which we professe, insomuch as that which the Portugals spake vnto them, greatly pleased the Prince, and so he became conuerted.

The first trafficke of the Portugals into Congo.

Mani-Sogno, the Kings Vncle, entertayneth the Portugals.

Mani-Sogno, conuerted and become a Christian.

With this confidence and good spirit, the Prince of Sogno went to the Court, to enforme the King of the true Doctrine of the Christian Portugals, and to encourage him that he would imbrace the Christian Religion which was so manifest, and also so wholesome for his soules health. Hereupon the King commanded to call the Priest to Court, to the end he might himselfe treat with him personally, and vnderstand the truth of that which the Lord of Sogno had declared vnto him. Whereof when hee was fully informed, he conuerted and promised that he would become a Christian.

The King of Congo, promisseth to become a Christian.

And now the Portugall ships departed from Congo, and returned into Portugall: and by them did the King of Congo write to the King of Portugall, Don Giouanni the second, with earnest request, that he would send him some Priests, with all other Orders and Ceremonies to make him a Christian. The Priest also that remayned behind, had written at large touching this businesse, and gaue the King full information of all that had happened, agreeable to his good pleasure. And so the King tooke order for sundry Religious persons, to be sent vnto him accordingly, with all Ornaments for the Church and other seruice, as Crosses and Images: so that he was thoroughly furnished with all things that were necessarye and needfull for such an action.

The King of Portugall sendeth Priests to the King of Congo to instruct him.

Mani-Sogno promoteth the Christian Religion.

The ships returne from Portugall, 1491.

Mani-Sogno & his traine entertayneth the Portugals.

Mani-Sogno buildeth a Church.

Mani-Sogno & his Sonne baptized.

In the meane-while, the Prince of Sogno, ceased not day and night to discourse with the Portugall Priest, whom hee kept in his owne House, and at his owne Table, as well that hee might learne the Christian Faith himselfe, as also instruct the people therein: so that hee began to fauour Christianitie with all his power.

At last the ships of Portugall, arrined with the expected provisions (which was in the yeare of our Salvation 1491.) and landed in the Port which is in the mouth of the River Zaire. The Prince of Sogno with all shew of familiar ioy, accompanied with all his Gentlemen, ranne downe to meete them, and entertayned the Portugals in most courteous manner, and so conducted them to their Lodgings. The next day following, according to the direction of the Priest that remayned behind, the Prince caused a kind of Church to be builded, with the bodies and branches of certaine trees, which hee in his owne person, with the helpe of his Seruants, most deuoutly had felled in the Wood. And when it was couered, they erected therein three Altars in the worship and reuerence of the most holy Trinitie, and there was baptised himselfe and his young Sonne, himselfe by the name of our Saviour, Emanuel, and his childe by the name of Anthony, because that Saint is the Protector of the Citie of Lisbon.

The men and women before this had no proper names agreeable to reasonable creatures, but the common names of Plants, of Stones, of Birds and of Beasts. But the Princes and Lords had their denominations from the Places and States which they gouerned. As for example, the foresaid Prince, which was the first Christian in Congo, was called Mani-Sogno, that is to say, The Prince of Sogno, and when hee was christned, was called Emanuel, but at this day they haue all in generall such Christian names as they haue learned of the Portugals.

After a Masse was celebrated and sung, one of the Priests that came from Portugall went vp, and made

A sermon containing the sum of Christian Religion. Mani Sogno rehearseth the Sermon to his people.

The Portugals goe to the Court to baptise the King.

How beautiful are the feet of them that bring tidings of peace? The Courtiers of Congo meet the Portugals.

The King himselfe receiveth them.

The Portugall Embassadour declareth his Embassage. The King reioyceth at the Embassage. The people reioyce at it.

The King vieweth the Presents sent vnto him by the King of Portugall.

Consultation among the Portugals for the Christning of the King, and for the building of a Church.

An insurrection rayfed by the Deuill, to hinder the progresse of Christian Religion.

made a briefe Sermon in the Portugall Language, declaring the summe of the new Religion, and faith of the Gospell which they had receined. This Sermon, the Priest that was left behind, having now learned the Congo speech, did more at large expound to the Lords that were in the Church: for the Church could not possibly hold the innumerable multitude of the people that were there gathered together, at the conuersion of their Prince: who afterwards came abroad vnto them, and rehearsed the whole Sermon, with great loue and charitie, mouing and exhorting them to imbrace likewise the true beliefe of the Christian Doctrine.

When this was done, all the Portugals put themselves on their way towards the Court, to baptise the King, who with a most feruent longing attended the same. And the Gouvernour of Sogno tooke order that many of his Lords should wait vpon them with Musicke, and singing, and other signes of wonderfull reioysing; besides, diuers slaues which he gaue them to carrie their stuffe, commanding also the people, that they should prepare all manner of victuall to bee readie in the streets for them. So great was the number of people, that ranne and met together to behold them, as the whole Champaigne seemed to bee in a manner couered with them, and they all did in great kindnesse entertaine and welcome the Portugall Christians, with singing and sounding of Trumpets and Cymbals, and other Instruments of that Countrey.

And it is an admirable thing to tell you, that all the streets and high-ways, that reach from the Sea, to the Citie of Saint Sauours, being one hundred and fiftie miles, were all cleansed and swept, and abundantly furnished with all manner of victuall and other necessities for the Portugals. Indeed, they doe vse in those Countries, when the King or the principall Lords goe abroad, to cleanse their wayes and make them handsome.

Three dayes iourney from the place whence they departed, they descryed the Kings Courtiers, that came to meet them, to present them with fresh victuals, and to doe them honour: and so from place to place they encountred other Lords, that for the same purpose were sent by the King to receiue the Christians, who were the Messengers and Bringers of so great a ioy. When they were come within three miles neere to the Citie, all the Court came to entertaine and welcome the Portugals, withall manner of pompe and ioyfulnesse, and with Musicke and Singing, as in those Countries is vsed vpon their solemnest Feast-dayes.

And so great was the multitude of people, which abounded in the streets, and that there was neither Tree nor Hillocke higher then the rest, but it was loden with those that were runne forth and assembled to view these Strangers, which brought vnto them this new Law of their Saluation. The King himselfe attended them at the gate of his Palace, in a Throne of Estate erected vpon a high Scaffold, where he did publikely receiue them, in such manner and sort as the ancient Kings of that Realme were accustomed to doe, when any Embassadors came vnto him, or when his Tributes were payed him, or when any other such Royall Ceremonies were performed.

And first of all, the Embassadour declared the Embassage of the King of Portugall, which was expounded and interpreted by the foresaid Priest, that was the principall Author of the conuersion of those people. After the Embassage was thus deliuered, the King rayfed himselfe out of his Seate, and standing vpright vpon his feet, did both with his countenance and speech, shew most eident signes of the great ioy, that he had conceined for the comming of the Christians, and so sate downe againe. And incontinently all the people with shouting, and sounding their Trumpets, and Singing, and other manifest arguments of reioycing, did approue the Kings words, and shewed their exceeding good liking of this Embassage. And further in token of obedience, they did three times prostrate themselves vpon the ground, and cast up their feet according to the vse of those Kingdomes.

Then the King tooke view of all the Presents that were sent him by the King of Portugall, and the Vestments of the Priests, and the Ornaments of the Altar, and the Crosses, and the Tables, wherein were depainted the Images of Saints, and the Streamers, and the Banners, and all the rest, and with incredible attention, caused the meaning of euery one of them to be declared vnto him, one by one. And so withdrew himselfe, and lodged the Embassadour in a Palace made readie of purpose for him, and all the rest were placed in other Houses of seuerall Lords, where they were furnished with all plentie and ease.

The day following, the King caused all the Portugals to be assembled together in priuate: where they deuised of the course that was to be taken for the Christning of the King, and for effecting the full conuersion of the people to the Christian Faith. And after sundry Discourses, it was resolved and concluded, that first of all a Church should bee builded, to the end that the Christning, and other Ceremonies thereunto belonging, might be celebrated therein with the more Solemnitie: and in the meane-while the King and Court should be taught and instructed in the Christian Religion. The King presently commanded, that withall speed provision should be made of all manner of stuffe necessary for this Building, as Timber, Stone, Lime, and Bricke, according to the direction and appointment of the Work-masters and Masons, which for that purpose were brought out of Portugall.

But the Deuill who neuer ceaseth to crosse all good and holy proceedings, rayfed new dissensions and conspiracies, by procuring a rebellion among certaine people of the Anzichi, and of Anzicana, which dwell

dwell upon both the bankes of the River Zaïre, from the foresaid falls upwards, to the great Lake, and are subiect and belonging to the King of Congo. Now this monstrous River being restrayned and kept backe by these falls, doth swell there mightily, and spreadeth it selfe abroad in a very large and deepe channel. In the breadth whereof there are many Islands, some small and some great, so that in some of them, there may be maintayned about thirtie thousand persons. In these Islands and in other places adioyning to the Rivers thereabouts, did the people make an insurrection, and renounced their obedience to the King, and slue the Governours that he had sent thither to rule.

The King must needs goe himselfe in person to pacifie these broyles: howbeit, he resolved to bee baptised before his going, and so was enforced to forbear the building of the Church of Stone, and withall speed, in stead thereof to erect one of Timber, which Church hee in his owne person with the aduice of the Portugals, did accomplish in such manner and sort as it ought to bee, and therein did receiue the Sacrament of holy Baptisme, and was named Don Giouanni, and his Wife Donna Eleonora, after the names of the King and Queene of Portugall, and the Church it selfe intituled and dedicated to Saint Sauour.

The same day, wherein the King was baptised, diuers other Lords following his example were baptised likewise, hauing first learned certaine Principles of the Christian Faith. And when all this was done, the King went in person to disperse the turbulent attempts of his Aduersaries, against whom hee found the Prince his Sonne, and the Lord of Batta already fighting with a formall Armie. But at the arrinall of the King, the Enemies yeilded, and submitted themselues to the obedience which before they performed: and so he returned in triumph to the Citie of Congo, and the Prince his Sonne with him, who presently was desirous to become a Christian, and was christned by the name of the first Prince of Portugall, called Alfonso: and with him also were christned many Gentlemen and Cavalieros, and other of his Seruants, that came with him out of his Prouince.

The Kings second Sonne, would not agree to receiue the new Religion, many other Lords fauoured him, who being addicted rather to the sensualitye of the flesh, then the puritie of the minde, resisted the Gospel, which began now to be preached, especially in that Commandement, wherein it is forbidden, that a man should haue any mo Wives but one.

The eldest Brother Don Alfonso, did with great seruencie, defend Christianitie, and burned all the Idols that were within his Prouince. The second Brother (called Mani-Pango, because hee was Gouernour of the Countrey of Pango) did resist it mightily, and had gotten the greatest part of the principall Lords of Pango to be on his side. For there were diuers of the new christned Lords, whose Ladies seeing themselues seperated, and forlorne of their Husband-Lords by force of the Christian Law, did take it as a great iniurie and scorne done vnto them, and blasphemed and cursed this new Religion beyond all measure. These Lords united themselues together with others, and began to plot Trecherie against Don Alfonso, hoping that if they could rid him out of the World, the Christian Faith would utterly cease of it selfe. And therefore Mani-Pango and his Complices gaue intelligence to his Father, that the Prince Don Alfonso fauoured the Christian Faction, onely to the end that vnder the colour of his countenance and fauor, they might raise an Insurrection & Rebellion against him, & so drine him out of his Kingdom.

The King gaue credit to their informations, and deprived his Sonne of the Government wherein hee was placed: But the Prouidence of God which reserued him for a greater matter, did relieue him by the good mediation and counsell of his friends, who entreated the King his Father, that hee would not be moued to anger, before he had examined the Answeres and Reasons of the Prince his Sonne. Wherein the King was especially perswaded by Mani-Sogno, who (as wee told you) was before christned, and called, Don Emanuel, and by good hap was in Court at that present. This man (being the ancientest Courtier and Lord of that time, singularly well beloued of the King and all his people) did with sound reasons and dexteritie of wit, procure the King to reuoke the sentence, with a speciall charge, that hee should not proceed with such rigour against the Gentiles, for the propagation and exaltation of the Christian Religion. But he being full of seruent charitie, and godly spirit, ceased not (for all that) to aduance the Faith of the Gospel, and to put the Commandements of God in execution.

Whereupon his Aduersaries who neuer rested from their former attempt, were continually at the Kings elbow, and sought by all cunning shifts and secret demises, to destroy that which the good Prince had builded, especially when they saw that the Prince of Sogno was departed from Court, and returned into his gouernment. So that no bodie being now left to protect and defend the Christian Religion, the King began to doubt of the Faith, which with so great zeale he had before imbraced: and therefore sent to his Sonne, that he should come againe to the Court, to make account of those Reuenues that hee had gathered within the Countrey of his Gouernment, with a full intent and meaning, indeed, to deprive him, when his accounts should be finished.

But he, in the meane-while, his Father being an old man, did by meanes of a naturall infirmitie depart out of this life. And his Mother who alwaies persuered constant in the Catholike Faith, louing her eldest Sonne most entirely, concealed the Kings death for the space of three dayes, being therein ayded and assisted by some of her trustie friends, & gaue it out, that the King had taken such order as no man might come vnto him to trouble him. In the meane season, she did secretly signifie to her Sonne, the death of his Father, which she would keepe close till his comming, and charged him without any delay, and in all haste to speed him to the Court.

The King buildeth in haste a church of timber. The King and Queene of Congo christned.

The Church of S. Sauours. Diuers Lords baptised.

The King goeth in person against the rebels, and discomfitteth them.

Mani-Sundi christned and many other with him.

Mani-Pango resisteth the Gospel. Polygamie.

Mani-Pango & his Complices accuse Mani-Sundi to his Father.

The King depriveth Mani-Sundi of his gouernment.

Mani-Sogno, maketh intercession for his Brother.

The King waereth in Religion, and calleth Mani-Sundi to account, of purpose to deprive him.

The King dyeth.

The Queene Mother sendeth in all haste for her Sonne Mani-Sundi.

The funerall
of King Iohn,
celebrated by
King Alfonso.

Mani-Pango,
rebelleth
against his
brother.

The King to
his Souldiers.

The King ere-
cteth a Crosse
of a great
length.

The miracle
which the au-
thor addes, I
haue omitted,
a vision of
light and fire
swords, as also
the vision of
our Ladie and
Saint Iames,
fighting a-
gainst Mani-
Pango.

The stratagem
of Mani-Pango,
turneth to his
owne destru-
ction.

The death of
Mani-Pango.
The building
of the Church
called Saint
Crosses.

King Alfonso
dispatcheth
the Portugall
Embassadour,
and another of
his owne into
Portugall.
The king com-
mandeth all
Idols to bee
brought in,
and all other
things that are
contrarie to
the Christian
Religion.

This shew did by certaine Runners, that from place to place, in conuenient distances and iourneyes, are alwaies readie like Postes, to conuey the precepts and commandements of the King ouer all the Realme. Whereupon he presently caused himselfe to be carried poste both day and night, by certaine Slaues according to the vse of that Countrey, and in one day and two nights, with most exquisite diligence, accomplished the iourney of two hundred miles, and so arrived at the Citie, before he was expected.

Now together with the death of the King, there was also published the succession to the Crowne of Don Alfonso, being then present, who in his owne person did accompanie the corps of his dead Father to the buriall, with all the Lords of the Court, and all the Christian Portugals, which was solemnized after the manner of Christendome, with seruice and prayers for the dead, and all this with such funerall pompe, as was neuer seene before among those people. But they which heretofore were aduersaries to this new King, doubting of their owne safetie, if they should remaine in the Court, united themselves with Mani-Pango, who was now departed into the Prouince of his owne Gouvernement, and while his father liued, was wholly employed in fighting against the Mozombi, and certaine other people that had rebelled against him.

Mani-Pango and his forces set forwards to the besieging of the Citie, with so great a noyse of warlike Instruments, and cries, and shottings, and terrible threatnings, that the poore few, which were in the Citie, as well Christians as others, fainted in their hearts, and failed in their courage, and came and presented themselves before the King, saying, that he had not power enough to resist so powerfull an Enemy, and therefore they thought it better for him to grow to some concord and composition, and to abandon the new Religion, which he had lately begun to professe, to the end he might not fall into the hands of his cruell aduersaries. But the King being resolute, and full of religious constancie, reproveth their cowardise, and called them dastards, and base people; and willed them, if they had any mind or desire to forsake him, and goe to the Enemy, that they should so doe. As for himselfe, and those few that would follow him, he did not doubt, but assuredly trust, though not with the possibilitie or strength of Man, yet with the fauour of God, to vanquish and overcome that innumerable multitude. And therefore hee would not request them either to ioyne with him, or to put their lines in hazard against his aduersaries for his sake, but onely they might rest themselves and expect the issue that should follow thereon.

He did presently cause a Crosse to be planted, and erected in the midst of the Market place, right against the Church, which his Father had builded. This Crosse was of a wonderfull length, for it was fourescore spanne long, and the Crosse-barre in proportion answerable thereunto. The Crosse is to be seene in the same place, wherein it was erected, at the front of the Church, which Church was called Saint Crosses, of the Crosse there planted. This Crosse the last King, that dead is, Don Aluaro, Father to the King that now is, renewed and made another of the same bignes that the first was of.

Mani-Pango terrified with visions, and not with his brothers forces, overcome with feare and danger ranne away, and fell into the Snares and Nets which he himselfe had laid for the Christians; For, lighting among the foresaid Stakes, he was with one of them thrust into the bodie, and so being surprized with an euill death, he finished his life, as it were in a rage. For you must understand, that the sharpe ends of the said Stakes, were envenomed with a certaine poyson, which taking hold of the blood, and entring somewhat into the flesh, would kill without all cure or remedie. By this victorie and death of his brother, did the King remaine in securitie and libertie.

All things well established, the King Don Alfonso tooke order, that they should presently goe in hand with the fabricke of the Principall Church, called Saint Crosses, which was so named of the Crosse that was there planted, (as wee told you before) and also because upon the Feast day of the holy Crosse, the first stone was laid in the foundation thereof. Moreover, he commanded that the men should bring stones, and the women should fetch sand from the Riuer, for the furthering of this worke. The King would needs be the first Porter himselfe, and upon his owne shoulders brought the first basket of stones, which he cast into the foundation, and the Queene her basket of sand likewise, thereby giving an example to the Lords and the Ladies of the Court to doe the like, and to encourage and hearten the people in so holy an action. And so this fabricke being furthered by so good Work-masters and Workmen, in a very short time was fully finished, and therein were celebrated Masses, and other Diuine Service, with great solemnitie, besides, a number of Lords and others, that were there baptised and christned: so that the multitude of such as came to be partakers of the holy Baptisme abounded so greatly, that there were not Priests enough to execute that office.

After this the King dispatched away the Portugall Embassadour, who till this time had remained at the Court, by reason of these troubles: and with him he sent also another Embassadour of his owne, called Don Roderico, and diuers others that were of kinne both to himselfe and to his Embassadour, to the end that they should learne, both the Doctrine of the Christians in Portugall, and also their Language, and further declare unto the King all these accidents that hapned.

Moreover, hee caused the Lords of all his Prouinces to be assembled together, in a place appointed for that purpose, and there publikely signified unto them, that whosoever had any Idols, or any thing else that was contrarie to the Christian Religion, he should bring them forth and deliuer them over to the Lieutenants of the Countrey. Otherwise, whosoever did not so, should be burned themselves, without remission or pardon. Which commanded was incontinently put in execution. And a wonderfull thing it is to be noted, that within lesse then one moneth, all the Idols, and Witcheries and Characters, which they

worshipped and accounted for Gods, were sent and brought vnto the Court. Many there were, that carried a deuotion to Dragons with wings, which they nourished and fed in their owne primate houses, giuing vnto them for their food, the best and most costly Viands that they had. Others kept Serpents of horrible figures: Some worshipped the greatest Goats they could get; some Tygres, and other most monstrous creatures; yea, the more uncouth and deformed the Beasts were, the more they were honored. Some held in veneration certaine vncleane Fowles, and Night-birds, as Bats, Owles, and Scritch-Owles, and such like. To be brieft, they did choose for their Gods diuers Snakes, and Adders, and Beasts, and Birds, and Herbs, and Trees, and sundry Characters of Wood and of Stone, and the figures of all these things aboue rehearsed, as well painted in Colours, as grauen in Wood and in Stone, and in such other stuffe. Neither did they onely content themselves with worshipping the said Creatures, when they were quicke and aline, but also the verie skinned of them when they were dead, being stuffed with straw.

The act of this their adoration, was performed in diuers sorts, all wholly addressed, and directed to expresse their humilitie, as by kneeling on their knees, by casting themselves groueling upon the earth, by defiling their faces with dust, by making their prayers vnto their Idols, in words and in actions, and by offering vnto them the best part of the substance which they had in their possession. They had moreover, their Witches, which made the foolish people to beleene that their Idols could speake, and so deceived them: and if any man being in sicknesse or infirmitie, would recommend himselfe vnto them, and afterwards that man recovered his health, the Witches would perswade him that the Idoll had bene angry with him, but now was appeased, and had healed him.

20 The King caused fire to be set vnto their Idols, and utterly consumed them. When he had thus done, he assembled all his people together, and instead of their Idols which before they had in reuerence, hee gaue them Crucifixes, and Images of Saints, which the Portugals had brought with them, and enjoined euery Lord, that euery one in the Citie of his owne Government and Regiment, should build a Church, and set up Crosses, as he had already shewed vnto them by his owne example. And then he told them, and the rest of his people, that he had dispatched an Embassadour into Portugall to fetch Priests, that should teach them Religion, and administer the most holy and wholesome Sacraments to euery one of them, and bring with them diuers Images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother, and of other Saints to distribute among them. In the meane while, he willed them to be of good comfort, and to remaine constant in the faith. But they had so liuely imprinted the same in their hearts, that they neuer more remembered their former beliefe in false and lying Idols.

Their deuout worshipping of Idols.

Witches.

The king commandeth euery Lord to build a Church, in the Citie of his owne government. Exchanged Imagerie.

He ordained moreover, that there should be three Churches builded. One in reuerence of our Sauour, to giue him thanks for the victorie which he had granted vnto him, wherein the Kings of Congo doe lye buried, and whereof the Citie Royall tooke the name, (for as it was told you before, it is called, S. Sauours.) The second Church, was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, the mother of God, called, Our Ladie of Help, in memorie of the succour which he had against his enemies: And the third, was consecrated to S. Iames: in honour and remembrance of the Miracle which that Saint had wrought by fighting in the fauour of the Christians, and shewing himselfe on Horse-backe in the heate of the battaile.

The King buildeth three Churches. One to Saint Sauour.

The second, to our Lady of Help.

The third, to S. Iames.

The ships returne from Portugall with Priests. Priests worshipped.

Not long after this, the ships arrived from Portugall, with many men that were skilfull in the holy Scriptures, and diuers religious Friars of the Orders of S. Francis, and of S. Dominick, and of S. Austine, with sundry other Priests, who with great charitie and feruency of spirit, sowed and dispersed the Catholike Faith ouer all the Countrey: which was presently embraced by all the people of the Kingdom, who held the said Priests in so high reuerence, that they worshipped them like Saints, by kneeling vnto them, and kissing their hands, and receiuing their blessing, as often as they met them in the streetes. These Priests being arrived into their severall Prouinces, did instruct the people in the Faith of Christ.

30

¶ VI.

The death of the King DON ALFONSO, and the succession of DON PEDRO. How the Island of S. THOMAS was first inhabited, and of the Bishop that was sent thither: The Kings lineage extinct: Inuasion of the Iagges: Their sauage conditions.

60 While these matters were thus in working for the seruice of God, and that Christianitie was now begun and increased with so happy successe, it pleased God to call away to himselfe the King DON ALFONSO, who at the time of his death, discoursed of the Christian Religion, with so great confidence and charitie, as it evidently appeared, that the Crosse and Passion, and the true beliefe in our Sauour Iesus Christ, was imprinted in the root of his heart. To DON PEDRO, his sonne and successour, he did especially and principally recommend the Christian doctrine, which indeed following the example of his father, hee did maintaine and vphold accordingly.

King Alfonso dieth.

Don Pedro succeedeth him.

In his time, there began to saile into these quarters a great number of vessels, and the Island of S.

The Ile of S. Thomas beginneth to be inhabited. The King of Portugall sendeth one to be Bishop of the Ile of S. Thomas, and of Congo.

The entertainment of the Bishop in Congo.

The Bishop foundeth the Cathedrall Church of S. Crosses.

The Bishop dyeth.

The second Bishop dyeth.

The King Don Pedro dyeth. Don Francisco succeedeth and dyeth. Don Diego the fift King.

The King Diego very sumptuous.

The third Bishop of S. Thomas, & of Congo

Thomas was inhabited with Portugals, by the Kings commandement. For before those dayes, it was all waste and desert within Land, and inhabited onely vpon the shoare by a few Saylers that came from the Countries adioyning. But when this Iland in proceffe of time was well peopled with Portugals, and other Nations, that came thither by licence of the King, & became to be of great Trafficke, and was Tilled and Sowed, the King sent thither a Bishop, to gouerne the Christians that were in that Iland, and those also that were in Congo: which the said Bishop did accomplish presently vpon his arriuall, and afterwards in Congo, where hee tooke possession of his Pastorall charge. When he was come into the Kingdome of Congo, it was a thing incredible to see, with how great ioy he was entertained by the King and all his people.

For from the Sea side, euen unto the Citie, being the space of one hundred and fiftie miles, he caused the streetes to be made smooth and trim, and to bee conered all ouer with Mats, commanding the people, that for a certaine space seuerally appointed vnto them, they should prepare the waies in such sort, that the Bishop should not set his foot vpon any part of the ground which was not adorned. But it was a far greater wonder, to behold all the Countrey thereabouts, and all the Trees, and all the places that were higher then the rest, swarming with men and women that ran forth to see the Bishop, as a man that was holy and sent from God, offering vnto him, some of them Lambs, some Kids, some Chickens, some Partridges, some Venison, and some Fish, and other kinds of victuals in such abundance, that he knew not what to doe withall, but left it behind him; whereby he might well know the great zeale and obedience of these new Christians. And aboue all other things it is to be noted for a memorable matter, that the Bishop going on his way, there met him an innumerable multitude of men, and women, and griles, and boyes, and persons of fourescore yeares of age, and aboue, that crossed him in the streets, and with singular tokens of true reliefe required the water of holy Baptisme at his hands: neither would they suffer him to passe untill he had giuen it them: so that to satisfie their desires, hee was greatly stayed in his voyage, and was faine to carrie water with him in certaine vessels, and Salt, and other prouision necessary for that action.

And now I will tell you, he arriued at the Citie of Saint Sauours, where he was met by the Priests, and by the King, and by all the Court, and so in procession entred into the Church, and after due thanks giuen to God, he was conducted to his lodging, that was assigned vnto him by the King. And then presently he beganne to reforme and reduce to good order, the Church it selfe, and the Friers, and Priests that dwell therein: ordaining the said Church to be the Cathedrall Church of Saint Crosses, which at that time had belonging vnto it eight and twentie Canons, with their Chaplaines, and a Master of the Chappell, with Singers, and Organs, and Bels, and all other furniture meete to execute Diuine seruice. But this Bishop who laboureth in the Lords Vineyard, sometimes in Congo, and sometimes in the Ile of Saint Thomas, going and comming continually by ship, the space of twentie daies, and still leaning behind him, his Vicars in the place where he himselfe was absent, at the last dyed, and was buried in the Iland of Saint Thomas.

After this Bishop, succeeded another Bishop in Congo, being a Negro, and descended of the blood Royall, who before had bene sent by King Altonso first into Portugall, and afterwards to Rome, where he learned the Latine tongue, and the Christian Religion, but being returned into Portugall, and landed out of his ship, to goe and enter vpon his Bishopricke of Saint Sauours, he dyed by the way: whereupon the Kingdome remained without a Pastor for the space of diuers yeares. Don Pedro also the King aforesaid, dyed likewise without Children; and there succeeded him his Brother, called, Don Francisco, who in like manner lasted but a while: and then was created the fift King, named Don Diego, who was next of all the race Royall: A man of haughtie courage, and magnificall, and witty, of a very good disposition, wise in counsell, and aboue all other qualities, a maintainer of Christian Faith: and in briebe, so great a Warriour he was, that in few yeares he conquered all the Countries adioyning. He loued the Portugals very much, so that he forsooke the vsuall garments of his owne naturall Countrey, and attired himselfe after the Portugall fashion. He was very sumptuous, as well in his apparell, as also in the ornaments and furniture of his palace: he was besides very courteous and liberal, and would bestow largely, both vpon his owne Subiects, and also vpon the Portugals. With great cost would he provide and buy such stuffe as pleased him, and would often say, that Rare things should not be in the hands of any but onely of Kings. He vsed to weare one suite of apparell but once or twice, and then he would giue it away to his followers. Whereupon the Portugals perceiuing, that he did so greatly esteeme cloath of Gold and Arras, and such other costly household-stuffe, they brought great store thereof out of Portugall, so that at that time, Arras-hangings, and Cloth of Gold, and of Silke, and such like Lordly furniture, began to be of great estimation in that Kingdome.

In the time of this King, there was a third Bishop of Saint Thomas, and Congo, by Nation a Portugall, who with the vsuall ceremonies was entertained both by the way, and also in the Court at Saint Sauours. And now euery man esteemed himselfe not onely to be as good as the Bishop, but also to be a farre better man then he was; and therefore would yeeld no obedience to their Prelate. But the King like a good Catholike, and a faithfull, did alwaies maintaine the Bishops part, and to cut off these troubles and stirres, he sent some of these Priests to prison into Portugall, and others into the Ile of Saint Thomas, and some others went away with all their substance of their owne accord.

Also after the death of this King, there started vp three Princes at once to challenge the succession.

cession. The first was the Kings Sonne, whom few of them fauoured, because they desired to haue another, so that hee was slaine incontinently. The two other that remained were of the blood Royall: one of them was created King by his fauourites and followers, with the good liking of the greater part of the people, but vtterly against the minds of the Portugals, and certaine of the Lords, who aymed and endeauoured to set vp the other. In so much as the foresaid Lords, together with the Portugals, went into the Church to kill the King elected: making this reckoning with themselves, that if they slue him, the other must of necessitie bee made King. But at that very selfe-same time, those of the contrary faction had slaine the King that was already made by the Portugals, perswading themselves assuredly, that he being dead, there would be no difficultie for them to obtaine the State for their King, because there was none other left, that by law could challenge the Scepter Royall. And thus in an houre, and in two seuerall places, were these two Kings murdered at once.

In these conspiracies and slaughters, when the people saw that there were no lawfull persons left to enioy the Royall Crowne, they laid all the blame vpon the Portugals, who were the causers of all these mischiefs: and thereupon they turned themselves against them, and slue as many of them as they could find: Onely they spared the Priests, and would not touch them, nor any other that dwelt in other places.

The Portugals
slaine and dis-
persed.

Seeing therefore (as before is said) that there was none of the blood Royall left to be placed in the Gouvernment, they made choise of one Don Henrico, Brother to Don Diego the King deceased. And this Henrico going to waire against the Anzichi, left behind him in his stead for Gouvernour, vnder the Title of King, one Don Aluaro, a young man of five and twenty yeares of age, sonne to his Wife by another Husband. But Don Henrico dyed shortly after the warre was ended, and thereupon the said Don Aluaro was with the common consent of them all elected King of Congo, and generally obeyed of euery man. And thus failed the Royall stocke of the ancient Kings of Congo, in the person of Don Henrico.

Don Henrico
created King.

King Henrico
dieth, and Don
Aluaro succee-
deth: and so
the stocke of
the ancient
Kings of Congo
ceased.
King Aluaro re-
storeth the
Portugals.

But Don Aluaro was a man of good iudgement and gournment, and of a milde disposition, so that he did presently appease all these tumults in his Kingdome, and caused all the Portugals that by the last warres were dispersed ouer all the Countreys thereabouts, to be gathered together, as well religious persons as lay men, and by their meanes he was much better confirmed in the Catholike Faith, then he was before.

Moreover, he vsed them very courteously, and cleared them of all faults that were laid to their charge, declaring vnto them by gentle discourses, that they had not beene the occasion of the former troubles, as euery man would confesse and acknowledge: and to that effect hee determined with himselfe to write a large information touching all these accidents to the King of Portugall, and to the Bishop of Saint Thomas, which he did accordingly, and dispatched certaine Messengers vnto them with his letters.

When the Bishop of Saint Thomas understood these newes, he was very glad thereof, and whereas before he durst not aduenture to goe into the Kingdome of Congo in the heate of all those troubles, he did now presently take ship and sayled thither, where he employed himselfe wholly with all his authoritie, to pacifie his former dissensions, and to set downe order for all such matters as concerned the worship of God, and the office of his Priests. And a while after he had so done, he returned to his habitation in the Ile of Saint Thomas, where by meanes of sicknesse he finished his daies. And this was the third time, that those parts remained without a Bishop.

The Bishop of
S. Thomas re-
turneth into
Congo.
The Bishop of
S. Thomas dieth.

Now it came to passe, that for want of Bishops, the King and the Lords, and the people likewise began to waxe cold in the Christian Religion, euery man addicting himselfe licentiously to the libertie of the flesh, and especially the King, who was induced therunto by diuers young men of his owne age, that did familiarly conuerse with him. Among whom there was one principall man, that was both a Lord, and his Kinsman, called Don Francisco Bullamatore, that is say, Catch-stone. This man, because he was a great Lord, and wholly estranged from all instructions of Christianitie, walked inordinately after his owne pleasure, and did not sticke to defend openly, That it was a very vaine thing to keepe but one Wife, and therefore it were better to returne to their former ancient custome. And so by his meanes did the Deuill open a gate, to the ouerthrow and destruction of the Church of Christ in that Kingdome, which untill that time with so great paine and trauaile had beene there established. But afterwards the man did so wander and stray out of the way of truth, that he fell from one sinne to another, and in the end quite relinquished and abandoned all true Religion. Yet at the last, the said Francisco died, and was solemnly buried.

King Aluaro li-
ueth licenti-
ously.

Francisco Bulla-
matore, an ill
companion &
Counsellour
to the King.

Bullamatore di-
eth: and as
they say, cari-
ed out of his
grauely De-
uils.

For not long after, there came to rob and spoyle the Kingdome of Congo, certaine Nations that liue after the manner of the Arabians, and of the ancient Nomades, and are called Giachas. Their habitation or dwelling is about the first Lake of the Riuer Nilus, in the Prouince of the Empire of Moenemugi. A cruell people they are, and a murderous, of a great stature, and horrible countenance, fed with mans flesh, fierce in battell, & valarous in courage. Their weapons are Pauises or Targets, Darts and Daggers: otherwise they goe all naked. In their fashions and daily courte of liuing, they are very sauage and wilde: They haue no King to gouerne them, and they leade their life in the Forrest vnder Cabbins and Cottages like Shepheards.

What people
the Giachas
are: Their
conditions,
and weapons.
Of these, see
Andrew Battell,
Chap. 3. which
better knew
them.

The *Giachas* spoile the province of *Batta*. The *Giachas* come to the Royall Citie of *Congo*.

King *Aluaro* flyeth into the Ile of *Horse*. The *Giachas* surprise the Citie, and rule ouer all the Kingdome.

The King, and those that followed him, plagued with an extreame famine.

Many of the bloud Royall sold for Slaues to the *Portugalls*.

King *Aluaro* fleeth into a drop sicke.

King *Aluaro* sendeth to the King of *Portugall* for succor. Don *Sebastiano* the King of *Portugall* sendeth succor vnto him. *Francisco di Gouea* restoreth the King, and driueth the *Giachas* out of *Congo*.

Francisco di Gouea, after foure yeeres returneth into *Portugall* with letters for more Priests.

The King becommeth a good Christian, and marieth.

This people went wandring vp and downe, destroying, and putting to fire and sword, and robbing and spoyling all the Countreies that they passed through, till they came to the Realme of *Congo*, which they entred on that side where the Prouince of *Batta* lyeth. Those that first came forth to make resistance against them, they ouerthrew, and then addrested themselves towards the Citie of *Congo*, where the King remayned at that time in great perplexitie, for this victorie that his enemies had gotten in the Countrey of *Batta*: yet some comfort he tooke to himselfe, and went out against his Aduersaries with such Souldiers as he had, and in the same place, where in times past *Mani-Pango* fought with the King *Don Alfonso*, he ioyned battell with them. In which encounter the King being halfe discomfited, retyred into the Citie, wherein when hee perceiued that he could not remayne in good safetie, being vtterly forsaken of the grace of God 10 by reason of his sinnes, and not hauing that confidence in him, that *Don Alfonso* had, he thought good to leaue it for a prey to his Aduersaries, and to betake himselfe to an Iland within the Riuer *Zaire*, called *Isola del Canallo*, that is to say, The Ile of *Horse*; where he continued with certaine *Portugall* Priests, and other principall Lords of his Kingdome. And thus were the *Giachi* become Lords and Masters of the Citie Royall, and of the whole Realme. For the naturall Inhabitants fled away, and saued themselves in the Mountaynes, and desert places: but the enemies burned and wasted, Citie, and Churches, and all, and spared no mans life, so that hauing diuided themselves into seuerall Armies, they ruled and gouerned sometimes in one Prouince, and sometimes in another ouer all the Kingdome.

As for the poore people, they went wandring like Vagabonds ouer all the Countrey, and perished for hunger and want of necessaries. And for the King with those that followed him, and had saued themselves in the Iland, they also, because the Ile was very little, and the multitude great, were oppressed with so terrible a scarcitie of victualls, that the most part of them died by famine and pestilence. For this dearth so increased, and meate arose to, so excessive a rate, that for a very small pittance (God wor) they were faine to giue the price of a slaue, whom they were wont to sell for ten Crownes at the least. So that the Father was of necessitie constrained to sell his owne Sonne; and the Brother, his Brother, and so euery man to prouide his victualls by all manner of wickednesse. The persons that were sold, for the satisfying of other mens hunger, were bought by the *Portugall* Merchants, that came from *Saint Thomas* with their ships laden with victualls. Those that sold them, said, they were Slaues; and those that were 30 sold, iustified and confirmed the same, because they were desirous to be rid of their greedie torment. And by this occasion there was no small quantitie of Slaues, that were borne in *Congo*, sold vpon this necessitie, and sent to the Ile of *Saint Thomas*, and to *Portugall*, among whom there were some of the bloud Royall, and some others, principall Lords.

By this affliction, the King did manifestly learne and know, that all these great miseries and aduersities abounded for his misdeeds: and although he was not much punished with hunger, because he was a King, yet he did not escape the cruell infirmitie of the drop sicke, that made his legs to swell exceedingly, which disease was engendred, partly by the aire, and very ill diet, and partly by the moystnesse of the Iland, and so it accompanied him euen vntill his death. But in the meane while, being stricken to the heart with these misfortunes and calamities, he conuer- 40 ted and turned to God, requiring pardon for his offences, and doing penance for his sinnes: and then was counselled and aduised by the *Portugalls*, that he should send to request succours of the King of *Portugall*, by certaine Embassadors, that might recount vnto him all the mischiefs which had lighted vpon him. This embassage was accordingly performed, at the same time that the King *Don Sebastiano* began his reigne, who with great speed and kindnesse sent him succours by a Captaine, called *Francisco di Gouea*, a man well exercised in diuers warres, both in *India*, and also in *Africa*, who lead with him sixe hundred Souldiers, and many Gentlemen Adventurers, that did accompanie him.

This Captaine, *Francisco di Gouea*, carried with him a commandement from his King, that the 50 Iland of *Saint Thomas* should prouide him ships and victualls, and whatsoever else was requisite for this enterprise. And with this prouision he arriued at the last in the Ile of *Horse*, where the King of *Congo* was resident. In whose companie the *Portugalls* departing from thence, and gathering together all the men of warre in that Countrey, with all speed possible, put themselves on wards against their Aduersaries, and fought with them sundrie times in plaine battell, so that at the end of one yeere and a halfe, they restored the King into his former estate. Which victorie they atchieued indeed by the noyse and force of their Harguebusses, for the *Giachi* are exceedingly afraid of that weapon.

The *Portugall* Captaine stayed there for the space of foure yeeres, to settle the King in his Kingdome, and then returned into *Portugall* with letters of request to his King, that hee would send ouer some more Priests to vphold and maintayne the Christian Religion. And the King be- 60 ing thus established in his former degree, and the Kingdome all in quiet and peace, became a very good Christian, and married the Lady *Katharina*, who is yet alieue; by whom hee had foure daughters, and by certaine Maid-seruants, which he kept, two sonnes and one daughter. And because in those Regions the women doe not succeed: there remayned as Heire of his Kingdome his elder sonne, called also *Don Aluaro*, who liueth at this day, 1588. During

During the time, that the foresaid Captaine stayed in Congo, the King of Portugall, Don Sebastiano vnderstanding, that there were in that Kingdome diuers Caues and Mines of Siluer, of Gold, and other Metals, sent thither two persons that were cunning and skilfull in that Arte, (for therein they had serued the Castilians in the West) to make search for them, and to draw some profit thereof. But the King of Congo was by a certaine Portugall, called Francisco Barbuta, that was his Confessor, and great familiar, perswaded to the contrarie, that he should not in any case suffer those Mines to be discovered: signifying vnto him, that thereby peradventure the free enioying and possession of his Kingdome, might by little and little be taken quite from him, and therefore aduised him that he would cause these skilfull Masters to bee led and guided by some other wayes, where he knew there were no metall Mines to be found, which he did accordingly. But assuredly, it grew afterwards to a great mischief: for, thereupon began the great trade and trafficke in that Countrey to cease, and the Portugall Merchants did not greatly care for venturing thither, or dwelling there any more. And so consequently, very few Priests resorted among them. So that as well vpon these occasions, as also for other such causes afore rehearsed, the Christian Religion waxed so cold in Congo, that it wanted very little of being utterly extinguished. But the King Don Aluaro ceased not still to send new Embassadors into Portugall, with earnest request that he might haue more Priests, and such as were skilfull in the holy Scriptures to maintaine the Catholike Faith, which was now almost utterly forgotten in that Realme, onely for want of religious persons, that should teach the people and administer the Sacraments. He had none other answer from him, but words and promises, that he would haue a care of the matter that was demanded: but in the meane while he provided neither Priests, nor Diuines to be sent for Congo. Whereupon the King of Congo dispatched againe another principall Embassadour, being his kinsman, called Don Sebastiano Aluarez, together with a Portugall, to beare him companie. But he was faine to returne home againe into Congo, without any Priests or Religious persons to goe with him.

Three yeeres after, the King Don Sebastiano dispatched a certaine Bishop (called Don Antonio de gli Oua, being a Castilian borne) principally to the Iland of Saint Thomas: but withall hee gaue him also a commission to visite the Kingdome of Congo: who being arrined at Saint Thomas, fell at iarre with the Captaine there, and so sailed into Congo; there he stayed eight moneths, and then departed againe, and left behind him in Congo, two Friars, and foure Priests. The Bishop being thus gone, and the King ouerthrowne in Africa, there was exalted to the Crowne of Portugall, Don Henrico the Cardinall, to whom the King of Congo did write, with great instance, and earnest request; that hee would send him some religious persons, and Preachers.

After Don Henrico succeeded Philip King of Castile, who sent advertisements to the Captaine of Saint Thomas, that he was inuested in the Crowne of Portugall, and Letters also to the King of Congo, to the same effect: and in his Letters proffered to discover vnto him the metall Mines, which heretofore had bene concealed from all the other Kings his Predecessors: and withall sent him diuers trials of them; beseeching him especially withall affectionate entreatie, that (as soone as possibly he could) he would furnish him with some store of Priests: But Costa, which was sent, died by the way, the Vessell wherein he sailed being cast away vpon the shoare of Portugall, and euery man drowned that was in it: and the naughtie newes were knowne by the contents of the Letters, that were found in a little Chest, which was driuen on Land by the waues of the Sea.

After this he made choise of one Odoardo Lopez a Portugall borne, from whose mouth Pigafetta tooke this present report, and put it in writing. This man had dwelt now a good time in those Regions, and was well experienced in the affaires of the World.

The summe of his Embassage was this: That he should present his Letters to the King Don Philip, and at large discourse vnto him the state, wherein the Kingdome of Congo stood, touching matter of Religion, by the reason of the former Warres, and scaritie of Priests, and thereupon request his Maiestie to provide him a competent number of Confessors, and Preachers, that might be sufficient to maintaine the Gospell in those remote Countreies, being lately conuerted to Christianitie. Moreover, that he should shew vnto him the sundrie trials of Metals, which he had made, and many other matters, which were worthe to be knowne: and withall, that he should proffer vnto him in his name, free and liberall trafficke of them, which heretofore was euer denied to his Predecessors. Touching the Pope, That he should likewise on his behalfe kisse his feet, deliuer vnto him his Letters, and recount the miserable trouble and detriment that his people had suffered for the Christian Faith. That he should recommend those poore soules to his Holinesse, and beseech him, as the vniuersall Father of all Christians, to haue compassion vpon so many faithfull persons, who because they had no Priests to deliuer the holy Faith vnto them, and to administer the wholesome Sacraments, were by little and little falling into euerlasting perdition. And being thus dispatched he departed from the Court, and went about certain seruices for the King, wherein he spent about eight moneths. So that in Ianuarie, being then Sommer time in Congo, he embarked himselfe in a Vessell of one hundred Tunne burthen, which was bound with her lading for Lisbon. But forced by leakes and winds, the Pilot thought it better to turne his courle, and taking the wind in the poope, to goe and saue themselves in the Ilands of Noua Hispania. And they arrived with much adoe, at a little Iland, called Cubagoa; and situate ouer against the Ile of Saint Margarete, where they fish for Pearles. From thence, when they had in some haste amended

The K. of Portugall sendeth to make search in Congo for metall Mines. Francisco Barbuta dissuadeth the King from making the search, and auoydeth it by policie.

The inconuenience of not suffering the metall Mines to be digged and melted. Priests resort not to saue

soules so much as to get gold. The King sendeth new Embassadors into Portugall for more Priests.

Don Sebastiano was faine to returne into Congo without any Priests. Antonio de gli Oua sent by the Portugall King to be Bishop of Saint Thomas, and

Congo. Don Sebastian K. of Portugall ouerthrowne in Africa, and Don Henrico the Cardinall succeeded.

Philip King of Spaine succeedeth the Cardinall.

The King of Congo offereth King Philip of Spaine the discoverye of the metall Mines in Congo, with request for Priests.

Costa dieth by the way, and his message knowne by letters that were found.

The Embassage of Odoardo Lopez to the K. of Spaine. His Embassage to the Pope.

The Ile of Cubagoa. The Ile of Saint Margarete.

Cumana or the new kingdome of *Granada* in the West Indies. The ship sunke in the Haven. *Odoardo Lopez* stayeth in *Cumana*, a yeare and a halfe. The King of *Congo* sendeth *Don Pedro Antonio*, and *Gaspar Diaz* a *Portugall*, with the same Embassage which he sent by *Lopez*.

Don Pedro taken by the *Englissh*, and by misfortune drowned, and his Sonne with him.

Aluaro King of *Congo* dyeth. King *Philip* busied about the Conquest of *England*, *Odoardo Lopez* changeth his kind of profession.

Lopez goeth to *Rome*, where he was kindly entertayned by the Pope.

The Vow of *Odoardo Lopez* to erect a Seminary, and an Hospitall in *Congo*.

The Pope remitteth the whole matter to the King of *Spaine*.

amended their ship, and some-what refreshed themselves, they sayled with a short cut to the firme Land, and tooke Haven in a Port, called *Cumana*, or (as it is called by another name) *The new Kingdome of Granada in the West Indies*. This battered and weather-beaten Vessell, was no sooner arriued in this safe Harbour, but it sunke presently.

While the foresaid Embassadour endeauoured in this place to recouer his former health, the company of ships, which is called *La Flotta*; that is to say, The Fleet, and vseth euery yeare to saile from that Coast for *Castile*, departed from thence, so that he was constrained to stay for a new Nauie, and so consumed a whole yeare and a halfe without doing any good. In this meane time, the King of *Congo* sent another Embassadour with the selfe-same commandements, called *Don Pedro Antonio*, the second person in all his Realm, & with him one *Gaspar Diaz*, a *Portugal*. 10

But an infortunate end had this Embassadour, for he was taken at Sea by *Englisshmen*, and his ship also, which being drawne towards *England*, when it was neere vnto the Coast, by great misfortune it ranne a-thwart the shoare, and there *Don Pedro Antonio*, and his Sonne were both drowned: but the *Portugall* and some few others with him escaped, and arriued in *Spaine*, at such time as the said *Odoardo* was come to the Court, and had entred vpon the charge of his Embassage.

There he was courteously entertained by his Catholike Maiestie, to whom he propounded the contents of his Commissions. But diuers great accidents there happened. For first, he heard the dolorous newes of the Kings death, that sent him on this message: and then the King *Don Philip* was wholly busied about the Conquest of *England*, so that his businesse went nothing for- 20 wards, but was delayed from time to time: neither did he see any meanes of dispatch, but rather he was giuen to vnderstand, that for that time they could not intend to harken vnto him.

Now the foresaid *Odoardo*, being afflicted with so many aduersities, renounced the World with all the deceitfull pompe and glorie thereof, and in *Madrill* apparelled himselfe in a grey course habit, and so went to *Rome*, to declare to *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, the Tenor and Commission of his Embassage, because he would not altogether neglect the good intent and meaning of the King, that had sent him, although hee were now descended into a better life. Hee was kindly welcommed and receiued by his Holinesse, to whom he discoursed the miserable estate wherein the Christian people of the Realme of *Congo* did stand, for want of the worship and seruice of God, and also the small number of Priests, that were there to instruct them in the Do- 30 ctrine of the Gospel, and to deliuer vnto them the Sacraments of the Church, especially the multitude in that Countrey, being (as it were) innumerable, that euery day resorted together, to be baptised, instructed, confessed, and communicated. Moreouer, he made a vow and resolved in his mind, that with such store of wealth, as God had blessed him withall in *Congo*, (which was not very small) he would build a house, wherein for the seruice of God, there should dwell certaine learned men, and sundry Priests, to instruct the youth of those Countries in all good Languages, and in the Arts Liberall, and in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and in the Mysteries of our Salvation. Out of which House, as it were out of a holy Schoole, there might come forth from time to time, many learned men and well studyed in the Law of God, that should be able in their owne naturall Countrey Tongue, to awaken and raise againe the Faith of Christ, which 40 was now asleepe, and dried vp in those Regions: and thereby in proceesse of time there would spring vp many fruits of blessing, and vigilant soules in the Christian Faith. Hereunto hee meant also to adde an Hospitall, that might be a Recourse and Harbour for Gods poore, which comming and sayling out of strange Countries should haue reliefe and entertainment in that Hostelry, and the re be cured and restored of their infirmities and necessities. With this purpose therefore he went to *Rome*, to obtaine of his Holinesse a Licence to erect this Seminarie and Hospitall, and to beseech him also that he would grant him Iubilies, Indulgences, and other Dispensations, that for such Christian and wholesome workes are requisite, especially to the vse and benefit of those Countries, which are so remote from Christendome. He presented himselfe to the Pope, and deliuered vnto him his Letters of credence, and then declared vnto him at large 50 the Tenor of his Commissions, wherein hee had a gracious audience. But when the Pope did vnderstand that the Kingdome of *Congo* belonged to the King of *Spaine*, he remitted that matter wholly vnto him.

§. VII.

Of the Court of the King of Congo. Of the apparell of that people before they became Christians and after. Of the Kings Table, and manner of his Court.

The ancient apparell of the King of *Congo*, and his Courtiers.



In ancient time this King and his Courtiers were apparelled with certaine Cloth made of the Palme-tree (as wee haue told you before) wherewith they couered themselves from the Girdle-stead downewards, and girded the same strait vnto them with certaine Girdles made of the same stuffe, very faire and well wrought. They

They vsed also to hang before them, like an Apron, certaine delicate and daintie skinnies, of little Tygres, of Ciuet-cats, of Sabels, of Maternes, and of such like creatures for an ornament: and for a more glorious pompe and shew, they did weare vpon their shoulders a certaine Cape like a Hood. Vpon their bare skinne they had a certaine round Garment like a Rotcher, which they call *Incuto*, reaching downe to their knees, made after the manner of a Net, but the stufte of it was very fine cloth of the said Palme-tree, and at the skirts there hung a number of threed-tassels, that made a very gallant shew. These Rotchers were turned vp againe, and tucked vpon their right shoulder, that they might be the more at libertie on that hand. Vpon that shoulder also they had the tayle of a *Zebra*, fastned with a handle, which they vsed for a kind of brauerie, according to the most ancient custome of those parts. On their heads they wore Caps of yellow and red colour, square above and very little, so that they scarcely couered the tops of their heads, and worne rather for a pompe and a vanitie, then to keep them either from the Aire or from the Sunne. The most part of them went vnshod: but the King and some of the great Lords did weare certaine shooes of the old fashion, such as are to bee seene in the ancient Images of the *Romanes*, and these were made also of the Wood of the Palme-tree. The poorer sort and common people were apparellled from their middle downewards, after the same manner, but the cloth was courser: and the rest of their bodie all naked. The women vsed three kinds of Trauerfes, or (as it were) Aprons: beneath their Girdle-stead. One was very long and reached to their heeles: the second shorter then that, and the third shorter then both the other, with fringes about them, and euery one of these three fastned about their middle, and open before. From their breasts downewards, they had another Garment, like a kind of Doublet or Iacket, that reached but to their Girdle: and ouer their shoulders a certaine Cloake. All these seuerall Garments were made of the same cloth of the Palme-tree. They were accustomed to goe with their faces vncouered, and a little Cap on the head, like a mans Cap. The meaner sort of women were apparellled after the same manner, but their cloth was courser. Their Maid-seruants; and the basest kind of women were likewise attyred from the Girdle downeward, and all the rest of the bodie naked.

The ancient apparell of the meaner sort.

30 But after that this Kingdome had receiued the Christian Faith, the great Lords of the Court beganne to apparell themselves after the manner of the *Portugals*, in wearing Cloakes, Spanish Caps, and Tabbards, or wide Jackets of Scarlet, and cloth of Silke, euery man according to his wealth and abilitie. Vpon their heads they had Hats, or Caps, and vpon their feet Moyles or Pantoffles, of Veluet and of Leather, and Buskins after the *Portugall* fashion, and long Rapiers by their sides.

Their new kind of apparell.

The common people, that are not able to make their apparell after that manner doe keepe their old custome. The women also goe after the *Portugall* fashion, sauing that they weare no Cloakes, but vpon their heads they haue certaine Veiles, and vpon their Veiles blacke Veluet Caps, garnished with Jewels, and Chaines of Gold about their neckes. But the poorer sort keepe the old fashion: for onely the Ladies of the Court doe bedecke themselves in such manner as we haue told you.

After the King himselfe was conuerted to the Christian Religion, hee conformed his Court in a certaine sort after the manner of the King of *Portugall*. And first, for his seruice at the Table when he dineth or supbeth openly in publike, there is a Throne of Estate erected with three steps, couered all ouer with *Indian* Tapistrie, and thereupon is placed a Table, with a Chaire of Crimson Veluet, adorned with Bosses and Nayles of Gold. He alwayes feedeth alone by himselfe, neither doth any man euer sit at his Table, but the Princes stand about him with their heads couered. He hath a Cupboord of Plate of Gold and Siluer, and one that taketh assay of his meate and drinke.

The Court of Congo now imitateth the Court of *Portugall*.

50 He maintayneth a Guard of the *Anzichi*, and of other Nations, that keepe about his Palace, furnished with such Weapons as are aboue mentioned: and when it pleaseth him to goe abroad, they sound their great Instruments, which may be heard about fise or fixe miles, and so signifie that the King is going forth. All his Lords doe accompany him, and likewise the *Portugals*, in whom hee reposeth a singular trust: but very seldome it is that hee goeth out of his Palace.

Twice in a weeke hee giveth audience publikely, yet no man speaketh vnto him but his Lords. And becaule there are none, that haue any goods or Lands of their owne, but all belongeth to the Crowne, there are but few Suites or Quarrels among them, sauing peraduenture about some words.

The Customes and Lawes of Congo.

60 They vse no Writing at all in the *Congo* Tongue. In Cases Criminall they proceed but slenderly, for they doe very hardly and seldome condemne any man to death. If there be any Riot or Enormitie committed against the *Portugals* by the *Moci-Conghi*, (for so are the Inhabitants of the Realme of *Congo*, called in their owne Language) they are iudged by the Lawes of *Portugall*. And if any milchiefe bee found in any of them, the King confineth the Malefactor into some Desart Iland: for he thinketh it to be a greater punishment to banish him in this sort, to the end he may doe penance for his sinnes, then at one blow to execute him. And if it so happen, that those which are thus chastized doe liue ten or twelue yeares, the King vseth to pardon them,

No Writing.

them, if they be of any consideration at all, and doth imploy them in the Service of the State, as persons that haue beene tamed and well schooled, and accustomed to suffer any hardnesse. In Ciuill disagreements there is an order, that if a *Portugall* haue any Suite against a *Moci-Congo*, he goeth to the Iudge of *Congo*: but if a *Moci-Congo* doe impleade a *Portugall*, he citeth him before the Consul, or Iudge of the *Portugals*: for the King hath granted vnto them one of their owne Nation to be Iudge in that Countrey: In their bargaines betweene them and the *Portugals*, they vse no Writings nor other Instruments of Bills or Bonds, but dispatch their businesse onely by word and witnesse.

Time measured by the Moone.

They keepe no Histories of their ancient Kings, nor any memoriall of the Ages past, because they cannot write. They measure their times generally by the Moones. They know not the houres of the day nor of the night: but they vse to say, *In the time of such a man such a thing happened.* They reckon the distances of Countries not by miles or by any such measure, but by the iourneyes and trauell of men, that goe from one place to another, eyther loden or vnladen. 10

Their manner of Assemblies. Their Instruments of Musick.

Touching their assembling together at Feasts, or other meetings of ioy, as for example, when they are marryed, they sing Verses and Ballads of Loue, and play vpon certaine Lutes that are made after a strange fashion. For in the hollow part and in the necke they are somewhat like vnto our Lutes, but for the flat side (where wee vse to carue a Rose, or a Rundle to let the sound goe inward) that is made not of wood, but of a skinne, as thinne as a Bladder, and the strings are made of haire, which they draw out of the Elephants tayle, and are very strong and bright: and of certaine Threeds made of the wood of Palme-tree, which from the bottome of the Instrument do reach & ascend to the top of the handle, & are tied euery one of them to his seuerall ring. For towards the necke or handle of this Lute, there are certaine rings placed some higher and some lower, whereat there hang diuers plates of Iron and Siluer, which are very thinne, and in bignes different one from another, according to the proportion of the Instrument. These rings doe make a sound of sundry tunes, according to the striking of the strings. For the strings when they are stricken, doe cause the rings to shake, and then doe the plates that hang at them, helpe them to vtter a certaine mingled and confused noyse. Those that play vpon this Instrument, doe tune the strings in good proportion, and strike them with their fingers, like a Harpe, but without any quill very cunningly: so that they make thereby (I cannot tell whether I should call it a melodie or no, but) such a sound as pleaseth and delighteth their senses well enough. 20 30

Speech by Instrument.

Besides all this (which is a thing very admirable) by this Instrument they doe vtter the conceits of their minds, and doe vnderstand one another so plainly, that euery thing almost which may be explained with the Tongue, they can declare with their hand in touching and striking this Instrument. To the sound thereof they doe dance in good measure with their feet, and follow the iust time of that Musicke, with clapping the palmes of their hands one against the other. They haue also in the Court, Flutes and Pipes, which they sound very artificially, and according to the sound they dance and moue their feet, as it were in a *Moresco*, with great grauitie and sobrietie. The common people doe vse little Rattles, and Pipes, and other Instruments, that make a more harsh and rude sound, then the Court-Instruments doe. 40

Their Physick.

In this Kingdome, when any are sicke, they take nothing but naturall Physicke, as Herbes, and Trees, and the barks of Trees, and Oyles, and Waters, and Stones, such as Mother Nature hath taught them. The Ague is the most common Disease that raigneth among them: and plagueth them in Winter by reason of the continuall raine, that bringeth heat and moysture with it more then in Summer, and besides that the sicknesse which heere wee call the *French Disease*, and *Chitangas* in the *Congo* Tongue, is not there so dangerous and so hard to be cured, as it is in our Countries.

Their Medicine for an Ague.

Their Medicine for the head-ache, & other griefes of the bodie, is letting of blood.

Their Medicine for the French Poxes.

Their Purgations.

Curing of wounds.

They heale the Ague with the poulder of a wood, called Sandale, or Sanders, whereof there is both red and grey, which is the wood of *Aguila*. This poulder being mingled with the Oyle of the Palme-tree, and hauing anointed the bodie of the sicke person two or three times with all from the head to the foot, the partie recouereth. When their head aketh, they let blood in the Temples, with certaine little boxing hornes: first, by cutting the skinne a little, and then applying the Cornets thereunto, which with a sucke of the mouth, will bee filled with blood: and this manner of letting blood is vsed also in *Egypt*. And so in any other part of a mans bodie, where there is any griefe, they draw blood in this fashion and heale it. Likewise they cure the infirmitie, called *Chitangas*, with the same Vnction of Sanders: whereof there are two sorts, one red (as we told you) and that is called *Tanila*: the other grey, and is called *Chicongo*: and this is best esteemed, for they will not sticke to giue or sell a slaue for a piece of it. They purge themselves with certaine barks of trees, made into powder, and taken in some drinke: and they will worke mightily and strongly. When they take these purgations, they make no great account for going abroad into the Ayre. Their wounds also they commonly cure with the iuyce of certaine Herbes, and with the Herbes themselves. 50 60

§. VIII.

Of the Countries that are beyond the Kingdome of Congo, towards the Cape of Good-

Hope: Of the Riuer Nilus, and of Sofala, Monomotapa, the Ama-

zones, Saint LAURENCE, and other Ethiopian

Countries.

10 **Q**UIMBEKE (which is the Kingdome of Matama) from the first Lake, and the
Confines of Angola, containeth althe rest of the Countrey Southwards, till
you come to the Riuer of Brauagull, which springeth out of the Mountaines of
the Moone, and ioyneth with the Riuer Magnice, and that springeth out of the
fore said first Lake: These Mountaines are diuided by the Tropicke of Capri-
corne, towards the Pole Antarcticke, and beyond this Tropicke lyeth all the Countrey and
borders of the Cape of Good-Hope, which are not ruled and gouerned by any one King, but by
diuers and sundry seuerall Princes. In the middelt betweene that Cape and the Tropicke, are
the said Mountaines of the Moone, so famous and so greatly renowned among the ancient Wri-
ters, who doe assigne them to be the originall head and spring of the Riuer Nilus: which is ve-
ry false and vntrue, as the situation of the Countrey doth plainly shew, and as we a little here-
20 after will discover vnto you. This Countrey is full of high and rough Mountaines: it is verie
cold, and not habitable: It is frequented and haunted with a few persons that liue after the
manner of the Arabians, vnder little Cabbins in the open fieldes, and apparelled with the skins
of certaine beasts. It is a sauage and rusticall Nation, without all faith and credite, neither will
they suffer any strangers among them. Their furniture is Bowes and Arrowes. They feed vpon
such fruits as the land breedeth, and also vpon the flesh of beasts.

The kingdome
of Matama.
R. Brauagul.
R. Magnice.
The Moun-
taines of the
Moone.

Not the head
of Nilus.

Among these Mountaines of the Moone, there is a Lake called Gale: a very little one it is,
and lyeth somewhat towards the West. Out of this Lake there issueth a Riuer, called Camissa,
and by the Portugals, named, the Sweete Riuer, which at the point of the Cape of Good-Hope,
voydeth it selfe into the Sea, in that very place that is termed, The False Cape. For the shippes
30 of the Indies sayling that way, doe first discover another greater Cape, which is called, The
Cape of the Needles, and then afterwards this lesser Cape: Whereupon they call it the False
Cape, because it is hid and couered with the true and great Cape. Betweene these two Capes or
Promontories, there is the distance of an hundred miles, containing the largenesse and breadth
of this famous Cape: which being diuided into two points, as it were into two hornes, it ma-
keth a Gulfe, where sometimes the Portugall ships doe take fresh water, in the Riuer that they
call the Sweete Riuer.

The Lake Gale,
Camissa. 1. The
Sweet Riuer.
The False Cape.
The Cape of
the Needles, or
Agulhas.

The Inhabitants of this Coast, which dwell betweene these two points, are of colour black,
although the Pole Antarctick in that place be in the eleuation of five and thirtie degrees, which
is a very strange thing; yea, the rude people that liue among the most cold Mountaines of the
40 Moone are blacke also.

Not perfect
blacke.

Beyond the Cape or Point of the Needles, there are many competent Harboroughs and Ha-
uens, the principall whereof is Seno Formoso, the Faire Bay: and Seno del Lago, the Bay of the
Lake: For there the Sea maketh a certaine Gulfe, wherein are sundry Ilands and Ports: and
somewhat beyond there runneth into the Sea the Riuer of Saint Christopher, and at the mouth
thereof there lye three pretie Ilets. And a little further forwards, the Coast runneth all along
by a Countrey, which the Portugals call, Terra do Natal, the Land of the Natinitie, because it
was first discovered at Christmas: and so reacheth to the Cape, called Della Pescheria. Between
which Cape and the Riuer Magnice, within the Land is the Kingdome of Butua, whose Ter-
ritories are from the roots or bottomie of the Mountaines of the Moone, vntill you come to the
30 Riuer Magnice towards the North, where the Countrey of Monomotapa standeth, and West-
wards from the Riuer Brauagul towards the Sea, all along the bankes of the Riuer Magnice. In
this Kingdome there are many Mines of Gold, and a people that is of the same qualities and
conditions, that the people of Monomotapa is, as hereafter shall bee shewed vnto you. And so
going along the shoares of the Ocean, you come to the Riuer Magnice, which lyeth in the very
entrance of the Kingdome of Sofala, and the Empire of Monopotapa.

Seno Formoso.
Seno del Lago.
Riuer of Saint
Christopher.
Terra do Natal.
Cape della Pes-
cheria.
Riuer Magnice.
The kingdome
of Butua.
The kingdome
of Monomotapa.
R. Brauagul.
Store of Gold
Mines.

The Kingdome of Sofala beginneth at the Riuer Magnice, which springeth out of the first
Lake of Nilus, and conueyeth it selfe into the Sea in the middelt of the Bay, betweene the
Point Pescheria, and the Cape, called Cape Delle Correnti, situate in three and twentie degrees
and a halfe of the Pole Antarcticke, vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne. With this Riuer neere
60 vnto the Sea, there ioyne three other notable Riuers, the principall whereof is by the Portu-
gals, called Saint Chrystophers, because vpon the day of that Saints Feast it was first discovered,
but by the Inhabitants it is named Nagoa. The second tooke the name of one Lorenzo Mar-
gues, that first found it. These two Riuers doe spring originally from the Mountaines of the
Moone, so greatly renowned among the ancient Writers, but by the people of the Countrey
they

The originall
of the Riuer
Magnice.
Three Riuers
runne into
Magnice.
1. Riuer Nagoa.
2. R. Margues.

Nilus ariseth
not out of the
Mountaines of
the Moon. See
of this *inf.* c. 8.

Riuer *Arroe*.

The Riuer of
Cuama.

The kingdom
of *Sofala*.

The commo-
dities of *Sofala*,
Gold, Iuory
and Amber.
The Inhabi-
tants of *Sofala*.

The Empire of
Monomotapa,
full of Gold
Mines.
Sofala supposed
Opbir.

The people of
Monomotapa.
The King of
Monomotapa
maintaineth
many Armies.

Left-handed
Amazons.

they are called, *Toroa*: out of which Mountaines they did thinke, that famous *Nilus* tooke also his beginning: but they were vtterly deceiued. For (as wee haue already told you) the first Lake ariseth not out of those Mountaines, but lyeth a great way distant from it: and betweene it and them, is there a very great and a huge low plaine. Besides that, the streames that flow from the said Mountaines, doe runne towards the East, and bestow their Waters vpon other great Riuers, so that it is not possible for them to passe into the foresaid Lake, much lesse into *Nilus*, considering especially that the Riuer *Magnice*, springeth out of that first Lake, and by a farre different course from the course of *Nilus*, runneth towards the East, and so ioyneth it selfe with the two Riuers aforesaid. The third, is called *Arroe*, and ariseth on another side out of the Mountaines of the Gold Mines of *Monomotapa*, and in some places of this Riuer there are found some small pieces of Gold among the Sand.

These three Riuers enter into the great *Magnice*, neere vnto the Sea, and all foure together doe make there a great Water, in a very large Channell, and so dischargeth it selfe into the Ocean. From the mouth of this Riuer all along the Sea Coast, stretcheth the Kingdome of *Sofala*, vnto the Riuer *Cuama*, which is so called of a certaine Castle or Fortresse that carrieth the same name, and is possessed by *Mahometans* and *Pagans*: but the *Portugals* call it, The mouthes of *Cuama*; because at the entry into the Sea, this Riuer diuideth it selfe into seuen mouthes, where there are five speciall Islands, besides diuers others that lie vp the Riuer, all very full, and well peopled with *Pagans*. This *Cuama* commeth out of the same Lake, and from the same springs from whence *Nilus* floweth. And thus the Kingdome of *Sofala* is comprised within the said two Riuers, *Magnice* and *Cuama*, vpon the Sea coast. It is but a small Kingdome, and hath but a few Houses or Townes in it: The chiefe and principall head whereof, is an Island that lyeth in the Riuer called *Sofala*, which giueth the name to all the whole Countrey. It is inhabited by *Mahometans*, and the King himselfe is of the same sect, and yeildeth obedience to the Crowne of *Portugall*, because he will not be subiect to the Empire of *Monomotapa*. And therevpon, the *Portugals* there doe keepe a Fort in the mouth of the Riuer *Cuama*, and doe trade in those Countries for Gold, and Iuory, and Amber, which is found vpon that Coast, and good store of Slaues, and instead thereof, they leaue behind them Cotton-cloath, and Silkes that are brought from *Cambata*, and is the common apparell of those people. The *Mahometans* that at this present doe inhabite those Countries, are not naturally borne there, but before the *Portugals* came into those quarters, they Trafficked thither in small Barkes, from the Coast of *Arabia Felix*. And when the *Portugals* had conquered that Realme, the *Mahometans* stayed there still, and now they are become neither vtter *Pagans*, nor holding of the Sect of *Mahomet*.

From the shoares and Coast, that lyeth betweene the two foresaid Riuers of *Magnice* and *Cuama*, within the Land spreadeth the Empire of *Monomotapa*, where there is very great store of Mines of Gold, which is carried from thence into all the Regions thereabouts, and into *Sofala*, and into the other parts of *Africa*. And some there be that will say, that *Solomons* Gold, which he had for the Temple of *Ierusalem*, was brought by Sea out of these Countries. A thing in truth not very vnlikely: For in the Countries of *Monomotapa*, there doe remaine to this day many ancient buildings of great worke, and singular Architecture, of Stone, of Lime, and of Timber, the like whereof are not to be seene in all the Prouinces adioyning.

The Empire of *Monomotapa* is very great, and for people infinite. They are *Gentiles* and *Pagans*, of colour blacke, very couragious in Warre, of a middle stature, and swift of foot. There are many Kings that are vassals and subiects to *Monomotapa*, who do oftentimes rebell and make warre against him. Their weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, and light Darts. This Emperour maintaineth many Armies in severall Prouinces, diuided into Legions, according to the vse and customes of the *Romanes*. For being so great a Lord as he is, he must of necessitie be in continuall warre, for the maintenance of his estate. And among all the rest of his Souldiers, the most valourous in name, are his Legions of Women, whom he esteemeth very highly, and accounteth them as the very sinewes and strength of his militarie forces. These Women doe burne their left paps with fire, because they should be no hindrance vnto them in their shooting, after the vse and manner of the ancient *Amazons*, that are so greatly celebrated by the Historiographers of former prophane memories. For their weapons, they practise Bowes and Arrowes: They are very quicke and swift, liuely and couragious, very cunning in shooting, but especially and aboue all, venturous and constant in fight. In their battailes they vse a warlike kind of craft and subtiltie: For they haue a custome, to make a shew that they would flye and runne away, as though they were vanquished and discomfited, but they will diuers times turne themselues backe, and vex their enemies mightily with the shot of their Arrowes. And when they see their Aduersaries so greedy of the victorie, that they begin to disperse and scatter themselues, then will they suddenly turne againe vpon them, and with great courage and fiercenesse make a cruell slaughter of them. So that partly with their swiftnesse, and partly with their deceitfull wiles, and other cunning shifts of warre, they are greatly feared in all those parts. They doe enioy by the Kings good fauour certaine Countries, where they dwell alone by themselues: and sometime

sometimes they choose certaine men at their owne pleasure, with whom they doe keepe company for generations sake: So that if they do bring forth Male-children, they send them home to their fathers houses: but if they be Female, they reserve them to themselves, and breed them in the exercise of warfare.

The Empire of this *Monomotapa* lyeth (as it were) in an Iland, which is made by the Sea-coast, by the River *Magnice*, by a piece of the Lake from whence *Magnice* floweth, and by the River *Cuama*. It bordereth towards the South, vpon the Lords of the Cape of *Good-Hope*, before mentioned, and Northward vpon the Empire of *Mohenemugi*, as by and by shall be shewed vnto you.

The situation
of the Empire
of *Monomotapa*.

10 But now returning to our former purpose, that is to say, to runne forwards vpon the Sea-coast, after you haue passed ouer some part of the River *Cuama*, there is a certaine little Kingdome vpon the Sea, called *Angoscia*, which taketh the name of certaine Ilands there so called, and lye directly against it. It is inhabited with the like people, both *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, as the Kingdome of *Sofala* is. Merchants they are, and in small Vessels doe Trafficke along that Coast with the same Wares and Commodities, where-with the people of *Sofala* doe Trade.

The kingdome
of *Angoscia*.

A little beyond, suddenly starteth vp in sight the Kingdome of *Mozambique*, situate in foureteene degrees and a halfe towards the South, and taketh his name of three Ilands, that lye in the mouth of the River *Meghinicate*, where there is a great Hauen and a safe, and able to receive all manner of ships. The Realme is but small, and yet aboundeth in all kind of Victuals.

The kingdome
of *Mozambique*
R. *Meghinicate*.

20 It is the common landing place for all Vessels that sayle from *Portugall*, and from *India* into that Countrey. In one of these Iles, which is the chiefe and principall, called *Mozambique*, and giueth name to all the rest; as also to the whole Kingdome, and the Hauen aforesaid, wherein there is erected a Fortresse, guarded with a Garrison of *Portugals*, whereupon all the other Fortresses that are on that Coast doe depend, and from whence they fetch all their prouision: all the *Armadas* and Fleetes that sayle from *Portugall* to the *Indies*, if they cannot finish and performe their Voyage, will goe and Winter (I say) in this Iland of *Mozambique*, and those that trauell out of *India* to *Europe*, are constrained of necessitie to touch at *Mozambique*, to furnish themselves with Victuals. This Iland, when the *Portugals* discovered *India*, was the first place
30 where they learned the language of the *Indians*, and provided themselves of Pilots to direct them in their course. The people of this Kingdome are *Gentiles*: Rusticall and rude they bee, and of colour blacke. They go all naked. They are valiant and strong Archers, and cunning Fishers, with all kind of hookes.

The Iland of
Mozambique.

The Inhabi-
tants of *Mo-
zambique*.

The kingdome
of *Quiloa*.

As you go on forwards vpon the foresaid Coast, there is another Iland, called *Quiloa*, in quantitie not great, but in excellency singular: For it is situate in a very coole and freshe Ayre: It is replenished with Trees that are alwaies greene, and affordeth all varietie of Victuals. It lyeth at the mouth of the River *Coano*, which springeth out of the same Lake from whence *Nilus* floweth, and so runneth about sixtie miles in length, till it commeth neere to the Sea, and there it hath a mightie streame, and in the very mouth of it maketh a great Iland, which
40 is peopled with *Mahometans* and Idolaters, and a little beyond that, towards the Coast on the West, you may see the said Iland of *Quiloa*. This Iland is inhabited with *Mahometans* also, which are of colour some-thing whitish. They are well appparelled, and trimly adorned with Cloath of Silke and Cotten: Their Women doe vse ornaments of Gold, and Jewels about their hands and their neckes, and haue good store of household-stuffe made of Silver. They are not altogether so blacke as the men are: and in their limbs they are very well proportioned. Their houses are made of Stone, and Lime, and Timber, very well wrought, and of good Architecture, with Gardens and Orchards, full of Hearbs and sundry Fruits. Of this Iland the whole Kingdome tooke the name, which vpon the Coast extendeth it selfe from *Capo Delgado*, (the Cape *Delicate*, that bordereth *Mozambique* and *Quiloa*), and is situate in nine degrees towards the South,
50 and from thence it runneth out vnto the aforesaid River of *Coano*. In old time the Kingdome of *Quiloa* was the chiefe of all the Principalities there adioyning, and stood neere to the Sea: but when the *Portugals* arrived in those Countries, the King trusted so much to himselfe, that he thought he was able with his owne forces not onely to defend himselfe against them, but also to drue them from those places which they had already surprised. Howbeit the matter fell out quite contrary. For when it came to Weapons, he was vtterly ouerthrowne and discomfited by the *Portugals*, and so fled away. But they tooke and possessed the Iland, and enriched themselves with the great spoiles and booties that they found therein. They erected there also a Fortresse, which was after ward pulled downe by the commandement of the King of *Portugall*, because he thought it not necessarie, considering that there were others sufficient enough for
60 that Coast.

The Iland of
Quiloa, and the
Inhabitants
thereof.

The King of
Quiloa over-
throwne by the
Portugals, and
driven out of
the Iland.

And heere we may not leaue behind vs the Ile of *Saint Laurence*, so called by the *Portugals*, because they did first discover it vpon that Martyrs feast day. It is so great, that it containeth in length almost a thousand miles, and standeth right ouer against the Coast which wee haue described, beginning directly at the mouthes of the River *Magnice*, which are in sixe and
The comenda-
tion of the Ile
of *S. Laurence*.
Of it, see the
former Iour-
nals.

The Inhabitants of the Ile of Saint Laurence. Their Weapons.

Sundry Ilands in the channel.

The kingdom of Mombaza rich in Gold and Siluer, and Pearle.

The Citie of Mombaza spoyled as Quiloa was.

The kingdom of Melinde.

The tayle of a sheepe in Melinde weigheth commonly 25. or 30. pound. See Leo Afer of Egyptian sheepe.

twentie degrees of the South, and so going forwards to the North, it endeth right against the mouths of *Cuama* in the Kingdome of *Quiloa*. Betweene this Iland and the firme Land, there is (as it were) a Channell, which at the entry West-ward, is three hundred and fortie miles broad: in the middelt where it is narrowest, ouer against the Iland of *Mozambique*, one hundred and seuentie miles, and for the rest, it enlargeth it selfe very much towards *India*, and containeth many Iles within it. The ships that goe from *Spaine* into *India*, or returne from *India* to *Spaine*, doe alwaies for the most part passe and sayle in, and through this Channell, if by time or weather they be not forced to the contrary. And surely, this Iland deserueth to be inhabited with a better people, because it is furnished with singular Commodities. For it hath many safe & sure hauens. It is watred with sundry Riuer, that cause the earth to bring forth fruits of diuers kinds, as Pulse, and Rice, and other Graine, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and such like fruit. Flesh of all sorts, as Hens, &c. and Venison, as wilde Boare, & Deere, and such like, and all this of a very good taste and relish, because the soyle is very fat: their Fish also is exceeding good. The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, with some of the Sect of *Mahomet* among them. They are of the colour which the *Spaniards* call *Mulato*, betweene black and white. Very warlike they are, and giuen to their weapons, which are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts of very light Wood, strenghtned with Iron, whereof they make the heads of their Darts, which are crooked like hookes: and these they will cast and throw most slightly and cunningly. They vse also Targets, and Iackes that are made of certaine beasts skinnes, wherewith they saue themselves in fight from the blowes of their enemies.

This Iland is diuided among seuerall Princes, that are at enmitie one with another: for they are in continuall Warres, and persecute one another with Armes. There are diuers Mines of Gold, of Siluer, of Copper, of Iron, and of other Metals. The sauage people doe not vse to sayle out of the Iland, but onely from one side to the other they goe coasting along the shoares, with certaine Barks that are made but of one stocke of a Tree, which they hollow for that purpose. The most part of them doe not willingly entertaine strangers, neither will they consent that they should Trafficke or conuerse with them. Notwithstanding, in certaine Ports the *Portugals* doe vse to Trade with the Ilanders, for Amber, Waxe, Siluer, Copper, Rice, and such other things, but they neuer come vpon the Land. In the Channell before mentioned, there are diuers Ilands, some greater, and some lesse, inhabited with *Mahometans*. The chiefe of them is the Ile of Saint Christopher, and then of *Santo Spirito*: and another, called *Magliaglie*, and so the rest, as the Iles of *Comoro*, *Anzoame*, *Maiotto*, and some other.

But let vs returne to the Sea side, and prosecute the Coast of the Kingdome of *Quiloa*, where we left. Next vnto it, is the Kingdome of *Mombaza*, in the height of three degrees and a halfe towards the South, which taketh the name from an Iland inhabited with *Mahometans*, which is also called *Mombaza*, where there is a faire Citie, with houses that haue many Sollers, furnished Pictures, both grauen and painted. The King thereof is a *Mahometan*, who taking vpon him to resist the *Portugals*, receiued the same successe that hapned to the King of *Quiloa*, so that the Citie was raniacked and spoyled by his enemies, who found therein good store of Gold and Siluer, and Pearle, and Cloath of Cotton, and of Silke, and of Gold, and such other Commodities. This Kingdome lyeth betweene the borders of *Quiloa*, and *Melinde*, and is inhabited with *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, and yeeldeth obedience to the Empire of *Mohenemugi*.

A little beyond is the Kingdome of *Melinde*, which being likewise but a little one, extendeth it selfe vpon the Sea Coast, as farre as the Riuer *Chimanchi*, and lyeth in the height of two degrees and a halfe: and vp the streame of that Riuer, it reacheth to the Lake *Calice*, the space of one hundred miles within land. Neere vnto the Sea, along the bankes of this Riuer, there is a great deale of Countrey inhabited by *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, of colour almost white. Their houses are built after our fashion. But there is one particularitie to be admired, that their Muttons or Sheepe, are twice as great as the Sheep of our Countrey: for they diuide them into fise quarters, (if a man may so call them) and reckon the tayle for one, which commonly weigheth some fise and twentie, or thirtie pound. The Women are white, and sumptuously dressed, after the *Arabian* fashion, with Cloath of Silke. About their neckes and hands, and armes, and feet, they vse to weare Jewels of Gold and Siluer: When they go abroad out of their houses, they couer themselves with Tassata, so that they are not knowne but when they lift themselves. In this Countrey there is a very good Hauen, which is a landing place for the Vessels that sayle through those Seas. Generally, the people are very kind, true and trustie, and conuerse with Strangers. They haue alwaies entertained and welcomed the *Portugals*, and haue reposed great confidence in them, neither haue they euer offered them any wrong in any respect.

In the Sea betweene these two Capes of *Mombaza* and *Melinde*, there are three Iles: the first, is called *Monfie*; the second, *Zanzibar*; and the third, *Pemba*; all inhabited only with *Mohometans*, that are of colour white. These Iles abound in all things as the others do, whereof we made mention before. These people are somewhat enclined to Armes: but they are in deed more addicted to dresse and manure their ground: For there groweth much Sugar, which in small Barks they carrie away to sell into the firme Land, with other fruits of that Countrey.

Besides

Besides these three Realmes last described, *Quiola*, *Melinde*, and *Mombaza*, within the Land is the great Empire of *Mohenemugi*, towards the West. It bordereth vpon the South, with the Kingdome of *Mozambique*, and with the Empire of *Monomotapa* to the Riuer *Coano*, vpon the West with the Riuer *Nilus*, betweene the two Lakes; and vpon the North it ioyneth with the Empire of *Prete-Gianni*. Towards the Sea, this Emperour standeth in good termes of peace with the foresaid Kings of *Quiola*, *Melinde*, and *Mombaza*, by reason of their trafficke together, and the better to secure the entercourse and trade by Sea: by meanes whereof they haue brought vnto them much cloth of Cotton, and cloth of Silke from diuers Countries, and other merchandises that are well esteemed in these parts: and particularly certaine little balls, that are made in the Kingdome of *Cambaja*, of a kind of Bitumen or clammye Clay, like vnto Glasse, but that it is (as it were) of a red colour, which they vse to weare about their neckes, like a paire of Beades instead of Neck-laces. It serueth them also instead of Money, for of Gold they make none account. Likewise with the Silkes that are brought vnto them, they doe apparell themselves from the girdle downewards. In exchange and barter of all these commodities, they giue Gold, Siluer, Copper, and Iuorie.

But on the other side towards *Monomotapa*, there are continuall warres; yea, and sometimes so bloudie, that it is hardly discerned who hath gotten the victorie. For in that Border there meet together two of the greatest and most warlike Powers and Forces that are in all those Regions: that is to say, on the Partie of *Monomotapa*, there came forth into the field the *Amazones*, of whom wee told you before; and on the other partie of *Mohenemugi* are the *Giacchi*, (as the *Moci-Congi* doe call them) but in their owne tongue they are called *Agagi*, who did sometime so greatly afflict the Kingdome of *Congo*, as you may remember. Neither are these people lesse couragious or strong then the *Amazones*, but are of a blacke complexion, and presumptuous countenances. They doe vse to marke themselves about the lip vpon their cheekes with certaine lines, which they make with Iron instruments and with fire. Moreover, they haue a custome to turne their eye-lids backwards: so that their skin being all blacke, and in that blacknesse shewing the white of their eyes, and those marks in their faces, it is a strange thing to behold them. For it is indeed a very dreadfull and Deuillish sight. They are of bodie great, but deformed, and liue like beasts in the field, and feed vpon mans flesh. In fight they shew themselves exceedingly couragious, and doe vtter most horrible shouting and crying, of purpose to daunt and affright their Enemies. Their weapons are Darts, and Pauises of Leather that couer all their whole bodie, and so defend themselves therewith. Sometimes they will encampe together, and sticke their Pauises in the ground, which are vnto them instead a trench. Sometimes they will goe forwards in the battell, and shrowd themselves vnder them, and yet annoy their aduersaries with the shot of their Darts. And thus by warlike policie they doe ordinarily plague their Enemies, by endeavouring with all subtiltie to make them spend their shot in vaine, vpon their Targets: and when they see that they haue made an end of shooting, then doe they renew the battell a fresh, and druing them to flight, make a cruell slaughter of them without all mercie. And this is the manner which they vse against their Enemies, and the *Amazones*. But the *Amazones*, on the other side, which are very well acquainted herewithall, doe fight against them with other militarie stratagems (as we haue aboue declared) and doe ouercome the forces of their Aduersaries with their swiftnesse, and great skill in matters of Warre. For, they doe assure themselves, that if they be taken, they shall be deuoured: and therefore with doubled courage they fight for life, that they might ouercome, and in any case saue their liues from that fierce and cruell Nation. And in this sort doe they maintaine continuall Warre, alwaies with great mortalitie on both sides. These *Agags* dwell at the beginning of the Riuer *Nilus*, (where it runneth Northwards out of the Lake,) vpon both the bankes of the Riuer, till it come to a certaine limite, wherein they are bounded; and then Westwards all ouer the bankes of the said *Nilus*, euen to the second Lake, and to the borders of the Empire of *Prete-Gianni*. Touching these *Agags*, I thought it conuenient in this place to adde this, which before I had omitted. Betweene the confines of this *Mohenemugi*, and *Prete-Gianni*, there are sundrie other petie Lords, and people that are of a white colour, and yeeld obedience sometimes to one of these two Princes, and sometimes to the other. They are men of a farre greater stature then all the rest of the people in those Countries.

Towards the Cape of *Guarda-Fuy*, there are many places inhabited with *Mahometans*, all along the Sea-side, of colour being white. Vpon this shoare there are diuers good Hauens, where the ships of sundrie Countries doe trafficke with the foresaid merchandises. The first of these places, is called *Patee*; the second, *Brana*; the third, *Magadoxo*; the fourth, *Affion*; and the last is, the famous Promontorie and Cape of *Guarda-Fuy*: which because it is very great, and iutteth out a good way into the Sea, is well knowne to all Sailers that come from *India*, and from *Ormuz*, and from *Arabia Felix*. It is the place and harbour where the *Portugals* are wont to attend, and yeerely with their Nauies to watch for the Vessels of the *Mahometans*, that being laden with precious merchandises, doe saile into those parts without their licence, they being the Lords of the trafficke and trade for Spicerie, and all other commodities that are brought from

The Empire of
Mohenemugi.

The *Giacchi*,
or *Agagi*.
And. Bat. sayth,
that the *Agags*
came from *Si-*
erra Lione. But
they dispersed
themselves as
a generall pe-
stilence, and
common
scourge thro-
row most parte
of *Ethiopia*.

The *Amazones*.

Many good
Hauens.

The Cape of
Guarda-Fuy.

from *India*. So that euery yeere the *Portugall* Fleet doth take great prizes of Merchants ships in that place, as the *English* and the *French* doe at Cape Saint Vincent.

Diuers Ports
on the Sea
coast towards
the red Sea.

That which
followeth of
Abassia, *Nilus*,
&c. is omitted.

After you haue compassed about the foresaid Cape of *Guarda-Fuy*, toward the red Sea, you shall come to other Townes and Hauens of the *Mahometans*. The first of them is called *Methe*, and another beyond that, called *Barbora*. And this is the farthest place wherein you shall find any people with white skins: for here the men beginne to be all blacke. Then there is *Ceila*, and *Dalaca*, and *Malaca*, and *Carachim*: and all this Coast is called in that Countrie language, *Ba-ragiam*. The People that inhabite therein are all blacke, valiant in Armes, and apparelled from the girdle downewards with cloth of Cotton: but those that are of the best account among them, doe weare vpon their shoulders certaine Clokes with Hoods, called *Bernussi*, such as the old *Romans* vsed, and were termed *Saga Romana*. It aboundeth in Gold, and in Iuorie, and in Metals, and in Victuals of all sorts.

Then follow the Mouths or Entrances into the red Gulfe.

CHAP. V.

The Voyage of Sir FRANCIS ALVAREZ, a Portugall Priest, made vnto the Court of PRETE IANNI, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia.



I know not who translated this Booke, I found it in Master Hackluyes papers, and haue abbreviated it where I could; al-



N the Name of Iesus, amen. I, Francis Alvarez, Priest of the Masse, which by especiall commandement of the King our Lord, Don Emanuel (whom God hath receiued into his glorie) went with Edward Galuano, a Gentleman of his house, and one of 60 his Counsellors; which was Secretarie vnto the King Don Alfonso, and vnto King Iohn, his Sonne, till his dying day; and by King Don Emanuel was sent Ambassadour vnto King Prete Ianni, haue determined to write all things which hapned vnto vs in this Voyage, and to describe the Countreies wherein we were, with the qualities, customes, and vsages

ges thereof, and how they agree with Christian Religion. Neither doe I here take upon me to reprehend or approve their customes and vsages, but leane them wholly vnto the Readers (which are able to instruct mee) to praise, amend, and correct whatsoeuer they shall thinke good. And because I may seeme sometimes speaking of one Countrey, and of another, to confound the same together, I say, that wee were resident in these Countreies for the space of sixe yeeres together, wherein I sought to know a great part of the Countreies, Kingdomes, and Signories of the said Prete Ianni, and their customes and vsages, some by sight, and some others by the report of credible persons. And euer, as I came to the knowledge of them, so I put them downe in writing, that is to say, deliuering such things as I saw, as hauing seene them; and things reported, as receiued by hearing: and therefore I sweare and protest vpon my conscience, that I will not wittingly report any vnto. And euen as I hope and trust in our Lord God, that my confession shall be true vnto my liues end, so likewise shall this my present writing be true: for he that lyeth to his neighbour, lyeth to God.

10 with marginall notes, &c. He that compareth these Relations with those of the Great Mogoll in Sir T. Roe, shall find great correspondence in the vnciuill customes whereinto wild Maestrie and barbarous Greatnesse, both here and there, haue degenerated: both vast bodies rather then strong; the one flourishing, the other fallen, and now retayning but the struggling extremes of that giantly vnweldinesse here by this eye-witnesse in those times obserued. He calls him Prete or Priest Iohn, following the vulgar error, growing from the relations of a Priest Iohn in Asia, and by ignorance applied to this Negus of Ethiopia, as in my *Pilgrimage* you may see at large. I esteeme his relations true in those things which he saith he saw: in some others which he had by relation of enlarging Trauellers, or boasting Abissines, hee may perhaps sometimes rather mendacia dicere then mentiri. Euen yet the Law-giuer is not departed from Iuda, it Melchis posteritie hath euer since reigned, wily wits had their *pia fraudes* to make Religion a stirrup of State.

20

¶ I. MATTHEW the Ambassadour of PRETE IANNI, is conducted by the Portugals vnto the Haven of Maczua in the red Sea, and what hapned to his death.

30 **W**Hereas I said that I went with Edward Galuano (whom God pardon) true it is that I did so, and he died in Comoran, an Ile of the red Sea, neither tooke his Ambassage any effect, during the time that Lopez Suarez was Captaine generall of the Indies. Diego Lopez de Sequeira succeeding Suarez in the gouernment of India, effected that which Lopez Suarez would neuer execute, to wit, the conducting of Matthew (who was sent Ambassadour from Prete Ianni to the King of Portugall) to the Haven of Maczua, neere vnto Ercoco, being a Port-towne of Prete Ianni. This Diego Lopez prepared a goodly and great Fleet, wherewith we sailed into the red Sea, and arriued at the said Island of Maczua on Monday in the Octaues of Easter, the sixteenth of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere 1520. which Island we found abandoned and forsaken by the Inhabitants, because that five or sixe dayes before they had knowledge of our comming. This Ile is distant from the Continent about two Crosbow-shots, whither the Moores of the said Island were fled with their goods. Our Fleet therefore riding betweene the Continent and the Island. The Tuesday following, there came vnto vs one Christian and a Moore from the Towne of Ercoco. The Christian said that the Towne of Ercoco belonged to the Christians, and was vnder the Iurisdiction of a great Lord, called Barnagasso, being subiect vnto Prete Ianni; and that the Inhabitants of this Ile of Maczua, and of Ercoco, when the Turkes came thither, fled all into the Mountaines; but at this present they would not flee away, hauing vnderstood that wee were Christians. Our Generall hauing heard thus much, gaue thanks to God, that he was come to the happie knowledge of Christians; and this procured great fauour vnto Matthew, which before that time was little accounted of.

40

50 2. The day following being Wednesday, the Captaine of the said Towne of Ercoco came to speake with our Generall, and presented foure Oxen vnto him, and the Generall gaue him very courteous and honourable entertainment.

Twentie or foure and twentie miles from this place standeth a very high Mountaine, with a famous Monasterie thereupon, which Matthew oftentimes made mention of, being called the Monasterie of Bisian, that is, *Of the Vision*. The Friars of this Monasterie hauing knowledge of vs, came seuen of them the Thursday after the Octaues, to visite vs; whom our Generall and all his people went on shoare to meet, with great ioy and gladnesse: and they seemed to reioyce no lesse; and said, that they had long time looked for Christians, because they had certaine Prophecies in their written Booke, which foretold that Christians should arrive at this Haven, and that a pit should there be digged, after the opening whereof, no more Moores should dwell in that place: with many other Speeches tending to the like purpose. At all these things the Ambassadour Matthew was present, whom the foresaid Friars did greatly honour, kissing his hands and his shoulders, according to their manner; and he, on the other side, tooke great delight in them also. These Friars said that they obserued then the Feast of Easter, and eight dayes next ensuing,

The Chapters, as they are diuided in Ramusio, are expressed by the figures in the beginnings of the lines: which method I haue reduced to our wonted forme of Paragraphs, lest so many diuisions should make the Booke to swell ouer-much. Maczua or Mazua. Ercoco. 1520. Barnagasso. Matthew the Ambassadour of the Abissine.

The Monasterie of Bisian.

Prophecies.

Easter Rites
by Monkes.

fuings, and that during those eight dayes they vsed neither to trauell, nor to doe any other work; but so soone as they heard say that *Christians* were arriued at that Hauen (a thing which they so earnestly desired) they craued licence of their Superiour to vndertake this iourney for the seruice of God, and that *Barnagasso* was likewise informed of our arriuall, but that he would not set forward out of his house till eight dayes after Easter.

Comming of
Barnagasso.

State obserued

League confir-
med by Oath.

Mutual gifts.

Roderigo de
Lima, sent to
the Prete in
Embassage.

Therise of a
Painter in dis-
coueries.

Saturday and
Sunday Sab-
baths.

3. These Friars vse to carrie Crosses in their hands, and other people weare them about their neckes, made of blacke wood, and all our companie bought of the same Crosses which they weare about their neckes, because it was a new thing, and not vsuall amongst vs. While these Friars abode with vs, the Generall commanded one *Fernando Diaz*, which vnderstood the *Arabike* Tongue, to goe and view their Monasterie.

4. On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of Aprill, *Barnagasso* came to the Towne of *Ercoco*, and gaue vs aduertisement of his arriuall. Order was taken, that they should meet one another in the mid-way. *Barnagasso* came thither first, but he would not come to the place which was prepared for him. The Generall being lighted, seing that he would not come thither, caused the preparatiues to be carried before neere vnto the place where he stood: which againe, to maintayne his grandure and reputation, would not once stirre with his people to come vnto the place prepared, so that the said *Anthonie de Saldanza* and *Matthew* the Ambassadour, were constrained to returne againe, which in the end resolued, that both of them at one instant, should set forward, that is to say, the Generall and *Barnagasso*, and so they did, meeting together and conferring in a large champaine field, as they sate on the ground vpon certaine Carpets. And among many discourses that they had together, giuing thanks to God for this their enteruiew. *Barnagasso* taking a Crosse of Siluer in his hand (which was there readie for the same purpose) said, that he sware vpon the signe of the Crosse, vpon which our Lord suffered his Passion, in the Name of *Prete Ianni* his Master, that he would alwaies fauour and aide the people and affaires of the King of *Portugals*, and also assist his Captaines which should arriue at that Hauen, or in any other Hauens or Lands, where it lay in him to aide and assist them, and likewise that he would take into his protection the Ambassadour *Matthew*, and other Ambassadors, which it pleased the Generall to send into the Kingdomes and Dominions of *Prete Ianni*, with all such people and goods as they should carrie with them.

The Generall sware, on the other part, to doe the like for the Subiects and Affaires of *Prete Ianni*, and of *Barnagasso*, there and in every place where he should find them, and that the rest of the Captaines and Lords of the King of *Portugall* should doe the like. The Generall gaue vnto *Barnagasso* a faire Armour, and certaine pieces of cloth of Silke; and *Barnagasso* gaue vnto the Generall a faire Horse and a Mule: and so they departed glad and contented on either part.

This *Barnagasso* had in his traine two hundred persons mounted vpon Horses and Mules, and two thousand Footmen. Our Gentlemen and Captaines seeing these so good newes which God had sent vs, and that a doore was opened to exalt the Catholike Faith, whereof afore wee had small hope of any successe, all men holding this *Matthew* for no true Ambassadour, but for a false man and a Counterfeit, whereupon they were onely of opinion to put him on Land, and let him goe his way, when they had seene these things (as wee haue said before) they all rouzed vp themselves, requesting the Generall of his fauour, that hee would suffer them to goe with the said *Matthew* to *Prete Ianni*, in that Ambassage; considering that by that which they had seene, it was perfectly knowne that the said *Matthew* was a true Ambassadour. And albeit, many requested this charge, yet was it granted to *Roderigo de Lima*: and the Generall appointed certaine that should goe with him, which were these, *George de Breu*, *Lopez de Gama*, *Iohn Scolaro* Secretarie of the Ambassage, *Iohn Goncalues* Interpretor and Factor of the same Ambassage, *Emanuel de Mares* an Organist, *Pedro Lopez*, Master *Iohn* the Physician, *Gaspar Pereira*, *Stephen Pagliarte*, both Kinsmen of *Don Roderigo*, *Iohn Fernandez*, *Lazarus de Andrada* Painter, *Alfonso Menzdez*, and my selfe, *Francis Aluarez* Priest, though vnworthy. All we before mentioned went in the company of *Don Roderigo*, and likewise, three *Portugals* accompanied *Matthew*, of whom, the one was named *Magaglianes*, another *Aluarenga*, the third, *Diego Fernandez*, Presents also were prouided.

We went to *Ercoco*, where we were appointed by *Barnagasso*, which caused vs to lodge two or three Crosse-bow-shoots, distant from the Towne in a certaine Plaine, which is at the foot of a Mountaine, whither immediately hee sent vs of free gift an Oxe, and Bread and Wine of the Countrey. We staid there, because in that place they were to prouide vs of Horses and Camels to carrie our goods. This was vpon a Friday, and because in this Countrey they obserue the old and the new Law, we rested the Saturday and the Sunday to keepe both those dayes holy.

In this meane space, the Ambassadour *Matthew*, dealt very effectually with *Don Roderigo*, and with vs all, not to stay with *Barnagasso*, although hee were a great Lord, but that it was farre better to goe vnto the Monastery of the Vision, where wee should haue farre better dispatch. Whereupon, giuing him to vnderstand, that wee were not to stay with him, hee departed and went his way, neuerthelesse hee gaue vs fourteene Horses and tenne Camels to carrie our goods.

6. We

6. We departed out of this Plaine, neere vnto the Towne of *Ercoco*, on Munday, the thirtieth of Aprill, wee trauelled not aboue two miles from that place, but that wee rested about noone, neere vnto a Riuer which was dryed vp, which had no water sauing in certaine small Pits. And because the Countrey through which we were to trauell, was dry and barren, and the heate extreme; each of vs carried with him his Vessels and Bottles of Leather full of water. Vpon the bankes of this Riuer grew many trees of diuers sorts, among which were Sallowes, and trees of bearing the fruit, called *Inuba*, with other fruitlesse trees. While we rested by this Riuer, about noone there came a Gentleman vnto vs, named *Framasqual*, which in our Language signifieth, *The Seruant of the Crosse*, who in his blacknesse was so faire; that he seemed to be a Gentleman indeed, and they said that he was allyed to *Barnagasso*, that is to say, his Wiues Brother. Before he came at vs, he lighted from his Horse, because this is their custome, and they vse it also for a courtesie. The Ambassadour *Matthew*, hearing of his comming, said he was a Thiefe, and came to rob vs, and that we should all betake vs to our Weapons; and *Matthew* himselte caught vp his Sword, and put on his Head-piece. *Framasqual* hearing this noyse, sent to craue leaue to come vnto vs, and though he could not obtaine it of *Matthew*, yet neuerthelesse, he came vnto vs as a man well brought vp and very courteous, and as one that had bene conuersant at the Court. This Gentleman had a very good Horse before him, and a faire Mule whereon hee rode, and foure men which went by him on foot.

Giuggiole.

A Gentleman

Matthew suspicious.

7. From this Lodging we departed all together, and the said Gentleman riding vpon his Mule with his Horse before him, accosted our Ambassadour, *Don Roderigo* with his Interpreter, and they rode a great while conferring and deuising together. Hee was in his conference and in his answeres very gentle, and courteous, and the Ambassadour tooke singular delight in him. Wee found a Carauan of Camels and people, which came from *Ercoco*, because they trauell not but in Carauans for feare of theeues. Wee lodged all in a Wood where there was water, being an ordinary place for Carauans to lodge in, and the foresaid *Framasqual* remayned with vs, where we and those of the Carauan kept watch all night for feare of wild beasts. The next morning, we departed from this place, alwayes traueilling ouer dry Riuer and Brookes, most huge Mountaines standing on both sides of the way, with great Woods and Trees of diuers sorts, most beautifull and tall, the greatest part whereof were without fruit, and among them were some which I my selfe knew, being called *Tamarindi*, which beare clusters of fruit like vnto Grapes, which being pressed are somewhat blacke, because they make Wine of them, some quantitie whereof they carrie vnto all their Faies, as they vse to make of Raisins. The Riuer and wayes whereby we passed, seemed to be high and ragged, which commeth to passe through the fury of the water of stormes and tempests mingled with Thunder, which waters hinder not the way, according as they told vs, and as we saw our selues in other places like vnto these. The remedie was at the time of these stormes to stay vpon the side of some Hill, the space of two houres, vntill the force of these stormes be runne downe. And how great and terrible soeuer these Riuer became through the foresaid showres, the water is no sooner false from the said Mountaines, and come into the Plaine, but it is disperfed and foked vp, and neuer commeth vnto the Sea: neither could we learne that any Riuer of *Ethiopia* entereth into the Red Sea, but that all of them haue their ending, as soone as they come to the low and plaine fields.

A Carauan.

Dry Riuer. Mountaines and Woods.

Tamarindi.

Furious stormes and thunders.

Strange suddenesse of showres.

Vpon these Mountaines and Rockes, are many beasts of diuers kinds, as we our selues saw, to wit, Elephants, Lions, Tygres, Buffes, Badgers, Ante, Deere without number, and other beasts of all sorts, sauing two, which I neither saw, nor heard to be in those parts, that is to say, Beares, and Conies. There are likewise all kind of singing Birds, which may be imagined, and also Partridges, Quails, wild Hens, Doves, and Turtles, in such incredible numbers, that they couered the Sunne, of all those sorts which are in our parts, sauing that I saw no Pyes, nor Cuckoes. All along these Riuer and Rockes I saw great plentie of sweet Herbes, which I knew not, sauing onely Basil, whereof there was exceeding store, which yeelded a fragrant and sweet smell, and had leaues of diuers sorts.

Many beasts. Ante a kind of beast. No Beares nor Conies.

Store of Basil and sweet Herbs.

8. The time of resting our selues being come, *Matthew* determined to cause vs a-new to leaue the high way, and to trauel with him toward the Monasterie of the Vision, through Mountaines and Woods exceeding full of high Trees.

We departed from this Lodging, and trauelled through a more rough and craggie Countrey, and through farre greater and thicker Woods, being our selues on foot, and our Mules before vs, which were not able to trauell. The Camels yelled out as though they had bene possessed with Devils. It seemed, to vs all, that *Matthew* had brought vs into this way, eyther to make vs lose our liues or our goods, for in that place we could doe no other but call vpon God to helpe vs; and the Woods were so darke and fearefull, that Spirits would haue bene afraid to passe them. We saw many sauage and cruell beasts at noone-dayes, passing this way and that way, without being any whit afraid of vs. For all this we went forward, and began to find people of the Countrey, which kept their fields that were sowne with Millet, and came farre off to sow it vpon these high and craggie Mountaynes. We saw likewise many Herds of goodly Oxen, and Goats feeding. The said people which we found there, were all naked, and hid in a manner,

Matthew's perversenesse to lead them way-lesse wayes: contrary to *Framasqual*'s liking Wild beasts.

Millet.

Naked people.

no part of their bodies. They were very blacke, and were said to be Christians. They had their Wiues with them, which couered their Priuities with a ragge of cloth halfe torne. These women weare vpon their heads a kind of attyre, made after the fashion of a Crowne, as blacke as Pitch, and their haire bound vp in round wreathes like Kandles of Tallow: the blacknesse of these attyres, with these Lockes of haire fastned vnto them, seemed a very strange thing to behold. The men weare a piece of skinn before their Priuities.

Matthew false.
David & Abba.

Inaccessible
Mountaine.

S. Michael de
Iseo.

Their Winter
from Iune to
September.
They fall sicke.

Matthew dieth.
The death of
Matthew, the
Abassine Am-
bassador.

Abassines vn-
trustie, and
therefore mi-
strustfull.

Thus traueilling forward through many other Woods which could hardly be passed, and wee our selues lighting on foot, and vnlading our Camels there met vs tenne or twelue Friers of the Monasterie of the Vision, among whom, there was foure or fve very aged, and one older then the rest, whom all the rest did reuerence, and kissed his hands; and our selues did the like, because *Matthew* told vs that he was their Bishop, but afterward we knew that he was no Bishop; but that he had the Title of *David*, which signifieth a *Warden*; & that in the Monasterie there was another about him, whom they call *Abba*, which signifieth a *Father*, beeing like vnto a *Pro- uinciall*, and in regard of their age and drynesse (for they were as dry as a stocke) they seemed to be men of a holy life at the first blatt. The foresaid Friers trauelled through the Woods to gather their Millet which they had sowed, as also to gather vp their Roots, which are payed vnto them by such as sow Corne in those Mountaines and Woods. Their apparell was made of dressed Goat-skinnes, others weare apparell made of old yellow Cotton, and went bare-foot. From hence we departed not till our Camels had rested a little: afterward, within the space of halfe a mile, we came to the foot of a very rough and cragged Mountaine, vpon the which our Camels could not ascend, and hardly the Mules without their burthens, and heere wee rested our selues at the foot of a Tree.

9. The next day the Ambassador *Matthew* commanded his goods to be laden vpon the backs of *Negroes*, to carry them into a small Monasterie, halfe a league distant from vs, called *Saint Michael de Iseo*. Here *Framasqual* departed from vs, and wee came vnto the Monasterie halfe dead, as well for the roughnesse and steepnesse of the way, as also because of the great heat.

While we aboad there, the said *Matthew* came vnto vs with a counter-mand, and said vnto vs, that he had written vnto the Court of *Prete Ianni*, and to *Queene Helena*, and to *Marke* the Patriarke, and that the answere could not bee returned in lesse then fortie dayes, and that without the same we could not depart, because from that place they were to furnish vs, and to haue Mules for vs, and for our goods; neither was he well assured of the performance of this, but said that Winter began to approach, which lasted about the space of three monethes, wherein we could not trauell, and that therefore it was needfull, that wee should prouide victuals for our selues: for three monethes in the Winter they trauell not in these Countries, to wit, from the midst of Iune to the midst of September, which is their ordinarie Winter. Within a short space after our arriual here, our people as well *Portugals* as slaues fell so sick, that few or none escaped vntouched, and many were sicke to the point of death, insomuch that they stood in need often to be let bloud and to be purged. Among the first, *Master Iohn* our Physician fell sicke, which was all our humane helpe, yet it pleased God that he recouered, and from that time forward he laboured for vs with all his power.

Among these, *Matthew* the Ambassador fell sicke also, which had many Medicines ministered vnto him, and when he seemed to be very well recouered and strong, he rose vp and commanded his goods to be carried to a Towne belonging to the Monasterie of the Vision, where he yeelded vp his spirit vnto our Lord, which was the foure and twentieth of May, *Anno Dom. 1520.* and I confessed him, and ministered the Communion vnto him, and he made his will in the *Portugall* Tongue, but it was also made in the *Abassin* Tongue, by a Frier of the said Monastery. We caused the corps to bee buried very honorably in the said Monastery, where wee said Seruice and Masse for him according to our custome, and the Friers did the like according to theirs.

10. Wee determined, to send to request *Barnagasso*, that hee would giue vs some meanes to returne into our Countrey, to the end wee might not perish in that place. The Friers vnderstanding this, tooke it in very ill part, and calling *Don Roderigo* aside, perswaded him not to send thither, praying him to attend the comming of the *Provinciall*, which would bee within ten dayes, and if he come not, they would furnish vs with necessaries for our iournies. And because they are people of small trust themselves, they gaue no credit vnto vs, although the Ambassador had promised them to doe so, but sought to minister an Oath vnto each of vs vpon a Crucifixe, that we would stay during those tenne dayes, and they likewise tooke an Oath to performe that which they had promised.

§. II.

Of the manner and situation of the Monasteries, and of their holy Rites,
Times, Places, and Things: And first of this of
Saint MICHAEL.

11. **F**irst, this Monasterie is situate vpon the cragge of a Mountaine, which is very
wild, seated at the foot of another huge Mountaine, vpon the which no man
can ascend. The stone of these Rockes is of the colour and graine of the stone,
wherewith the wall of the Cities of Portugall are built, and the stones are verie
great. All the ground except these stones is couered with many great Woods, and the greatest
part are wild Oliue Trees, and great store of Herbs grow among them, and the most part is Ba-
fill. The Trees which were not Oliues, were not knowne of vs, and all of them were without
fruit. In certaine narrow Vallies, which belong to this Monasterie, were Groues of Orange-
trees, Limons, Cedars, Vines, and Figs of all sorts, as well of those which are found in Portu-
gall, as those of India, and Peaches: there were also Cabbages, Corianders, Cressis, Worme-
wood, Mirtles, and many other kindes of Herbes fragrant and medicinall: and all was ill
husbanded, because they are people of no industrie; and the Earth bringeth forth the things
afore said, as it bringeth forth wild things, and would bring forth much better, all they should
plant or sow. The House of the Monasterie seemeth, indeed, to bee a Church-building beeing
made like vnto ours: it hath about it a circuit like to a Cloyster, and the couering aboue is fastned
to the couering of the Church. It hath three gates, as ours haue, to wit, one chiefe gate in the
fore-front, and one on each side in the midst. The couering of the Church, and of the circuit
is made of wild Reed, which lasteth the life of a man.

Orchards.
The Abasins
not industrious
The building
of the Mona-
sterie.

The body of the Church is made with Iles, very well wrought, and the Arches are very well
stored, it seemeth all to be made like a Vault: It hath a little Quire behind the great Altar, with
a Crosse afore it, whereupon hang Curtaines which goe from one side to another; and likewise,
there are other Curtaines before the Gates, passing from one Wall to another, and they are of
Silke, and the entrie by these Curtaines is at three places, and are fastned against the Walls;
and at these three entrances or gates, are little Bels fastned to the Curtaines, about the bignesse
of Saint *Antonies* Bels; and a man cannot enter in at the gates, but these Bels will ring. There
is but one Altar belonging to the whole Church, which standeth in the great Chappell. Aboue
the Altar is a Cloath of Gold borne vp with foure pillars, and the Altar toucheth all these foure
Pillars, and the said Cloath of Gold is hollow like a Vault, it hath his *Super-Altare*, or conse-
crated stone, which they call *Tabuto*, and vpon this stone standeth a very great Basen of Cop-
per, and it is flat in the bottome, and is low brimmed, which reacheth vnto all the foure Pillars
of the Altar, because the Pillars are set in a square, and in the said Basen is set another lesser Ba-
son, and on euery side of this cloth of Gold, that is to say, behind and on both sides a Curtaine
hangeth downe which couereth the whole Altar downe to the ground, sauing that it is open
before.

Little Bels

Bels of stones

Their Bels are of stone, that is to say, long and thin stones, hanged vp with Cords, and they
beat them on the inside with a piece of wood, and they make a very strange sound, like to the
sound of broken Bels when they are heard as farre off. And likewise on Festiuall dayes, they take
Basens, and strike them with certaine small stickes, which make them sound very loud. They
haue likewise Bels of Iron, which are not fully round, but haue two sides like vnto the Iacket of
a Muletier, whereof the one part couereth him before, and the other behind; they haue a clap-
per which beateth the same first on the one side, and then on the other, and it maketh a sound
like vnto a man that diggeth Vines. They haue also other Bels ill-fanouredly made, which they
carrie in their hands when they go on Proceffion, and ring them altogether vpon Festiuall dayes,
on other dayes they vse their Bels of stone, and of Iron; they ring to Mattens two houres be-
fore day, and they say them by heart without light: onely there hangs a Lampe before the Al-
tar, wherein they burne Butter, for they haue no Oyle.

Basens used
for Bels.
Iron Bels.

Darke Mat-
tens.
Butter used
for Oyle.

They sing and say with a loud and harsh voice, as of one that cryeth, without any art of sing-
ing: they say no Verses, but their speech is as it were in Prose, and yet they are *Psalmes*, and
on their Holidayes, besides their *Psalmes*, they say Prose, and according to the Feasts so is their
Prose, and alwayes they stand on their feet in the Church. They say not aboue one Lesson at
their Mattens, with a harsh, disordered and vntuneable voice, and like vnto that wherein wee
pronounce the words of the *Iewes*, in representing the Passion of our Sauour Christ. And al-
though their voice be so harsh, yet they speake it running, as fast as the tongue of a man can
wagge, and a Clerke or a Frier saith the same; and this Lesson is read before the principall gate.

They stand al-
way in the
Church.

Vndenout de-
uotions.

Proceffion.

Censers and

Crosses.

der

Which being ended on Saturday and Sundayes, they goe on Proceffion with foure or fve crof-
ses, being carryed vpon certaine staues not very high; and they carrie the same in their left
hands, because in their right hand they carrie a Censer, and alwayes there are so many Censers

Copes and other holy Vestments.

Image of our Lady.
* Ancone.

Candles.

The manner of ministring the Communion among the Ethiopians.
Great unleavened Cake.

* An order sometimes so strictly observed, that Saint Amb. sent Theodosius to remove, &c.
Procession with the Host.
Chalices of Gold, Silver, Brasse.
Wine of Raisins.
Communion in both kinds.
Rather speaking then finishing.

The Epistle.

The Gospell.
Kissing the Booke.

Censing.

Blessing with crossing.

Consecration in the vulgar Tongue.

No elevation.

as there be Crosses. They weare certaine Copes of Silke, but rudely made, for they be no broader then the breadth of a piece of Damaske, or of any other piece of Silke from the vpper part to the neather part; and on the breast before, they haue a traierse; and on both sides they sewe a piece of other Cloth of what colour soeuer, although it agree not with the principall; and of the principall Cloth they let a traine hang downe vpon the ground. They make this Procession in their Circuit, which is like vnto a Cloister. Which being ended on Saturdayes, and Sundayes, and Festiuall dayes, he which is to say Masse, with two others, enter into the Chappell, and take out an Image of our Ladie, which they haue in an old Cell (for in all Churches they haue of their * Cells) and they put it on a Crozier, turning the face toward the principall gate, and this Image holdeth her hand before her breast, and they which stand on both sides of it hold lighted Candles in their hands, and then they which are before it beginne to sing in manner of prose, and they goe all crying and dancing as if they were in a Towne-dance. And going before this Image with this their song or prose, they ring their little Bells and Cymbals with the like sound, and as often as any chanceth to passe before this Image they doe great reuerence to it, which seemeth to the beholder to be done with great desire of deuotion: and so they carrie in this Feast Crosses and Censers, as they did in their Procession.

When this is ended, which continueth for a long space, they salute the Image, and then they goe vnto a certaine closet, which standeth toward the North; and that part where the Gospell is said, according to our Masse, is without the circuit, wherein they make the Host, which they call *Corbon*, and they carrie Crosses, Censers, and Bells with them, and from hence they bring a Cake of Wheat-flowre vnleavened, newly made, very white and very faire, of the bignesse and roundnesse of a great Paten, because there are but a few people in this Monasterie: but in other Monasteries and Churches (whereof there be many) they make this Cake great or small according to the number of the people, for all doe communicate, and according to the breadth so they make the thicknesse, either halfe a finger, or a whole finger, or a thumbe thicke: and they carrie this Cake in the little Bason which is one of them that belong to the Altar couered with a cloth, with a Crosse and Censer, and a Bell ringing afore them. Behind the Church where that Quire is, which they hold as a Cloister, no man may stand which is not in holy Orders*, but all of them must stand before the principall gate, where there is another great circuit which all Churches haue, but it is not couered, and there may stand any man that list.

When they goe in Procession with this Cake, all they which stand in the Church and in the circuit, when they heare the little Bell, bow downe their heads vntill the Bell cease, which is, when they set it vpon the Altar in the lesser Bason which is set (as I said before) in the greater Bason, and they couer it with a blacke Cloth like vnto a Corporall. This Monasterie hath a Chalice of Silver, and likewise in all principall Churches and Monasteries they haue Chalices of Silver, and in some they haue Chalices of Gold. In the Churches of the poorer people (which they call the Churches of the *Balgues*, that is to say, of the Husbandmen) they haue brazen Chalices. These vessels are more wide then ours are, but euill made; but they haue no couers. They powre into the Chalice, wine made of Raisins in great quantitie; for, as many as receiue the Bodie, receiue also the Bloud.

Hee that is to say this Masse, beginneth, saying, *Halleluia*, with a lowd voyce, rather squeaking then singing, and all the companie answere him; and then he holdeth his peace, and beginneth to blesse them with a little Crosse which he carrieth in his hand; and as well they that are about, as those which are within beginne to sing, vntill a certaine time, when as one of them two that stand at the Altar take a Booke, and receiue blessing of him that sayeth Masse, and the other taketh a Crosse, and a Bell, and goeth ringing the same toward the principall gate, where all the people standeth in that circuit; and there he readeth the Epistle running very fast with his tongue, and afterwards singing returneth backe to the Altar: suddenly he which singeth the Masse taketh a Booke from the Altar, kissing the same, and giueth it to him which is to say the Gospell, which boweth downe his head, and asketh him blessing; which when hee hath receiued, as many as stand at the Altar doe kisse the same, a candle is borne with this Booke, and he which reads the Gospell, readeth it as the Epistle was read, very hastily, and with as high a sound as his tongue can vtter, and his voyce can beare: and returning to the Altar, on the way he beginneth likewise another song, and those which goe with him follow him: and when they be come to the Altar, they giue the Booke to kisse to him that sayeth Masse, and so they put it in his place.

And suddenly, he which sayeth Masse, taketh a Censer, and censeth the vpper part of the Altar, and they goe often about it and cense the same. When they haue done these censings, he turneth to the Altar, and blesseth it very often with the Crosse, and then hee vncovereth the Cake which he had couered in stead of the Sacrament, and taketh it vp in both his hands, and lifting vp his right hand the Cake remayneth in his left hand, and with his thumbe he maketh five signes like prickles, that is to say, one in the top, another in the midst, another in the bottome, and the other two on both sides; and therewithall he consecrateth it in his owne Language, with the very words that we vse, and he useth no elevation. The very same he doth ouer the

the Cup, and lifteth it not vp, he sayth ouer the same, the very words that wee vse in his owne Tongue, and he couereth it, and taketh the Sacrament of the Bread in his hands, and breaketh it in twaine, and of the part that is in his left hand, hee breaketh a little Morfell of the top of the same, and the other two pieces hee layeth the one vpon the other. The Priest taketh this little Morfell for himselfe, and likewise taketh part of the Sacrament of the bloud, and afterward he taketh the Basen with the couered Sacrament, and giueth it to him which hath said the Gospell, and likewise he taketh the Chalice with the Sacrament, and giueth it to him which read the Epistle: and suddenly they giue the Communion to the Priests which stand at the Altar, receiuing a small piece of Sacrament out of the Basen, which a Deacon holdeth in his right hand; and while the Deacon giueth the same, a Sub-Deacon taketh of the bloud in a spoone of Gold, of Siluer, or of Copper, according to the abilitie of the Church, and giueth it vnto him which receiue the Sacrament of the body in very small quantitie: and on the other side, standeth another Priest with a little Vessell of holy Water, and powreth into the palme of his hand, which receiued the Communion, a litle of that water, wherewith he washeth his mouth, and afterward swalloweth it vp.

Deacon and Sub-deacon. The Wine administered with a spoone. Holy Water.

This being done, they all goe to the Altar with this Sacrament, before the first Curtaine, and in this sort they giue the Communion to them which stand there, and afterward to all those of the other Curtaine, and lastly, to the Secular people which stand at the principall gate, as well men as women, if the Church be such that women may bee suffered to come thither: at the giuing of the Communion, and at all other diuine Seruices all stand vpon their feet: and when they goe to receiue the Communion, all of them come with their hands lifted vp before their shoulders, with the palmes of their hands spread abroad before them: and when any man receiue the Sacrament of the bloud, he receiue of that Holy Water, as I said before. And also generally al such as are to receiue the Communion before the Masse, vse to wash their hands with water, which is placed in all Churches and Monasteries for this purpose. The Priest which saith the Masse, and they which stood with him at the Altar (the Communion being ended) retorne vnto the Altar, and wash the Basen wherein the Sacrament was put with the water remayning in the Vessell, which they say is Holy Water: this Water is put into the Chalice, and he which said Masse drinketh it vp all. This done, one of the Ministers of the Altar taketh a Crosse and a sacring Bell, and beginning a little Song, goeth to the principall gate where the Epistle and Gospell were read, and where they ceased to giue the Communion, and all they which are in the Church, and without the Church, incline their heads and take their leaues, saying, That this is the blessing, and that without this no man may depart. On Saturdaies and Sundaies, and Feastiuall daies, in all Churches and Monasteries, they vse to giue holy Bread. The forme of Ceremonies which this little Monasterie vseth (which hath not aboue twentie or foue and twentie Friers) is obserued in all other Monasteries and Churches. The seruice of the Masse, (except the Processions) is very short, because the Masse in the weeke daies, is ended almost as soone as it is begun.

Standing.

Washing.

No man may depart without the blessing. Short Masse.

12. The manner how they make the Cake aforesaid, is this: The house where they make it in all Churches & Monasteries, is placed (as is said before) toward that part where the Gospel is said without the Church, and the couered circuit, which is as a Cloyster in all Churches and Monasteries: and they vse the other circuit which is without and not couered, as a Church-yard. This house is as bigge as the Quire behind the great Altar, and somewhat bigger, and in all Churches and Monasteries they haue nothing else in that house, but that which serueth for this businesse; to wit, a Staffe to beate the corne out of the eares, and an Instrument to grinde the Meale, because they make it very white, as is convenient for such a purpose: because they make not the said Sacrament with Meale or Wheate, wherein Women haue put their hands. They haue Earthen Platters, wherein they knead the Meale, and they make the Dow harder then we make it, they make a little Ouen like a Still to Still Water, and vpon the same a plate of Iron, (and some Churches haue it of Brasse, and some others of Bricke) which is round, with a large compasse, and they put the fire vnderneath it, and when it is hot, they make it cleane with a course cloath, and then lay a good piece of this Dow vpon it, and spread it abroad with a Woodden Knife, as broad as they will haue it, and make it very round; and when the Cake is baked they take it away, lay it aside, and make another after the same fashion; and this second Cake after it is likewise ready, they take the former, and lay it thereupon, to wit, that side which was vppermost they turne downe-ward, and so both these two Cakes are laid together, as they were one Cake, and they doe nothing all the while but turne and trosse them vpon this Plate, vntill they bee baked beneath and aboue, and on euery side, and so they make as many as they will. In the same house are also the Raisins where-with they make their Wine, and the Instrument where-with they presse the same. In these houses also is the Holy Bread made, which is distributed on the Saturdaies and Sundaies, and other Feastiuall dayes, and when their great Feasts are held, as Christmas, Easter, and our Lady of August, they fetch out this Sacrament of Bread with a Vestment, Bells and Crosses, very deuoutly, and before they enter into the church therewith, they go once about the circuit, which is like vnto a Cloyster, but

Manner of making the Cake.

House of purpose for it.

No women may touch the Meale. The Ouen.

The Raisins.

Holy Bread.

*Palio.

when

Rogation, or
ganging Pro-
cession.

Sprinkling
Wormes with
Holy Water to
kill them.

Bare-footed
in imitation of
Moses.

But one Masse
a day.

Many Priests
necessary to
our Masse.
Shooes and
spitting in
Churches mis-
liked.

The great fasts
which these
Religious men
use.
In Fasts, no ea-
ting till Sunne
be downe.

A Fast from
Trinitie Sun-
day till Christ-
masse.
Lay Fast till
Aduent.
Fast of Nineue.

The situation
and forme of
the Monasterie
intituled, *The
Vision of Iesus.*
Dreadfull Val-
ley.
Forme of the
Church.

when it is not Holy day they go strait into the Church. The Saturday before Ascension day when we use to say our Letanies, these Friers made a Procession, and because we were strangers in the Countrey, it seemed a goodly sight vnto vs, and it was on this wise: they tooke Crosses and a consecrated stone of the Altar with great reuerence, couered with cloth of Silk, & a Friar which carried it on his head, was likewise wholly couered with the like cloth of Silke: they carryed also Bookes, Bells, Censers, and holy water, and went into certaine fields sowed with Millet, and there they made their deuotions, with cryes after the manner of Letanies, and with this Procession they returned vnto the Monasterie. And when we asked them wherefore they did this, they said, because the Wormes doe eat their Corne, therefore they went to sprinkle them with Holy Water, and pray to God to take them away. He which saith Masse, hath no other difference in his apparell from a Deacon and Sub-deacon, sauing a long Stole slit in the midst, so that hee may thrust his head through it, and behind and before it reacheth downe to the ground. The Friers which say Masse weare their haire long, and the Priests weare it not, but are shorne, and so they say Masse, and are alwayes bare-footed, and no man may come shod into the Church, and for this purpose they alleage that which God said vnto Moses, *Put off thy shooes, for the place where thou standest is holy ground.*

13. In this Monasterie of Saint Michael, where we were, we said Masse euery day, not in the Monasterie, but in the circuit which is like a Cloyster: because in this Countrey they say but one Masse a day in euery Church or Monasterie. The Friers came vnto our Masse with great deuotion, as they seemed, and supplied our want with Censers and Incense, because wee had brought none with vs: and they thinke it an ill thing to say Masse without Incense, and they said that all things seemed well vnto them, sauing that they thought it not commendable for one Priest alone to say Masse, because among them they use not to say Masse, except they bee three, or fve, or sixe, and all these stand at the Altar. Also, they misliked that we went with our shooes into the Church, and much more when we did spit in the Church. But wee excused our selues, saying; That this was the fashion in our Countrey. And so wee said Masse euery day vntill Trinitie Sunday, and when the Munday after the said Trinitie Sunday came, then they would suffer vs to say no more Masse in the morning, and we marueiling thereat, and not well pleased, and hauing at that instant no Interpreter to learne wherefore they would not suffer vs to say Masse, at length we vnderstood, that which by experience afterward we saw, to wit; that they obserue the Old Testament in their fasting; for they fast very straitly in the Lent, which they begin the Munday after the Sunday of *Sexagesima*, which are ten dayes before our Shrouetide, and so they make their Lent of fiftie dayes, and say that they take those dayes before, for the Saturdayes on which they doe not fast: and their Fast is to eate at euen-tide, and euery day they receiue the Communion, and therefore they say not Masse but in the euening, and when Masse is done, they receiue the Communion and then goe to supper. And like as they haue these fiftie dayes of fast, so they take as many dayes after Easter and Whitsontide, wherein they fast not at all; and when it is not fasting day, they say Masse in the morning, and all those dayes they eate flesh without obseruing any one of them, and say Masse in the mornings, and strait way goe to dinner because they fast not.

When this time is ended, and Trinitie Sunday past, all the Clerkes and Friers are bound to fast euery day sauing Saturdayes, Sundayes, and this Fast continueth vntill Christmasse day. And because they fast all, they say Masse at night, alleaging for prooffe hereof the Supper of Christ, how that it was fasting time, and almost night when he consecrated his Bodie. But commonly, the Lay-people as well men as women are bound to fast weekly on Wednesdayes and Fridayes, from Trinitie Sunday vntill Aduent: and from Christmasse day till the Purification of the Virgin Marie (which they call the Feast of Saint Simeon) they fast not at all. The three dayes after the Purification being not Saturday nor Sunday, are an exceeding strait Fast for the Clerkes, Friers, and Lay-people, for they say that they eate but once in all these three dayes, and they call it the Fast of *Ninue*. These three dayes being ended, vntill the beginning of Lent, they fast againe as they did before, vntill the Feast of the holy Trinitie. In the Aduent and all the Lent the Clerkes, the Friers, the Laitie, the men and women, small and great, sound and sicke doe all fast. And likewise, from Easter vnto Trinitie Sunday, and from Christmasse vnto the Purification, the Masse is said in the morning because there is no Fast, all the rest of the yeare it is said in the euening because they fast.

The Monasterie where we buried Matthew, is distant from this wherein we aboad three miles space of very bad way, & it is called, *The Monastery of the Vision of Iesus*. It is seated vpon the point of a Rocke exceeding high, and from euery part as a man looketh downward, there is a Valley which seemeth to be as deepe as Hell. The Church of the Monasterie is very great of bodie, & greater in reuenues, and is very well disposed and gouerned. It is built with three great allies or walkes, which are very finely made with their Arches and their Vaults, which seeme to bee made of wood, because they are all painted ouer, so that a man cannot perceiue whether the Church be built of stone, or of wood. It hath two walking places in forme of a Cloyster about the bodie of the Church, which are both couered and painted with the Pictures of the Apostles, and

and Patriarkes, and with the storie of all the Old Testament, and with Saint *George* on Horse-backe, which is to be seene in all their Churches. And likewise, there is in the same a great piece of Arras, wherein is wouen a Crucifixe, our Ladie, the Apostles, the Patriarkes, and Prophets, and euery one hath his title or name in *Latine*, which sheweth that the same worke was not made in those Countries. There are also many ancient Images, which stand not vpon the Altars, because it is not their fashion, but they keepe them in a Vestry lapped vp with many Bookes, and they bring them not forth but on Holy-dayes.

Saint *George* on horse-backe in all their Churches. Saints in Arras Images in a Vestry.

In this Monasterie there is a great Kitchin, with all things thereto appertayning, with a great roome to dine in, where they sate altogether, and they eat three and three in a Treen dish which is not very deepe, but plaine like vnto a wooden Platter. Their Dyet is very homely, their Bread is made of Millet and of Barley, and of another Seed which they call *Taso*, which is small and blacke. This Bread they make round, about the bignesse of an *Apple of Adam*, and they giue three of these to each one, and vnto the *Nouices* they giue three of them betweene two, and I wonder greatly to thinke how they can liue with so little a quantitie. Likewise, they giue each of them a little fresh fish without Oyle or Salt. Of the selfe-same Dyet, they send so many aged and honorable Friers, towards whom they vse great reuerence, which come not vnto the dining hall. And if any man aske me how I know this, I answer, that besides that which I saw when we buried *Matthew*, the greatest part of the sixe yeares which wee aboad in *Ethiopia*, our Lodging was not farre from the said Monastery, so that I departed oftentimes from our house vpon my Mule, and came in the euening to the Monasterie, and for the most part I went to passe the time with the Friers, and principally at their Festiuall times, and I learned many things of them concerning their Affaires, Reuenues, Vsages, and Customes. An hundred Friers are commonly in this Monasterie, and the most part of them are very aged, and as dry as a stocke, few of them are young. There are also many little children, of eight yeares old and vpward, which they bring vp, and many of them are lame and blind. This Monasterie is walled round about, and hath no entrie but by two gates which are alwayes shut.

Hard Dyet.

Nouices.

They aboad six yeares in *Ethiopia*.

14. This Monasterie is the head of sixe Monasteries, which stand about the same among these Mountaines, and that which is farthest, is not past nine and twentie or thirtie miles off, and all of them are subiect and yeeld obedience vnto this Monasterie. In euery one of them there is a *Dauid*, that is to say, a Warden placed by the Abbot or Prouinciall, and that Monasterie which hath a *Dauid*, that is to say, a Warden is subiect to the Abbot, which is as Prouinciall. I alwayes heard reported, that there were about three thousand Friers in this Monasterie, and because I doubted much thereof, I came once to their Feast of our Ladie in August, to see how many were assembled there together: and surely, I tooke pleasure when I beheld the riches of this place, in a certaine Procession which they made, and in my iudgement, the Friers were not above three hundred, and the greatest part of them were old men. I saw a great circuit, which this Monasterie hath about two places, which are like to Cloysters, which circuit is open; but at that time it was all couered ouer with great and small Clothes of Gold, Veluets of *Mecca*, all long pieces sewed one vnto another, to hang round about that circuit, through which they made a goodly Procession, all clad in Copes of the said Cloth of Gold, but made ill-fauouredly, as I haue said before. They carried fiftie Crosses of Siluer, small and badly made, and as many Brazen Censers; when they said Masse I saw a great Chalice of Gold, and a Spooone of Gold, wherewith they gaue the Communion. And of the three hundred which were assembled in this Monastery, there were very few of mine acquaintance: I enquired of certaine of my friends, wherefore seeing so many Friers belonged to this Monastery, as they said, so few were present at so great a Solemnitie: they answered me, that the number was greater then they looked for, because they are diuided in other Monasteries, Churches, and Faires to earne their liuing as long as they be yong: for they cannot be maintayned in the Monastery, but by their owne industrie, and when they are so old that they cannot trauell, they come to end their dayes at this Monastery. This day I saw seuentene yong men taken into Orders.

Six other Cels subiect to this Monastery of the Vision, as in times past *S. Alban* and other great Abbeyes here had Three thousand Friers. Three hundred Friers, most old men. Their riches, *Abassines*, bad Artificers.

Yong Friers earne their liuing.

In this Monastery is the buriall of an Abbot or Prouinciall, called *Philip*, and his workes of Holinesse were very great: for they say, that there was once a King or *Prete Ianni*, which ordained that they should not keepe the Saturday holy throughout all his Kingdomes and Dominions. And this *Philip* repaired immediately vnto him with his Brethren and with many Bookes, and shewed him how God had commanded that the Sabbath Day should bee obserued, and that whosoever obserued it not should be stoned. This man disputed this question before all the religious men of *Ethiopia*, and was commended before the King: and therefore they take him to bee a Saint, and they obserue an Holy-day vnto him euery yeare in the moneth of Iuly, which they call the *Fascar* of *Philip*, which signifieth the Testament or Memorie of Saint *Philip*. And therefore the Inhabitants of this Countrey and Monasterie are more infected with this *Jewish* Heresie, then any other part of the Dominions of *Prete Ianni*, although all of them bee in part infected: but these are more then any others. I haue seene them with mine eyes see the fish on the Sabbath, and bake bread also: and on the Sabbath in this Monastery, they make no fire at all: on the Sunday following, they make readie all things needfull for their Dyet, and I came

Philip, an Erroneous Saint.

Holy day to him.

Differerence of Rites.

Oxen offered
to Philips feast.

twice to this *Fascar* of *Philip*, at which times they received me with great honour. And at this Feast yearly, they kill many Oxen, and at one of them I saw them kill thirtie, and at another eight and twentie, which were offered by the Inhabitants their Neighbours, for deuotion vnto this *Philip*, and they giue this flesh raw to all the people, that come to the *Fascar* without any bread at all. The Friers eat no kind of flesh.

Friers eat no
flesh.
Wine of Ho-
ney, or Mead.
No woman
nor beast of
the female sexe
may come
neere this
Monastery.

They sent me yearly two great and fat quarters of beefe, with much bread and wine of *Honey*, which likewise the Friers drinke not in the Monastery, but when they are abroad with vs *Portugals*, they drinke wine and eat flesh if they be but one alone, but if they be two, they doe it not, for feare the one of the other. This Monastery and all the rest which are subiect to it, obserue an order, that no women may enter into it, nor shee Mules, nor Kine, nor Hens, nor any other beast of the female kind. This I both learned and saw my selfe; for when I came thither a Crosse-bow shoot distant from the Monastery, they came to take my Mule, not suffering mee to come with her to the Monastery, and they sent her to a house of theirs, called *Giangargara*, where *Matthem* died. They kill their Kine and Hens, a certaine distance from the Monasterie. I saw but one Cocke in the Monastery with two bels at his legs, without Hennes, and they said, that they kept him to crow at the time of their Mattens. If any women come into the house, they know it, for oftentimes I asked certaine children which were brought vp there, whose Sonnes they were, and they named vnto me, the Friers for their Fathers, and so I know the yong Friers to be called the Sonnes of all the old Friers.

§. III.

Of the Husbandry of this Countrey, and how they preserve themselves from wild beasts, and of the Reuenues of the Monasterie. Their departure, strange Riuers, Mountaines, Apes: *BARNAGASSOES* entertainment. Barua. Polygamie, Marriages, Diuorces, Baptisme, and Circumcision. Their Branding, and Burying.

Neglect of
Husbandry.

15.



Hese Friers or those of other Monasteries, their subiects might very well play the good Husbandmen, and might cherish vp Trees, Vines, and Orch-yards with their diligence, yet neuerthelesse, they do nothing at all, and the soile is good and fit to bring forth euery thing, as may be gathered by that which is wild and sauage, but they till nought else but fields of Mill, and keepe swarmes of Bees, and as soone as night is come, they goe not once out of their houses, because of the wild beasts which are in that Countrey, and they which keepe their Millet, haue their houses very high from the ground vpon Trees, where they lodge in the night. There are about this Monastery, and in the Vallies of these Mountaines, great Heards of Cattell kept by *Arabian Moores*, which goe fortie or fiftie together with their wiues and children, and the Captaine among them is a Christian, because the Cattell which they keepe, are Christian Gentlemens of the Countrey of *Barnagasso*. The *Moores* receiue none other wages for their paines, but the Millie and Butter which they get of the Kine, and therewithall they sustaine themselves, their wiues, and their children. Certaine times it chanced vs to lodge neere these *Arabians*, and they came to know of vs whether wee would buy any Cattell, and offered them vnto vs at a reasonable price. It is reported, that they are all Theeues fauoured by the Lords which are Owners of the Cattell, and that men trauell not among them but in great Carauans.

Feare of wild
beasts.

Moorish Herd-
men.

The Reuenues
of this Mona-
sterie very
great.

The Reuenues of this Monastery of the Vision are very great, as I saw and vnderstood. First, this Mountaine whereon this Monastery is seated, containeth thirty miles in compasse, whereon they sow much Millet, Barley, Rye, and *Tasi*, and of all this they pay a portion vnto the Monastery, and also for the pasturing of their Cattell. In the Vallies of these Mountaines are great Townes, and the most part of them belong vnto the Monastery, and within one or two dayes iourney, there are very many and sundry places which belong vnto the Monastery, and they are called, The *Gultus* of the Monastery, which signifieth, priuiledged places, *Don Roderigo* the Ambassador and I, on a certaine time trauelled towards the Court, departing from this Monasterie five dayes iourney at the least, and came to a certaine peopled place, called *Zama*, where we rested all Saturday and Sunday in a small Village, where there were to the number of twentie Houses. There they told vs that this place belonged vnto the Monastery of the Vision, and that there were one hundred places all belonging to the Monastery, and therewithall shewed vs many of them, and told vs that these one hundred places payed vnto the Monastery euery third yeare, one Horse apiece, which amount to thirtie foure Horses euery yeare.

Rent Horses.

The *Alicasin*,
this agreeth to
Antiquitie.

And to vnderstand the same the better, I enquired of the *Alicasin*, of the Monastery, which signifieth, The *Auditour* or *Steward of the House*, because hee receiueh and disburseth all things. And hee told mee that it was true that they payed the said Horses. And I enquired of him why the Monasterie required so many Horses, considering that

that they vsed not to ride; he said, That they payed not the Horses, but Kine in their stead, that is to say, Fiftie Kine for one Horse; and this tribute of Horses continued all the time that these places were in the Kings hands, which endowed the Monastery with these iurisdic-
Fiftie Kine paid in exchange.
 tions. And afterward the Inhabitants of those Countries compounded with the Monasterie, and changed the payment of Horses into so many Kine: besides which, they payed many other tributes of corne. This Monastery hath, aboue fiftene daies journey distant within the Kingdome of *Tigrimation*, a great Territorie, which is sufficient to make a Dukedonie, which is called *Adetyeste*, which payeth yearly sixtie Horses, and infinite tributes and rents. There goe
Adetyeste.
 alwaies vnto this Territorie, aboue one thousand Friers of this Monasterie, because therein are
10 many Churches. Of these Friers some be very good, reuerent, and deuout; and other some as bad and euill conditioned. Besides the tribute of the foresaid Horses, which are payed vnto the said Monasterie, are many other places which appertaine onely to the King, which pay tribute of Horses according to their ancient custome; and these are places which frontier vpon the Countrey of *Egypt*, from whence come good and stately Horses, and other places of the *Arabi-
 ans*, which likewise haue good Horses, but not so good as those of *Egypt*.
An excellent breed of horses in Egypt.

From this Monasterie of Saint *Michael*, we departed the fiftenth of the moneth of Iune, some went on foote, there were also but few people to carrie our goods, and the Oxen being not able to trauell through the Woods and Thickets, because all the way was rocky and craggy: the Gunners with their Skourers were left behind, and the Barrels of Gun-powder; and they
20 had not traualled past two miles from the Monasterie, but that the Embassadour and we which were in his company ouer-taking them, found all the goods vnladen, and when we could not learne wherefore they had done so, we caused them to lade them againe. Hauing passed ouer these Mountaines, we found certaine dry Riuer, which in Winter time are very great and terrible, that is to say, During the time of the stormes and Thunder; and as soone as the storme and tempest is ouer, suddenly the Riuer become dry, and on both sides of the said Riuer are most high and steepe Mountaines, as sauage as the rest which we passed. Along these Brookes are very mightie Forrests of Trees, which are very faire and tall, but such as we knew not: among which, vpon the bankes were certaine Palme-trees. Neere one of these Riuer we lodged one night, with very great showers of Raine and Thunder.
Riuers in extremity, either very full or dry.

30 17. The day following, we went ouer another high Mountaine, exceeding wilde and sauage, so that we could not well trauell ouer the same, neither on our Mules nor on foote. In this Mountaine we found many Beasts of sundry sorts, and an infinite number of Apes in squadrons, and commonly they are not seene in all the Mountaine, sauing onely where there is some great rupture and hole, and some Caue; and they went not fewer then two or three hundred together, and where there is any plaine ground aboue those ruptures, they make their abode, and they leaue not any one stone vnremoued, and they digge the earth in such sort, that it seemeth to be ploughed. They are very great, and from the middle vpwards, are hairie like Lyons, and are as big as Weathers. After we had passed this Mountaine, we lodged in a place at the foote thereof, called *Calote*. From the Monastery whence we departed vnto this
40 place, is about sixtene or eightene miles. We passed a Riuer of running water, which was very cleare.
Squadrons of Apes. Their number, forme, and labour.

The next day we said our Masse in the Church of the said place, which is called Saint *Michael*, and the house with the furniture thereof, are very poore. In this Church were three married Priests, and other three *Zagonari*, that is to say, Priests of the Gospell, and three other must be of necessitie, for with a lesser number they cannot say Masse. This Sunday we departed about the Euening-tide, because the people of the Countrey, which were our guides, would haue it so: and from thence we began to trauaile through plaine Countries, sowed and manured after the manner of *Portugall*: and the Woods which were betweene these manured places, are all of wilde Oliues, exceeding faire without any other Trees. We lodged neere a running Ri-
Woods of wilde Oliues.
 uer, among many good Villages.

50 18. We came vnto the Towne of *Barna*, which is about nine miles from the Towne of *Calote*, the eighteenth of the moneth of Iune: this is the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, and Kingdome of *Barnagasso*, where his principall Palaces are; which they call *Bete-Negus*, that is to say, *The Houses of the King*. The same day that we came thither, *Barnagasso* departed before we came into the Towne vnto another. Heere we were exceedingly well lodged, according to the Countrey, and in great houses, very well furnished in the lower part, and aloft they were flat couered with earth.
Barna.

The third day after our arriuall there, the Embassadour purposed to visite *Barnagasso*, who tooke five of vs with him in his company, all riding vpon Mules, and wee came to the place
60 where he was about Euening; and from the place whence we departed vnto the Towne where *Barnagasso* remained, was eleuen miles, or thereabout. Being come thither, we lighted before his Palace, neere vnto the Church doore, whereinto we entred and said our Prayers, according to our manner; which ended, we tooke our way toward his Palace, supposing all of vs that we should suddenly be admitted to his speech: but they would not suffer vs to enter in, saying, That
Barnagasso visited. His brutish entertainment.

he was a sleepe, where staying a while to speake with him, they tooke no order for vs, but lodged vs in a Goats-coate, wherein hardly we could all stand: for our lodging, in stead of beds, they sent vs two Oxe hides with the haire on them; and for our Supper, they sent vs Bread and Wine of the Countrey in abundance, and one Sheepe.

The Ambassa-
dour had au-
dience of Bar-
nagasso.
No houses
with stories.

The day following, wee stayed a great while, looking when they would send for vs to haue audience. At length, we were sent for, and entring into the first Gate, wee found three men like vnto Porters, hauing each of them a staffe in their hands, and when we would haue entred they would not suffer vs, saying, that we should giue them some Pepper, where they kept vs out for a long while. At length, being entred in at the first Gate, wee came to the second, where we found three other Porters, which seemed to be men of more account, who made vs to stand wayting there aboute halfe an houre vpon a little straw, and the Sunne so scorched vs, that we were almost smothered with heate; and we should haue stayed there much longer, had not the Ambassadour sent him word in choler, either to admit him into his presence, or that he would returne againe vnto his lodging. Then one more honourable then the rest, came and told vs, that we might come in. The said *Barnagasso* was in a great house in a lower roome, because in those Countreies they build no houses with stories; and hee lay vpon a couch, as his manner was, compassed with certaine Curtaines which were very homely: hee had sore eyes, and his wife sate at his head. Here, after due salutations, the Ambassadour offered him his physician to cure him: to whom he answered, That he needed no Physician, and that he made no reckoning of him. Then the Ambassadour besought him of his courtesie, to furnish him with meanes for the performance of our voyage; *Barnagasso* replied, That he could not giue him Mules, and that we must buy them our selues, but that hee would furnish vs with all other things, and would send a son of his with vs, which should accompany vs to the court of *Prete Ianni*, and so he dismissed vs.

Their diet.

19. Being come forth out of the house where *Barnagasso* remayned, they caused vs to sit downe vpon certaine Mats spread vpon the ground, whither they brought vs a treene dish full of Barly meale halfe kneaded into dowe, with an horne of Wine made of honey: and because wee were not vsed to eat nor to see such kind of meats, wee would not eat thereof, but after that we were vsed thereunto, we ate thereof willingly: and so at that time wee rose without eating of ought at all, and returned to our lodging, and straight-way got to horse-backe two houres before noone; and being about two miles on our way, a man came running after vs, which prayed vs to stay for him, because the Mother of *Barnagasso* had sent vs meat, and that she would take it in ill part, if we accepted not thereof, and so we stayed for him, and they brought vs five wheaten Loaves very great and good, and one horne of good Wine, which was made of honey. Let no man maruell, in hearing mention of a horne of wine, because the great Lords and *Prete Ianni* himselfe, make their Vessels to drinke wine in, of hornes of Oxen: and some hornes there are that contayne five and sixe measures. Moreouer, shee sent vs a quantitie of the said meale in dowe; saying, that in that Countrey they take it for a good food. This food is made of parched Barly ground into meale, and they knead it with a little water, and so they eat it. After we had eaten we followed our iourney to the Towne of *Barua*, where we had left our goods, and where we were lodged. In this Countrey, and in all the Kingdomes and Dominions of *Prete Ianni*, they reckon not by Leagues nor Miles: and if you aske them how farre it is to such a place, they will answere you, if you set forth at Sunne-rising, *You shall come thither when the Sunne is there*, pointing to the place of the Sunne in the skie: and if you trauell softly, *You shall come thither when the Kine be shut up*, which is at night: and if the way be long, you shall come thither in one *Sambete*, that is to say, in one weeke. Between these two Townes is a very goodly Countrey, that is to say, very well manured, and Fields of Wheat, of Millet, of Barly, of Chich-peason, of Lentils, and of many other kinds of graines, which are in that countrey vnkown to vs, to wit, *Taso di guza*, and *Millet-Zaburre*, and this *Taso di guza*, is a seed very good and delicate among them, and greatly esteemed, because the Wormes eateth not the same, which is wont to deuoure their corne and other Pulse, and it is of long continuance. On both sides of the way, a man may see aboute fiftie great Villages which are very well inhabited, and all of them seated in goodly greene fields. Vpon the said manured grounds, Herds of wild Kine range vp and downe, fortie, fiftie, and sixtie in a companie, and we *Portugals* hunted them with great delight, and slue very many of them: for they of the Countrey will take no paines, although they receiue great damage by them in their Corne, but they know not how to kill them.

Horne vessells.

They shew the
distance of the
way, pointing
vnto the course
of the Sunne
in the Hea-
uens.

Taso di guza,
a Graine.

Wild Kine
hurfull.

Barua.

Common wo-
men.

20. In this Towne of *Barua*, where we were, and where afterward we aboad a long time, are three hundred houses, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants are Women; for in this Towne is kept, as it were, a Court, for many respects. One is, because it is neuer without people belonging to the Court of *Prete Ianni*; and those which come thither, hauing no Women with them, vse the Women of the Towne as their Concubines. Another is, because here the Court of *Barnagasso* is kept, where for the greatest part of the yeere hee maketh his residence, and continually hath in his stable aboute three hundred Horses, and as many more, which daily come thither, to dispatch their businesse with *Barnagasso*, in regard of their affaires and suites. And few or none of them will bee without their Concubines; and hence it is that heere many

many light young Women settle their abode, which after they be growne old, betake themselves to another kind of life: For in this Towne there is a great Market every Tuesday, where there is three or four hundred persons met together, and all the old Women and young Lasses carrie Measures in their hands, wherewith they measure in the Market all the Corne and Salt that is sold, and in this sort they earne their living. And moreover, they lodge those that remaine in the Towne, and keep the goods which are left vsold vntill the next Market day, and all things else in like sort. And because there are many women in this town, those which be rich and haue the meanes, take two or three Wiues, neither is it forbidden them by the King nor the Iustice, but onely by the Church; because all such as haue about one Wife may not come

Tuesday Market.

Polygamie vsed, and how punished.

10 within the Church, much lesse communicate or receiue any Sacraments of the Church, and are held for excommunicate persons.

During the time we abode in this place, a Cousin of mine and my selfe lodged in the house of a man, whose name was *Ababitay*, which had three Wiues, which were all of our acquaintance, and our good friends; and he told me that hee had seuen and thirtie children by them, and that no man had forbid him their company, sauing that the Church admitted him not to the Communion. Before our departure he had dismissed two of them, and held himselfe to one onely; namely, to her which he had last married, and for all this he was restored to all the Sacraments, and licensed to come to Church, as though he had neuer had but one Wife. And there-

Ababitay, our Authors Hoste had three Wiues, and by them seuen and thirtie children.

Marriages vnstable.

20 or more of them, according to their pleasure. Their marriages are very vnstable, for they will be diuorced for a small trifle.

I haue seene many of their Women married, and my selfe was present at a certaine marriage, made without the Church, which was celebrated on this manner. In a Court before a house, was placed a Litter or Couch, and they caused the Bridegroome and the Bride to sit downe thereon, and there came three Priests, which beganne to sing with a loud voyce, *Haleluia*, and thus singing as it were, certaine verses, they went thrise about the said Couch or Litter: afterward they cut off a locke of haire from the Bridegroomes crowne, and as much from the same place of the Brides head, bathing the said haire in Wine made of Honey, and the Bridegroomes haire they laid vpon the head of the Bride, and the Brides haire they laid vpon the head of the Bridegroome, in the same places where they were cut off; and vpon the same they cast holy Water, and afterward they beganne to make a feast, after the manner of marriages, and at night the said married persons were accompanied home vnto their house. And for the space of one moneth no man entred into that house, sauing onely one man which is the Bridegroomes God-father, who remaineth all the moneth with them, and the moneth ended hee departeth home. And if the Bride be a Woman of account, it is fise or sixe moneths before she commeth out of her house, and she weareth continually a blacke veile before her face; and if she be with child before sixe moneths, she layeth off her veile, and if she proueth not with child within sixe moneths space, she layeth it aside.

Rites of marriage.

Rites of Baptisme.

21 Moreover, I haue seene *Abuna Marco*, whom they call their Patriarcke, vse certaine blessings in the Church, that is to say; before the principall gate, where they caused the Bridegroome and the Bride to sit downe on a Litter, about which he went with Incense and a crosse, and comming vnto the said couple, he laid his hand vpon their heads, saying, That they should obserue that which God commanded in the Gospell, and that they should remember that they were no more two, but vnited together in one flesh, and that they ought so to bee in heart and mind, and they stayed there till Masse was done, where, after they had receiued the Communion, hee gaue them his blessing. This I saw done in a Towne called *Dara*, which is in the Kingdome of *Xoa*. Another of these marriages I saw in a Village, being in the Parish of *Coquete*, being a place in the Kingdome of *Barnagasso*. And when these marriages are made, they are concluded by contract or couenant in this sort: If thou leaue me, or I thee, he which shall be the cause of this diuision, shall pay such or such a penaltie: which penaltie is appointed, according to the qualitie of the persons, either in so much Gold or Siluer, or so many Mules, or so many Kine or Goates, or so many Cloathes, or so many measures of Corne. And if any man would diuorce himselfe, immediatly he seeketh an occasion wherefore he may doe so: and by these meanes few doe fall into thole penalties; and thus they diuorce themselves, as well the Husband as the Wife.

Abuna Marco the Patriarcke, his marriage blessing.

Dara in the kingdome of Xoa.

Diuorces.

And if any obserue the order of Matrimony, they be the Priests which cannot be diuorced, and also the Husbandmen which loue their Wiues, because they be a great helpe vnto them in keeping of their Cattell, and bringing vp their Children, and in digging their fields, and weeding of their Corne, and because they find all things needfull made ready, when they come home at night, and therefore by reason of these commodities, they continue married as long as they liue. And whereas I haue said, that in their contracts they put downe penalties; The first, *Barnagasso*, whom hee knew (whose name was *Dari*) was diuorced from his Wife, and payed for a penaltie one hundred ounces of Gold, which are one thousand *Pardas*, that is to say; One thousand duckats, and was married to another, and his Wife married vnto a Gentleman, called

Priests cannot, and husbandmen will not be diuorced.

A *Parda* amounteth to a duckett. Double iniquity, Adulterous and incestuous.

Aron, brother to the said *Barnagasso*, and both these Brethren had Children by this Woman, whom we our selues knew. These are great Lords, and are Brethren to the Mother of *Prete Ianni*, whom all of vs did very well know, and we *Portugals* knew also *Romana Orgue* a noble Lady, the sister of *Prete Ianni*, which was married vnto a great and noble young Gentleman; and in our time shee was diuorced from this her husband, and was married to a man aboue fortie yeeres of age, a person of great credit in the Court, whose name was *Abucher*, and his Father had the Title of *Cabeata*, which is one of the great Lords that remayne in the Court: thus I haue both seene and knowne many of these diuorcements, and I thought good to put downe these, because they fell out among great personages. And whereas I haue said, that *Aron* tooke to wife the wife of his brother *Dori*, maruell not awhit thereat, because it is the manner of this Countrey, and seemeth not any strange thing, that a brother should lye with his brothers wife, for they say, that *the brother rayseth vp seede vnto his brother*, as was accustomed.

Scripture abused.

Circumcision.

Baptisme.

Not in the Fount.

Oile.
No Chrisme
nor extreme
Vnction.

Rites of Baptisme.

The baptised
doe then also
communicate.

The cause why
they marke
themselues
with an Iron in
the face.
And how they
doe it.

Their manner
of buriall.

No seruice for
the dead, but
the Gospell of
Saint Iohn.
No Dirige or
Masse for the
Dead.
All commens
receiue.

22. Any man may circumsise that listeth, without any ceremonie; onely they say, that they finde it written in their Books, that God commanded them to be circumcised. And let no man maruell which heareth this, for they circumsise women as well as men, which thing was not vsed in the old Law. They baptize in manner following; men children they baptize within fortie dayes, and the female sexe after sixtie, and if they die before, they goe without baptisme. And I often told them, and in sundrie places, that herein they committed a great error, and that they did against the Gospell of our Lord, which saith: *That which is borne of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is borne of the Spirit, is Spirit.* Whereunto they answered me very often, that the faith of the Mother, and the communion which shee receiued, while shee was with child of them, was sufficient for them. And this Baptisme they minister in the Church as wee doe, but not in the christning Fount, but at the Church-gate with a pot of water, and so they blesse them, and they powre Oile as we doe vpon the top of their fore-heads, and vpon their shoulders; neither doe they vse the Sacrament of the Chrisme, nor the Oile of extreme Vnction. Their forme of Baptisme is not so long as that which is vsed in the Archbishoprick of *Bragança*, but seemeth to be about the length of that which is vsed in the Church of *Rome*.

At the time when they wil baptize the Infant with this water, one which is there as a God-father, taketh the Infant out of the hands of the Midwife which beareth the same, and he taketh it vnder both the armes, and so holdeth it hanging downe, and the Priest which baptizeth it hath the pot in his one hand, and sprinkling the water vpon the child with the other hand, hee washeth it, saying the same words that we vse, to wit: *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost.* They alwayes minister this Sacrament on the Saturday, or on the Sunday, and it is done in the morning at the Masse, and all that they baptize, as well Males as Females, they cause to receiue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in small quantitie, and by force of water they constrainethem to swallow it. Touching this point, I said, that this Communion was very dangerous and nothing necessary. And whereas I haue said, that they powre oile vpon the crowne of the childs head, this is because all the Infants are brought to bee baptized with their heads shauen.

And those markes which wee see certaine *Negro* slaues to haue on their noses, and betweene their eyes, or on their eye-browes, are not made with fire nor for any token of Christian Religion, but onely for a brauery, with a cold Iron; and they say, that these markes are very beautiful to behold. And there are women which are very skilfull in making these markes. And they make them in this sort: they take an head of Garlick, which is great, cleane washed, and somewhat stale, and they lay it to the eye or to the other part where they will make the marke, and then they cut round about it with a sharpe knife, to wit, about the said head of Garlick, and then they widen the said cut, and powre vpon it a little waxe; and vpon the waxe they clap a little dowe, and binde it with a cloth, and so bound, they let it alone for one night, and this marke remayneth as long as the partie liues, which seemeth to be made with fire, because the colour of that marke is blacker then any part of their bodies.

When any one dyeth, I haue seene them carried, as well persons of Honour, as them of the middle and poorest degree, all after one sort. First, at the time of their death, they are not accustomed to light candles, but after they be dead, they bestow vpon them much censling, and wash them, and then winde their whole bodies in linnen cloth. And if it be a person of Honour, they lay an Oxe-hide ouer the street, spreading it ouer the Litter: and the Priest comming to carry him to the buriall, saith a short seruice, and they take him and carry him to the Church, with a Crosse, a Censer, and holy Water, running as fast as ever they can, so that a man cannot overtake them: and when they are come to Church, they bring not the dead corps into the same, but streight way set him downe at the graue, neither say they any of our seruice for him, that is to say, no seruice for the dead, nor any Psalme of *David*, nor of *Iob*. And when I inquired what it was which they said, they answered me, that it was all the whole Gospell of Saint *Iohn*, which being ended, they put the corps into the graue, but first they cense it and sprinkle it with holy water. Neither say they any Dirige or Masse at all for the dead, and much lesse for deuotion of any man liuing, onely they say one Masse a day in euery Church, and euery body which commeth thither receiue the Communion.

§. IIII.

Of the situation of Barua, the chiefe Towne of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, and of their Houses, and of the wild Beasts, and Fowles. Of his Dominion and Government; of their two Winters, Churches, Church-yards, and Priests marriages: their departure to Timei, and qualitie of that place.

10 **H**is Towne of *Barua* is a very commodious and pleasant place, and standeth vpon a very high Rocke, on the side whereof runneth a Riuer. The Kings houses are built vpon the said Rocke, very well made, in forme of a Fortresse: all the rest of the countrey is mightie champion, manured fields, wherein are exceeding many Townes to be seene, and the soile is very fertile to reare vp Cattell, to wit, Oxen, Goates, Sheepe, and many other wild beasts, apt for hunting. Much good fish is in the Riuer, many wild Geese, and wild Duckes; here are likewise great store of wild beasts of all sorts, to wit, wild Oxen, and Hares in great number, so that euery morning we killed twentie or thirtie of them without Dogs, on- ly with Nets. Partridges there are of three sorts, which differ not from ours, but in their big- nesse, and in the colour of their feet and beaks; for they are as big as Capons, and of the colour that ours are of, but their feet and beaks are yellow. There are other like Hennes, but their feet and beaks are red. There are also certaine others, in nature like vnto our Partridges, but have their feet and beaks gray; which although they differ in colour and greatnesse from ours, yet all of them taste like ours, sauing that they are more delicate. Turtles there are without num- ber, which in flying darken the Sunne, and are very fat and good, and likewise Hennes, and wild Geese, and infinite numbers of Quails, and all sorts of fowles that may bee named or knowne, as Poppingayes, and many other kind of birds vnkowne to vs, both great and small, of infinite sorts and colours. There are likewise birds of prey, to wit, royals Eagles, Faulcons, Le- nards, Sparrow-hawkes, and great store of Girfaulcons, and Faulcons for the Riuer, and Cranes, and of all sorts that may be named.

30 In the mountaines are wild Swine, Stags, Roes, beasts called Ante, wild Goats, wild Oxen, Lions, Luzerns, Tygres, Foxes, Wolues, Porcupines, and diuers other sorts of knowne and vn- knowne beasts, and all wild. If any man shall aske mee how it is possible, that there should be so many wild beasts in this Countrey, and fishes in the Riuer, seeing the same is so well peo- pled: I say that no man hunteth, nor fisheth, nor hath any engine or way to take them, nei- ther delight they to feed vpon them: and therefore it is a very easie matter to goe on hunting, and to kill as much game as a man list, because the beasts and the fowles are not molested by the people: and the wild beasts (as it hath bene told me) hurt no person, yet the people of the Countrey stand in great feare of them. At one time onely, at a place called *Camarua*, a mile di- stant from *Barua*, while a man slept in the night at the gate of his Oxe-cote, with his little son, there came a Lion and killed the said partie, so that no man perceiued it, and hurt not the child at all, but eat the mans nose, and opened his heart. The people of this Towne were greatly a- mazed hereat, saying, this Lion hath begunne to sauer mans flesh, he will doe much mis- chief, and no man shall escape him: yet (blessed be God) it was not perceiued that hee did any more harme; and wee at the same time went often on hunting nere the same place, and neuer found any Lions. Wee found indeed Panthers, Ounces, and Tygres, which we hurt not, nor they vs.

40 24. The authoritie of *Barnagasso* is in manner following. By his title hee is called a King: for, *Nagas* signifieth, a King; and *Bar*, the Sea: and so *Bar-nagas* signifieth King of the Sea. And when they giue him this gouernment, they giue it him with a Crowne of gold vpon his head, and it is giuen according to the will of *Prete Ianni*, and lasteth as long as it pleaseth him. For in fixe yeeres space while we remayned there, I saw foure *Barnagassos*. At our comming into the Countrey, *Dori* was *Barnagasso*, and he died of his naturall death, whose Crowne was giuen to his sonne *Bidla*, a child of ten or twelue yeeres old, which after hee was made *Barnagasso*, was straightway called to the Court of *Prete Ianni*, whom he deprived of the gouernment, and gaue the same to a noble Lord, called *Arraz Annubiata*. This man held it two yeeres, and then it was taken from him, and he was made the chiefe Lord of the Court, which in their Language is called, *Bettude*; and he gaue the gouernment of *Barnagasso*, to another Lord, named *Adubi*, a very gentle person, which is now *Barnagasso*. Vnder his gouernment are many great Lords, which are called *Xuus*, which signifieth Captaines, and these *Xuus* are men of great authoritie. And it is said, that two gouernments of this Land was wont to bee the Kingdome of *Queene Candace*, which in her time had no other dominion, and shee was the first Christian that this Land had.

60 Also there are two other Gouernments, to wit; *Dassila*, and *Consila*. These border vpon *Egypt*, and these Captaines and Lords remaine vpon the Frontiers, and haue Trumpets carried be- fore them, which they call *Vgardas*, which none can haue but such as are great Lords; and all these attend vpon *Barnagasso* to the warres, when he goeth forth, and wheresoeuer he goeth. He hath

23.
*Barua descri-
bed.**Cattell, fish,
wild beasts,
fowle.**Partridges of
three sorts,
as big as Ca-
pons.**Turtles darken
the Sunne when
they flye.**Wild beasts.**No hunting
nor fishing.**Wild beasts
not hurtfull.**Barnagas signi-
fies King of
the Sea.**An Officer of-
ten changed.**Bettude.**Q. Candace.**Dassila and
Consila.*

Arraz his habit

hath many other Lords vnder him, which are called *Arrazes*, which signifieth Captains; & one of them we knew, whose name was *Arraz Aderao*, that is to say, *Head of the men at Armes*, whereof he had fifteene thousand vnder him, which are called *Canas*. And I haue seene the said *Arraz Aderao* twice at the Court, and both those times walking before the gate of the King, without any shirt, and with a cloth of Silke girt from the middle downwards, and a Lions skin vpon his shoulders, and in his right hand a Dagger, and in his left hand a Target. I asked why so great a person went on that fashion; it was told me, that that was thought to be the most honourable habite that could be imagined, for him that was *Arraz di Canal*, that is, *Head of the men at Armes*. And in the very same habite there followed after him twentie or thirtie Foot-men with Daggers and Targets, but alwaies the *Arraz* marched before.

The tribute.

How they keep their cattell from the wild beasts in the night.

Two Winters.

Winter and Summer strangely dispensed.

Two great Churches, one for men, and one for women.

Church-yards.

No Tithes, but great possessions.

The said *Barnagasso* hath other two, namely, *Arraz Tagale*, and *Arraz Iacob*, Lords of great Countreyes, which I knew, and many other *Xuu* Captaines, and Lords of other Countreyes. And as well he, as the other Lords are subiect vnto *Prete Ianni*: and he it is that giueth and taketh away their offices, when he seeth good, and it pleaseth him: and to him they pay the *Gulbre*, that is to say, the Tribute of the Countrey. And all these Lordships are towards the parts of *Egypt* and of *Arabia*, from whence come the good Horses, cloth of Gold, and Silks, whereof they pay him tribute; that is to say, all of them pay to *Barnagasso*, and he payeth it ouer againe to *Prete Ianni* for himselfe, and for the rest euery yeere, to wit, one hundred and fiftie Horses, and a great quantitie of Silke, and cloth of Gold. They pay likewise great store of Cotton-cloth of *India*, for the customes which are gathered in the Hauen of *Ereoco*.

25. The people of this Towne of *Barua*, and their neighbours round about them haue a custome to enclose themselues, ten, twelue, or fifteene of them in a Court all walled and strongly enclosed, which Court hath not past one gate, and herein they shut vp their Kine, of which they haue their Milke and Butter: they shut vp likewise their small cattell, as Seepe, Mules, and Asses; and besides the locking vp of their gate in the night, they make fires also at the gate, and place men to watch there, for feare of wild beasts which range about their lodgings. And if they should not take this course, no beast of theirs should escape vndeoured. And of this Towne of *Barua*, and the other Townes adioyning, are the men which goe to sowe Millet vnto the *Mountaines of the Vision*, and they goe thither three moneths before the *Generall Winter*: and the cause why they goe thither, are two: the first is, because they are neere to the Sea, whereby all victuals are transported to *Mecca*, to *Ziden*, to *Toro*, and to all *Arabia*, and *India*. And hauing many sorts of Corne, they seeke a fit place for the vent thereof. The second cause is, for that in this Countrey there are two Winters, diuided into rainy stormes; neither do the Cornes grow, but with abundance of water: therefore they depart from *Barua*, and goe to sowe their Corne in the *Mountaines of the Vision*, where at that time it is Winter, which lasteth all the time of *Februarie*, *March*, and *Aprill*, and the selfe same Winter is in another Countrey, which is vnder the gouernment of *Barnagasso*, called *Lama*, distant from the *Mountaines of the Vision*, at least eight dayes iourney. At this very time also it is Winter in another Countrey, which is called *Dobas*, being thirtie dayes iourney from this place. And because these seeds of Millet require much raine, therefore these Winters being out of the ordinarie season of the places aboue mentioned, they goe to sowe them where it raineth, and so they make their profit of the two foresaid Winters.

In this Towne of *Barua* are two very great and goodly Churches, wherein are many Priests, the one fast by the other: one is for the men, called *Saint Michael*; and the other for the women, called, *The Church of the Apostles*, that is, of *Saint Peter*, and *Saint Paul*. They say that the Church belonging to the men was built by a great Lord that was *Barnagasso*, who gaue it this priuiledge, that no woman should enter therein, saue the wife of *Barnagasso* with one maide onely, and that onely when shee went to receiue the Communion; and yet might shee not enter into the Church, for women come not into the Church, but stand at the gate in the circuit before the Church, and there they receiue the Communion with the Lay people; and so likewise doe the women in the other Church of the Apostles, which receiue it in the forme aforesaid before the gate. And in the womens Church I haue alwaies seene the wife of *Barnagasso* goe to communicate with the other women, not yfing the priuiledge granted vnto her, to goe to communicate in the Church of the men.

These two Churches haue the circuit of their Church-yards, which toucheth one another, and are compassed about with high walls, and they make the Sacrament, that is to say, the Bread, for both of them in one house, and both of them say their Masses at one and the selfe same time, and the Priests that serue in one Church doe serue in the other, that is to say, two parts of the Priests in the Church of the men, and the other part in the Church of the women, and being thus diuided, they say their Diuine Service. These Churches haue no manner of Tithes, onely they haue great possessions which belong vnto the Priests, and they cause them to be tilled and manured, the reuenues whereof are diuided among them, and the *Barnagasso* alloweth them whatsoeuer is needfull in the Churches, that is to say, Reparations, Ornaments, Waxe, Butter, Incense,

Incense, and all things else belonging thereunto. At these Churches are twentie Priests, and ten or twelue Friers continually resident; and I neuer saw Church of Priests where there were not Friers, nor Monasterie of Friers, where there were any Priests, for the Friers are so many, that they couer the World: both in the Monasteries, the Churches on the waies, and in all Markets, and lastly, in all places are Friers.

Abundance of Friers.

26. The Priests marrie with one Wife, and obserue Matrimonie better then the Laytie. They continue alwaies in House with their Wife and children, and if perhaps their Wife die, they marrie no more; and likewise if the Priest die, his Wife marrieth not a second Husband, but she may become a Nunne if she will. And if a married Priest lie with another woman, hee entreth no more into the Church, neither is he partaker of the Reuenues thereof, but becommeth as it were, a Lay-man. And this I know to bee true, for I saw a Priest accused before the Patriarke, that he had lien with another woman, and I heard him confesse the fault, and straight way the Patriarke, commanded, that he should neuer carrie Crosse more in his hand, nor come any more into the Church, but should become a Lay-man. And if any Priest being a Widdower doe marrie againe, he becommeth a Lay-man, as it hapned to *Abuquer*, whom I mentioned before, which being a Widdower was married to *Romana Orque*, the Sister of *Prete Ianni*. This man hauing beene a Priest and principall Chaplaine to *Prete Ianni*, after hee had beene Widdower many yeares married againe, and *Marke* the Patriarke digraded him, and made him become a Lay-man, and he came no more into the Church, but stood at the Church-porch, to receiue the Sacrament, as the Lay-people doe.

Priests best obseruers of Matrimonie.

Losse of orders or degradation

20 The Priests Sonnes for the most part become Priests, for in this Countrey no Schooles are vsed to teach children to reade or write, neither are there any Schoolemasters: and the Priests teach their children that little which they know, and so they make them Priests, being admitted into Orders by *Abura Marke*, that is to say, *Their Patriarke*: for through all *Ethiopia* there is none other, neither Bishop nor any bodie else that giueth Orders, and Orders are giuen to these Priests, twice in the yeare, as I will hereafter declare, hauing my selfe oftentimes beene present at their taking of Orders. In all these Countries the Church-yards are enclosed with very strong wals, that beasts may not come and digge vp the dead bodies. They vse great reuerence to their Churches: and no man is so hardy as to rule on horse-backe by a Church, but lighteth, and walketh on foot, till he be gone a great way beyond the Church, and the Church yards.

No Schooles or Schoolemasters.

No Bishop.

Reuerence to Churches.

Bad peoples

27. We aboad in this Towne of *Barna*, and could not at the first, for many daies space, get any order for our dispatch: yet at the last, we departed the eight and twentieth of Iune, 1520. being verie glad and well appayed of our dispatch: and the people which carried our stufte would carrie them but two miles onely from the Towne, saying, that they were not bound to carrie them any farther, because there ended the limits of their Countrey. Beeing thus in the wide fields in the moneth of Iune, and in the depth of the Winter of these Countries with our said goods, and induring most huge raines and showres, the Ambassadour with three of vs in his company returned to *Barna*, to speake with *Barnagasso*. He alwaies gaue vs good words but bad deeds; yet at last after foure daies he sent for the said goods.

28. The next day, a Gentleman came thither from *Prete Ianni*, whom *Barnagasso* so highly entertained, that he forgot vs, and went forth of the Towne to receiue him as far as a litle hill without the Suburbs, accompanied with much people, and the said *Barnagasso* was naked from the middle vpward. As soone as the Gentleman was come thither, he mounted vp that litle hill aboue all the rest, and the first speech that hee vsed was this: *The King greets you well*; at which words the whole company bowed downe their heads, touching the ground with one of their hands, which is the honour and reuerence that they vse in this Countrey. These words ended, the Ambassage which he brought him from *Prete Ianni*, followed. After he had ended his speech, *Barnagasso* clad himselfe in verierich array, and brought the Gentleman to his Palace. This is the manner of hearing the message which *Prete Ianni* sendeth, to wit, abroad without doores, and on foot; and naked from the Girle vpward, vntill the same be ended: And if it be an acceptable message from *Prete Ianni*, he which receiueith it clotheth himselfe; but if the message be sent in displeasure, then hee which receiueith it abideth still naked, shewing himselfe to bee in disgrace of his Soueraigne. This *Barnagasso* was Brother to the Mother of *Prete Ianni*.

With what reuerence these Lords receiue the Ambassadors of Prete Ianni.

Manner of hearing messages from the Prince.

After many delayes, the Ambassador prayed him to lend him twelue Mules: he answered, that he could not lend vs them, and that if he would haue them he must buy them; and as we would haue bought them of the Countrey people, which willingly would haue sold them vnto vs, his Seruants came and threatned them, that if they sold vs any they would punish them, and take the Gold from them: for no other money runneth currant in this Countrey. When we sought to buy vs Mules, all the Countrey people refused to sell vs any, saying, That they were afraid of *Barnagasso*, because he himselfe would haue the selling of their Mules. The Custome of all the Realme of *Prete Ianni*, is, that there is no other coined money currant, but onely Gold, and it passeth from man to man by waight, and the principall waight is an ounce, which maketh ten *Pardaos*, or ten *Cruzados*; the next is halfe an ounce; and the least money is a dramme, and ten drammes make an ounce; and the value of a dramme is according to a dramme in the Kingdome

The vsual coine through all the Kingdome of Prete Ianni.

of

Wicked policy

of Portugall, or in India. Their Gold differeth in finenesse three quarters of a Ducate, so that one ounce of Gold is sometimes worth but seuen Ducates and a halfe. Moreouer, the said *Barnagasso* had commanded that none but himselfe and his Officers, should keepe any Waights to weigh Gold withall; and whosoever would buy and sell must come to intreat them for their Waights, and by this meanes he and his Factors vnderstood to whose hands the Gold came, which Gold afterward he would take from them at his pleasure, as it was told mee by themselves.

Ado Red affir
AM to amon
sinonit

Faire and rich
Church.
Processions.

29. In this Towne of *Barna*, there is a Church of our Ladie, which is great, new, and verie well painted, and notably furnished with many Ornaments, and Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silke, Crimson and Veluet of *Mecca*, and red Chamblets. In this Church the Seruice is the selfe-same which is vsed in the Church of *Barna*, before mentioned, sauing that here it is something more solemne, because *Barnagasso* is here resident, and many more Priests, and great numbers of Friers. The Church is gouerned by Priests, and one time while I was there, I saw a Procession made about the Church in the greatest Circle which is in the Church-yard, wherein were many Priests and Friers, men and women (for in this Church, the women receiue the Communion with the Lay-men) in which Procession were the rich Ornaments afore said; and they compassed the Church at least thirtie times, singing, as it were, Letanies, and ringing many Basons like vnto Drums and Cymbals.

Their manner
of buying and
selling in this
Market by ex-
change.

Salt precious,
also Incense,
Pepper, &c.
No money
currant.

Few words v-
sed in barte-
ring.

Priests, Friers
and Nunnes,
chiefe Chap-
men.

Their Habit.
Nunnes: their
Habit, num-
ber, &c.

In this Towne is a great Market, as there is at *Barna*, and likewise, once a weeke, there is a Market kept in al those places which are head-towns. In these Markets they vse to exchange one thing for another; namely, to giue an Ass for a Cow, and that which is wanting of the worth, is supplied with two or three measures of Corne or Salt. Moreouer, they change Goates for Bread, and for Bread they buy Cloth; and for Cloth, Mules and Kine: but especially, they may haue what they will for Salt, for Incense, for Pepper, for Myrrhe, and for small Pearles, all which are things much esteemed and had in price, and make account of them as of Gold, and these runne as currant through all the Kingdomes of *Prete Ianni*, and of the *Gentiles*: for euery small thing, they change Hens and Capons. To be short, whatsoever a man would buy is here to be had in the Market by exchange, for no money is here currant. Neither vse they many words in their bargaines, but are soone agreed, whereat we greatly maruelled.

The greatest Chapmen in these Markets, are Priests, Friers, and Nunnes. The Friers goe decently apparelled, with their Habit downe to the ground: some weare yellow apparell of course Cotton-cloth, others weare Goats-skins drest like Chamois. The Nunnes also weare the like Habit. Moreouer, the Friers weare Cowles, like the Cowles of the *Dominican* Friers, made of the said skins or of yellow Cotton-cloth, and also weare their haire long. The Nunnes weare neither Cowles nor long haire, but onely a Gowne, and haue all their heads shauen, and haue a thong of Leather tyed strait about their heads, and when they be old, they weare a certaine attire vpon their heads, and Veiles ouer the same. They are not inclosed in Monasteries, but dwell in certaine seuerall Townes; and because all the Monasteries are of one order, therefore they are obedient vnto the Monasterie that is next them, from whence they receiue their Habit. These Nunnes enter not into the Church, but doe as other women doe. The number of them is very great, and in a manner, as great as the number of the Friers: they say that some of them are women of a very holy life. Againe, some of them haue children. The Habit which the Priests weare, is little differing from the Habit of the people, for it is made all of one Cloth, and they are girded like the common people; their difference is, in that they carrie a Crosse alwaies in their hands, and their heads are alwaies shauen. And contrariwise, the Lay-people weare their Lockes long, and the Priests shauie not their Beards, but the Lay-men are shauen vnder the chinne, and cut off their Mustaches. There are also certaine other Priests, called *Debeteras*, which is as much to say, as Canons, these are Priests of great Churches, as a man would say, of Cathedrall, or Collegiate Churches: and these men goe very well apparelled, so that they well declare what manner of men they bee: and these goe not vp and downe the Markets as the rest doe.

Crosses and
shauings.

Barnagasso
State.

30. The state of this *Barnagasso* (although he be a great Lord, and hath the title of a King) is very poore. Whensoever we spake with him, we found him sitting in a Litter couered with a Quilt, the Testerne was of Cotton-cloth, which they call *Basuto*; it is very good according to that Countrey. There bee some verie deare, and behind the said Litter or Couch, the wall was hanged with foure verie rich Swords, fastned to foure pieces of wood, fastned to the wall, and two great Bookes likewise hanged thereon: before the Litter vpon the ground were spread certaine Mats, on which they sit which come to see him. They sweepe not their Houses very often. His Wife alwaies sitteth at his elbow vpon a Mat, which is layed at his beds head. Also many people and men of account are alwaies before him, which sit vpon the said Mats. Ouer against him, right before his Litter, stand alwaies foure Horses, one of which is alwaies saddled, and the rest are onely couered with Couerings, and there they stand eating.

Courts of
Iustice.

In all his Houses are two round places inclosed as it were Courts; each circuit hath his gate, and euery gate hath his Porters, with their stauies in their hands. In the gate next vnto him stand the principall Porters, and betweene these two gates is alwayes one of his *Alicazi*, which signi-

signifieth an *Auditor* or *Steward of the House*; and he it is that ministreth Iustice when he hath heard both the parties. And if the cause be of great importance, he heareth both the parties till they haue made an end of speaking, then he relateth the whole matter to *Barnagasso*, and hee himselfe decideth the matter; and if it be but a small matter, and the parties agree together, and the said *Alicaxi* giue sentence thereof, the cause is so ended. Moreouer, their must needs be there present, a man of honour and account, which by his office, is called *Mallagana*, which signifieth the Notary of *Prete Ianni*, at all sentences which *Barnagasso* or this *Alicaxi* giueth. And if any of the parties will appeale to *Prete Ianni*, or vnto his Auditors, in such cases they send vnto him the state of the cause, and by this meanes *Prete Ianni* vnderstandeth all the complaints of his subiects, as well great as small: and all the Lords of the Dominions of *Prete Ianni*, haue each of them one *Alicaxi*, and one *Mallagana*, placed by himselfe, and the Captaines subiect to *Barnagasso* haue the like.

Appeale.

The great Lords which remaine in the Court of *Barnagasso*, and others which come vnto him for their affaires, come in this manner. Departing from their houses, they ride vpon a Mule, with seauen or eight men on foote, which goe before him vnto the first gate, and there hee lighteth; if he be a greater Lord, he rideth with seuen, or eight, or ten Mules, his whole company riding, or with more, according to his quality, and commeth vnto the first gate; and being come thither, they all alight, and then they go to the second gate, and if peradventure they cannot get in, they sit there without, as Bees doe in the Sunne, all in a cluster. All these honorable persons, weare Sheepe-skinnes about their necks and shoulders, and those which weare Lions, Tygers, or Leopards skinnes, are more honourable, and when they come before *Barnagasso*, they put them off to honour him, as we put off our hats.

Manner of
comming to
him.

While wee were in this Towne of *Barna*, on a Market day was a great Proclamation made, that *Barnagasso* would goe to warre against the people of *Nubia*. The order of this Proclamation was in this wise: One carried a Cloath like a Banner vpon a Iauelin, and another went crying warre against the *Nubians*, which they say are very farre off in the vtmost Confinnes of their Countrey, fve daies iourney towards *Egypt*, and border vpon the Countries of *Canfila* and *Dassila*, as hath beene before mentioned, being subiect to the said *Barnagasso*. These people of *Nubia*, are neither *Mobres*, *Iewes*, nor *Christians*; but they say at sometimes they were *Christians*, and that through default of euill Ministers they lost their Faith, and are become Iufidels, and without Law.

Proclamation
of war against
Nubia.*Nubians*, what
people.

Moreouer, they told me, that they had slaine one of *Barnagasso* his Sonnes not long before, for which cause he purposed to goe into those parts, to be auenged of them. And it was told me, that in this Countrey of *Nubia*, is found abundance of fine Gold, and that vpon the Frontiers thereof, are alwaies foure or fve hundred Horse-men kept, which are excellent men of Armes, and that their Countrey is very fruitfull, and aboundeth with all sorts of Victuals and Cattell, and it cannot be otherwise; because it lyeth on both sides of the Riuer of *Nilus*, which passeth farre many miles space through the midst of the same. The Proclamation said, That within fve daies space, *Barnagasso* would set forward, but as yet there was no furniture of Weapons prepared: for in that Countrey there is no great store of them, saue onely the *Canas*, which are the men of Armes, were there present, which carrie a Iauelin, a Target, and a Bow, with store of Arrowes, and persons of more honour weare an arming Sword, and a Iacke of Male, but not many of them. Vpon this occasion of going to warre, *Barnagasso* begged a Sword of our Embassadour, which gaue him his owne sword which he weare in that expedition, which was very faire and good, and this notwithstanding, with great importunitie he begged another, which he knew that he had, being very well garnished, and very rich, saying; That hee had great need thereof. Our Embassadour being not able to shift him off, was forced to buy one for him among his Company, which had a Veluet skabberd, and the Hiltis gilded, and so he gaue it him in exchange for one of his. And in the house where we kept our goods, and where wee lodged, which was without gates: the night following, they robbed vs of two Sallets, and one head-piece, you may well thinke, that they pilfered the same vpon occasion of this warre.

Gold,

Armes,

Base begging.

In this Towne we bought Mules for our iourney, and *Barnagasso* gaue vs three Camels, and with much paine wee departed from thence, through the great Thunders, Tempests, and Raines, which terribly troubled vs; for at this season is the tury of Winter, which beginneth about the fifteenth of Iune, little more or lesse, (as we haue said before) and endeth the fifteenth of September, and at the end thereof is their Summer, as it is with vs: and what it taketh of the one, it leaueth of the other. During all this Winter-season in some of these Countries, they trauaile not, but we notwithstanding proceeded on our iourney, because wee knew not the custome of the Countrey, and much lesse the danger whereinto we thrust our selues. And so we set forward on our iourney with part of our goods, because we left the greatest part at *Barna* with our Factor, and came to a place called *Temei*, which is in the Countrey of *Maizada*, distant from the Towne of *Barna* whence we came, about twelue miles, wee spent three daies in this iourney, by reason of the cruell Winter and huge raines, our goods which we carried, being spoyled with water.

Their depar-
ture.What time
their Winter
beginneth and
endeth.*Temei*.*Maizada*.

At

Description of
the Towne.Store of tame
and wilde
beasts.Uncleane
beasts and
fowles.Hares and
Partridges ca-
sily taken.

At this place where we arrived, we found a *Xum*, that is to say, A Captaine, whose name was *Primo*, and hee was one of *Barnagasso* his Brothers, an honourable person, and of great worth, who vsed vs very courteously. They said, that he was likewise Brother to the Mother of *Prete Ianni*, and that he had in his *Xumeta*, or government of the Countrey of *Maizada*, twentie Townes, and not about, because it is the least Shire within the Kingdome of *Barnagasso*. This town is seated vpon a steepe hill, not of Stone, but all of arable ground, with certaine small Villages thereon; and vpon three sides a man may see the Champaine Countrey, for fortie or fiftie miles about; and on the fourth side, by the space of three miles, beginneth an huge bot-
tome or downe-fall, which the ground maketh toward a great Riuer, neere vnto which a man may behold most goodly champaine fields, all manured and fruitfull, wherein are seated about one hundred Villages; in so much, that I thinke in no part of the world is any Countrey so well inhabited, nor so full of all sorts of Graine, as this is. Neither doe the raines in Winter any harme thereunto, for this is the best season they can wish for, for at that time the Corne groweth best, and becommeth most beautifull. And I thinke there is no Countrey wherein such abundance of Cattell, as well tame as wilde, may be found, and where a man may catch such store of Wilde-fowle, as in these champaine fields; but of wilde Beasts there, none other sorts but Tygers, Wolues, and Foxes, which also are common in all the Countrey. They eat not many sorts of beasts, as Hogges, Hares, Wilde-Geese, and Ducks, and all because they are not clouen-footed: neither eat they any other kind of Beast, if it chanceth to dye, before it be eaten; and by this meanes so many beasts doe multiply, which neither are molested nor cha-
sed, because they haue no Dogges for this purpose. And when we went on Hunting without Dogges, we caught sometimes twentie Hares in our Nets at a time, in the space of an houre, and as many Partridges we droue vnto the snares, as though we had driuen Hens into an house, because they are not very wilde, nor much afraid of men, for as much as they see them all the day long; and in this manner we killed as many of them as we would desire. Those kinds of Beasts which they eat not of, we fed vpon in secret, that they should not report any euill of vs.

§. V.

Of the infinite number of Locusts, and of the harme which they do, and how we made a Proceffion, and the Locusts dyed. The incredible hurts done by them. Of *TIGREMANON*, *MARABON*, and of *CHARVMA*, the Queene of *Sheba*, and the Eunuch. The rare Buildings and Pillers at *Caxumo*.

Locusts, like
those of Egypt.The mischief
by them.A strange signe
of the coming
of Locusts.Foure and
twentie miles
compasse, co-
uered with
Locusts.

IN this Countrey, and in all the Dominions of *Prete Ianni*, is a very great and horri-
ble plague, which is an innumerable company of Locusts, which eat and con-
sume all the Corne and Trees, and the number of these Creatures is so great, as it is
incredible, and with their multitude they couer the earth, and fill the ayre in such
wise, that it is an hard matter to be able to see the Sunne. And againe, I say, that it is an incre-
dible thing to him which hath not seene it. And if the damage which they doe, were generall
through all the Prouinces and Realme of *Prete Ianni*, they would perish with famine, and it
were impossible to inhabite the same, but one yeare they destroy one Prouince. Sometimes in
two or three of those Prouinces; and wheresoeuer they goe, the Countrey remaineth more rui-
nate and destroyed, then if it had bene set on fire. These Vermine are as great, as a great Gras-
hopper, and haue yellow wings. We know of their comming a day before, not because wee
see them, but we know it by the Sunne, which sheweth his beames of a yellow colour, which
is a signe that they draw neere the Countrey, and the ground becommeth yellow, through the
light which reuerberateth from their wings, whereupon the people become suddenly as dead
men, saying, *We are vndone, for the Locusts come.*
Neither will I omit to declare what I haue seene three times, and the first time was in the
Towne of *Barna*, where we remained three yeares; and here, oftentimes we heard say, *Such a
Countrey, or such a Realme is destroyed with Locusts.* During our abode in this Towne, we saw
the signe of the Sunne, and the shadow of the earth, which was all yellow, whereat the peo-
ple were halfe dead for sorrow. The next day, the number of these Vermine which came, was
incredible, which to our iudgement, couered foure and twentie miles in compasse, according as
we were informed afterward.
This plague of God being come vpon vs, the Priests of this place repaired vnto me, besee-
ching mee to giue them some remedy to chase them away; to whom I answered, That I could
tell them none other remedie, saue only to pray deuoutly to God, that he would chase them out
of the Countrey. And I went my selfe vnto the Embassadour, and told him, that peradventure

it would doe well to goe on Procession, and to pray to God to deliuer the Countrey, and that it might be that he would heare vs, for his mercies sake. This motion highly pleased the Embassadour.

Through the prayers of the Portugals, the Locusts were all destroyed and killed.

The next day we assembled the people of the Towne, and all the Priests, and taking a consecrated stone and a Crosse, according to our custome, all wee Portugals sung the Letanie, and I commanded those of the towne to cry vnto God like as we did, saying, in their language: *Zio Marina Christos*, that is, *Oh Lord God haue mercy vpon vs.* And with this our cry, we went through one field, whereas there grew store of Corne, for the space of one mile, vnto a little hill, and there I caused them to take vp a quantity of these Locusts, and made of them a coniuration,

Exorcising the Locusts.

10 which I carried with me in writing, which I had made the night before, *Requiring them charging them, and excommunicating them, willing them within three houres space to begin to depart toward the Sea, or toward the Land of the Moores, or toward the desert Mountaines, and to let the Christians alone; and if they obeyed me not, I called and adured the Fowles of the Heauen, the Beasts of the field, and all the Tempests, to scatter, destroy, and consume their bodies.* And for this purpose I tooke a quantitie of these Locusts, and made this *Admonition to them which were present, in the name of themselves, and of those which were absent;* and so I let them goe, and gaue them libertie. It pleased God to heare vs Sinners; for as we returned homeward, there came so many of them behind vs, that it seemed they would breake our heads, and our shoulders, they stricke vs so hard, that they seemed to be blowes of stones and of stauies, and went from this part toward the Sea. The

Grasshoppers excommunicated.

20 Men, Women, and Children which stayed in the Towne, were gotten vp to the roofes of the houses, praising God, because the Locusts began to depart and fly before vs, and part of them followed after vs. In the meane while, arose a great storme and Thunder toward the Sea, which came right against them, which lasted three houres, with an exceeding great shower and tempest, which filled all the Riuer, and when the water ceased, it was a dreadfull thing to behold the dead Locusts, which we measured to be aboue two fathomes high vpon the bankes of the Riuer, and in some Riuer there were exceeding great Mountaines of them, in such wise, that on the next morning there was not one of them found aliue vpon the ground.

Incredible swarmes of dead Locusts.

The people of the Townes adioyning, hearing heereof, many men came to make inquiry by what meanes this thing came to passe. The Countrey people said: These Portugals are holy

Diuers censures.

30 men, and by the power of God haue chased away, and killed the Locusts. Others said, (chiefely the Priests and Friars of the places adioyning) that we were Witches, and that by witchcraft we had chased the said Vermine, and that thereby also, we were not afraid of Lyons, or of any other wilde beasts. Three daies after this acte, comes vnto vs *Xuum* or Captaine of a place, called *Coiberia*, with Men, Priests, and Friars, beseeching vs for Gods sake to helpe them, saying, That they were vndone by the Locusts, and this place was a daies iourney distant towards the Sea.

Another experiment.

They came vnto vs at Euentide, and at that instant I and foure Portugals departed with them, we trauiled all night, and came thither an houre after day-breake, where wee found all the people of that place gathered together, with many of the places neere adioyning, and they also were troubled with the Locusts, and suddenly vpon our arriual, we made our Procession round about the Towne, which is seated vpon an high hill, from whence wee saw many Villages and Townes all yellow with the multitude of Locusts. Hauing ended our Ceremonies, as in the former place we went to dinner, and the people adioyning besought vs instantly to goe to them, promising vnto vs a great rewards. It pleased God, that as soone as euer we had dined, we saw the ground cleane, so that one Locust appeared not in their sight, to their great admiration. When they saw this, not wholly trusting in the Grace of God receiued, they besought vs to goe with them to blesse their fields, for yet they were afraid least they would returne againe.

33. At another time while we were in a Towne, called *Albuguna*, Prete Ianni sent vs to 50 this Towne, that here we might furnish our selues of victuals, which is in the Kingdome of *Angote*, and is distant from the Towne of *Barua*, where wee abode thirtie daies iourney. When we came hither, I went with the Embassadour *Zaga Zabo* (which afterward came into Portugall) and five *Genoueses*, to a Towne and a Mountaine, called *Agoan*, and we trauiled five daies iourney through places wholly waste and destroyed, wherein Millet had beene sown, which had stalkes as great as those which we set in our Vineyards, and we saw them all broken and beaten downe, as if a Tempest had beene there, and this the Locusts did. The Trees were without leaues, and the Barkes of them were all deuoured, and no Grasse was there to be seene, for they had eaten vp all things, and if we had not beene warned and aduised to carrie victuals with vs, we and our Cattell had perished. This Countrey was all couered with Locusts without wings, 60 and they told vs, that those were the seede of them which had eaten vp all, and that as soone as their wings were growne, they would seeke after the old ones. And the number of them was so great, that I will not speake of it, because I shall not be beleued: but this I will say, That I saw Men, Women, and Children, sit as forlorne and dead among these Locusts; and I Harke I said vnto them, Why stand yee as dead men, and will not kill these Vermine, to be reuenged of Ple.

The hurt they saw done by Locusts elsewhere.

Zaga Zabo, an Embassadour sent into Portugall.

Their mischievous spawne.

Hark I say.

the mischief of which their fathers and mothers haue done vnto you, seeing that those which you shall kill shall neuer be able to doe you more harme? They answered, that they had not the heart to resist the plague which God sent vpon them for their sinnes. And all the people of this Countrey departed, wee found all the wayes full of men and women, traueilling on foot with their children in their armes, and vpon their heads, going into other countries where they might find food, which was a pitifull thing to behold.

Men driuen by
Locusts out of
their Habita-
tions.

While wee abode in the said Signorie of *Abuguna*, in a place called *Aquate*, at another time came such an infinite swarme of Locusts, as it is incredible to declare. They began to come about three of the clocke in the after-noon, and ceased not til night, and as they came they lighted, and the next day in the morning, they began to depart, so that by nine of the clocke there was not one of them left, and the Trees remained without leaues. The same day and houre, there came another Squadron of them, and these left neither bough nor Tree unpilled, and so they continued for the space of five dayes, and they said, they were the yong ones which went to seeke the old ones, and they did the like, where wee saw them that were without wings, and the compasse which these Locusts tooke, was nine miles, wherein was neither leaues nor barke on the Trees.

Hurt to Trees.

This Countrey seemed not to bee burnt vp, but rather to bee couered with Snow, by reason of the whitenesse of the Trees, which were all pilled, so that all the Countrey remayned bare. It pleased God that the Haruests were alreadie gathered in, but wee could not vnderstand whether they went afterward, for they came from the Sea-coast out of the Kingdom of *Dancali*, which belongeth to the *Moors*, which are continually in warre, neither could we learne where at last they lighted.

Dancali.

Tigremahon.

34. The next day after our comming to this Towne of *Timei*, before our goods remayning in *Barna*, were brought thither our Ambassadour, departed with sixe on Horse-backe in his company, to goe to the Court of *Tigremahon*, which hath the title of a King, and vnder his Government and Iurisdiction, are many great Lords and Townes. The Ambassadour requested him to giue him aide: and while we here stayed two dayes for people to carrie our goods, a Capitaine came vnto vs, with many people to carrie the same, and hence wee departed the third of August, with great Thunders and a terrible storme of raine, and trauelled for the space of three miles through manured fields. Then beganne we to descend downward, by a very rough craggie, and steepe wayes, many miles more, and at euening lodged in a Church-yard, where wee abode in great feare of Tygres, and maruelled much at the Winter and stormes. Departing thence the day next following, wee trauelled through craggie Mountaines full of Woods and Trees without fruit, but very Greene and faire, and such as wee knew not, and came vnto a Riuer, which because it was Winter, was swollen and very dangerous to passe, which is called *Marabo*: and vpon this Riuer is seated the Towne of *Barna*, as I haue said before, and it runneth towards *Nilus*: and this Riuer parteth the Iurisdctions of *Barnagasso*, and *Tigremahon*, and from this Riuer vnto the place where we lodged, are about sixe miles, and albeit the Mountaines be craggie and full of Woods, yet are they inhabited with store of people, and haue many places manured in them.

Thunders and
stormes.

The Riuer of
Marabo.

A Capitaine of
Tigremahon to
conuoy them.

Contention.

35. When we were come vnto the Riuer, they which were with vs layed downe our goods, and suddenly we heard on the other side the Riuer a great noise of Drums, and of people. We demanded what the matter was, it was told vs that it was a Capitaine of *Tigremahon*, which came to carrie our goods. And hauing passed the Riuer, we found a goodly company which came to meet vs, and they were betweene six or seuen hundred men. Suddenly we saw a great contention fall out betweene these people, and those which come thither with vs: for they which belonged to *Tigremahon* said, that they were not bound to take charge of the goods vntil they were past the Riuer: and the others said, that they were not bound to carrie them further then the waters side. While they were in this contention, because the Riuer was greatly swollen, they agreed all together to transport the goods vpon a raft, and that this should be nothing preiudiciall at all, but that, it should remaine free for them as before, and so wee passed the Riuer with our goods. These people trauelled so lustily with our stuffe, that we could not stay them back, with our Mules.

Herds of wild
Hogges.

During that little part of the day which remayned, wee trauelld ouer most craggie Mountaines, and saw wilde Hogges in diuers Herds, and they were aboue fiftie in a companie, Partridges innumerable, and other sorts of Birds of diuers colours most beautifull to behold, which couered the Ground and the Trees: and wee were informed, that in these places were all kinds of rauinous beasts, and it cannot bee otherwise, as it seemeth by the terrible Mountaines.

Fires for
feare of beasts.

High hills.

This night wee lodged abroad in the field in places enuironed with people and many fires, being informed, that they made these fires for feare of wild beasts, and here immediately wee found great difference in the People and in the Soyle, and in the Trees, as also in the qualitie of the Countrey, and in the Traffique of the Inhabitants: and here wee began to trauell ouer certaine Mountaines so exceeding high & craggie, that they seemed to touch the Skies, & in regard of

of their height they winded a little at the foote, and all of them were proportionably situate, and they are diuided one from the other, and stretch in length a very great way : and all those which are accessible, although there be great danger in traouelling of them, haue Chappels builded on the tops of them, and the most part of them are dedicated to our Lady; and on many of the tops of these Hills we saw Chappels, where wee could not imagine how they could ascend vp to build them. We lodged at a place, in the midst of these Mountaynes, called *Abasacem*, whereon standeth a Church, dedicated to our Lady, very well builded, with an Ally in the midst, mounted higher then the other two, on both sides, and the windowes thereof aboue the other Allies are vnder the middle Roofe, and the whole Church is vaulted; and in all this Countrey wee haue not seene a fairer nor better builded Church then this, which is like vnto those Churches of *Badie*, situate betweene the Riuer of *Duora* and *Minio* in *Portugall*.

Hard by this Church, standeth a mightie, huge, and a goodly Tower, as well for the height as the compasse thereof, and for the making of the wall, which seemed to stand as though it would fall; and it is of free stone finely hewed, which seemed well to bee a Princely worke; neither haue wee seene any other the like building, and it is enuironed with most beautifull houses, which are very answerable vnto the same, as well in regard of their walls, as of their Roofes and Lodgings, which seeme to haue belonged to some great Princes. They say that Queene *Candaces* dwelt in this place, and that her House was not farre from thence, and this is not vnlike to be true. This Towne, Church, and Tower, are seated in the midst of those cragie Mountaynes, in very beautifull and goodly greene fields, all watered with Fountaynes of water, which fall from the feet of those Mountaynes, and all these Fountaynes are made of free stone. The Graines which here are watered, are Wheat, Barly, Beanes, Chiches, Lentils, Peas, and all the yeere long they haue Garlicke, and exceeding great Leekes, and Mustard-seede, and Cresses grow about their houses; and on those Rockes grow great store of a kind of herbe, called *Crescioni*, and certaine other kindes of herbes which they feed on. In the said Church are very many Priests, very well apparelled, which seeme to be men of vertuous conuersation.

36. We lodged in another Towne, which is named, *The houses of Saint Michael*, because the Church is called *Saint Michael*; and coming hither, they would giue vs no lodging, saying, that they were priuiledged and exempted from such kinde of molestation: and because of the great raine, we lodged in the circuit of the Church as well as we could, and set vp our Mules in the other circuit, which serueth for a Church-yard, because there was great store of grasse, which was growne very much, by reason of the winter and the showers, which grasse in *Portugall*, is called *Wild Panick*, and it was very long and high, because it was made luttie by reason of the dead bodies there buried. In this Countrey they vse not to eat but once a day, that is to say, at euen-tide; certaine moneths of the yeere when they doe fast, and so is the custome throughout all the Realme of *Prete Iunni*: and as they refused to giue vs lodging, so they were slow to giue vs food, in which meane space we were almost dead for hunger. Our Factor seeing this, said, I haue two sodden Hens, if it please you, let vs eat them. The Secretarie and I marvelled much, that he wished vs to eat flesh without bread; howbeit, we were compelled to eat them. Afterward they seemed so good vnto mee (I thinke by reason of mine extreme hunger) that I would oftentimes eat the like againe, to wit, bread without flesh, and flesh without bread, and bread dipped onely in Salt, Water, or Pepper. And thus by reason of these diuers sorts of dyet, I forgot that, which at the first I so wondred at. Howbeit, in the euening they brought vs meate after their manner, and wee lodged in the foresaid circuits. And because we would be more cleane, we got neere to the place where they vse to receiue the Communion. Here hauing with vs a candle lighted, the Doves began to flie about the same, which when we perceiued, we ran to shut the gates, because they could escape none other way, and so running vpon them there escaped not one of them, for we tooke them all, euen to the young ones that were in the nest, so that we filled a sacke with them. And this was the cause, that at another time, when after certaine yeeres wee returned thither, they gaue vs lodging, that the second time wee should not take all the Doves of their Church, which by that time were replenished anew.

The difference of the people of this Countrey from those of *Barnagasso*, is, that the men weare certaine aprons two spannes long bound about them, and these are of Cloth, or of tanned Leather, full of plights, like vnto those which our women weare, which when they stand vp, doe couer their secrets; but when they sit downe, or goe in the wind, they hide nothing. The married women weare their aprons much shorter, so that all their secrets are seene. Young maides and other vnmarried women, and such as haue no Suters weare girdles of Beades about their middles, and about their priuities, which other women weare about their neckes. They weare also many garlands full of *Timaquetes*, which are a little round kind of fruit of trees, which make a noise like vnto *Lupines*. And such as can get any small Bells weare them vpon their priuities for a brauerie, and some weare sheep-skins about their neckes, wherewith they couer but one part of their bodies, and not the other, because they weare them loose, and bound onely

Apparell not apparelling.

Timaquetes, a fruit.

Foolish brauerie.

The way from
Egypt to the
Court of Prete
Ianni.
Baba Baxe.
Caxumo.

The Citie of
the Queene of
Saba, which
brought Pre-
sents vnto Sa-
lomon.
Ex vngue leo-
nem. I haue
left out the rest
of the Legend
of Salomons
sonne by her,
his 70. saile of
ships on the
Indian Sea, &c.
See my Pilgr.
lib. 7.

Churches na-
med by the
Altar-stone.

The Church.

Oboliske, and
Hieroglyphikes.

Pharaos Fig-
tree.

about their neckes, with one foot hanging before, and another behind, and with neuer so little mouing of it, a man may see from one side of the bodie to the other, whatsoeuer he listeth. They wash themselves euery day once at the least, and sometimes twice or thrice, and by this meanes they are very cleane, and this manner of attire is for the base people, for the wiues of Gentle-
men and Lords goe all couered. The way which they trauell in this Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, is this: he which trauelleth from the red Sea, commeth to *Barna*; and he which commeth from *Egypt*, arriueeth at *Suachen*, and suddenly turneth his backe to the North, and beginneth to tra-
uell Southward, vntill he come to the gates, called *Baba Baxe*.

37. *Caxumo*, is two dayes iourney distant from the Towne of Saint *Michael*, alwaies tra-
uelling ouer these rough Mountaines, in which place wee abode at another time eight moneths, 10
by the commandement of *Prete Ianni*. This place was in old time, the Citie Chamber, and resi-
dence of the Queene of *Saba*, whose proper name was *Maqueda*, and this was shee which
brought Camels laden with Gold to *Salomon*, when he was to build the Temple in *Ierusalem*.
In this Towne is a very noble Church, wherein we found a most ancient Chronicle, written in
the *Abissine* Tongue; in the beginning whereof it was declared, that first it was written in the
Hebrew, afterward translated into the *Chaldean* Tongue, and lastly out of that, into the the *A-*
bissine Language. And it began in this manner: *Queene Maqueda hearing of the great and rich*
buildings which Salomon had begun at Ierusalem, determined to goe and visite him, and laded certaine
Camels with Gold to bestow vpon his work-men. And being come neere to the Citie of Ierusalem, and
being to passe a Lake ouer certaine Bridges, suddenly inspired by the holy Ghost, shee lighted, and knee- 20
ling downe, worshipped the timber of those Bridges, and said: God forbid, that my feet should touch those
beames on which the Sauour of the World shall suffer.

38. In this very Towne of *Caxumo*, was also the chiefe residence of Queene *Candaces*, whose
proper name was *Indith*, and from her sprang the beginning of Christianitie in these parts: and
from the place where the said Queene was borne vnto *Caxumo*, are two miles; which is a little
Towne, being at this time inhabited with people, which by their trade are Carpenters. The
Christian Faith beganne here in this manner. Their bookes in the *Abissine* Tongue say, (as
also is written with vs, in the *Acts of the Apostles*.) And they say, that the Prophecie was here-
in fulfilled, wherein it is said, that *Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands vnto God*. And thus they
say, that they were first conuerted vnto the Christian Faith, and that the Eunuch returned sud- 30
denly to *Ethiopia* with ioy, vnto the house of his Ladie and Mistresse, and conuerted and bap-
tized her with all her household; for he declared vnto her all which had hapned vnto him by
the way, and so the Queene caused all the people of her Kingdome and Dominions to be bap-
tized, and the Faith began in a Kingdome which is now called *Burro*, being situate in the Eastern
part of the Kingdome of *Barnagasso*, which is now diuided into two Signiories: and in this
Towne of *Caxumo*, she built an exceeding goodly Church, which was the first, which is said to
haue beene made in *Ethiopia*, and it is called Saint *Marie of Sion*, because that from *Sion*, the con-
secrated stone of the Altar was sent; for in these Countreyes they call the Churches by no o-
ther name, but by the Altar-stone, wherein is written the name of the place from whence it
was fetched. 40

This Church is very large, and hath five allies of sufficient breadth, and very long, made like
a Vault, and aboue the Vault is a *Tarrax*, and vnder the Vault, and on the walls it is painted,
and the Church is built of free stone exceeding faire, and ioyned together: it hath seuen Chap-
pels, which are all situate with their shoulders toward the East, and their Altars very well adorn-
ed; it hath a Quire like vnto ours, sauing onely that it is so low, that with the top thereof it
reacheth onely to the Vault; and there is another Quire built ouer the Vault, but they vse it
not. This Church hath a great compasse builded with very great free-stones, as big as the stones
wherewith we couer graues, which circuit is enuironed with very great walls, and is vncoue-
red, contrarie to the rest of the Churches of this Countrey. And besides this circuit, it hath ano-
ther as great as the compasse of a Castle or a Towne, within which are goodly houses of one 50
storie, and each of them hath Fountaines, which send forth their water through the Ima-
ges of certaine Lions, made of stone of diuers colours. Within this great circuit are two faire
Palaces made of diuers stories high, the one on the right hand, the other on the left, which be-
long to the Two Gouvernours of the Church; the other houses belong to the Canons and the
Friers. Within this great circuit, neere vnto the gate which is next vnto the Church, is a square
field of ground at this day lying waste, which in times past was full of houses, wherein in each
corner is a square Pillar of free-stone, very high, and cunningly carued with diuers workes,
and in the same are letters ingrauen to bee seene, but no man vnderstands them; neither doth
any man know of what Tongue they be, and there are many of these kinds of Epitaphs, and this
place is called, *Ambacabete*, which signifieth, *The house of Lions*, because in times past Lions 60
were kept bound there.

Before the gate of the great circuit is a great Court, wherein groweth a mightie Tree, which
is called, *The Fig-tree of Pharaos*; and from the one end to the other are certaine faire Cisterns
made of free-stone, well wrought, and well seated, whereunto the Tree doth some harme, one-
ly

ly where it reacheth vnto them with his roots.ouer these Cisterns are twelue Seats of stone placed, raised in order one behind the other, as well wrought as if they were of wood, with their feet and seats beneath, and they are not made of one entire stone, but of diuers pieces; which seats (they said) serued for the twelue Auditors or Iudges of the Law, which at this day are resident at the Court of *Prete Ianni*. Without this circuit are many goodly houses, the like whereof for beautie and greatnesse are not to be seene in all *Ethiopia*; there are also many goodly Wells of water, adorned with very goodly stones, and likewise in the most part of the houses are antique Images, as of Lions, Dogs, and Birds, and all of them are made of exceeding hard and fine stone. Behind the backe of this mightie Church, is a Lake of springing water at the foot of a little Hill, where at this day the Market is kept, and about the same are many Chaires, wrought in such sort as those are which belong to the circuit.

Curious Works

This Towne is situate vpon the entrance of a faire Medow, betweene two small Hills, and the greatest part of this Medow is replenished with most ancient buildings, wherein are many of those Chaires with many Pillars, which haue letters on them, whose Language no man vnderstandeth; but they are very well ingrauen. At the entrance of the said place are many Ruines of stone, part standing vp, and part ouerthrowne to the ground, which are very high and goodly, with faire antique-worke, whereof one standeth as yet vpright, built vpon another beeing wrought like vnto an Altar-stone, and as it were carued into the same; and this which is built vpon the other is exceeding great, being sixtie foure yards* in length, and sixe in breadth, and three in the flanks, and very straight and well wrought, all carued with windowes from the foot to the top, to wit, one window aboue another, and the top of the said stone is like vnto an halfe Moone, wherein are five nayles in the part which standeth towards the South, nayled into the said stone in forme of a Crosse, the rust of which nayles running downe in rainy weather along the said stone, a spanne distance from the said nayles, seemeth to bee like vnto fresh bloud. This Pillar of stone standing yet so high from the ground toward the South, hath the forme of a gate in it, wrought in the very stone, with a chaine which seemeth to bee lockt, and the stone vpon which this same is seated, is a fathome thicke, and very square, and this stone is also set vpon other great and little stones, wherein I could not discerne how farre this stone entred into them, or whether it went downe into the ground. Neere vnto these are a very great number of stones, very faire and well wrought, which (as it seemeth) were brought hither to be framed in some piece of building, and also those other which were so great, and set vpright. Of these stones, some were fortie fathoms* long, and some thirtie, and in the most part of these stones, are very mightie letters ingrauen, which none of the Countrey is able to reade. And among the stones which lie vpon the ground, there are three very great and very fairely wrought, and one of them is broken into three pieces, and euery piece is aboue eight fathoms long, and ten fathoms broad; neere vnto which, are other stones, whereon these should haue beene set.

Vnknowne Characters. A stately Pillar.

* 64. brachia, the Translator had fathoms, as afterwards also.

* Brachias

39. Neere vnto this Towne of *Caxumo* standeth a little Hill, from whence descendeth a great deale of ground on all sides. A mile distant from the Citie are two houses builded vnderneath the ground, wherein a man cannot enter without light. These houses are not made with vaults, but are made of very goodly hewen stone, all euen, as well on the sides as ouer the head, and are twelue fathom high, and the said stones are so well couched together, that they seeme to be all one piece, for the ioynts thereof cannot bee discerned. One of these houses is diuided into many roomes. At the entrance of the gates are two holes, wherein they put the post where-with they fasten the gates. In one of the chambers of this house are two great Arches of foure fathoms long, and one and an halfe broad, and as much in heighth, to wit, the hollownesse within, and albeit they lacked their couer, yet seeme they to haue had one. They say that these were the Chists of the treasure of the Queene of *Saba*. The other house is somewhat broader, and hath but one chamber and a porch, and from one gate to the other is the distance of a stones cast, and the open field is vpon the top of the houses. In our companie were certaine *Genoueses* and *Catalans*, which had beene slaues vnto the *Turkes*, who sware that they had seene many goodly buildings, but that they neuer saw such huge buildings as these of this Towne of *Caxumo*. And we iudged that *Prete Ianni* sent vs hither to solace our selues of set purpose, that we should see these kind of buildings, which are farre greater then I haue written.

Houses vnder the ground.

Chists of the Q. of Sabas treasure.

In this Towne and in the fields thereof, which are wholly in their season sowed with all kind of Corne, when the stormes come with abundance of raine, neither man, woman, nor child, of what age soeuer, stay within the Towne, but goe out to seeke for Gold in the manured fields, which, they say, is discovered by the raine, whereof they find great store; and likewise they goe through all the wayes where the water runneth, turning the earth vp with stauers.

Seeking of Gold after raines.

60. Having heard them speake of so much Gold, I purposed to make a Table, like those which I haue seene made in the Towne of *Foz de roca* in *Portugall*, and at the Bridge of *Muzella*, and so I began to wash the earth, and to lay it vpon Tables; but I found no Gold at all: I wot not whether it fell so out, because I knew not how to wash the earth; or else, because I knew not the Gold; or, that there was none at all; but the fame thereof was very great.

Ancientest
Church in
Ethiopia.
150. Canons,
and as many
Friers.
Two *Nebret*.

They say, that the Church of this Citie is the most ancient Church in all *Ethiopia*. And it seemeth to be no lesse, for it is more honoured then the rest, and Diuine Seruice is said therein very solemnely after their manner, and there are in it one hundred and fiftie *Debeteres* or Canons, and as many Friers. And it hath two principall *Gouernours*, which in their Language are called *Nebreti*, that is to say, Masters of instruction, one of which two is ouer the Canons, and the other ouer the Friers, and these two are lodged in the Palaces which are within the circuit of the Church, and the *Nebret* of the Canons lodgeth in the Palace on the right hand, and this is the greater and more honorable of the two, and hath authoritie to execute iustice, not only vpon the Canons, but also vpon the Lay-men of the Countrey, and the *Nebret* of the Friers executeth iustice vpon the Friers only, and both of these haue Trumpetters in their Courts, and others which play vpon certaine Instruments like vnto Drums, and haue exceeding great Reuenues. Besides these, there is giuen them daily out of the Countrey a portion of Bread, and a portion of the Countrey-wine, called *Mambar*, which is giuen vnto them when Masse is ended; and they giue it vnto them in two parts; to wit, one vnto the Friers, and another to the Canons, and this their portion is so great, that seldome the Friers eate any more then this, for this sufficeth them for all the day. And hereof they faile not euery day, except Good-friday; for, on that day they neither eate nor drinke. The Canons receiue not their portion in the circuit of the Church, and seldome times they stay in it, sauing onely when they say Diuine Seruice; as also the *Nebreti* stay not in their Palaces, saue onely when they giue audience to the people: and thus they doe because they bee married, and liue with their wiues and children in their houses, which houses be very good, and are without the circuit of the Church, wherein to women are not suffered to enter, neither may the Lay-people come into the Churches. But there is another very faire Church, whereunto the Lay-people and women repaire to receiue the Communion.

Good-friday.
The Canons
married.

A strange
Mountaine.

40. There is an high Mountaine, and small as well at the bottome as at the top, which seemeth to reach vp to Heauen, which hath three hundred steppes to the top, and vpon the same stands a very holy and faire Chappell, which hath about it a circuit of stone, wrought very well, as high as the breast of a man, from whence a man would be afraid to looke downe. The circuit of this Church is so broad, that three may walke in it together in a ranke, and is called by the name of Abbot *Pantaleon*, which was a most deuout and holy man, and there lies his bodie; and this Church hath great reuenues, and hath in it fiftie Canons all honourable persons, and well apparelled, and their chiefe *Gouernour* is called *Nebret*.

Nilus.

Where the Citie of *Sabaim* is situate, whereof the Queene of *Saba* tooke her name.

Torrato.

Monasterie of *Alleluia*.

A Frier, a lyer.

Now he returneth to his Voyage.

41. From this Citie of *Caxumo* Westward men trauell toward *Nilus*, where there are great Cities and Lordships: and they say that toward this part is the Citie of *Sabaim*, of which the Queene of *Saba* tooke her name, from whence shee had that blacke wood which shee sent to *Solomon*, to polish the works of the Temple. And from this Towne of *Caxumo*, vnto the beginning of the Townes of *Sabaim*, are two dayes iourney; and this Signiorie is subiect to the Kingdome of *Tigremahon*: and the Lord and Captaine of the same is Cousin to *Prete Ianni*; and it is reported to bee a good and large Signiorie. Toward the North is a Countrey, called *Torrato*, all full of Mountaines, toward which within the space of twelue miles, is an high Mountaine, which is great at the bottome, on which is a Plaine of two miles long, full of Woods of exceeding straight and beautifull Trees, neere vnto which Woods, there is a Monasterie which hath large reuenues, and great number of Monks, which is called, The Monasterie of *Alleluiah*, and the cause of this name is said to be this, that at the first building thereof, there liued a Frier of most holy life, which spent the most part of the night in prayers, and hauing heard the Angels in Heauen sing *Alleluiah, Alleluiah*, he told the same vnto his Superiour, and thus was this Monasterie called by that name. And as this Frier was very holy and good, so the report is, that they which liue there at this present are as bad and wicked.

About this Hill whereon this Monasterie is seated, are Riuers to be seene, which are dried vp, which run not, but in the time of great tempests & thunders. But now to returne to our voyage, about eight miles distant from *Caxumo*, is another Monasterie on a Mountaine, which is called, The Monasterie of *Saint Iohn*: and sixe miles beyond this is another, which is called, *Abba Gariman*, whom they report to haue bene King of *Grecia*, and that forsaking his Kingdome and Government, he came hither to doe penance, and here he ended his life deuoutly, and yet, they say, hee doeth many Miracles, and wee were there present on the day of his solemnitie, where wee saw about three thousand persons, some blind, some lame, and some sicke of the French Poxe.

¶ VI.

Departure from Saint Michael, to a place called Bacinete: Their visiting
TIGREMAHON. Of diuers Monasteries, and other places
in the way which they passed.

42.  E departed from the Church of Saint Michael, with the people of the Coun-
trei, which carried our stuffe, and came to our lodging in a Towne, called *An-
geba*, in a *Betenegus*, which is an house of the King, wherein before in other

Angeba.

Reuerence to
the Kings hou-
ses.

Bacinete.

places we had oftentimes beene lodged, which no body else may vse, but such
Noblemen as represent the Kings person, and they vse such reuerence to these houses, that the
gates thereof stand alwaies open, and no man dare presume to enter, or to touch them, saue one-
ly when the Gouvernour is within, and when he is gone out, they leaue the gates open, and the
beds whereon they sleepe, and their prouision to make their fire, and their Kitchin. Departing
from this place, we trauailed about fifteene miles, and lodged vpon an high Mountaine, which
standeth neere vnto a great Riuer, called *Bacinete*, and so likewise is the Towne and Territorie
called, whereof the Grand-mother of *Prete Ianni* was then Gouvernesse; and at the time when
we were there, it was taken from her, because she had done wrong vnto the Inhabitants, and
20 *Prete Ianni* beareth as great affection and respect vnto his Subiects, as to his Kinsfolkes, and this
Countrey is subiect to the Kingdome of *Tigremahon*, and in euery part is very well peopled, and
manured in all parts: but especially it is full of fruitfull Mountaines, and Riuers which runne
continually towards *Nilus*. All their habitations are seated and built vpon high places, and
out of the way, and thus they doe, because of the Trauailers, which take away such things as
they haue perforce. They which carried our goods for feare of wilde beasts, made a hedge with
Fagots of Thornes very strong, and lay within the same, and we with our Mules, and that
night we had no harme.

Prouision a-
gainst wilde
beasts.

We departed from *Bacinete*, and trauailed fixe miles vnto our lodging, vnto a place called
30 *Malue*, which is compassed with many goodly manured fields, full of Wheate, Barley, and
Millet, and Pulse of all sorts, the like whereof, so faire and so thicke, we had not seene in any
place together. Neere vnto this Towne, is an exceeding high Mountaine, but at the foote not
very great, for it is as great in a manner at the top as beneath, because it is as steepe as a Wall or
fortresse right vp, all bare without Grasse, or any greene thing; and it is diuided into two
parts, to wit, the two outward sides are sharpe, and the midst is plaine, and on one of those
sharpe tops, trauailing vp into the same, aboue two miles, there is a Monasterie of Friers of
our Ladie, called *Abba Mata*, and they are men of an holy life. The order of Friers heere, is
all one, because through the Realme of *Prete Ianni* they are all of one order; namely, of the or-
der of Saint *Anthony* the Hermite, and out of this order is sprung another, which is called

High Moun-
taine as steepe
as a wall.
A Monasterie.

All Friers of
the order of S.
Anthony in
Ethiopia.

40 *Estefarruz*, which is taken rather to be an *Hebrew*, then a *Christian* order: and they say, that
oftentimes they burne some of them, because there are many heresies among them; namely,
because they will not worship the Crosse which they themselues make, because all the Priests
and Friers carry Crosse in their hands, and the Laity at their neckes: and the cause why they
will not worship them, is, because they say, That Crosse is onely to be worshipped, whereon
Christ dyed for vs, but that those which they and other men make, are not to be worshipped,
because they are the workes of mens hands: and for other like heresies, which they say, hold,
and maintaine, they are greatly persecuted. The place where this *Abba Mata* is, seemeth to
be three miles distant from *Malue*, I would haue gone thither, but I was wished not to goe; for
though it be but a daies iourney thither, yet I should be driuen to spend foure daies in the same,
and to climbe vp thither vpon my hands and my feete, for otherwise a man cannot come
50 thither.

The order *Este-
farruz* will not
worship the
Crosse. It
seemes the su-
perstitious *Ab-
bassens* and this
Author spake
the worst of
them, for not
admitting
their supersti-
tions.

Other Chur-
ches.

Long breasts
loathsome,
loully.

Brutishnesse.

In the midst of this Mountaine, which is as flat as a Table, standeth another Church of our
Lady, wherein very great deuotion is vsed; and on another sharpe Mountaine, is another little
Church, called Saint *Crosse*. And beyond these, foure miles and an halfe, there is another Moun-
taine, like vnto that of *Abba Mata*, and there is another Monasterie, called Saint *Iohn*. The
young Women are much out of order, and if they be twentie, or fure and twentie yeares of age,
they haue their breasts so long, that they reach downe vnto their waste, and this they take for
a goodly thing, and they goe naked, and from the girdle vpwards they weare Cordans of Beads
for a brauery. Others more in yeares, weare Sheepe-skinnes tyed about their neckes, which
couer but one side of their bodies: and because this is the custome of their Countrey, a man is
60 no more ashamed to shew his secrets, then if yee saw his hands and his feete; and this is vsed a-
mong the baser sort, for the Gentlewomen are all couered.

Tigremahon, was about two miles distant from this place in a *Betenegus*, or house of the King.
The same day that we came thither, *Tigremahon* sent for the Embassadour, which went thither
with his Company, but when we were come vnto his Palace, it was told vs that he was gone

Many Coun-
tries confirme
their Compu-
tation to the
whole course
of the Sunne in
four and
twenty houres.
Tigremahon de-
scribed.

Absolute So-
ueraignty of
the *Negus*.

Two men as-
saulted by Ty-
gers. *M* de
Villages of
Moors.

Saint *Georges*
Church pain-
ted.

Iewish Sabba-
tizing.

Agro.
Church out of
a Rocke.

Angugui.

to the Church with his Wife to receiue the Communion, and this was about halfe an houre past two and twentie * of the clocke; for about that time they say Masse in this Countrey, except it be Saturday or Sunday. And we went to meet him as he came from Church with his Wife, who rode vpon two Mules richly furnished, as is requisite for persons of great Estate, and such as are accompanied with men of great Nobilitie.

This *Tigremahon* is an old man, of a goodly pretence, and his Wife was wholly couered with Blue Cotten-cloath, and that in such sort, that we could see neither her face, nor any other part of her body. When we came neere vnto him, he prayed me to giue him a Crosse which I had in my hand, which he kissed, and gaue vnto his Wife to kisse, and she not vncovering her face, kisse it vpon her veile, and he made vs good cheare, and vsed vs with great courtesie. This man hath a great Court of men and women alwaies with him, and greater furniture then *Barnagaf* so had.

In this Kingdome *Prete Ianni* placeth and displaceth, when it seemeth good vnto him, and when he pleaseth, with cause or without cause the Kings, and those which are vnder the Kings, and therefore when they are depriued of their gouernment, they make no shew of melancholy or sadnesse, and if they take it euill, they keepe it secret. While I was in these parts, I saw great Lords depriued of their States, and they which were placed in their roomes, oftentimes talking and conferring with them as good friends, but God knowes the heart. In this Country, whatsoeuer thing happen vnto them, whether prosperitie or aduersitie, they say, That God sends it. These Lords which are as Kings, pay tribute vnto *Prete Ianni*, which tribute is in 20
Horses, in Gold, in Silke, in Imbroidered Cloath, and in Cotton-cloath, according to the abilitie of the Countries. And these Countries are so greatly inhabited and peopled, that their reuenues must needs be great, and when the Noblemen liue in the Townes, they liue at the common charges of the poore people.

After the deliuerie of Presents, *Tigremahon* suddenly tooke order for the carriage of our goods before denied, and that through all his Dominions they should furnish vs of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, on free cost. Hauing receiued this newes vpon the ninth of August, we departed, and came to our lodging in certaine small Villages, enclosed as the former, for feare of Tygers. And that night which we lodged there, being about two of the clocke in the night, two men went out of the Towne to goe to a certaine stall of Kine, and on the way they were assaulted by Ty- 30
gers, and one of them was wounded on the leg. It pleased God that we heard them cry, and ran out to succour them, for otherwise they would haue slaine them. In this Country are diuers Villages, inhabited by *Moors*, diuided from those of the *Christians*, who (as they say) pay great tribute of Cloath, of Silke, and of Gold, to the Lords of the Countrey, but they are not put to other troubles which the *Christians* are put too; and these *Moors* haue no Church at all, for they will not suffer them to vse any. All these Countries are fertill, as well in Pasture, as in Wheate, and other Corne.

Neere vnto our lodging was a Church of Saint *George*, very well gouerned, after the manner of our Churches, it was vaulted, and well painted with their pictures; to wit, with the Apo- 40
stles, Patriarks, *Noah*, and *Elias*, wherein serue ten Priests, and ten Friers. And till wee came hither, we saw no Church gouerned by Priests, without hauing Friers with them, but where the Friers be the chiefe, there are no Priests. Three miles distant, is the Monasterie of the Holy Ghost, where the Friers were griued, because it was Saturday, whereon they might not gather fruits to giue vnto vs as they desired, and prayed vs to excuse them, and said; They would giue vs such things as they had in the Couert, and so going into the house, they gaue vs dried Garlick & Limons, and at last prepared for vs in the Refectorie, Cabbages cut in manner of a Sa- 50
let, and mingled with Garlick. Behind the Towne where we lodged, for the space of six miles, is a Towne called, *Agro*, wherein *Tigremahon* hath a Palace, where we were oftentimes lodged, and here is a Church of our Ladie digged out of a Rock by force of mans hand, very well made, with three Iles or Allies, and with pillers hewed out of the said Rocke, and the great Chappell, the Vestry, and the Altar, are all likewise of the same Rocke, and the principall Porch, with the Pillers thereof, as though it were made of sundry pieces, it cannot be fairer then it is. In the sides it hath no gate, for on each side is the mightie and terrible Rocke, and it is very pleasant to heare them sing Diuine Service, for the voyces of them which sing, make a wonderfull resounding.

45 On the thirteenth of August, we departed from this place, where wee rested all Saturday and Sunday, and came to a place, called *Angugui*, where there is a Church like a Bishoppes See, very great and faire with Allies, and with Pillars of stone very faire and well wrought, and it is called *Chercos*, that is to say, Saint *Quirico*. The place is very faire vpon a very goodly Ri- 60
uer: the Inhabitants haue a priuiledge, that none may enter the Towne on horse-backe, but onely on Mules.

Bellette, where stands a *Betenegui*, a very good Lodging. The situation of the place is very pleasant, and hath abundance of good waters, and wee were lodged in the said Palace. During our abode here, there came vnto vs a great Lord, named *Robel*, being Gouvernour of a Prouince, named

named *Balgada*, wherof taking his name, he is called *Balgada Robel*. This Nobleman had with him a great train all on horse-back, and many other Horses and Mules led by hand, which they vse to do for authority and reputation, and there were many Drums in his company: it is said that he is subiect to *Tigremahon*. And comming to the Palace where our Ambassador was, he sent to request him to come out and speake with him, because he might not enter into the house in *Tigremahon's* absence. The Ambassador hearing this request, sent him word backe againe, that he had travelled aboute fifteene miles, and that if he would see him or speake with him, he should come into the house, for he would not come forth. Then this Nobleman sent him an Oxe, a Sheepe, a Vessell of Honey as white as Snow, and hard as a stone, and a Horne full of very good Wine. And sent him word, that he would come and see him although the penalties were very dangerous, and that he hoped that he should be pardoned of the penaltie, because Christians were lodged in that *Betenegus*.

Balgada.
Honey, white
and hard.

As he was come neere vnto the Palace, there fell such store of raine, that hee was constrained to enter into it, and there he talked with the Ambassadour and vs, enquiring of the state of our Voyage, and of our Countries, which till that time he had neuer knowne nor heard off, and then discoursed of the Warres which he made against the *Moores*, which ioyned vpon his Countries toward the Sea-coast, saying, that he neuer ceased to warre with them, and he gaue a very good Mule for a Rapier to one of our company. The Ambassadour seeing his courtesie, gaue him an Helmet.

And they say, that his gouernment is very great, and that he hath the best commoditie in all *Ethiopia*, to wit, Salt, which goes currant in steed of mony, as well in the Kingdomes of *Prete Ianni*, as in the Dominions of the *Moores* and *Gentiles*, and they say, that it passeth from thence as farre as *Congo*, vpon the West Sea. And this Salt they digge out of Mountaines, as it is reported, as it were out of Quarries; the length of euery stone is a handfull and an halfe, the breadth foure fingers, the thickeesse three, and so they carie them in little Carts, and vpon beasts backs, like short cliffes of Wood. In the place where they digge this Salt, one hundred or one hundred and twentie of these stones are worth a dramme of Gold, which dram (in my iudgement) is worth three hundred *Reais*, which are three quarters of a Ducate in Gold. And as soone as it commeth vnto a certaine Faire which is in our way, in a Towne, called *Corcora*, a dayes iourney distant from the place where the Salt is digged, five or sixe stones lesse make a dramme; And so it diminisheth in passing from Faire to Faire. And when it commeth to the Court, sixe or seuen stones onely make a dramme: and I haue also seene them in the Winter time buy five for a dramme. Great bargaines are made with this Salt, and it is very deere in the Court. They say, by that time it commeth to the Kingdome of *Damute*, they buy a good slaue for three or foure stones, and passing farther into the Countries of the *Moores*, they say, that they may buy a slaue for one stone, and in a manner, waight for waight in Gold. Wee found in this way, three or foure hundred beasts in a company, laden with Salt, and as many more emptie which went to fetch Salt, and they said that these belonged to Noblemen, which send thither euery yeare for their necessarie expenses in the Court, and other twentie or thirtie beasts laden, which belong to driuers of Mules. Also we met men laden with the said Salt, who carried the same from Faire to Faire, which valueth, and runneth currant for money, and whosoever hath it, may haue by way of trucke, whatsoever he needeth.

Through all
Ethiopia, Salt
runneth as a
principal Mer-
chandize.
Salt money.

Corcora.

Damute.

46. Departing from this *Betenegus*, we lodged in certaine poore and ill-provided Villages in a Countrey, called *Bunace*. And the next day wee departed from thence following our stuffe, which was sent before vs, which we found vnladen in the midst of a Medow, which was full of water, and seeing the same so badly conueyed, wee marvelled greatly: and while wee were in this muse, there met vs five or sixe riding vpon Mules, hauing tenne or twelue foot-men with them, among whom was a Frier; which comming to the place, caught the Captaine of *Tigremahon*, who conducted our goods by the haire of the head, and beat him with a Cudgell, wherevpon all of vs ranne to him to know wherefore hee did so. Our Ambassadour seeing the Captaine so beaten and hardly handled, falling into Choler with the Frier, tooke him by the brest to stab him, but I know not whether he hurt him or no, and all of vs likewise came vpon his back. The poore Frier began to speake a little *Italian*, which *George de Breu* one of our company vnderstood, which if he had not done, it had gone hard with the Frier. When euery one was pacified, the Frier said, that he was come thither by the Commission of *Prete Ianni*, to see our goods conueyed, and whereas he had beaten him, he did it for the negligence which hee vsed in conueyance of them.

Bunace.

A stout Frier.

The Ambassadour answered, that it was no time to make any tumult, especially in his presence, for hee tooke it as if hee had done the same to his owne person. And thus being pacified, the Frier said, that he would goe to *Signior Balgada Robel*, which dwelt behind vs, and that from thence he would bring vs Mules and Camels to carrie our stuffe, and that wee should goe before, and stay for him in a *Betenegus*, halfe a daies iourne distant from this place. This was the same Frier which was afterward sent by *Prete Ianni*, as his Ambassador into *Portugal* with vs. And so we departed, each man his way, he forward, and we toward the said *Betenegus*, and that night

Zago Zabo, the
Ambassadour
which *Prete*
Ianni sent into
Portugal.

Corcora.

night we lodged in a little Village, where was a goodly Church, called Saint *Quiricus*, and that night we feared least we should haue beene deuoured of Tygres. The day following, wee traueled about two miles, and found the *Betenegus* which the Frier told vs of, which is in a Town, called *Corcora*, hauing good Lodgings, and in that place there is a very faire Church, and here wee stayed all Saturday and Sunday, wayting for the Frier vntill the Munday. Eastward of this place, they say, there is a faire and rich Monastery, called *Nazareth*, which hath great Reuenues and many Friers. And West-ward towards the Riuer of *Nilus*, they say there are many Mines of Silver, but they know not how to digge it, nor to take any profit of the same.

¶ VII:

Departure from Corcora, the pleasant Countrey which wee passed through, and of another Forrest: how the Tygres set upon vs. Dofarso, the Moores of Dobas: Ancona, Angote, Salt, and Iron Money. Other Monasteries and Churches.

A goodly Countrey.

47.  N Tuesday morning, seeing the Frier came not, wee went forward on our iourney along the banke of a passing goodly Riuer, for the space of fixe miles, through a very pleasant and goodly Countrey, and full of greene Herbs, and Trees fruitfull and fruitlesse, and on both sides were Ridges of Mountaines exceeding steepe, which are all sowed with Wheat and Barley, and replenished with wild Oliue Trees, which shew like yong Oliues, for they often cut them, that they may the better sow their Corne. In the midst of this Valley is a passing faire Church of our Ladie, about which are many Houses, Lodgings and Habitations of Priests. There are also infinite abundance of Cypressse Trees so tall and great, as it is strange to speake of, and many Thickets of Trees of sundry sorts which we knew not.

Cypresses.

A field sowne euery moneth, and in the same field haruest in Seed-time.

* Roucia.

Neere vnto the principall gate of the Church, was a very goodly and cleere Fountaine, which enuironed the Church, and afterward spread it selfe into a great Champaigne field, which may be watered throughout with the streames thereof, and therefore is sowed euery moneth of the yeare, with all kind of Seeds: as Barley, Millet, Lentils, Fitches, * Beanes, Chiches, *Taffo di Guza*, which is very good, and withall other Pulse, which are in this Countrey, and at the same instant some Seeds are sowed, others are sprung vp in the blade, some are full ripe, some are new cut downe, and some threshed, a thing not seene in our parts of *Europe*. At the head of this Valley, there is a great ascent, and so craggie a Mountaine, that sixtie miles beyond the same, there is none other passage, and it seemeth verie likely to be so, by the great store of people that alwayes passe that way.

Fertilitie.

They lose each other.

Danger by Tygres.

Manadeli, a Towne of one thousand households.

Dobba.

Hauing gotten vp to the top of that Mountaine, wee descended into a goodly Champaigne Countrey, full of all kind of Cornes, which they sow all the yeare long, as that was which I spake of before, and there is a World of Medowes for pasture. This Champaigne and Valley, may be in length about fixe miles, and in breadth two, and it hath on euery side high Mountaines, and at the foot of euery Mountaine, are many Townes and Churches to bee seene, howbeit, they be but smal, among which there is one, named Saint *Crosses*, and another Saint *Iohn*, and each of them hath twentie Friers. When we had passed this Valley, we beganne to change the soile, and entred into certaine rough Mountaines not very high, but very steepe, the greater part whereof we passed by night, by meanes whereof we lost one another, and the Ambassadour remained with foure onely in his company, and my selfe with fve, and another of our number, with two, and our stuffe was left in these wild places with one man onely, as it pleaseth God. And in that part where I was, we saw a fire, which because it was night, seemed neere vnto vs, but was about three miles distant from vs. And while wee sought to goe that way, there followed vs such a sort of Tygres, as was wonderfull, and if we entred into any Thicket, they came so neere vs, that wee might haue thrust them through with a Pike, and none but one in our companie had a Pike, the rest had Rapiers. At length wee concluded, to stay in certaine Corne-fields for our more securitie, and here wee tyed our Mules together, and kept watch and ward all night with our naked Rapiers.

The next day about noone-tyde, wee met with our Ambassadour in a Towne well-peopled, distant from that where we lodged, about fixe miles, and it is called *Manadeli*, which hath one thousand Households in it, and the Inhabitants thereof are *Moores*, Tributaries to *Prete Ianni*, and among them are fteene or twentie Families of Christians, which dwell there with their wiues, and take vp the Tributes. Whereas I said before, that wee beganne to change the soile of the Countrey, it is to be vnderstood; that vnto this time, which is two monethes space since we begin to trauell, it was alwayes Winter, and when wee entred into the Valleyes betweene these Mountaines, it was not Winter but very hot at that season, and the Countrey is called *Dobba*, and it was Summer there, and this is one of the Countries, which I spake of before, where I said

said it was Winter in Februarie, March and Aprill, contrarie to the other. The like is also from the Monastery of Vision vnto the Sea, and in another Countrey of the Realme of *Barnagasso*, called *Carna*. These Countries which haue the Winter altered, are very low, and lye vnder the Mountaines: and the length of this Territorie is about fifteene dayes iourney, the breadth is vnknowne, because it entreth into the Countrey of the *Moore*s. The generall and common Winter is from the midst of Iune, to the midst of September. There are very goodly Oxen in this Countrey of *Dobba*, and in such multitudes that they cannot well be numbred, they are of greater stature then Oxen of any other place. But many miles before wee came to this Towne *Manadeli*, we met many Christian people in the fields with their Tents set vp, which said vnto vs, that they were come thither to pray to God for water from Heauen for their Cattle, which dyed for thirst, and to sow their Millet and their Corne, which had indured great want of water. Their Cry and Prayer was this: *Zio Marina Christos*, which is, *Oh, Christ, haue mercie vpon vs*.

Winter and Summer neere Neighbours.

Winter particular and common.

Great drought

Now, to returne to this Towne of *Manadeli*, I say, that there is Traffique vsedas it were in a great Citie, and there are infinite sorts of Merchandize, and a wonderfull number of Merchants, and there be *Moore*s of all Languages, as namely, of *Giadra*, of *Marocco*, of *Fez*, of *Bugia*, of *Tunis*, of *Turkie*, of *Rumes*, that is to say, White Men of *Grecia*, * *Moore*s of *India*, which are heere as free Denizens of *Ormuz*, and of *Cairo*, which from all the Countries aboue-named, bring Merchandize of all sorts. While we were here, the *Moore*s of the Towne complayned, saying, that *Prete Ianni*, had taken from them one thousand ounces of Gold perforce, adding, that *Tigremahon* also, as Lord of the Countrey, sought also to draw his maintenance from them, so that they were no longer able to hold out. In this Towne euery Tuesday is a Market.

Manadeli, a Towne of wonderfull traffick. * Or rather Turkes of C. neere Constantinople, called new Rome.

48. Assoone as the Frier was arriued, wee departed, and the same euening wee went two miles from thence to a *Betonegus*, seated on a Hill. The next day wee came to a great Towne inhabited by Christians, and contayning one thousand Families, which is called *Dofarso*. And there is a Church, wherein are aboue one hundred Priests and Friers, and as many Nunnes, which haue no Monasterie, but dwell in priuate houses like Lay-women, sauing, that the Friers dwell alone by themselves in two Courts seperated one from another, wherein are many Cottages of little value. And the number of these Priests, Friers and Monkes is so great, that the rest of the Laytie cannot stand in the Church, for which cause they haue set vp a Tent of Silke before the Church, wherein the Lay-people receiue the Communion: and heere they vse those Solemnities, which they cannot in the Church, as sounding of their Drummes and Cymbals, during the time of ministring the Communion. While we lodged here two nights, the Nunnes came and washed our feet, and after they had washed them, dranke off that water, and washed their faces with part of it, saying, that we were holy Christians of *Ierusalem*.

Dofarso, a Towne of one thousand Christian households.

In this place, the Master of the house said vnto me, that yeare wherein we gather but a smal crop of Corne, sufficeth vs for three yeares. And farther he told me, if it were not for the Locusts and the Tempests which sometimes doe them harme, they would not sow halfe so much Seed as they doe. We saw great Herds of Oxen comming toward the Towne, and those of our company iudged them to be aboue fiftie thousand. The Tongue of this Countrey differeth from the Tongue of the other Countrey which we had passed, for here beginneth the Tongue of the Kingdome of *Angote*, the Towne is called *Angotina*.

Exceeding plentie.

The Kingdome of *Angote*, and the Towne of *Angotina*. * Beere or Ale.

In all this Countrey they make bread of all sorts of Graine, namely, of Wheat, Barley, Millet, Chiches, Peason, Fitches of diuers colours, of Beanes, of Lin-seed, and of *Taffo di Aguzza*. Likewise they make Wine * of these Seeds, but the Wine made of Honey is better then any of the rest. This people after the Frier was come vnto vs gaue vs victuals, and defrayed our charges of this kind of bread, by the commandement of *Prete Ianni*, but we could eat none of it, but that which was made of Wheate, and they brought vs these their victuals out of due season, that is to say, (according to their custome) at Euen-tyde, for they eate but once a day, and that in the Euening, and their Dyet is raw flesh, and a certaine sawce made of the Gall of the Cow, which we could not looke vpon, and much lesse feed vpon, but we ate that little which our slaues dressed for vs, and wheaten bread, and so we continued vntill the Frier vnderstanding our Dyet and custome, caused them to send vs flesh, which was roasted and sodden by our slaues, to wit, Hens, Partridges, Mutton, Beefe, and such like.

One meale a day. Raw flesh.

49. Departing from this Towne, we trauelled through the midst of certaine fields of Millet growing high, and hauing stalkes as bigge as small Canes. Towards the Sea-coast, all the Inhabitants are *Moore*s, called *Dobas*, and it is no Kingdome, but this Prouince is diuided vnder foure and twentie Captaines, and sometimes the one halfe is in peace, and the other halfe in warre, and the same time while wee were in those Countries, they were all in a manner at continuall warres: yet we saw twelue of them in the Court of *Prete Ianni*, which came to craue pardon for a new Rebellion moued by them.

And when they came neere the Pauilion of *Prete Ianni*, which liueth alwayes in the field, euery one of these Captaines carried a great stone vpon their heads, laying both their hands vpon the same, which Ceremonie is a signe of peace, and of comming to craue mercie. Whom

Signe of peace

Prete

Damute.

Cause of the Warre.

The Pretes many wiues.

Deuillish Law of Dobas.

Weekly Carouans to Faires.

A remarkable storie.

An exceeding sudden and perillous storme.

Violent things not permanent.

The Riuer Sabalette.

Angote. Saint Peters Church.

Prete Ianni curteously receiued, and shewed them good countenance, and they brought with them aboue one hundred Horses, and faire Mules, which they led in their hands, but they came into the Court on foot, with stones on their heads, where they stayed aboue two moneths without their dispatch; and they had daily giuen them Oxen, Sheepe, Honey, and Butter. At length *Prete Ianni* sent them aboue three hundred miles from their Countrey; namely, into the Kingdome of *Damute*, with a very great Guard. As soone as the people of these Captaines vnderstood, that they were banished into those Countreyes, they rose vp in Armes, and made as many moe new Captaines, beginning to make warre and breake the peace.

This warre and contention (they say) beganne with this *Prete Ianni*, which now raigneth, more then with his Predecessors, both because these *Moors* were of ancient time Tributaries to the former *Prete Ianni*, and also because the Ancestors of him, which now raigneth haue alwaies had five or sixe wiues, the daughters of the *Moorish* Kings, his neighbours; and not the daughters of the *Pagan* Kings, and also one or two wiues of the Signiories of the said People called *Dobas*. If they were of age, and one of the daughters of the King of *Dancali*, and another of the King of *Adel*, and another of the King of *Adea*. And this present *Prete*, hauing promised to take for wife a daughter of the King of *Adea*, when hee saw that her fore-teeth were very great, he would none of her; neither would he deliuer her to her father, because shee was now become a Christian, but married her vnto a great Lord of his Court: and they say, that since that time vntill this present day, he would neuer take wiues of this *Moorish* Kings race; and he married a daughter of a Christian, and would marrie but one wife, saying, that he would liue according to the commandement of the Gospell, and still he requireth the tribute, which these *Moors* are bound to pay him: and they, because they payed it not before, in regard of the marriages which they made with his Predecessors, therefore they will not now pay it to him, and hereupon these warres arise.

These *Moors* of *Dobas* are very valiant men, and haue a Law among them, that none of them may marrie, vnlesse he can proue that he hath killed twelue Christians; and for this cause, no man trauelleth alone this way but in Carouan, which they call *Nagada*, and first one great companie assembleth together, which passeth that way twise a weeke, for one halfe of them goe, and another come, and none of these companies are fewer then one thousand persons with their Captaine; and these Carouans goe from two Faires, to wit, of *Manadeli*, and *Corcora*, vnto *Angote*; and though they goe in great companies, yet notwithstanding the *Moors* assault them, and sometimes murther many of them.

50. Departing from hence wee trauelled through the said Plaine along by certaine Mountaines, which belong vnto the Christians, all inhabited by these *Giannamori*: and wee passed ouer certaine Riuers which fall from those Mountaines, hard by which Riuers wee found certaine very shadie places, by reason of the abundance of Willows which were there, being very pleasant to rest vnder at mid-day, and so we rested a little, because it was exceeding hot, and a very cleere day, and this Riuer had not so much water in it as might driue a Mill, and we stood talking, one part on the one side of the water, and another part on the other; and while wee were thus reasoning, suddenly we heard a great thunder, and it seemed to be farre off, and they told vs, that it was so drie, as sometimes it was wont to bee in *India*. And being thus out of feare of raine or wind, and that the thunder was ceased, wee began to set our stufte in order, to set forward on our Voyage, and had newly lapped vp a Tent wherein we dined, and Master *Iohn* going vpward the Riuer about some businesse, began to cry vnto vs, take heed, take heed, and as we turned our selues about, we beheld the water comming as high as a Lance, with exceeding great furie, which carried away part of our goods, and if by good fortune wee had not taken downe our Tent, it had carried the same and vs quite away, and many of vs were constrained to climbe vp into the Willows. And this furious streame of water came running downe betweene certaine Mountaines, where it had thundred; and it brought downe with it exceeding great stones, and the noise and furie of the water was so great, and the clattering of the stones which beat one against another, that the Earth trembled, and the Skie seemed to be readie to fall. And as it was sudden in comming, so it suddenly passed away; for we passed the same that very day, and we saw a great number of other exceeding great stones, tumbled vpon those stones which were there before, which came downe with the water from those Mountaines. Departing from hence, wee tooke vp our lodging in certaine poore Cottages; when wee came neere them, we saw our selues constrained to lodge without doores, and that without our supper, and that night about the breake of day, we heard of exceeding great thunders and raines in that Plaine, as it fell out the day before vpon the Mountaines.

51. Wee departed all from this place for want of food. And thus wee trauelled without our stufte all that day, and came at night vnto a great Riuer, called *Sabalette*, which endeth the Kingdome of *Tigremahon*, and is the beginning of the Kingdome of *Angote*. And in a very high Mountaine Westward, out of which this Riuer springeth, is a Church, called *Saint Peter of Angote*; and they say, it is the chiefe of this Realme, and the Church of the Kings, and that when this Kingdome is newly giuen to any, they goe thither to take possession thereof, and to-

ward

ward the East, in another exceeding high Mountaine fixe miles out of the way, there is a very great Monasterie with many Friers, whereof we saw nothing but the high Trees which are about the same, and here endeth the Countrey of the *Moors*. And on Saturday, we rested by this Riuer, and on Sunday at night about our first sleepe the Tygres assaulted vs, although wee had made great fires, so that the greatest part of our Mules brake loose for feare. On Tuesday, descending downe from the top of the Mountaines, we came into the way where our stufte was, neere vnto a Church called, *Our Ladie*, enuironed wholly with shade of most pleasant and stately Trees, (and here by reason of the heate wee rested about noone) which Church hath many Priests, Friers, and Nuns, and is gouerned by Priests: and the Towne is called, *Corcora*, of *An-*

10 *gote*. With much trauell we passed that night a very high Mountaine, where sometimes wee were faine to goe on foot, and sometimes we were faine to cawle vpon our hands and feet, and hauing passed this bad way on the top of the Mountaine, we found certaine other Mountaines, and Hills, which make valleys, where small streames runne; but among the rest there is one Hill very great, on both sides full of Pastures, and of Corne-fields, wherein all the yeere long they sowe and reape all kind of seeds; for at all times when wee walked that way, we found them at that instant sowing of Corne, and some newly sprouted, and some in grasse, some eared, some ripe, and some cut downe, and that which I speake of Wheat, is also to be vnderstood all kind of Corne and Pulse. In this Countrey they conuay not streames to water the same, because it aboundeth with Riuers, and is as it were a Marish, and all Countreys which are like vnto this, or which may bee watered beare fruit as this doth, that is to say, they are sowed in all moneths of the yeere, and yeeld their haruest. This Countrey round about is peopled, and full of Villages, because it is exceeding fat and fruitfull, and in euery Towne there is a Church, which hath about it great store of Trees.

Steepe hill.

Haruest and
Seed time all
the yeere.

52. On Wednesday the fift of September, we trauelled but a little way, but that we began to descend into a pleasant and wide Valley full of exceeding great Millet, and abundance of Beanes, through the midit whereof passed a great Riuer, the fields on both sides being sowed. And this Riuer is called, *The Riuer of Ancona*; and in the highest part of this Valley is a beautiful Church, called *Saint Marie of Ancona*, which hath exceeding great reuenues, wherein are many Canons, whose head is called *Licanate*, and besides the Canons there are many Priests and Friers, and in all great Churches from this place forward, which are called the Kings Churches, there are Canons, and their Head is called *Licanate*. This Church hath two Bells of Iron badly made, and hanging low neere the ground: and in this Countrey wee saw no more but these two. Wee stayed in this place vntill Thursday, for on that day here is kept a great Market, which they call *Gabeia*. In this Towne, and in all the Kingdome of *Angote*, Iron runneth currant for money, which is in fashion of Bullets, and it cannot be wrought so round in any thing, but they breake them as they haue need, and giue ten, eleuen, and twelue, of them for a dram, which dram amounteth to three quarters of a Ducat in gold. Moreouer, Salt in this place runneth currant for money, as it doth through all the Countrey, and here they giue fixe or seuen stones of Salt for one piece of this Iron.

Ancona Riuer.

Faire Church.

Two Bels of
Iron.

40 Here beginneth towards the West a Countrey called, *Bugana*, which is a very cold Countrey, by reason of the exceeding high Mountaines which are there, whereupon groweth great store of that herbe whereof they make ropes, that is to say, Hempe; whereof at one time I brought a certaine quantitie to certaine *Genoues* which were here with vs, who told me, that they had neuer seene any so good, and that it was better then that of *Alicante*. The food of these Mountaines is great store of Barley, and in the Valleys is abundance of Wheat, the fairest that euer I haue seene in any place. The Cattell are small of stature, like those which are in the Countrey of *Maia*, betweene the Riuers of *Minius* and *Dorius* in *Portugall*. The Lord of this Land is called, *Abunaraz*; the Countrey is fixe dayes iourney in length, and three in breadth. They say, that after the Land of *Caxumo* was conuerted vnto the Christian Faith, this was the second, and that the Kings here kept their Court, as the Queenes kept theirs in *Caxumo*, although the same be barren by reason of the Mountaines. The buildings which I saw, are these: first, in an high Mountaine there is an exceeding mightie Caue, wherein is builded a very goodly Monasterie and Church of our Ladie, not so much for the greatnesse thereof, as for the goodly proportion which it hath, which is called, *Icono Amelaca*, which is as much to say, as, *God be praised*. The seat of the Countrey where it is builded, is called *Acate*. It hath poore reuenues, but many Friers and Nuns, the Friers dwell in an Hill aboue the Caue, which Hill is enclosed. They haue but one way to come to their Church. The Nuns dwell beneath in the side of the Caue, and are not enclosed: they till and digge the fields, and sowe them with Barley and Wheat, for the Monasterie affordeth them little sustenance. The faire proportion of this Monasterie causeth it to be inhabited, because it is builded in this great concautie or caue of the Hill, and it is made like a crosse, and is well compassed about, and they may goe on Procession round about it, and all the Friers may goe afront in this circuit, if they were more then they bee; before the gate of which Monasterie there is a place enclosed with a wall, as high as the brimme of the Caue, which is not a Church, and here stand the Nuns to say Diuine Service, and here likewise

In all the
Kingdome of
Angote, graine
and salt runne
currant for
money.*Bugana*, a cold
Countrey.Good Wheat.
Small Cattell.Strange Mo-
nasterie.

The Nunnes.

T t t t

they

they receiue the Communion. This Roome for the Nunnes looked toward the South, because the Church standeth East and West; and toward the right side ouer this Caue falleth a Brooke, made of diuers Springs, downe from the Mountayne, which runneth continually, and when it commeth to the top of the Caue, is diuided into three branches; and one falleth right vpon the midst thereof, which is a goodly sight; the other two branches runne in Gutters, made by hand, on both sides of the Caue, and ioyne themselues toward the place of the Nunnes, hard vnto a Wall which stoppeth them, and these branches water their Gardens. The body of this Church hath three Gates, one which is principall, and two on the sides, as though it were builded vpon a Plaine: and because the mouth of the Caue is great, therefore there is light enough.

Another
Church in a
Caue.

Aluarez his
iourney full
of difficultie
thither.

The building
of the Church.

The store of
Canons and
Reuenues.

Three Tombs:

One of a King.

One of a Pa-
triarke.

The King a
Priest.

Legends, fabu-
lous.

The bountie
and holinesse
of Abraham
Prete Ianni.

Twentie thou-
sand Commu-
nicants at one
Church, at
one time.

53. As we departed from this Monasterie or Church before mentioned, traueilling toward the West two dayes iourney, there is another great and rich Church, made in another Caue, wherein, to my iudgement, three great Ships with their Masts may stand vp-right, but the entrance is no bigger then the space whereby two Carts may enter with their Ladders, and it is fixe good miles to the top of the Mountayne: and I would needs goe thither, for the desire I had to see that Church: but surely, I thought, I should haue died, the way was so hard and rough; but God assisted me, for it was very coole, and I had with me one of my Slaues, which holpe me to goe, and drew me vpward with a cord, and another behind which led our Mules by hand, lest they should fall and cast vs backward. I set forward from the bottome of the Mountayne before day, and could not get vp to the top before noone. The Woods and Trees, which I saw, are of sundrie sorts, which I knew not, sauing store of Broome, whose yellow flowers made a goodly shew, and great store of Hempe to make Ropes withall. The Church which is within this Caue, is as great as a Bishops Sea, and hath goodly Allies well adorned and wrought, and all are vaulted; it hath three Chappels exceeding faire and stately adorned. The entrance of this Caue is towards the East, and the Chappels are vaulted towards the same entrance, and when you be passed the third Chappell, there is no light, and they say seruice by candle-light. The Church hath two hundred Canons, and there be no Friers, but it hath a *Licanate*, and very great Reuenues and Possessions, and they liue like honorable Gentlemen, by reason of their wealth; and this Church is called *Imbra Christos*, that is to say, *The way of Christ*.

As you enter into this Caue, the said Chappels are right before you: and on the right side are two little Chambers finely painted, which, they say, a King caused to be built, which ended his life in that place, and caused the same Church to be builded. As you enter in on the left hand, are three most honorable and stately Tombs, neither haue I seene the like in all *Ethiopia*, whereof one is chiefe and very high, and hath fise steps round about it, and is all ouer-cast with white chalke, which was couered ouer with a great cloth of Gold, and of Veluet of *Mecca*, to wit, part thereof of Gold, and part of Veluet, and it was so large, that on euery side it touched the ground, which cloth the same day they had layed vpon the said Tombe, because it was a festiuall day: and this was the Tombe of that King which dwelt there, whose name was *Abraham*. The rest are like vnto this same, sauing that the one hath three and the other hath foure steps, all of them are in the midst of the said Caue. The greatest is the Tombe of a Patriarke, which came from *Ierusalem*, to visite the said King for his holinesse, and after his death was buried here. The least is a Daughters of the said King, who, they say, was aboue fortie yeeres a Priest of the Masse, which euery day did minister the same, which thing I found written in a Booke of this Church, wherein the life of this King was recorded. Among other miracles, they say, that when he ministred the Communion, the Angels brought him Bread and Wine, and in the beginning of the Booke, the King is painted like a Priest apparelled at the Altar, and it seemeth that one hand reacheth out of a Window, with an Host and with a Chalice of Wine, and after the same sort he is painted in the greatest Chappell.

When I came to the top I found a quarrie of the like blacke stones, and the place whence they were digged, and I was much astonied, considering how so many of them should be digged vp by them of so hard a graine, which haue no kinde of meanes nor skill to cut and polish them. In the same Booke was also written, that the said King neuer tooke money nor Tribute of his Subiects, and if they brought him any, he caused the same to be distributed to the poore, and maintaine himselfe of the Reuenues of his Lands, which he caused to be tilled. Likewise, that it was reuealed vnto him, that if he would keepe his Kingdom in quiet, all his sonnes should be shut vp, sauing his first borne, as hereafter shall be declared. This day being the day of his Feast, I was desirous to goe to the said Church to see, if that which was told mee were true: and I saw twentie thousand persons, who all come thither for deuotion, and to receiue the Communion; and this Feast was kept vpon the Sunday, and they said Masse very early, and Masse being said, they began to giue the Communion in all three Porches of the Church, and it continued vntill the *Aue Maria*, which thing I saw, for I was there from the beginning, and afterward going to dinner, I returned, and found that it continued vntill that houre.

§. VIII.

Of the stately buildings of the Churches which are in the Countries of A B V G A N A,
which King L V L I B E L L A made, and of his Tombe in the Church of
Golgota. A N G O T E R A Z his entertainment.

54.  Dayes iourney distant from this Church, are such kind of building, that in my iudgement, I beleue, the like are not to be found in all the World, which are Churches all hewen in free-stone out of soft Mountaynes, very well wrought: and the names of the Churches, are these: *Emanuel*, *Saint Saujour*, *Saint Mary*, *Faire Church*, *Holy Crosse*, *Saint George*, *Golgota*, *Bethlehem*, *Marcorius*, and *The Martyr*. And the principal, is called *Lulibella*: and they say, that this was the name of a King of this Countrey, which *Lulibella* reigned before *Abraham* the aforesaid King, about eightie yeeres, and caused the said building to be erected. His Sepulture is not in the Church of his name, but in that of *Golgota*, which is of lesse capacitie, being wholly hewen out of a mayne Rocke, being one hundred and twentie spannes in length, and sixtie in breadth, the Roofe is built vpon fve Pillars, two on each side, and one in the midst, as it were, in a square, which Roofe is flat and smooth as the floore beneath; on both sides it is well wrought, the Windowes and Gates are most excellently engrauen, so cunningly, that no Siluer-smith could make them more faire. The Kings Tombe is like vnto the Sepulchre of *Saint James of Galicia*, in *Compostella*. This Church hath another body vnderneath it, hewen out of stone, as bigge as all the floore aboue, and of the heighth of a Speare or Lance. The Kings Tombe is directly before the Altar of the vpper Church: In the floore whereof is the entrie to goe downe beneath, which is shut with a stone, made like vnto a Graue-stone, layed in very euen and closely, but no man goeth into it, because (mee thinkes) the said stone cannot be remooued, which stone is bored through the midst, with a hole that passeth quite through, of three handfulls wide, wherein the Pilgrimes (which in exceeding great number come thither for deuotion) doe put their hands, and say, that there are seene many miracles. *Golgota, a double Church, hewen out of a Rocke.*
- 30 About this Church is a way like a Cloyster, but fve steps lower then the Church, wherein toward the East are three Windowes, which giue light to the Church that is beneath, which Windowes are as high as the floore of the vpper Church, which is higher then that Way or Cloyster, by as much as the fve steps doe contayne, and if you looke through the said Windowes, you may see the said Tombe placed right before the Altar, as I haue said. Before the great Chappell is a Tombe hewen out of the same stone which the Church is of, and they say, it is like vnto the Tombe of Christ in *Ierusalem*, whereunto they doe great honour and reuerence: and in the same stone, on the right hand, are two Images carued and engrauen out of the same stone, so well made that they seeme to haue life: one is of *Saint Iohn*, and the other of *Saint Peter*, which they shewed me as a rare thing, and I tooke great delight to behold them, whereunto they doe great reuerence. *The holy Sepulchre resembled.*
- 40 This Church hath also on the left hand a Chappell, made after their manner, which seemeth to be a Church, because it hath Allies. It hath sixe Pillars about it, cut out of the same Rocke, well and finely made; and the middle Ally is very well arched or vaulted. The Gates and Windowes are very well wrought, to wit, the principall Gate, and one side-gate, for the other serueth for the great Church. This Chappell is as long as it is broad, to wit, two and fiftie spans euery way; and on the right side, it hath hard vnto it another small Chappell very high, but narrow, after the manner of a Bell, with very faire Windowes: and the said small Chappell is sixe and thirtie spannes high, and twelue broad. All the Altars of the said Churches haue their clothes of silke, and their Pillars made out of the said Rocke. There is about the Church a very great circuit, hewen out of the selfe same Rocke of the Mountayne by force of Masonrie, which is square, and all the walls thereof haue holes in them, as bigge as a Cube, and all these holes are stopped with small stones, and they are burials, for a man may see that they are but newly stopped. The entrance of the circuit is thirteene spannes deepe beneath the Mountaine, and all made by force of Masonrie. *A Chappell.*
- 50 The Church of *Saint Saujour*, is hewen out of a Rocke of a great Mountaine, the body of the Church is two hundred spans long, and one hundred and twentie broad, and it hath fve Iles, and euery Ile hath seuen pillers, which are square, &c. *These Churches haue their portraictures cut in Ramusio.*
- The open circuit of the Church which is the Cloyster, is all hewen out of the same Rocke, and is sixtie spans broad in euery part, and in the front of the principall Porch, it is one hundred fathome wide, and aboue the Church, where it should be couered, where nine great Arches stand on each side, they all reach from the top vnto the ground, where the Tombes are on each side, placed like those in the other Church. The entry to passe into the circuit or Cloyster of the said Church, is hewen vnder the Rocke, the space of eightie spans, wrought artificially, so broad, that ten men may goe side by side, and is a Lance high, and it ascendeth by little and little. *The Cloyster.* *The Entrie.*

A lowne field
ouer the
Church.
The descripti-
on of the other
Churches, is
for breuitie
omitted.
The excellen-
cy of these
Churches,
which the Au-
thor went
twice to see.
Great ascent.

These Vault-
churches made
by White men.
Balilela.

Zaga Zabo pre-
ferred to the
dignity of these
Churches.

Tributes.

He returneth
to his voyage.

Rude people.

Ingabela.

Olaby.

Pepper prefer-
red to Hens.
Tygers.

Angotera.

Enemies.

The Cloys.

The Emire.

tle. This way or entry hath foure holes aloft, which giue light vnto the passage. And on the top of this Mountaine, round about the Church, is a champaine field, wherein they sow Barley, and there are also many dwelling houses.

I take God to witnesse, in whose hands I am, that all that I haue written is most true, without adding any thing thereunto: for hauing heard report of the maruels of these Churches, I would needs goe thither twice, to see them and describe them, so great was my desire to make the excellency of them knowne vnto the world.

This place is seated on the side of a Mountaine, and to go vp to the top thereof is a very great ascent, which I thinke cannot be performed in a day and a halfe, such is the height thereof, and yet notwithstanding, aboue the same, there seemeth to be another Mountaine, and that this hill is separated from the other. And to goe downe from this place into the plaine, is about fifteene miles space, and in the way are mightie fields, which seeme to continue a good daies iourney and more, all which stretch toward the Riuer *Nilus*, wherein are as great store of habitations as in the Towne of *Caxumo*, built exceeding stately with square stones, for here they say, the Kings were wont to haue their dwellings: and that the worke of these Churches cut into the hills, was made by *Gibetes*, that is to say, *White men*: for they know well, that themselves cannot turne their hands to make any such worke: and that the first King which caused them to be made, was called *Balibela*, which signifieth a *Miracle*: because at his birth he was couered with Bees, which made him cleane, without doing him any hurt: and he was the Sonne of the Sister of a King, which King dyed without heire, and therefore his Nephew was made King, and that he was a Saint; and their deuotion is so great, that all *Ethiopia* hath concourse hither, and here they see very many miracles.

This Signiory of *Abugana*, where these buildings are, before our departure the *Prete Ianni* bestowed vpon the Frier, which afterward came with vs as Embassadour into *Portugall*: and therefore I say, that I was twice to view these Churches and buildings; and the second time that I came thither, was when the Embassadour came to take possession of the same Lordship. During whose abode in that place, there came thither two *Calacenes*, that is, Messages or Commandements of the King, and they told the said Embassadour or Captaine, that the *Prete Ianni* sent him word, that he should send him certaine tributes, which his Predecessour ought to haue paied him; which was one hundred and fiftie Oxen for the Plough, thirtie Dogges, thirtie Ianelins, and thirtie Targets. He answered them, that hee would see what goods there remained of his Predecessour, and that he would pay it all very willingly, although he found none at all.

Returning now vnto our Voyage, we departed from the Church and faire of *Ancona*, and hauing trauiled nine miles, we came with our goods to certaine Villages, where they would not lodge vs, saying; That they were places which belonged to the Mother of *Prete Ianni*, and were subiect to no body else but to her. And they would haue beaten the Frier which guided vs. They basted well a Seruant of his: Leauing our stufte here, wee came to our lodging at a place called *Ingabela*, which is great, and replenished with goodly houses, and situate vpon a little hill, in the midst of a field, enuironed round about with Mountaines, at the bottome of which Mountaines there are so many peopled Townes, that I haue not seene the like in any place; there are also great store of Fountaines and Brookes, which runne downe on euery side, which water a great part of the Countrey, which is called *Olaby*. And while we were heere, I saw them building a most beautifull Church, wee found heere exceeding great abundance of Hennes, whereof we might haue had an infinite number in exchange, of a few Graines of Pepper, so small account they make of Hennes, and so highly they esteeme of Pepper. In this place were infinite store of Limons, Citrons, and Orenge. We abode here Saturday and Sunday, on which day the Tygres assailed vs, and we could not so well defend our selues, but they deuoured an Asse of ours.

56. On Thursday, the foureteenth of September, we went with our goods to a dry Riuer, three miles off where the Lord of this Kingdome of *Angote* had his residence, which is called *Angotera*. Before we came thither, we saw much people assembled together, and we supposed that they were assembled to carrie our goods: but they came to doe vs small pleasure, for they enclosed vs betweene them, getting vp into three small hills, and we were in the bottome, and vpon euery top of the said hills, were about two hundred persons assembled, the greatest part with slings to sling stones, the rest flung at vs with their hands, so that the number of the stones was such, as it seemed to raine stones, and we stood in great feare of our liues. And all of vs which were in company with the Frier, were about fortie persons; to wit, the Captaines which waighted vpon him, with certaine of their Men, and some of our Slaues; and all saue my selfe, and a young man which was with vs, which was sicke of the Measles, were very shrewdly stoned and wounded: but God of his Grace vouchsafed to preserue him and me. They tooke some of vs also Prisoners, and wee which fled in the Evening, came to our lodging where our stufte was, without our Suppers.

On Saturday *Angotera* sent for vs to his house, where at our entrance wee found no hinderance

rance at all of guard, but entered freely, and found him with his Wife, and certaine of his famili-
ar friends, and he gaue vs good intertainment as well in countenance as in speache. Foure Jarres
of excellent Wine made of Hony were standing by him, and by every Jarre was set a Cup of
Cry stall Glasse, and so we began to drinke, and his Wife and two other Women in the compa-
ny invited vs.

Eight hundred
Cannon
Crystal glasses
invited all the
honourable

On Sunday next wee went to Church, where we found *Angoteraz*, which came to meete
vs with great courtesie, and then he beganne to speake of matters concerning our Faith, and
called vnto him two Friers, besides the Interpreter and the Frier that conducted vs. And his
first question was, Where Christ was borne, and which way he went, when he went into Egypt,
and how many yeares he abode there, and how old he was when our Lady lost him, and found
him in the Temple, and where he made of Water Wine. It pleased God to helpe me, so that
I answered him according to the truth, better then I knew. The Interpreter told me, that the
Frier which guided vs, informed the other two Friers, that I was a man that vnderstood much,
vpon which speaches they fell downe vpon the ground, and whiche I would or no, would needs
kisse my feet, & *Angoteraz* embraced me, and kissed me on the face, who, as I was informed after-
wards, is one of the best, and most learned Priests in all *Ethiopia*: and at our returne, wee saw
him honoured with the Title of *Barnagasso*. Afterward, he desired vs to heare Masse with them,
which being ended, he invited vs to dinner, but the Embassadour hauing vnderstood before
hand what meate they would set before vs, thought good to send for our owne dinner, which
was certaine fat roasted Hens, and fat Beefe, and fresh Fish.

Questions of
Religion.

Some men
and Cannon
in right
cites

Reuerence to
Aluarez,

Angoteraz a
Priest.

The house where we dined, was great, and made with earth, which is (as wee haue said) a
Betenegus. Before the bed, whereat *Angoteraz* sate, many Mats were spread vpon the ground,
and he came downe from his bed and sate downe vpon them, where many skins of blacke sheepe
were spread, and two great platters of exceeding white wood, with low brims, like those
which we vse to picke Wheate in, which they call *Ganetus*, and they were very large, great,
and large, with a brim of two fingers broad, the greatest was about eightene spans in com-
passe, and the lesser foureteene, and these be the Tables of great Lords. And here we sate
round about with the said *Angoteraz*: we had water brought vs, and washed our hands, but they
brought vs no Towell to dry them with, much lesse to set our bread vpon: but in the said plat-
ters were loaves brought, made of sundry sorts of Corne, to wit, of Wheate, of Barley, of Mil-
let, of Fitches, and of *Tasso*. Before we beganne to eate, *Angoteraz* commanded one to bring
him a great piece of the courtest bread, and with his owne hand laying a piece of raw Beefe vp-
on the same, he sent it to the poore which stood without the gate, waiting for an almes. Wee
indeed said Grace after our manner, whereat he seemed to take great delight.

The hill by
some called
Aluarez

The dyer of
the Noblemen
of *Ethiopia*.

Imbandigioni
household
delicacies.

Then came there in the *Imbandigioni*, whereof I dare not in a manner speake, but yet they
are ordinary dishes in that Countrey, and these were their sauces or broaths, wherein were cer-
tain pieces of raw flesh with warme blood, which in this Countrey is esteemed for a most delicate
dish, and none but great personages eate thereof. These sauces were brought in certaine little
dishes, very finely made of blacke earth, and they strewed vpon them certaine crums of bread,
and alwaies powred butter vpon them. We would not taste at any hand of these their meats, but
fed of that, which our Ambassadour had caused to be brought for vs, as I said before. And like as
we could not eate of their meats, so neither would they taste of ours. But as for their wine, in
truth it walked about with great furie, and the wife of *Angoteraz* dined hard by vs, vpon such
a Table as we vsed, and we sent vnto her of our meats, and we could not see whether she tasted
thereof, because there was a Curtaine betweene her and vs, but in drinking she brauely seconded
vs. After al other dishes, a breast of Raw Beefe was brought to the boord, which we did not once
touch, but *Angoteraz* fed thereof, as if he had eaten Marchpane or Comfits after dinner. After
we had dined, and giuen thanks vnto *Angoteraz*, we returned home vnto our lodging.

Raw Beefe.

The Fort
hanging by
proceeding this
place

On Munday morning, we went to take our leaue of *Angoteraz*, & the Frier led vs through
a mightie thicke Wood, so that we knew not whither we went, but wee came to the place
where we were stoned: and hither he would needs goe to see Iustice done. We were eight vp-
on Mules, and fiftene on foote, and comes to our lodging in the house of one of them, which
were the principall that made the assault, and we found them all fled vnto a Mountaine neere ad-
ioyning, but there was good prouision for our selues, and for our Mules. This night the Frier
returned, and brought with him a couple of Mules, one Oxe, and eight pieces of Cloath, which
they had giuen him, in recompense of the blood which they had shed. And the Iustice vsed in
this Countrey, is to take the goods of Malefactors; as namely, their Oxen, and their
Mules. These places are called, *Angua*, and *Mastano*, and belong to the Patriarke *Abuna*
Marke.

A fertile and
populous
Countrey.

Heere we began to enter into a pleasant and delectable Countrey, lying among very high
Mountaines, but infinitely peopled, at the foore thereof, with great Townes, and very Noble
Churches, which was tilled and sowed with all kind of Corne. Here we saw infinite store of
Indian Figges, Limons, Orenge, and Citrons, without number, and Pastures with an incredible
multitude of Cattle. And because I trauid another time this way with the foresaid Frier,

Eight hundred
Canons; the
reason, Their
sonnes all suc-
ceed.

Four thousand
Canons in eight
Churches.

The hill, by
some called
Amara.

Thus ancient
Law-givers, as
Numa, &c. as-
cribed their
deuises to Dei-
ty, as Abraham,
heite likewise,
to secure him-
selfe, perhaps
dreamed wa-
king.

The Portugals
danger by ap-
proaching this
place.

which then was called the Embassadour, and stayed a Saturday and a Sunday, in the house of an honourable Canon, and euery day went to Church with him, where wee saw very great number of Canons, We asked him, how many Canons there were in all; He told vs, aboue eight hundred. We inquired farther, what reuenues they had; He told vs, very little among so many: We replied vnto him, Why are you so many, seeing your reuenue is so small; He answered vs, that at the beginning when these Churches were first founded, they were not many, but that in proesse of time they were increased: because that all the sonnes of the Canons, as many as doe descend of them, become all Canons: and this custome is obserued in the Kings Churches: and that the *Prete Ianni*, as often as he buildeth any new Church, sendeth for Canons hither, and so he diminisheth their number, as hee did when he built the Church, called *Machan Celacem*, when he tooke away two hundred, and that in this same Signiory there were eight Churches, wherein were about foure thousand Canons: and that if the *Prete Ianni* should not take them away for the furnishing of these new Churches, and those of his Court, they should be drinen to eate one another.

IX.

Of the exceeding huge Mountaine, wherupon the Sonnes of PRETE IANNI are kept, where we were almost stoned to death: The greatnesse, guard, manner of sending, punishments; Of the PRETES Kindred.

THE foresaid Valley, reacheth vnto a most huge Mountaine, whereon the Sonnes of *Prete Ianni* are continually kept, as it were in prison. And they haue accorded in their old Bookes, that in the daies of a King of *Ethiopia*, called *Abraham*, it was reuealed vnto him one night in a dreame, That if he desired to keepe his Realme in quiet and obedience, he should shut vp his Sonnes, which were many, in a Mountain, and suffer none of them to come abroad, sauing him which he would haue to be his Successour, and that this order should alwaies be obserued, as a thing which came from God, otherwise *Ethiopia* being large and great, some part thereof would fall to insurrection, and would bee disobedient vnto the heire, or else perchance would kill him. The King standing doubtfull concerning this relation, where such a Mountaine might be found; it was againe reuealed vnto him, That he should send to search out all the Countrey, till he found a place where they should finde Goates vpon the craggies and cliffes of Rockes, so high, that it should seeme they would fall downe, and that in this place he should shut them vp. Which being done, this Mountaine was found out, which is so huge, that they say a man must spend many daies in compassing the foote thereof.

This Mountaine is exceeding steepe, round about from the top to the bottome, so that it seemeth to be a wall that riseth vpright, and to a man that looketh vpward, the sky seemeth to rest vpon it. It hath onely three entrances or gates, and no more, whereby a man may ascend vp to it, and of these I saw one, vpon this occasion. We came from the Sea vpon a time, to goe to the Court, and one of those Seruants of *Prete Ianni*, whom they call *Calacem*, was our guide, which was not very well acquainted with the Countrey, and when we sought to lodge in a Village the Inhabitants would not receiue vs, because they said, It belonged to a Sister of *Prete Ianni*, and we were inforced to trauaile forward: the night was farre spent, and this guide began to ride a great pace, and hastened vs forward, saying; That he would bring vs to a good lodging. I caused *Lopez de Gama*, which had a good Mule, to ride in sight of the said *Calacem*, and my selfe followed him, and the Embassadour and the rest kept me in sight. And hauing trauailed aboue three miles out of our way, toward the Mountaine where the Sonnes of *Prete Ianni* are kept, as soone as we were perceiued by the trotting of our horses, in a moment there assembled so great a multitude of the people of all those Townes, that they had almost killed vs with stones, and we were inforced to diuide our selues. The Embassadour stayed behind, and I went forward, because I could not otherwise choose, to a place where it rained stones on all sides, and the night was exceeding darke, and because they should not perceiue me, I alighted, and gaue my Mule to a Slaue of mine.

It was my chance, that a Warder of this Mountaine, a very honest man, rode next vnto mee, who enquired of me what I was, I told him I was a *Gaxia Negu*, that is to say, a stranger of the King. This man causing me strait-way to ride neere him, held one of his armes ouer my head, saying vnto me, *Ate fra, Ate fra*; that is to say, Feare not, feare not; and brought me into an Orch-yard neere vnto his house, where stood many long pieces of Timber set vp against certaine Trees, vnder which he caused me to goe, because they were in manner of a Cabin, where being as I thought in securitie, I caused a Candle to be lighted, and immediatly they beganne to

raine

rairie stones, whereupon I suddenly caused it to bee blowne out. This honest man afterward brought me to his house, and gaue me a very good Supper, to wit, roasted Hennes, and Bread and Wine; and on the morning taking me by the hand, he led me to shew me the way whereby they goe vp into the Mountaine and Rockes, which were rent on euery side, and there stood a verie high gate, which is kept shut, within the which is a very great Garrison of Souldiers. And hee told mee, that if any man should presume to enter, hee should suddenly haue his hands and his feet cut off, and his eyes bored out, and that wee were not in fault for comming so neere vnto that gate, but that they which were our guides deserved to be punished.

Penaltie of
entring the
gate.

59. The manner of the sending of the Sonnes of the Prete into this Mountaine, is this: that whereas all the Prete Ianni, the Predecessors of this David were wont to haue five or fixe Wiues, and many Sonnes by them, at their death the first borne did inherit. Others say, that he inherited which seemed to be most fit, and of most vnderstanding: and others, hee which had most Followers, and greatest authoritie. Touching this point, I will say, that which I haue heard spoken by many Courtiers of experience and wisdom. King Alexander, the Grand-father of this present King David, dyed without Sonnes, and although hee had Daughters, yet notwithstanding the great men of the Court went vnto this Mountaine, and fetcht from thence Nahu his Brother, which was the Father of this David. This Nahu brought with him from the Mountaine a lawfull Sonne of his, which was a very noble and valiant Prince, but he was something head-strong and proud. After he was settled in the Kingdome he had other Wiues, and Sonnes, and Daughters, and after his death they would haue made his eldest Sonne King, which came from the Mountaine with his Father, but it was objected, that because he was so proud and obstinate, he would intreat all the people badly.

Manner of
sending the
Prete Sonnes.

King Alexander

Others were of opinion, that he could not inherite, being borne in captiuitie, where he had no right of succession, and so they made this David King, which was the first borne, after his father was made King, and was eleuen yeares old. The Patriarke Abuna Mark did tell mee, that he and Queene Helena made him King, because they had at their commandement, all the great Lords of the Court; and so also it seemeth vnto me, that next after the Title of first borne, the adherences, friendships, and treasures may doe much. The rest of the sonnes of Nahu, the Brethren of the said David, which were young, were sent to bee kept in the said Mountaine with that eldest Sonne of his, which was brought with him from thence: and so all the Sonnes of the Prete haue bene vsed from the time of that King Abraham vnto this present day. They say it is very cold on the top of this Mountaine, and that it is round, and that it cannot be compassed about in lesse then fifteene dayes. And in my iudgement, it appeareth so to be. In this part where our way lay we travelled almost two dayes, and then we left it, which reacheth vnto the Kingdome of Amara, and Bogamidri, which confineth ypon Nilus, which Kingdome is very farre from hence.

David, the pre-
sent Prete Ianni
succeeded in
the Kingdome.

The coldnesse
and greatnesse
of this Moun-
taine.

Vpon this Mountaine are other Mountaines which make certaine Vallies, wherein are very many Riues and Fountaines, and Fields which are manured by the Inhabitants. There is also a Valley betweene two Mountaines, which is very strong, so that by no meanes a man can goe out of the same, because the passage is closed vp with exceeding strong gates, and in this Valley which is very great, and hath many Townes and Dwellings in it, they keepe those which are of the Bloud-Royall, and it is but lately since they haue found this meanes to keepe them in the said Valley, thinking that they be safer here: but the Kings Grand-children and Nephewes, and such as are almost forgotten are not kept with so great a Guard, notwithstanding, this Mountaine is guarded round about with exceeding great Garrisons, and grand Captaines; and the fourth part of the people which come vnto the Court are of the Captaines and Garrisons of this Mountaine, which haue their Lodging separate from all others, neither doe they come to any other, nor others vnto them, because they will not haue any bodie else to know the secrets of the said Mountaine. And when they come to the Court of the Prete, immediately hee sendeth his message to them, and euery man with-draweth himselfe, and all other businesse whatsoeuer ceaseth, while these Affaires are handled.

Amara, & Ba-
gamidri.

60. Touching the state of these Sons of the Prete, I saw a Frier of thirtie yeares of age, which was brought vnto the presence of the Prete, and about two hundred men with him, who was said to haue brought a Letter to Prete Ianni, from those of the Mountaine; and these two hundred men were part of the Garrisons of the same. They beat this Frier euery other day, and in like sort they beate these men, diuided into two parts; and that day when they beate the Frier, they beate the one halfe of them, and alwayes they begun with the Frier, and all the rest were continually present, and still they inquired of the Frier who gaue him that Letter, and for what cause, and whether hee had euer carryed any more Letters, and of what Monastery he was, and where he was made Frier. The naughtie wretch answered, that sixteene yeares past he came out of the Mountaine, and that then the Letter was deliuered vnto him, and that he neuer after returned thither, and that he neuer durst deliuer the same till now, that the Deuill had prouoked him thereunto. And this might be true, seeing it is not the manner in this Countrey, to put any date vnto their Letters, neither of yeare, nor moneth, nor day. The men were demanded nought else, but how they had let the said Frier get out.

Seueritie on a
Frier, and 200.
men, for a
message from
this mountain.

In this Countrey
they vse
not to write
vpon their
letters, neither
day nor
moneth.

The

Manner of
beating and
crueltie.

Saturday and
Sunday free
from execution.

Escape of the
Prete Brother,
and what fol-
lowed.

A Sonne of
Prete Ianni had
his eyes put
out, for flying
out of the
Mountaine.

No Kindred to
the Prete.
This commeth
neere to the
Ottoman poli-
cie: here civili-
ly to kill all
but one, as they
doe really.
No honour to
the Females of
Prete bloud,
nor to their
issue.

Charges of
this Royall
Prison.
Bountie of
Prete David.

The manner of beating them was after this sort, they throw the Malefactor on the ground upon his belly, and bind his hands vnto two stakes, and a cord about both his legs, and two men hold this cord and draw it out strait, and two Ministers of Iustice stand by, one at the head, and another at the feet, neither do they alwayes strike them, but betweene whiles, for if they should beat them continually, they would die, they lay on so cruelly. I saw them carrie one away, and before they could couer him with a cloth, he gaue vp the ghost, whereof the Prete being informed (because this execution was done before his Tents) he commanded that the dead man should be carried backe vnto the place where he was beaten, and that they which were beaten, should lay their heads vpon the feet of the dead corps. This execution lasted a fortnight, wherein this order of beating the Frier, and halfe of the Guard from two dayes, to two dayes neuer ceased, 10
saying onely vpon Saturday and Sunday, whereon they punish no Malefactors.

During the time of our abode in this Countrey, a Brother of the Prete, of sixteene yeares of age, fled out of the Mountaine, and came at length to his Mothers house, which was Queene Helena, and was Wite to the Father of this King. And because no man might receiue any that came out of the Mountaine vpon paine of life, the Mother would not harbour her Sonne, but tooke him and brought him to Prete Ianni, who asked him why hee fled away, which answered, because that he was starued for hunger; and that he came thither for nothing else, but onely to giue him witting thereof, because no bodie else would bring him this message. It was giuen out, that the Prete apparelled him in rich array, and gaue him much Gold and cloth of Silke, and sent him backe into the Mountaine. It was also giuen out through all the Court, that this yong man fled, thinking to escape away with the Portugals. This Nobleman which fled and was sent backe a- 20
gaine into the Mountaine, while we abode with the Ambassadors of Prete Ianni, which came into Portugall, in the Countrey of Lulibella, (where the Churches are which are hewen into the Rockes) passed that way with a Calazen, and with a great traine of people, which conducted him vpon a Mule, and he rode all couered ouer with blacke clothes, so that no part of him might be seene, neither could any part of the Mule bee seene, saue her eyes and eares. It was reported, that he fled away the second time in a Friers Weed with another Frier, and that this Frier his companion discovered him the same day, that they should haue departed out of the Countrey of Prete Ianni, and so they led him away Prisoner with the Frier, neither would they suffer them to speake to any bodie, and two men alwayes went hard by his Mule. Euery bodie reported, 30
that hee should bee put to death, or haue his eyes put out. I know not what became of him.

We heard reported of another, which would haue fled out of the Mountaine, and hid him- selfe vnder many boughes and leaues of trees, and certaine Husbandmen which passed that way, seeing the said boughes stirre, went to behold what the matter was, and laid hold on him; and the Guard, as soone as they had him in their clutches put out his eyes, and yet he liueth till this present, and is great Vncle to this Prete Ianni. It is reported, that there are great numbers of the Bloud-Royall in this Mountaine, whom they call *Israelites*, or the Sonnes of *Dauid*, for they are all of the same Kindred and Bloud that Prete Ianni is of. In the same Mountaine are many Churches and Monasteries builded hauing many Priests and Friars in them, and many In- 40
habitants which neuer come downe out of that place.

61. The Prete Ianni hath no Kinsfolkes at all, for those which came of the Mothers side, are not taken nor named for his Kinsfolkes, and those of the Fathers side are shut vp in the said Mountaine, and held as dead men. And although they marrie, and haue great store of children there, yet none of the male-children may come forth, except (as I haue said before) the Prete die with- out heire: then they fetch out of that place the next of Kindred, and fittest to gouerne. Some of the Females come out to be married, but are not esteemed as the Kinswomen, Daughters, or Sisters of the Prete, but are honoured during the life of their Father or Brother, and as soone as he dyeth, they become like to any other Ladie. All of vs saw a Ladie in the Court, which was the Daughter of a Prete, which albeit, when shee went abroad, had a Canopie carried ouer her, yet notwithstanding, she had a very simple Trainee. We knew also a Sonne of hers, which was 50
in as meane a case as any poore foot-man, so that in a very short space the fame of his Paren- tage was extinguished.

This King David which now liueth, at our departure had two sonnes, and three daughters, to whom he allotted out great reuenues, which he intended to bestow vpon them, and the place was shewed me, where one of them possessed these reuenues: but the report was generall, that as soone as the father should decease, and that one of them was made King, the other should be sent vnto the Mountaine, whither hee should carrie nothing but his person with him, And it was told me, that the third part of the charges which the Prete is at, is spent in the keeping of these *Israelites*, to whom he maketh better allowance, then any of his predecessors haue done. And besides the great reuenues which belong vnto them, he sendeth them much Gold, cloth of 60
Silke, and fine clothes, and much Salt, which runneth for currant money in these Kingdomes. And at our coming thither, hauing presented him with our Pepper, wee vnderstood of a cer- taintie, that he sent the one halfe thereof vnto them, willing them to reioyce and be merrie, because the King of Portugall, his father, had sent to visite him, and had sent him that Pepper. Wee

Wee vnderstood also of a suretie, and as eye-witnesses in many places, that *Prete Ianni* hath great lands and possessions, manured by his owne slaues and Oxen; and that these Slaues are apparelled by the King, and are exempted from other people, and marrie together, and are alwaies Slaues. The whole reuenues of these Possessions which are about the Mountaine are carried vp into it, the reuenues of other places goe vnto the Monasteries, Churches, and the poore, and specially to certaine poore and aged Gentlemen, which in times past haue beene in gouernment, and at this present are out of authoritie. Twise also hee sent of this Wheat vnto our companie, to wit, once fise hundred burchens in *Caxumo*, and fise hundred more in *Aquate*, neither keepeth hee any part of these possessions vnto himselfe, but bestoweth all in manner abouesaid.

Generation of
slaues.

§. X.

Of the end of the Kingdome of Angote, and of the beginning of the Kingdome of Amara, and of diuers Lakes; the Church Machan Celacen; Endowments of Churches: Of

ABRAHAM. Strange trenches and gates in the entrance to Xoa: and what hapned before the PRETE called for them.

62. **R**eturning to our Voyage, I say, that wee went along the foot of this Mountaine by a Riuer side, and the Countrey is very goodly and faire, sowed with much Mill and other Corne of the Countrey, but there is very little Wheat. There are many Villages on both sides of this Riuer, and on the side of the Mountaine, and at the end of the Valley we left this Riuer, and began to find a wooddie Countrey full of stones. Here are no Mountaines, but certaine small Valles sowed with Wheat and Barley, and Pulse of the Countrey: and here endeth the Kingdome of *Angote*, and the Kingdome of *Amara* beginneth. In the beginning whereof towards the East, is a great Lake, whereby we lodged, which is eight miles long, and three miles broad. It hath a little Iland in the midst, and a Monasterie of *Saint Stephen* with many Friers, wherein are many Limons, Oranges, and Citrons, and to passe ouer to the Monasterie, they vse a raft made of Timber and Bull-rushes, with foure great Gourds, and they make it in this former: They take foure Poles of wood, and lay Bull-rushes vpon them, standing vpon these Bull-rushes, being very well bound together, and vpon these they lay other foure Poles well bound and fastened, and at euery corner there is a great Gourd, and in this manner they passe ouer to the Ile. This Lake runneth not but in Winter time, when the water ouerfloweth, and it issueth out at two places. There are in this Lake certaine great beasts which they call *Gomaras*, which are Sea-horses, and also a fish like vnto a Congre, which is very great and long, and hath the most mis-shapen head that may be imagined, made after the manner of a Toad, and the skinne vpon the head thereof seemeth to be like the skinne of a Snake, and all the rest of the bodie is smooth like a Congre, and it is the fattest and most delicate fish that is in the world. There are great store of Villages about this Lake, which reach downe to the brinke of the water, and there are fifteene *Kimetes* or Captainships, and most pleasant fields of Wheat and Barley. We haue seene many Lakes in these Countreys, but this is the greatest of all that I haue seene. The Countrey is very faire and fruitfull.

The Iesuities
call this Lake
Aicha.

A Monasterie
in a Lake.

Sea-horses.

Ill shaped, well
tasted fish.

Many Lakes.

Wee trauelled from hence aboue sixteene miles, through a Countrey very well sowed with Millet, and replenished with Fountaines. The three and twentieth of September, wee went from thence to a Towne, called *Azzel*, which is seated vpon a small Hill, betweene two Riuers, and all the field was sowed with Wheat, Millet, and all kind of pulse, and it is a place wherem a great Faite is kept. Beyond one of these Riuers there is a Towne of *Moores*, rich and of great trafficke, as of Slaues, cloth of Silke, and of all other sorts of merchandise, as it is in the Towne of *Manadeli* vpon the Confines of *Tigremahon*. These *Moores* pay great tribute to the *Prete*, and here the *Christians* and the *Moores* are very familiar together, for they bring them water, they wash their cloth, and daily in this place the *Christian* women keepe companie with the *Moores*, of which their doing we thought not well. Wee stayed all Saturday and Sunday at the foot of this Towne, where all night our men fought with their Lances against the *Tygres*, which would haue carried away our Mules, and slept not a winke. The next day, we trauelled through a plaine Countrey, well peopled, and well manured for the space of fixe miles. Then wee ascended vp an high Mountaine, without all kind of Rockes and Woods, but was all plowed and sowed, and rested our selues about noon-tide. While I stayed here, ten or twelue men of account, and our Interpreter were with me, and wee began to discourse of the height of this Mountaine whereon we stood, and the waste Countrey which we viewed with our eyes. They shewed me the Mountaine where the Sonnes of the *Prete* are kept, which seemed not past twelue

Moore's
Tygres.

Millet and
Wheat.

twelve miles from vs, and we might see the Rocke which was all ragged on euery side, which stretcheth so farre toward the Riuer *Nilus*, that wee could not discerne the end thereof, and it was so high, that the Mountaine where we were, seemed to bee vnder the foot thereof. Heere they informed me particularly of the great Garrisons, which were maintained for the keeping of the Kings Sonnes, and of the abundance of victuals and apparell which they had. They told me moreouer, that this high Mountaine whereon we stood, diuided the Countrey where the Millet growes, from that where the Wheate groweth, and that from hence forward we should find no more Millet, but Wheate and Barley.

Another Lake.
Great hurtfull
Flies.
Want of skill
and industrie.

63. We trauelled ouer the top of this Mountaine, hauing a plaine way about nine miles, and on euery side were fields sowed with Wheat and Barley. Here wee found another Lake but not so great, it might be some three miles long, and two miles abroad. Wee lodged in a field all full of goodly pasture, where we found such a multitude of Flies, which were very great, that we thought they would haue killed vs. This field was not sowed, because it was halfe ouer-flowne with water, for they know no meanes to conueigh away the water, and cause it to passe downe from the Mountaine.

Cold nights.

Nakednesse.

We began afterward to enter into a Countrey, wherein the day time it was very hot, and in the night exceeding cold, and we saw the Inhabitants weare about them before their priuities, a piece of an Oxe-hide. The women likewise weare a piece of cloth twice as bigge as the mens was, and couered as much as they could therewith, yet the greater part was seene neuerthelesse, the rest of their bodie was all naked. Their haire was diuided in two parts, the one hanging downe to their shoulders, and the other to their eares, and they say, that these Lands belong vnto the Trumpetters of *Prete Ianni*. A little out of the way is a great Wood of Trees vnkowne to vs, but exceeding high, neere vnto which there is a Church of many Canons, built by a King that lyes there buried. Hauing passed this day ouer very huge Mountaines, we came to our lodging being gotten out of them, at the enterance of a passing goodly field.

Trumpetters
Land.
Rich Church.

Machan Ca-
cen.

The fixe and twentieth of September, in the morning we trauelled through the said Champaigne field, descending still for the space of six miles, and came to a faire and mightie Church, called *Machan Celacen*, which signifieth, *The Trinitie*, which we saw afterward with *Prete Ianni*, when he remoued his Fathers bones. This Church hath two great circuits, one compassed about with an high wall of planks, and the other paled round about, and the paled circuit, contained about two miles in compasse. We went thither very ioyfull, thinking to haue seene the said Church, but when we came neere it within a Crosse-bow-shoot, two men came vnto vs to cause vs to light: for this is the custome when any man commeth neere to a Church. And when we were come to the gate of this circuit, they would neither suffer vs to enter, nor yet the Frier that was our giude, and with their fists they thrust him in the brest, telling him, that he had no authoritie to bring vs in.

Inhospital ho-
linesse.

Goodly coun-
trei.

This Champaigne field, and the situation of the Church are very beautifull: for all the Countrey is manured for the space of ten or twelue miles, neither is there any one spanne of ground, which is not manured and full of all kind of Corne, except Millet: and in all monethes of the yeare here Corne is reaped and sowed, so that alwayes here is some Corne ripe, and some Greene. On both sides of this Church, runneth an exceeding faire Riuer, without any Trees growing on the bankes, and they fetch water out of the same to water the fields, and out of certaine hils adioyning, descend also many Fountaines of water, which water all the Countrey. There are likewise many Houses and Towns, the one separated from the other with their Churches; for wheresoeuer the King hath a Church, there also must be Churches for the Hubandmen.

Churches
Royall and
vulgar.

Saint Georges
Church.
Beginnings of
this Kingome
in *Barnagasso*.
All belongs to
the Church.

64. After we were passed through these Champions, we trauelled in greater fields about thirtie six miles Eastward, where they shewed vs a Church of *S. George*, wherein the Grandfather of this *Prete Ianni* lyeth buried. Heere they informed vs, that the ancient Kings which came out of the Kingdomes of *Barnagasso* and *Tigremahon*, when they had their first beginning, enlarged their Kingdomes through these Countries of the *Moores* and *Gentiles*, and passing through the Countrey of *Tigrai*, and so through *Angote* they came into the Kingdome of *Amara*, but before they came thither is the Kingdome of *Xoa*, wherein are certaine exceeding great trenches, and here they dwelt a long time, & builded many Churches and houses, endowing the same with great Reuenues, neither is there any span of ground which belongeth not to the Churches. And *Nabu* the Father of this *Prete* began the Church of *Machan Celacen*, and his Sonne afterward furnished and endowed it. This Realme hath no more the name of a Signiorie, for the title thereof was *Amara Taffila*, which signifieth King of *Amara*, as *Xoa Taffila*, King of *Xoa*.

Taffila.

All Churches
no Monaste-
ries.
Priests serue
the King, and
Iustice execu-
ted on them.

And when the bones of this *Nabu* was remoued, into the said Church of *Machan Celacen*, at which Translation we *Portugals* were present. This present *Prete* finished, and confirmed the Donations made of all this Signiory vnto this Church. There is neuer a Monastery in all this Kingdome, but all are Churches. The Canons and Priests of which, and those of the other Churches of the rest of the Kingdomes before spoken of, serue the *Prete* in all seruices, sauing in war. And in these Countries Iustice is executed vniuersally, vpon the Canons, Priests, and Friars. And the Frier which guided vs for the conueiance of our stufte, if he were not obeyed, caused both

both Friers and Priests to be beaten. As we trauelled through these mightie Champaine fields, we thought wee passed through a Sea, being not able to see any Mountaine at all. The last of Huge Champs.

September, we came to a small Village, where was a Church of our Ladie. Heere toward the paines. East, beginne certaine ragged and strong Mountaines, with certaine Vallies so wonderfull deepe, that a man would thinke they descend downe to Hell, neither would any man easily beleue how deepe they be. And euen as the Mountaines, where the Sonnes of the *Prete* are kept, are Horrible Vallies, twelve or fifteen miles deepe.

10 knew perfectly, that they stretch vnto the Countries of the *Moors*, where they bee not so rough and wilde as they be here. In the bottome of these Vallies, are great Townes and places manured, and infinite number of great Apes are there, which are hairy on the fore-part of their breasts, like Lyons. Great Hairy Apes.

65. The first of October, 1520. we trauelled still through a plaine Countrey, till we came to these Vallies, in which our trauell wee found an infinite number of small Lakes and Fountaines, for the space of twelve miles, and came to our lodging in a certaine place, where wee were to passe ouer these low bottomes. The third of October, hauing trauelled two miles, we came to certaine gates vpon a craggy Rocke, leauing one of them on the right side; and the other on the left, and it was so narrow, hard by these gates, that with much adoe a Cart could passe vpon the passages which the Mountaine made, and they are stopped vp, where these Gates are so streight in euery Valley: and passing through this gate, you descend downe a Speares length through a narrow way, made as steepe as a Dart in the midst, so that you can passe it neither on foote, nor on horse-back, and this way is so steepe and down-right, that a man cannot go downe vnlesse it be on all foure: and it may easily bee perceiued, that it was made by arte of man, for the safe keeping of that passage, and after we were passed through this narrow way, wee trauelled for a certaine space, by a way made almost as steepe as a Dart, for the space of six spans, and on both sides are exceeding great downe-falls, and if I had not seene our Mules and people passe before me, I would haue sworne that Goates could not haue passed that way: and so wee put our Mules before vs, as thinking them lost, and wee came after them. This rough way lasteth the space of a Crosse-bow shot, and this place is called *Aquisfagi*, which signifieth, *The death of Asses*. They pay Toll there. Many times afterward we passed by these gates, and neuer came that way, but we found Mules and Oxen dead. Besides this passage, there are sixe miles more of very bad way, all of Rocke, descending downe-ward. In the midst whereof is a Caue digged into the Rocke, out of the top whereof, water continually droppeth, which continually dropping, maketh proportions in the stone of diuers formes. Gates: see the like in Finches description of the Mogols.

At the end of these sixe miles, we found a great Riuer, which is called *Anacheta*, wherein, as they say, is store of great and goodly Fish. Afterward we trauelled still vp the hill for three miles space, vntill we come to a little gate, which when we had passed, we found another Riuer, where are certaine other gates, which are not vsed. And they which passe these bottomes and deep Vallies, come hither to their lodging, because they cannot passe in one day from one end to the other. Heere the Frier which guided vs, vsed such crueltie towards a *Xuam* or Captaine, as a man would not haue vsed to a *Moore*. This Captaine sent not his men to carrie our stuffe so soone as he should, therefore he destroyeth certaine fields of Beanes, and vtterly spoyled them, of which Beanes they liue in these Vallies, because here groweth nothing but Millet and Beanes. And because we spake against his doing, he said; That this was the Law of the Countrey, and daily he caused many of them which carried our stuffe to be beaten, and sometimes he tooke away their Mules, Oxen, and pieces of Cloath, saying, That whosoever serued badly, was so to be vsed. The Riuer of Anacheta. Other Gates: A begger on horse-backe.

50 The fourth of October, we trauelled still by these bad waies, and came to a Riuer, by which we lodged, which is very great and faire, and is called *Gemma*, and aboundeth with Fish, as the Countrey people say: and these Riuers ioyne together, and fall into *Nilus*. Wee descended downe this Mountaine for sixe miles space, at the end whereof we found other gates, where we also payed for our passage. From these gates we came to our lodging in a Champaine field, where we found no Vallies nor any thing else, but all was plaine & euen ground. The distance between both the gates aforesaid, is aboue fifteene miles, and here is the diuision of the Kingdomes of *Amara* and *Xoa*. And these gates are called *Baba Bassa*, which signifieth, *The new Land*. In these Vallies and rough grounds, are infinite numbers of all sorts of Fowles. The Riuer of Gemma. Baba Bassa.

66 The fifth of October, wee trauelled through Champaines, not farre distant from the said Rockes and deepe Vallies, and we lodged in the mid-way towards a Monasterie, called *Bilibranos*, whereof I will speake that which I saw *Prete Ianni* doe three times. The first was, when he came to performe a yearely solemnitie for a Prelate of that Monasterie, which was deceased, whose name was *Gianes*, and was taken for a Saint. His Title was *Ichee*, and he is the chiefest Prelate of all *Ethiopia*, sauing the Patriarke *Abuna Marke*. The second time, hee came to the election of another *Ichee*, whose name was *Iacob*, a man of wonderfull holy life, which sometimes *Ichee*, the second, Prelate of all *Ethiopia*, and next to the Patriarke.

Huge winds.

times had beene a *Moore*. This *Ichee* was our great friend, and he told vs, that he was admonished in a night by a Vision, that he was not in the right way, and that hee should repaire vnto the Patriarke *Abuna Marke*, who receiued him graciously, and made him a Christian, and instructed him in all points of our Faith, as if he had beene his Sonne. *Ichee*, in the tongue of *Tigrat*, signifieth an Abbot, which is vsed in the Kingdome of *Barnagasso*, and *Tigremahon*. In this Champaine through which we traualled, were certaine small houses, made almost vnder-ground, and so were the yards likewise round about them, where they keep their Cattell, & they said they builded their houses so low, because of the huge Winds, which are rife in those parts. Heere wee saw the people badly apparelled, but such store of Oxen, Mules, and Mares, as it is incredible.

Tabagun.

Their Physick,
nothing, or
bleeding, or
searing.

67. The Wednesday following, we found a better Countrey, sowed with Wheate and Barley, and in some of these fields wee saw some Corne ripe, some newly cut downe, and other which seemed newly to be sowne. This Countrey is called *Tabagun*, and is very well peopled, with many great Townes, and hath infinite heardes of all kinds of Cattell, to wit, of Oxen, Horses, Mules, and Sheepe. In these Countries many are sicke of Agues, vnto whom, as wee perceived, they ministred no remedy, expecting onely the helpe of Nature, and if any man hath paine in his head, they let him bloud in the head; and if he be sicke in his breast, sides, or shoulders, they seare him with a red-hot Iron, as we vse to seare our Cattell.

Prete Iannies
Campe.
Adrugaz.

On Wednesday, to our great comfort, we began to behold a farre off, the Campe and Pauilions of *Prete Ianni*, which seemed to be infinite, and to couer all the fields, and heere we lodged. On Thursday, we made no great iourney. From Friday at noone, we rested all Saturday and Sunday in a little Towne, where there was a new Church, which was not yet painted, (for they paint all their Churches) neither was it very curiously wrought, which was called *Auriata*, that is to say, The Church of the Apostles, and they said it belonged to the King, vnto whose Tents was some three miles distance: and from this place vnto the Church where *Abuna Marke* was lodged, is a mile and a halfe, which *Abuna Marke* is his great Patriarke.

White round
Tent.
Theeues allowed.
White men,
called *Franks*,
as all *Europeans*
are in the
East. The cause
the expediti-
ons of these
Nations (the
most of which
were *Franks*)
to the holy
land.

68. There came vnto vs a great Lord, who by his office was called *Adrugaz*, that is to say, Great Master of the Household, who told vs, that the *Prete Ianni* vnderstanding of our comming, had sent him to guard vs, and provide vs of all things that wee stood in need of, and streight-way willed vs to take Horse and goe with him, and supposing hee would haue led vs to the Court, we prepared our selues. He caused vs to goe backe againe, not the same way which we came, but made vs compasse certaine small hils, and turned vs backe againe about three miles, willing vs not to take it in ill part, because *Prete Ianni* came that way whether we went, as indeed hee did: we saw also sixe or seuen men, mounted vpon very goodly Horses, ride skirmishing and playing before vs, hauing their faces wholly couered, so that one could not bee discerned from the other, and many followed after them vpon Mules, and wee iudged that this *Canalcada* was made of purpose for our sakes, because the *Prete* was desirous to see vs, and they led vs on the backe-side of certaine small hils, where this Gentleman was lodged in his Tent, and caused vs also to be placed hard by him, in another goodly Tent, and saw vs plentifully provided of all things, which we stood in need of. We were not farre distant from the place, where *Prete Ianni* himselfe was lodged, the Frier also came and lodged neere vs. On Wednesday, in the morning, they brought vs another goodly great Tent, which was white and round, saying, That *Prete Ianni* lent vs the same, and that no man might haue the like Tent, sauing the *Prete* and the Churches, and that himselfe lodged in the same when he traualled: and so we stayed vntill Friday, without vnderstanding what we should doe, but were alwaies well provided of victuals. The Gentleman which guarded vs, and the Frier likewise admonished vs to haue a good eye vnto our stuffe, because in that Countrey there were many Theeues; and the *Franks*, that is, *The White men*, which were in the Court, gaue vs the like warning, and told vs that there were Captaines, and others like Toll-masters ouer the said Theeues, which payed a Tribute to *Prete Ianni*, of such goods as were stolne.

§. XI.

How the Embassadour and we were called for by the Commandement of *PRETE IANNI*, and of the order which we found, and of the State and Maiestie of *PRETE IANNI*. His conference, allowance, remoue;
The Embassadours Audience.

The Portugals
sent for.

69.  N Friday, the twentieth of October, about three of the clocke, the Frier came vnto vs, and told vs in great haste, that the *Prete Ianni* had called for vs. The Embassadour commanded all the goods to be laden, which the Captaine Generall had sent, and charged vs to put our selues in order, which we did in very good sort by the help of God, and many people as well on foote as on horse-backe, came to waite

waite vpon vs, with whom we came in good order vnto a Gate, from whence we beheld on all sides, an infinite number of Paulions and Tents, like vnto a Citie, and those which belonged to Prete Ianni, were set vp in a wide field, all White, (as I haue said, it is their generall vse) and before the same was a very faire Red Tent, which they say, is neuer set vp, but on daies of great Feasts, or of some great audience. Before the said Red Tent, were two rankes of Arches erected, couered with White and Red Cloath of Silke, to wit; one arch couered with Red, and another with Silke, and they were not couered, but had the Cloath of Silke round about them, as it were a piece of Wood, which supporteth a Crosse, hauing a Stole wrapped about it; and so these Arches stood on one front, and were about twentie: their bignesse and breadth was like vnto the arch of a little Cloyster, and one ranke was distant from another, about a stones cast.

The Pretes moueable citie of white Tents

The Red Feastiull Tent.

Three, are made of wood.

The Arches

Here were an infinite number of people placed together, which to my iudgement seemed to be aboue fortie thousand persons, and all of them stood in good order on either sides without stirring, and the people which were best apparelled, were next vnto the arches, among whom were certaine Canons and Church-men very honourable, with great hoods on their heads, not like vnto Miters, but with certaine sharpe points on the top, painted with Colours, and were of Cloath of Silke, and Crimzon, and other people in very rich array, before whom stood foure Horses, to wit, two on the one side, and two on the other, which were saddled, and richly couered with Embroydered Cloath downe to the ground: the Armour which they were vnder the same, was not to bee seene: These Horses had high Crownes vpon their heads, which mounted aboue their eares, and went downe to the Bits of their Bridle, with great Plumes of Feathers of sundry Colours, and vnder the said Horses stood many other good Horses, saddled and couered with Silke and Veluet, and the head of each one was equall, and as it were in order with the people: next vnto these Horses, behind them (because the throng of people was so great) stood many honourable persons, which were apparelled onely from the girdle downe-ward, with very fine and White Cotton cloath. The rest of the people which were basely apparelled, stood betweene them and the rest.

Fortie thousand persons.

Canons and Church-men.

The great pompe and magnificence of Prete Ianni.

It is a Custome, that before the King and great men of Commaundement, there alwaies goe men which carrie Whips, that is, A little staffe with a large Thong of Leather, and when they lash in the Ayre, they make a great noyse, to make the people giue backe. Aboue one hundred of these Fellowes came to meete vs, all apparelled in certaine small Iackets of Silke, which made such a noyse with lashing, that one man could not heare another. The men on Horse-backe, and vpon Mules which were with vs, lighted a farre off, and wee were led on Horse-backe yet a great way farther, and lighted within a Crosse-bow shot of the great Tent, and here they which conducted vs, beganne to doe their accustomed reuerence, and we likewise, because wee were so instructed, which is, to stoope downe with the right hand vnto the ground.

One hundred vnder Marshals

Reuerence, how done.

Likewise, in this place, within a Crosse-bow shoote, there met vs at least fixtie men, which were, as it were, Porters with Maces, and they came halfe running, for so they are wont to runne with all Messages which the Prete sendeth. They were apparelled in white Iackets, of good Cloath of Silke, and vpon their shoulders they had certaine skinnies, of Roane or Tawny colour, very hairie, which they said, were Lyons skinnies, and reached downe to the ground. And vpon those skinnies they had certaine Chaines of Gold, rudely wrought, with Iewels set in them, and likewise other Iewels about their neckes. They weare certaine Silke Girdles of diuers Colours, in breadth and making, like to the Girts of Horses, sauing that they were long with Flakes and Tassels downe to the ground, and they went halfe on the one side, and halfe on the other, and waited vpon vs to the first ranke of the arches, where we stayed.

Messengers.

But before we came to the said Arches, there stood foure great Lyons, tyed with their Chaines in the way which wee were to passe, and hauing passed them in the midst of the fields: vnder the shadow of the said Arches, stood foure men of Honour, among which, was one of the two greatest Lords which are in the Court of Prete Ianni, which is called Betudete, that is to say; The Grand Captaine, and there are two of them, whereof one waiteth on his right hand, and the other on his left. He which waited on his right hand, was (as they said) in warre against the Moores; and hee that waited on his left hand, was the same which stood there; the other three were great Personages. When wee came vnto them, we stood a great while without speaking any word, neither we to them, nor they to vs. In the meane while there came an old Priest, which was (as they say) the Kinsman and Confessor of Prete Ianni, wearing a white Bonet, like vnto a Bernusse, and a great hood of Silke.

Foure Lyons.

Foure Lords.

The Betudete.

This man by his Office, is called Cabenta, and is the second person in these Kingdomes; and he came out of the Prete his Tent, from whence we were distant two stones cast. Three

of the foure that stayed with vs, went halfe way to meete him, and the *Betudete* stayed with vs, and when they drew nigh vnto vs, the *Betudete* moued three or foure steppes toward them, and so all fve of them came vnto vs.

Three, a remarkable number.

The Ambassadors speech.

Policy of State

Silence.

Base Theeuery attending the Court.

Prouision sent them.

A calfe whole in Paste.

Pepper is the best merchandize in Ethiopia

The *Cabeata* being arriued, demaunded of the Ambassadour, what hee would haue, and whence he came: The Ambassadour answered, That he came from *India*, and brought an Ambassage vnto *Prete Ianni*, from the Grand Captaine and Gouvernour of the *Indies*, vnder the King of *Portugall*. Herewithall, hee returned to the *Prete* from whom he came, and returned three times with the very selfe-same Questions and Answeres. To all their demaunds, the Ambassadour answered after one sort. The fourth time, the *Cabeata* said, Say what you will, and I will declare the same to the King. To whom the Ambassadour answered, That He and his whole Companie kissed his Highnesse hands, and greatly thanked God, which had fulfilled their holy desires, in ioyning Christians together with Christians, and that they were the first which had performed the same. With this answer, the *Cabeata* departed hence, and straightway returned with another Message, and alwaies the foresaid foure Honourable persons went to meete him, in such sort, as we haue before already declared, and comming vnto vs, he said, That we were right welcome to *Prete Ianni*, and that we should go to our lodging and rest our selues.

At this first Audience, he vseth no other words, neither in his Maiestie to bee seene, for the better maintaining of his reputation. Then the Ambassadour deliuered out by seuerall parcels, all the Presents which the Grand Captaine sent vnto his Highnesse, and ouer and besides the same, foure bagges of Pepper, which we brought to defray our charges. All the particulars were forth-with conueyed to the Tent of the *Prete*, and afterward brought backe againe to the Arches where wee stood, and they hanged vp the Cloathes of Arras which we gaue them, vpon the Arches: and likewise, euery parcell of the rest of the goods and things; and while they hung vp in the sight of all men, all men were commaunded to keepe silence, and one which is called the Lord Chiefe Iustice of the Court, spake with a lowd voyce, and declared piece by piece, what the things were which the Grand Captaine had sent to *Prete Ianni*, and willed all men, To giue thanks vnto the Lord God, for hauing caused Christians to meete together, and that if any Man were there that were grieued thereat, hee might weepe and howle; and whosoener reioyced thereat, might sing. Then all the people that were there assembled, gaue a mightie shoute in manner of praising God, which continued for a great space. This beeing ended, they licensed vs to depart, and brought vs to our lodging, a great Crosse-bow shoote distant from the Tents of the *Prete*, where our Pauillion, which hee had sent vs, was set vp, and where the rest of our stuffe remained.

70. In the remoouing of these our goods, we beganne to see by experience, the aduise which was giuen vs concerning the Theeues, for suddenly on the way, they tooke by force from one of our Seruants, foure Basons of Latton, and foure Dishes of Porcellan, and certaine other small things belonging to our Kitchin, and because the Seruant would haue defended himselfe, they gaue him a great wound on the Legge. The Ambassadour could doe no more, but cause him to be healed, and of these goods could neuer after recouer any whit. As soone as wee were lodged, *Prete Ianni* sent vs three hundred great White Loaves of Wheate, and many Iarres of Wine of Hony, and tenne Oxen, and the Messengers which brought these things, said; That *Prete Ianni* had commaunded, that wee should haue fiftie Oxen giuen vs, and as many Iarres of Wine. The Saturday following, which was the one and twentieth of October, he sent vs great store of Bread and Wine, and many Haggasses of Flesh, of diuers sorts, which were very well made and dressed, and the like was done vpon the Sunday, whereon among other many and sundry Haggasses, a young Calfe was brought vnto vs, all whole laid in Paste, so well dressed and seasoned, with Spices and Fruits put in the belly thereof, that we could neuer satisfie our selues with feeding thereon.

On Munday following, there was a rumour spread through all the Court, that wee had kept backe many bagges of Pepper, which the Grand Captaine had sent vnto the *Prete*, which was vntrue; and because they make exceeding great account of Pepper, and that it is the greatest merchandize that runneth through *Ethiopia*, therefore the Frier came vnto vs, with a cunning, saying vnto vs, That if the Ambassadour would giue all his Pepper to *Prete Ianni*, that he would giue order, that our charges should be defrayed during our abode there, and vntill our returne vnto *Maczua*: and thus they ceased to giue vs Victuals; neither were the fiftie Oxen sent vnto vs, nor the Iarres of Wine. Likewise, they forbade all the *Frankes* in the Court, that they should not speake with vs.

They willed vs also, not to depart out of our Tent, because it was the Custome, that all they which come vnto this Court, should speake with no man, till they had talked with the King, and that for breaking this order, they had cast in prison a *Portugall* of *Acugna*, which

which came to speake with vs on the way with another *Franke*, laying to their charge, that they came to reueale vnto vs the secrets of the Court. This *Portugall* fled on a night with his manacles on his hands from an *Eunuch*, which kept him, and came to our Tent to saue himselfe. The next morning with speed they came to seeke him, but the Ambassador would not deliuer him, but sent his Factor and the Interpreter to speake with the *Betudete* on his behalfe, and to aske him, why hee cast the *Portugalls* into fetters, and handled them so badly by *Eunuchs* which were *Slaues*. The *Betudete* answered nothing to the purpose, saying; Who sent for you hither? and added further, That *Matthew* went not into *Portugall* by *Prete Ianni* his commandement, nor by the commandement of the *Queene Helena*. And that if this *Slaue* had put the *Portugalls* into fetters, the *Portugalls* likewise might put this *Slaue* againe into fetters, for such is the iustice in those countries.

71. On Tuesday, the foure and twentieth of October, wayting, while the *Prete* would send for vs to speake with him, hee departed with all his Court toward the same place from whence hee came, which was about sixe miles off. In the meane season the *Frier* came vnto vs, and wished vs if wee would goe to the place where the King lay, that wee should buy our selues *Mules* to carry our stuffe, and told the Ambassador, that if hee would buy or sell hee might so doe. The Ambassador answered him, That wee were not come thither to play the Merchants, but onely to serue God and both the Kings, and to vnite one Christian people with another, and this they did onely to sift out what our iutention and purpose was. Vntill this present they had forbidden all Christians in the Court to speake with vs, or to come vnto our Tents, and if they came thither they came very secretly, because the *Frier* was alwayes with vs as our Guardian.

72. When *Lopez Suarez*, grand Captaine and Gouvernour of *India*, came with his Fleet to the Hauen of *Ziden*; in which Fleet I my selfe was, wee found in the same place sixtie Christian men, which were *Slaues* vnto the *Turkes*, and they were of diuers Nations, who were part of these which at this present we found in this Court, who say, that they wayted for the grace of God, to wit, while the *Portugalls* should come into this Hauen of *Ziden*, that they might escape away with vs; and because the people of our Fleet could not goe on Land, therefore they stayed behinde; and few dayes after, fiftene of these white men, with as many more *Abissines* of the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, which likewise were *Slaues*, found two Brigandines, and fled away to get vnto our Fleet; and being not able to come vnto the Ile of *Camaran*, they came to the Ile of *Maczua*, which is neere vnto *Ercoco*, a Towne of *Prete Ianni*. And comming on land they funke the Brigandines, and came vnto the Court of the *Prete*, whom we saw more honorably and courteously vsed then our selues, till this present. And they haue giuen them Lands and *Slaues* which serue them and maintayne them. These are the *Frankes*, the greatest part whereof were *Genoueses*, two *Catalanians*, one of *Sio*, one a *Biscaien*, and one an high *German*, which afterward came all into *Portugall*, and they call vs *Portugalls* also *Frankes*. All other white people, to wit, those of *Syria*, of *Grecia*, and of *Cairo*, they call *Gibetes*. These *Frankes* preuailed with vs to giue foure bags of Pepper, and foure Chests couered with leather, for a present to the *Prete*, which wee carried the thirtieth of October, which was but collusion of the Courtiers for their owne aduantage. The *Frankes* which were in the Court came after to our Tent and told vs, that the great men of the Court were our enemies, and that this *Frier* had put into their heads, to counsell *Prete Ianni* to suffer vs not to returne, nor to depart out of his Kingdome. Because wee reported euill of the Countrey, and that wee would speake much worle when wee were departed out of the same, and that was alwayes the custome of these Kingdomes, not to suffer Strangers to depart which came into the same. Wee suspected thus much by that which wee had heard, and they confirmed the same. For wee knew very well, that *Iohn Gomez*, and *Iohn Prete*, *Portugalls*, (which were sent hither by *Tristan de Acunna*, Lord Gouvernour of *India*, together with a *Moore*, which yet liueth and dwelleth in *Manadeli*) were not suffered to depart; because they threatned to kill them, if they departed; and likewise one *Peter de Couillan* a *Portugall*, and two *Venetians*.

On Tuesday, the last of October, *Prete Ianni* came downe from the Tents where hee lay, toward this Circuit where wee aboad; and when hee passed by hee saw our Tent, not farre distant from his, and sent a man to the Ambassador, to wish him to remooue his Tent, because the ayre was bad where the same stood, and yet our Tent stood in the same place which they had appointed vs the day before. The Ambassador sent him word, that he had no people to remooue his Tent nor his stuffe, and that if he might haue people, he would cause it to be remooued, whither soeuer it pleased his Highnesse. This day at euening came a message from the *Prete*, saying, That if the Ambassador or his companie, had any Crosse of gold or of silver, that hee should send it him, for hee desired to see it. The Ambassador sent him word, that neither hee nor his companie had any, and that one which he had brought with him he had giuen to *Barnagasso*, herewithall the Page departed, but suddenly returned againe, saying, That we should send him any that we had.

Remooue of the Court.

Other their tricks are here omitted.

The Hauen of *Ziden*, neere *Mecca*.

The Ile of *Camaran*.
The Ile of *Maczua*.

Eastern Christians called *Gibetes*: the Western *Frankes* both in *Africa* and *Asia*, euer since the Expeditions into the holy Land, wherein the *Frankes* were first and most, beginning at the Councell of *Claremont* in *France*.

The old custome of *Ethiopia*, not to suffer strangers to depart.

Christians demanded.

Wee sent him a Wooden Crosse of mine, with a painted Crucifixe, which by the way I carried in my hand, according to the custome of the Countrey. Immediately he sent it backe vnto vs, saying; That he tooke great pleasure in beholding of it, because he perceiued that wee were good Christians.

The Ambassadour sent word vnto the *Prete* by the said Page, that he had yet a little Pepper, to defray his owne and his companies charges, which hee desired to bestow vpon his Highnesse, and also foure Chests to keepe apparell in, and that when it pleased him, he might send for them. The Page departing with this message, returned suddenly, saying; That the King desired no Pepper nor Chests, and that the Cloathes which he had giuen him, were bestowed vpon Churches, and that the Pepper was giuen to the poore. For so it had beene told him, that the Grand *10* Captaine of *India* had done, in giuing all the cloathes sent him by the King of *Portugall*, vnto Churches. The Ambassadour answered, That whosoever had told him any such thing, had not told the truth, because it was all laid vp together, and kept in safetie. This answer beeing sent, there came another message, saying; That *Prete Ianni* commanded, that the Ambassadour without all delay, with his whole Company should come vnto him, and it was three houres at least within night. Forthwith we all beganne to put on our best Apparell, to goe whither we were sent for. When we were ready, another came which brought vs word, that wee must not go; and thus we stayed at home in our dumps.

Going to the court by night.

74. On Wednesday the first of Nouember, two houres within night, *Prete Ianni* sent for vs by a Page, and hauing put our selues in order, we went our way, and comming to the gate or entry of the first circuit or hedge, we found Porters, which caused vs to waite there a good houre, in the cold and dry winde. From the place where we stood, we saw many lighted Torches, standing before the other part of the circuit of the hedge, and men held them in their hands. While wee stayed thus in this entry (for they would not suffer vs to passe) our men shot off two Harquebusses, and suddenly there came a word from the King; demanding, why we had not brought many Harquebusses from the Sea. The Ambassadour answered, that we came not as Warriors, and that therefore wee brought not the said Armour with vs; but that we brought onely these three or foure Harquebusses, to shew pleasure and pastime. While we waited heere, fise principall men came vnto vs, among whom was one called *Adrugas*, to whom we were appointed at our first comming to the Court. As soone as they were come with the word of the *Prete*, forthwith they did their wonted reuerence, and we in like manner, and began to set forward, and hauing gone fise or six paces, but we and they stood still. They went on the side of vs, as if they had led vs by the hand, & on the one side of them, went two men with two Torches lighted in their hands, & two before them on the other side, and as they guided vs, each of them in his course began to cry with an high voyce, *Hurcha, Hiale, Huchia, Abeton*, which signifieth; *Him which you haue commanded me (Sir) heere I bring vnto you.* And when one had made an end, another beganne, and so they followed one after another, and vsed this speech so long, vntill we heard a voice from within, vttered by diuers, which was, *Casacinelet*, that is to say, *Come yee in?*

The Rites of admitting to presence. Strange Ceremonies of State. Ten pauses.

We went a little farther, and they began againe to stay, and vttered the foresaid words againe, vntill they heard an answer from within, as at the first. They made aboue ten of these pauses, from the first entrance vnto the second, and euery time when they said within *Casacinelet*, because it is the word of the King, they which were our guides, and wee with them, bowed downe our heads and our hands to the ground. And hauing passed the second entry, they began to make another song, which was this; *Caphan, Hiam Caynba, Afrangues, Abeton*, which signifieth; *The Franks which you commanded me here, I bring them, my Lord.* And these he vttered as often as the other words before, and attended an answer from within the house, which was like vnto the former, and so from pause to pause, we came vnto a Bed or Table, before which stood many burning Torches, which we saw in the first entry, and told them to bee eightie on euery side, in euen ranke, and that no man might goe out of the ranke: Those which held them, had before them certaine long Canes in their hands, which went ouer-thwart breast-high, and the said Torches stood all equall.

The presence.

This Bed was placed within the entrance of a great house of earth, whereof we spake before, which is built vpon very great Pillers of Cipresse; the rooffe standing vpon these Pillers, was Painted with certaine goodly colours, and it was Wainscoted directly downe from the top to the bottome. The couering of the rooffe, was of the Grasse of the Countrey, which lasteth (as they say) the life of a man. In the entry of the house, that is to say, at the vpper part thereof, were fise Curtaines prepared, which hung before the said bed, and the middlemost of them was embroidered with Gold, and the others were of fine Silke. Before these Curtaines, on the floore was laid a great and rich Carpet, and neere vnto it, two great cloaths of shaggy Cotton, like Carpets which they call *Basutos*: all the rest was couered with painted Mats, so that no part of the bare floore could be seene. And likewise from the one end vnto the other, the whole roome was full of lighted Torches, like those which we had seene while wee were without.

While

While wee thus stood still from behind the Curtaines, there came a word from *Prete Ianni*, Manner of audience. saying, abruptly, that he sent not Matthew into Portugall, though it were granted that hee went thither with his Licence, seeing the King of Portugall, had sent him many things, what was become of them, and wherefore were they not brought as the King had sent them? And that those things which the Grand Captaine had sent him from India, were already deliuered? The Ambassadour answered, that if it pleased his Highnesse to vouchsafe to heare him, he would satisfie him in all points; and suddenly he began to say, those things which the Grand Captaine sent him were already presented, and other and aboue, that he had giuen him part of that Pepper which he brought with him for his expenses. Touching the goods sent vnto him by the King of Portugall, the cause why they were not brought vnto his
 10 Maiestie was, because the Ambassadour which brought them, named Edward Galuan, deceased in Camaran, and besides that certaine Portugals deceased in the Ile of Delaca; among whom were the Factor and Interpreter, that should haue deliuered the same; and finally, the Grand Captaine, being not able to recover the Hauens of Maczua, through contrary winds, returned into India, and from thence departed home vnto Portugall; to the Captaine which succeeded in his place. The King of Portugall not knowing of the death of the said Edward, but thinking he had bene come to the Court of your Highnesse, gaue no further Commission, but only to come into the Red Sea to destroy the Moores, and to har-
 20 ken after his Ambassadour; which Grand Captaine, doubting that he should bee able to recover no Hauens, as at other times they could not, would not bring the goods which the King of Portugall had sent him which are preserved in India, layed up together, and that hee desired onely to conduct Matthew thither with him, that if it were his chance to recover any Hauens on the Coast of the Abissini, hee might there put him on shoare, and afterward send him those goods. And because it pleased God, that they arrived at the foresaid Hauens of Maczua, which is in his Territories, although it bee in the hands of the Moores, the Grand Captaine determined to send vnto him himselfe, Don Roderigo with these goods and Peeces wherewith he had preserved him, and that he should come in company with Matthew, onely to see him, and to learne the way against another time, when it should please him to send the Ambassadour of the King of Portugall, and that Matthew was departed out of this life at the Monasterie of the Vision. At the end of this Answer, returned another Message; saying, If three were slaine in Delaca, how escaped Matthew? Hereunto it was answered, that Matthew escaped because hee would not stirre out of the ship. And the Ambassadour besought him very humbly, to vouchsafe to
 30 giue him audience, because he should vnderstand the truth, and that likewise, hee would deliuer him in writing, that which the Grand Captaine had sent him by word of mouth, besides the Letters, and that by this meanes he should vnderstand the whole matter. Questions and Answeres passed too and fro, without any conclusion, and so they dismissed vs. The next day hee sent vs great store of Bread, Wine and Flesh, and two men which said, that they had charge to giue vs euery day our dyet and other necessaries.

75. On Saturday the third of Nouember, the *Prete Ianni* sent for vs, and we went at twentie foure of the clocke, and comming to the first gate or entrance, while we stayed a while, there came a message, that we should shoot off our Peeces, but without Bullets for hurting no bodie, and within awhile after, they let vs come in, and we vsed the like respite that we did before,
 40 and comming in betweene the Gates and the Curtaines, where we stood at the first, we saw the place of the Bed very richly trimmed, and decked as before, and all behind and before, was covered with embroydered cloth, and the people were more richly arrayed, and stood on both sides all in a ranke with their naked Swords and Daggers in their hands, and placed, as though they had bin to fight one with another. There were two hundred Torches lighted on both sides standing in a ranke, as they did the other day, and when wee were come in; he began to aske vs questions, and send vs Answeres by the *Cabeata*, and by a Page called *Abdenago*, which is Captaine of all the Pages, with these his Messages he carryed his naked Sword in his hand, and the first which he brought was this, *How many we were, and how many Harquebusses wee had brought?* and straic way there came another; demanding, *Who had taught the Moores to make Hand-gunnies, and great*
 50 *Ordnance, and whether they shot at the Portugals with them, or the Portugals at them, and who were most afraid of the Moores or the Portugals?*

Each of these Questions came at severall times, and we made a severall Answer vnto each of them. And touching the feare of the great Ordnance, wee said, that the Portugals were so well armed in the Faith of Iesus Christ, that they were not afraid of the Moores, and had they feared them, they would not haue come so farre off, without any necessitie to seeke them. Touching the making of Calieuers, and great Ordnance, they said, that the Moores were men, and that they had wit and understanding as well as any of vs.

He sent to enquire whether the Turkes had good Artillery? The Ambassadour answered, that
 60 their great Ordnance was as good as ours, but that wee were not one whit afraid of them, because wee fought for the faith of Iesus Christ, and they against the same. Then he demanded who had taught the Turkes to make great Ordnance? Wee answered him as before, to wit, that the Turkes were men, and had understanding and capacitie of men in all perfection, sauing in the Faith. Then hee sent to know, whether there were any in our company that could play at Rapier and Dagger, for that he would gladly see them play. The Ambassadour appointed George de Bren and another tall fellow
 Rapier and
 Dagger.

to play, which both did very well, and performed as much as was to bee expected, of men exercised and trained vp in Armes, and the *Prete* might very well behold them from behind the Curtaines, and tooke great pleasure at them, as we were informed.

Playing, singing and dancing.

When they had done, the Ambassadour sent to *Prete Ianni*, beseeching him to giue him audience, and to vnderstand the message which the Grand Captaine of the King of *Portugall* had sent vnto him, and that he would dispatch him, that he might returne to their Fleet against the time of their arriual, and not to put him to any more expenses without profit. An answer was returned, that *wee were but newly come thither, and had not seene one third part of his Lands and Dominions, and that we should take our pleasures: For assoone as the Grand Captaine should come to Maczua, he would send to speake with him, and then we should depart, and if the said Captaine would build a Fortresse in Maczua, or in Suachen, or in Zeila, that hee would see the same forth-with furnished all things necessary. And because the Turkes are many and we few, when such a Fortresse were builded with on the Red Sea, wee might very well finde out a way whereby wee might passe to Ierusalem, and the Holy Land with an Armie.* The Ambassadour answered, that all theses were the very things which the King of *Portugall* desired, and that still hee besought him to giue him Audience, and if hee were minded not to giue him audience, that hee might send him to the Grand Captaines Letters, and all the whole Message in writing, which he sent him to deliuer by word mouth. He tooke order that all things should be interpreted and written in the *Abissin* Tongue, and sent vnto him: which the Ambassadour did, requesting him instantly to giue him his dispatch. After this, the *Prete Ianni* sent him word, that *Seeing hee had brought him a paire of Organes, he should send him one to play thereon, and to sing, and so hee did.* Then hee desired that we should dance before him after our manner. When the Dance was done, wee signified vnto him that we were Christians, & prayed him to giue vs leaue to sing Masse after our custome, according to the Church of *Rome*. Suddenly we receiued an Answer, that *He knew well that we were Christians, and that since the Moores which were wicked and trecherous had their Prayers after their manner; wherefore should not we haue the same after ours? And that hee would send vs all things necessarie thereunto.* Assoone as wee were come to our Lodging, they brought vs three hundred great Loaves of Bread, and twentie foure Iarres of Wine, and the Bearer told vs, that there were hirtie Iarres appointed for vs, but that the Porters on the way had broken sixe of them.

¶ XII.

Of the Questions moued to the Ambassadour, by the appointment of PRETE IANNI, at seuerall times by Interlocutors, and lastly, in presence: wherein many points of their Religion are opened.

76.  He Sunday following many Questions came vnto our Tent from *Prete Ianni*, to the Ambassadour, and all of them were concerning the Armour which hee vnderstood, that the King of *Portugall* had sent him, and whether it should bee sent him out of *India*. The Ambassadour said, that the Armour and all things else which the King had sent him, should come the yeare following, and that the Grand Captaine would either send them or bring them himselfe, and so hee sent him word, and wrote him his Letters. Then he willed our men to shoot with their Calieuers, within the great hedge, and that certaine of his people should shoot also, and whether any of vs could make Gun-powder? It was told him, that there was none that could make the same, but that the Grand Captaine would send men with their Instruments to make Salt-peeter, and that hee would bring Brimstone with him in his shippes. Hee said that Brimstone might bee found in his Kingdome, so that there were Masters to make Salt-peeter, and that his Armies wanted nothing else, but the vse of Artillerie, and men to teach them to make the same, because hee was able to bring vnto the field an infinite number of Harquebusses, wherewith hee might subdue all the *Moorish* Kings about him.

And to this purpose a certaine *Genoues* which liued in the Court, told me, that hee had considered, that more Salt-peeter might be made in these Kingdomes, then in any other place of the World, by reason of the infinite number of Cattell which were there, and that heere bee also Mountaines that yeeld Brimstone. He sent vs word afterward, that he would haue vs shew him how we did put on those white Armours, which the Grand Captaine had sent him. Our men forth-with armed one of the company, where he might well see him. Then he sent for the Swords and Curasses, which the Ambassador and his company had brought, that hee might view them.

Sight of the Host.

77. On Munday at Euening, he sent for me, *Francis Alvarez*, to bring the Hosts vnto him, which he desired to see. I brought him eleuen of them very well made, not in boxes or pixes, because I knew the great reuerence which they vse to their Hosts, which is one Cake onely. And these Hosts had a Crucifixe vpon them, and therefore I carryed them in a very faire Dish of

of Porcellan couered with Taffata. I brought him the Surplice, the Chalice, the Altar-stone, the Ampull; and he viewed all, piece by piece, and willed me to open the Cloth wherein the Altar-stone was (which was sewed in a white Cloth) and so he did: which when hee had seene he willed to be couered. This stone on the vpper side was very smooth, square, and well made, and on the nether side was somewhat vneuen, according to the nature, and proportion of stones. He sent me word, that seeing in Portugall there were so good Masons, why had they not polished it on that side also; sayng, that the things which belonged vnto Gods Service, ought to be perfect and not imperfect.

The night being come, he sent for me that I should come to his Tent, and willed I should come in, and so I did. They set me in the midst thereof, which was all spread on the ground with exceeding fine Carpets. I stood foure yards distant from Prete Ianni, which sat behind those Curtaines: he commanded me to apparell my selfe, as if I should say Masse, which I did. When I was apparellled, he caused me to be asked, *Who gaue vs that apparell, whether they were the Apostles, or some other Saints?* I answered him, that the Church had taken it out of the Passion of Christ. He willed me to tell him what euery one of those pieces signified; and so I beganne with euery part, to shew him what they signified, according to the Passion of our Lord. And when I came to the *Manipulum*, I told him, that it was a little Cord, wherewith they bound the hands of Iesus Christ. Then comming to the *Stole*, I told him, that that signified the great Cord, which they cast about his necke to lead him this way and that way, and that the *Planet* signified the apparell which they put vpon him, for to mocke him * withall; Which when I had ended, he said againe with a very loud voyce, that we were true Christians, because we knew the Passion of Christ so perfectly. And whereas I had said, that the Church had taken this out of the Passion of Christ, he demanded, *which was that Church?* Because we held two head Churches in Christendome, the first of Constantinople in Greece, and the second of Rome in France. * I answered him, there was but one Church: and though it were granted, that Constantinople was the head in the beginning, yet it ceased now to be, because the Head of the Church ^b is there where Saint Peter was; because Iesus Christ said; *Thou art Peter, and vpon this Rocke I will build my Church.* And when S. Peter was at Antiochia, the Church was there, because the Head was there, and when hee came to Rome hee abode still there, and there the Head shall alwayes bee: and this Church ruled by the Holy Ghost hath ordained things necessary to say Masse. Moreouer, I proued this Church vnto him, telling him, that in the Articles of our Faith, which the Apostles made, the Apostle Simon ^c saith: *I beleene in a the holy Catholike Church.* But in the great Creed which was made in the Nicene Councell by three hundred and eightene Bishops, against the Heresie of Arrius, they say: *I beleene in one Catholike and Apostolike Church,* and this is the holy Roman Church, wherein Saint Peter sat, vpon whom God founded his Church, as he saith. And Saint Paul, a chosen Vessel and Doctor of the Gentiles, calleth it Catholike and Apostolike, ^e because in it are all the Apostolike powers, which God gaue to Saint Peter, and to all the rest of the Apostles of binding and loosing. They answered mee, that I gaue a good reason for the Church of Rome; but what could I say for the Church of Constantinople, which belonged to Saint Marke, and for the Church of Greece, which belonged to Saint Iohn the Patriarke of Alexandria? Hereunto I answered them, that their reason strengthened mine, because Saint Peter was Saint Markes Master, and he sent him into those parts, and so that neither Marke nor Iohn ^f could plant any Churches, but onely in the name of him which had sent them, which Churches were members of the Head, which sent those Preachers, to which Head all Authorities were giuen. And many yeares after, when Saint Ierome, and many other holy men had separated themselves, they ordained Monasteries of austere and holy life, wherein they might serue God, and that the said Monasteries could not be established without the Authoritie of the Apostolike Church, which is that of Rome; and how can they make Churches in preiudice of the chiefe Head, if they were not builded, and made by our Lord Iesus Christ? They yeilded hereunto, and the Interpreter said that Prete Ianni rooke exceeding great pleasure hereat.

Then they asked me whether in Portugall, the Priests were married? I told them, no. They demanded, whether we held the Councell of Pope Leo ^g which was made at Nice? I told them, yea, and that I had already declared, that the great Creed was made there. They asked me againe, how many Bishops were then with the Pope? I answered, that I had already told them, that there were three hundred and eightene. They replied againe vnto mee, that it was ordained in this Councell, that Priests might marrie, and if this Councell were sworne and confirmed, wherefore were they not married? I told them that I knew nothing else of that Councell, but that the Creed was made there, and that our Lady might be called the Mother of God.

Afterward, they told me many other things which there were ordained and sworne, which Pope Leo brake, and prayed me to tell them what they were: I answered them, that I knew them not, but that in mine opinion if he had broken any of them, they might be some of those, which concerned Heresie, which at that time was very great, but that he had approued things necessarie and pro-

boue one hundred yeares after the Nicene Councell) when that of Chalcedon was held. In the former Syluester and Iulius were Bishops of Rome, not Callers, or Rulers of the Councell, wherein Paphnutius withstood that adulterate enforced continency. Soc.

Ec. hist. l. 1. c. 8. Sozom. l. 1. c. 22. &c. The Author here confounds diuers Councils,

Who prescribed Massing Apparell.

The Mysteries of it.

* Thus indeed is hee mystically mocked, when Scripture and Preaching was turned into Iecture, Vesture and bodily exercise: as at Rome and in Abassia.

a Of this see before, all Western Christendome called Franks in the East. From the Holy Land Expeditions.

b A brieft of Popish Faith.

c Simon Zelotes

d This word (in) is twice here put in by some other Romish Zelotes, cont. August. Serm. de Temp.

131. credere Ecclesiam non in Ecclesiam, quia Ecclesia non Deus, &c. c. f. 181. De verb.

Dom. 61. Trac. in 10. 29. &c.

e Where?

f And wherefore then did Christ send the Apostles to preach to all Nations?

g No deeper reading either of the Priest or the Abassen.

For Leo liued (but was not present, nor by his Deputies President, &c.

Iulius were Bishops of Rome, not Callers, or Rulers of the Councell, wherein Paphnutius withstood that adulterate enforced continency. Soc.

fitable,

fitable, and that otherwise he should not have beene allowed, and canonized for a Saint as he is. Againe, he asked me concerning the Marriage of Priests, inquiring of me, whether the Apostles were married? I told him, that I neuer had read in any Booke, that the Apostles had Wives; after that, they went in company with Iesus, and although Saint Peter had a Daughter, yet he had her by his wife, before he was an Apostle, and that Saint Iohn the Euangelist was a Virgine: and that I had read, that after the death of Christ, the Apostles preached constantly the Faith in him, and doubted not to dye for the same: And that the Church of Rome, which is the true Church, hath ordained and confirmed, that after the imitation of the Apostles, no Priest should haue a wife, to the end they should bee more cleane, and more pure in their consciences, and should not bee busied all their time in bringing up their children, and providing for their living. Hereunto answer was returned me, that their Bookes com- 10

* Petronilla (as her age is calculated) must be younger then Peters Apostleship. But that Peter did not giue ouer his Wife, appears in Christs visiting it, and healing his wiues mother: in his leading about a Sister (would be more suspicious) and the whole tenure of Scripture & antiquity. Here are both in extremes, and leaue the truth for others to take vp. Theeues. Cunning trick. A Tent sent to say Masse in.

manded, * that they should be married, and that Saint Peter said euen so. They caused me to sing *Gloria in excelsis*, and certaine Verses of the Creede. At this conference, an Interpreter stood continually, and hard by him the Frier, which had conducted vs in our way. This Frier had beene sometimes in Italy, and vnderstood a little Latine. The Prete Ianni caused him to be asked, whether he vnderstood that which I spake? He answered him, yea, and that I had said, *Gloria in excelsis*, and the Creed, as they say it.

78. The night that I stayed so long with the Prete, before morning, the Ambassadour was robbed in the Tent where wee lodged, and they stole away two Cloakes of cloath, two rich Hats, seuen fine Shirts, &c. In the morning, the Ambassadour willed me and the Secretary to go to the Tent of Prete, to complaine and craue Iustice for this robbery, and so I did. But because 20 the Ambassadour had taken two Theeues, therefore while we were before the Tent of the Prete, a Woman came crying and crauing Iustice, and said; That the Ambassadour and his Company, the last night, by meanes of an Arabian, that knew the language of the Countrey, had taken away her Daughter by force, and led her to their Tent, of whom they had had their pleasure. And because her Sonne complained for the forcing of his Sister, they had taken him with the Arabian, which had deceiued the Maid, and laid to their charge that they were robbed. When they had heard vs and this woman, they made vs both all one answer, that is, that Iustice should be done, and so they dismissed vs. The same day, the Frier which was with me before the Prete, the night past, came with a rich Tent, but halfe worne, saying; That the Prete had sent vs it to say Masse in, and that immediatly it should be set vp, because the next day was the Feast of the 30 Angell *Raphael*, and that we should say Masse in it euery day, and pray to God for him. This Tent was Embroidered, and of Veluet of Mecca, lined within with very fine Cloath of Chant. They told me, that foure yeares before the Prete had wonne it in the warre, which he made against the King of *Adel*, who was a Moore, and Lord of *Zeila*, and *Barbora*: and the Prete sent vs word, that we should hallow the same before wee said Masse in it, because of the sinnes committed therein by the Moores. The same night it was presently set vp, and on the morrow, we said Masse therein, and all the Franks which were in the Court, for fortie yeares space, came thither to heare it, as also many people of the Countrey.

79. The eight of Nouember, the Prete sent for vs, and forthwith we repaired thither, the Ambassadour would needs carrie the Chests and bagges of Pepper, which hee had promised him. 40 When we were come vnto the entry of the first hedge, they held vs with certaine friuolous questions, concerning the Negroes which we had taken, for the goods which they had stolne from vs: and the demands continued so long, that in the meane while they sent to loose the said Negroes, without any conclusion or remedy for the theft, and the Prete sent vs three hundred Loaves, and thirtie Iarres of Wine, and certaine victuals of flesh from his owne Table, and so we returned to our Tent. They sent another time for vs, and when we were come, we stood a great while vpon certaine questions, why we tooke not our way from the Sea coast, toward the Kingdome of *Dancute*, which is farre the neerer way: and seeing we were Seruants to the King of Portugall, why wee had not Crosses marked in our flesh vpon our shoulder, because such is their custome, that all the Seruants of the Prete haue a crosse marked vpon their right shoulders? 50 They asked farther: seeing we had giuen away our Pepper, wherewith we would buy our Victuals for our iourney, &c.

80 The twelfth of Nouember, the Prete sent vs five very great and goodly Horses to our Tent, praying the Ambassadour to come with foure others of his company vpon the said Horses, to skirmish before his Tent: and it was very late, and the Ambassadour was not very well pleased that it was so late and darke: but streight-way there were so many Torches lighted, that it was as light as day. And here they skirmished in such sort, that they delighted the Prete very much, which skirmish being ended, wee returned to our Tent; whither suddenly the Prete sent vs three Iarres of Wine, much better then any he had sent vs before. The next day, he sent to the Ambassadour a Cup of Siluer, very curiously gilt, and made after our manner, as 60 well in the foot, as in the Bowle. On the foote were the Apostles grauen, standing vpright, and in the Bowle were certaine Latine letters, containing these words: *Hic est calix noui Testamenti*: A cloath of Gold for the Altar of our Church, and a Bason and Ewer made of black-wood, with red and white veines, as faire as euer we saw, to powre water vpon our hands, and sent

Skirmish on horsebacke.

Gifter

sent vs word, that we should send him all our names in writing. They were suddenly carried him: he sent backe to know, what *Roderigo* signified, and what *Lima* signified, and likewise what was the signification of all the other names. The cause of this demand was, because in this Countrey they neuer giue any proper name, which hath not some signification. The next morning, in the Tent of the Ambassadour, there was another theft committed; for while *George de Breu* was a sleepe, he had a Cloake stolne that cost him twentie duckats, and from vs also were stolne certaine bagges of stuffe, neither vse they any diligence to cause these things to be restored vnto vs, becaule (as wee haue said) there is a Captaine of the Theeues, which for the setting of the *Prete* his Tents, hath no other reward, but such things as they steale. This day the *Prete* sent vs a Saddle for a Horse, wholly beset with stones of *Cornallin*, (this Saddle, besides that it was very heauy, was also very badly made) saying, That the Ambassadour should ride thereon.

Signification of names.

Theeuery.

Theeuery.

81. The Saturday following, the *Prete* commanded all the Lords and great men of his Court, to goe and heare our Masse, which they also did the Sunday following; but there were farre more on the Saturday; for besides our Masse, we baptized also: and as farre as we could gather by their gestures, and as the *Frankes* told vs which we found in this Countrey and the Interpreters which were with vs, they marueiled much, and greatly praised our seruice; saying, That they could not speake against it, but onely because we gaue not the Communion to all those that were present at the same, and likewise to those which were baptized. The eighteenth of the said moneth, the *Prete* sent for me, and moued many questions vnto me, and among others, how many Prophets had prophesied of the comming of Christ. I answered him, that in my iudgement all of them had spoken of the same, to wit; one of his comming, another of his Incarnation, another of his Passion and Resurrection; all which concerned Christ. Likewise, how many bookes *Saint Paul* had made? I answered him, That it was one Booke onely, diuided into many parts, that is to say, Into many Epistles. Hee asked me likewise, how many Bookes the Euangelists had made? And I made him the same answer. Also, he asked, whither we had a Booke diuided into eight parts, which all the Apostles, being gathered together at *Ierusalem*, had written, which they call *Manda* and *Abetilis*? I answered, that I neuer had heard of any such Booke, and that it was not to be found amongst vs. Hee said, That they obserued all the Commandements written therein.

A strange Booke fastened red vpon all the Apostles.

Admitted to the sight of the *Prete*.The habite and stature of *Prete Ianni*.

82. On a Tuesday, we were sent for vnto the *Prete*, and it was the nineteenth of Nouember, and being come to the first gate or entry, we stayed a great while, the weather being verie cold, and the night well spent. Then we entred with the like pauses and stayes, as we had vsed twice before, and there was a farre greater assembly then before. And the greatest part had their weapons. There were also a great number of Candles and Torches light before the gates, so that it seemed as light as day, neither made they vs to waite any long while, but that the Ambassadour and nine of vs *Portugals* went suddenly in, euen hard vnto the first Curtaines: which when we had passed, we found others farre richer, and those also we passed, where wee found certaine rich and great Thrones, couered ouer with rich Tapistry. Before these Thrones, hung other Curtaines of farre greater riches, which they opened on both sides, wee standing neere vnto them. And heere we saw the *Prete Ianni* sitting vpon a skaffold, very richly adorned with sixe steps to ascend thereunto. He had vpon his head an high Crowne of Gold and Siluer, that is to say; One piece of Gold, and another piece of Siluer, and a Crosse of Siluer in his hand. His face was couered with a piece of Blew Taffata, which was to bee mooued vp and downe, so that sometimes all his face was seene, and sometimes all couered. On his right hand stood a Page, cloathed in Silke, with a Crosse of Siluer in his hand, whereon certaine Pictures were engrauen, standing vpright, which from the place where we stood, we could not perfectly discern: but afterward I had this Crosse in my hand, and saw those Images. The *Prete* was apparelled with a rich garment, Embroydered with Gold, and his Shirt was of Silke, with wide sleeues, which were like vnto a Surplice. Before him downeward, hee was girded with a rich cloath of Silke and Gold, like the Rochet of a Bishop spread abroad, and he sate in Maiestie, after the manner that they paint God the Father vpon the wals. Besides the Page which held the Crosse, there stood on each side another Page in like apparell, each of them holding a naked sword in their hands.

In his age, colour, and stature, he seemeth to be young. Hee is not very blacke, but of the colour of a Chest-nut, or of ruddy Apples, which are not very Tawny, and sheweth a great grace in his colour and countenance, and is of a meane stature, and is said to be three and twentie yeares old, and so he seemeth to be. Hee hath a round visage, great eyes, an Hawkes nose, and his beard began to bud. In his presence and pompe, he seemeth to be a great Lord, as in verie deed he is. We stood the space of two speares length from him: questions and answers passed too and fro, and all by the *Cabeata*. On euery side of this Throne, stood foure Pages in rich array, euery one holding a burning Torch in his hand. When these questions and answers were ended, the Ambassadour deliuered the Grand Captaines Letters to the *Cabeata*, which were translated into the *Abyssin* tongue, and he presented them to the *Prete*, who read them very readily,

His person described.

This thing is
now too truly
come to passe.

dily, and when he had read them, he said: *As these be the Letters of the Grand Captaine, so would to God they had beene the Letters of the King of Portugall his Father; howbeit, that these Letters were most welcome vnto him, and that he gaue God most hearty thanks, for hauing granted that great gift vnto him, to behold that which his Ancestors had neuer seene, neither did he thinke he should haue seene himselfe, and that his desires should be fully accomplished, if the King of Portugall would build Fortresses vpon the Ile of Maczua, and in the Towne of Suachen; because he doubted greatly, that the Turkes our enemies would fortifie in them, which if it came to passe, they would greatly disturbe both him, and vs Portugals: and for this purpose he would giue vs all things necessarie, as well people to worke, as Gold and Victuals: and to be short, whatsoever wee should stand in need of: And that in his opinion, besides the building of the said Forts, it was needfull to take the Citie of Zeila, and to build a Fort in the same, because it is a place which aboundeth with all kind of Victuals: and hauing taken this Citie, they might make sure worke, that no Victuals should passe to the Cities of Aden, Zidem, Mecca, and into all Arabia; and vnto Toro and Suez: which Townes being deprived of these Victuals, should be in a manner vndone, seeing they cannot haue Victuals but onely from these parts: that he would binde himselfe to finde all kind of Victuals, Gold and People, to defray all this charge, and for our Fleece: And on condition, that some meanes might be found to open a way, whereby hee might ioyne himselfe with Christian Princes, he would spare nothing that he had in the world. And in this discourse of taking these Townes, and making of these Forts, we spent a great time with exceeding great delight of the Prete.*

The Pope be-
like is Church
and all.

83. The next day, being the twentieth of Nouember, I was called for by the Prete, and among others, he moued these questions; that I should declare vnto him the liues of Saint Ierome, and Saint Dominicke, and Saint Francis, and of what Countrey they were, and wherefore in the Letters of the Grand Captaine mention was made, that the King of Portugall had builded Churches vnto these Saints, in the Townes which he had taken in the Kingdomes of Congo, Benin, and of the Indies. I answered, that Saint Ierome was borne in Sclauonia, and Saint Dominicke in Spaine, and gaue him large information of their orders, referring my selfe to the Booke which I had of their liues. Suddainly there came an answer, that I should shew him the liues of these Saints, seeing that I said that I had them. After this, they came with another question, whether wee did all things that the Pope commanded vs? I said, yea; for so wee were bound by the Article of our holy Faith, which confessed *One holy and Catholike Church*. Hereupon they answered me, that if the Pope would command them any thing which the Apostles had not written, they would not doe it: and likewise if their Abuna or Patriarke would commaund them any such thing, they would burne such a Commandement. After this, came another question, *Why there are not so many bodies of Saints in Ethiopia, as there be in Italy, Germany, and France?* I answered him, That in those Prouinces many Emperours had raigned, whose Ministers being Pagans, were very cruell, and that they which were conuerted to the Faith of Christ, were so constant in the same, that they chuse rather to dye for it, then to worship Idols, and that therefore there were so many Martyrs and Virgins. Touching this point an answer was returned, that I said the truth, which he greatly delighted to heare so plainly deliuered, and asked whether we knew, *How long it was since Ethiopia receiued the Christian Faith?* I sent him word, that I thought, that within a short time after the death of Christ, this land was conuerted by the Eunuch of the Queene Candaces, which was baptized by the Apostle Saint Philip. An answer was sent me, that by this Eunuch there was no more conuerted but the Country of Tigray, which is in Ethiopia, and that the rest was conuerted by force of Armes; as also he proceedeth in daily conuerting of diuers Kingdomes by the said force of Armes, and that the first conuersion of the Queene Candaces, was ten yeares after the death of Christ, and that from that time vnto this present, it had beene conuerted by Christians, &c.

* It was Philip
the Deacon.

Most part of E-
thiopia conuer-
ted by force of
Armes.

Single Com-
munion misli-
ked.

They come a-
gaine into the
Pretes presence

84. The next day, the Prete sent for my Booke, which is called, *Flos Sanctorum*, saying; That I should shew them the liues of the said Saints: I sent him my Booke, which presently they sent me backe againe by two Friars, saying, That the Prete willed them to write the name of euery Saint, in the *Abissin* tongue, and to place the same vpon euery figure. The next day, the said Friars were with their Booke to translate these liues. I durst not go to speake with the Prete, vnlesse I carried with me the Booke of the Kalender, because they asked me the day of euery Saint, and would needs haue me tell it them immediatly. On Saint Katherines day, being Sunday, the Prete sent certaine Canons and Priests, which (a Venetian Painter, called *Nicholas Brancalon*, which had liued aboue fortie yeares in this Countrey, and vnderstood the *Abissin* tongue, was their Interpreter) and that euery thing was excellently well handled, saying, That one alone said Masse, and that they gaue not the Communion to all the standers by.

This very day being Sunday, when wee were gone to bed, the Prete sent for vs, and being come vnto the first Curtaines, he caused vs all to put on our best apparell, and to come into the presence of the Prete, who sate vpon his Throne in the very same sort that he sate before. And here he talked with vs of many matters, and among other things, that the Franks which were in his Court might depart this Realme, when it pleased them, and the Ambassadour also with his Company, and that one Franke should stay behind, called *Nicholas Muzza*, by whom hee would send his Letters, which were to be made in Gold, and that therefore he could not write so soone.

XIII.
Of the Progresse of PRETE IANNI. Their Wrestling, Baptisme, Masse passages
of the dangerous Straits, coming to Saint GEORGES Church. Many
other Questions. The PRETES preparations
in his Travell.

85. **H**e flue and twentieth of the said moneth of Nouember, the Prete remoued in this order. He mounted on horse-backe with two Pages onely, and passed before our Tent, skirmishing and managing of his horse. And suddenly a brute went through the Campe, that the Negus was departed. And every man hastened to follow after as fast as they could. He caused fiftie Mules to bee deliuered vs, thirtie fine to carrie our Meale and Wine, and fiftene to carrie our other Stuffe, with certaine slaues, and we were recommended to a certaine Lord, called *Aiaz Raphael*. *Aiaz* is the title of his Lordship, and *Raphael* his name, who gaue vs euery day an Oxe. Wee departed, and on the Wednesday came vnto the Court, and lodged in a great open field vpon a Riuer side: Est-soones, there came a very honorable Frier to visit vs, which is the chiefe of the Kings Secretaries, and a great Diuine, and also the *Nabret* of the Friars of *Chaxumo*, and said, that hee came to visit vs on the behalfe of his Lord.

86. The second of December, *Lazarus de Andrada*, our Portugall Painter, being neere the Kings Tent, was asked whether he would wrastle; and hee wrastled, misdoubting no danger at all: and at the first bowt his legge was broken, he brake another Portugals arme. This Wrastler of the Prete, was called *Gabmariam*, which signifieth, *The Seruant of Mary*, and was a Moore, and is broad-shouldred, and a strong fellow, and worketh cunning with his hand in Silke and Gold. This day came newes from his *Grand Betudete*, which was in Warre against a King of the *Moores*, that he had vanquished him; and sent much Gold and slaues, and the heads of certaine great men which he had slaine.

30 At this time one Master *Peter Cordiero* a *Genoues*, had a Sonne borne of his Wife, which was a Negro, who requested me to baptize him within eight dayes, because they baptize not their male children before the end of fortie dayes. I baptized this childe the tenth of December, and thither repayed great store of people, and those of the most honourable and principall of the Court.

Baptizing of a childe.

87. Departing from this Countrey, we tooke our iourney by that way, by which wee came vnto the Court. And so great was the throng of people which trauelled on all sides, that for ten or twelue miles space, the people were so neere one another, that it seemed to bee the Procession on *Corpus Christi* day: and scarcely the tenth part are well apparelled. The rest are all clad in skinnies and other base apparell, and carrie all their riches with them, which are onely certaine pots to make Wine in, and Dishes to drinke in. And if they make no long iourney, these base people, carrie their poore Cottages all whole and couered as they are, and if they goe any long iourney: they carrie nought but the rafts onely, which are certaine small Poles; and the rich men cause their Tents to be carryed with them, which are very good and of great price. I speake not of the great Gentlemen and Lords; for with euery one of them is mooued as it were a Citie or a good Towne, as namely, their Tents carryed partly vpon slaues backes, and partly vpon Mules. We Portugals, and the Franks haue oftentimes considered the number of these Mules, and take them to be aboue fiftie thousand. The Horses are but few, for albeit there are very faire ones, yet because they know not how to shooe them, they quickly marre their feet: and if the Prete trauell any long iourney, all the Townes are full of furbated Horses, which are faine to follow softly after. The Mules of carriage are innumerable, and they ride as well on Male as Female Mules. There are great store of Hacknies which carrie burthens, and yet their feet are not furbated as the Horses be. There are many He-asses more seruiceable then Hacknies. They make many Oxen also to carrie burthens, and in the plaine and Champaigne Countries, the Camels carrie burthens.

Multitude of people.

Very poore. About 50000. Mule in the traine of Prete Ianni. Few good horses because they cannot shooe them.

88. The Prete seldome trauelleth in the high way, neither doth any man know whether hee goeth; but the Altar-stones, that is, their Churches, which are thirteene doe keepe the high way, although the Prete goe out of the way, and all the people commeth after in the way, vntill they find a white Tent set vp, and straite way euery man taketh vp his lodging in his place, and many times the Prete comes not to this Tent, but lyeth in Monasteries and other Religious Aoufes. In this Tent which is erected, they vse continually to sing and play vpon Instruments, as though the Prete were there in person, but not so cunningly as when he is there present. The Altar-stones are carryed with great reuerence, and alwayes by Priests that say Masse, and there be foure of them which carrie the same on their shoulders vpon a square Table, and foure Priests come behind to change courses in carrying of the same. They are couered with rich Embroyded red Cloth and cloth of Silke, and two Clerkes goe before with a Centor and a Crosse, and another

Thirteene moueable Court Churches.

Altar-stones carryed by Priests.

ther goeth ringing with a small Bell, and euery man and woman that heareth the same, goeth out of the way: and if hee bee on horse-backe hee strait-way lighteth, and giueth place, that the Church may passe. Likewise there alwayes goe with the Court foure Lions, each of them led with two Chaines, one before and another behind, and euery bodie maketh roome for them. We wayted on the Court till the twentieth of December, and came vnto those terrible Mountaines where the gates are, wherby we passed when we came first into the Countrey, and there they lodged vs.

The cause
why Prete Jan-
ni sheweth
himselfe to the
people thrice a
yeare.

After that the Tents of the *Prete* were erected, strait-way they beganne to make a very high Scaffold neere one of his Tents, because the *Prete* would shew himselfe to his people on Christmas day. And commonly he sheweth himselfe thrice a yeare, that is to say, on Christmas day, 10
on Easter day, and on Holy Rood day in September. And the cause why he thus sheweth himselfe thrice, is, because his Grand-father, whose name was *Alexander*, was kept three yeares secret after his death by his Seruants, who gouerned the Countrey all the meane-while: for vntill that time, none of the people might see their King, neither was he seene of any, but a few of his Seruants. And at the request of the people, the Father of this *David* shewed himselfe these three dayes, and this King also doth the like: They also say, that when he goeth to warre, he alwayes goeth open, that all men may see him, and also when he trauelleth.

89. On Christmas Euening at after-noon, the *Prete* called for me, and asked mee what Feast kept the day next following? I sent him word, wee kept the Feast of the Natiuitie of Christ. He asked me, what Solemnitie we vsed? I answered, that we kept our vsuall manner, and the solemnitie of three Masses. Hee said, that they did all things like vnto vs, saue that they vsed 20
but one Masse, and willed me to stay one of those three Masses which I would my selfe. Six of vs went and we prolonged the Mattins with Lessons, Hymnes, Psalmes and Prophecies, and searched all such things as wee could best sing and thunder out: and the *Prete* neuer departed from the gate of his Tent, which was as I haue said, neere vnto our Church: and two Pages neuer ceased to goe and come, and to inquire what it was the which we sung, specially when they perceiued vs to change the tune of the Psalmes, Hymnes, and Responsories. When this was done, and one man confessed, it began to be broad day, and I sent them word, that I would say Masse, and strait way we began a Procession, with a Crosse carryed vp before vs, and an Image of our Lady, and two Torches about the Crosse: and wee beganne the Procession neere the Circle 30
within our Tent. Suddenly the *Prete* sent vnto vs to make our Procession about his Tents, and sent vs foure hundred great Candles of white Waxe, to carry them lighted before vs, and would haue vs beginne our Procession with our *Portugals*, and the white people, and that his owne people should follow after. When the Procession was ended, which reached a great Circuit, wee began our *Asperges*, and I went to giue Holy Water to *Prete Ianni*, which I might easily sling from our Church, because he was neere vnto vs. There were with him, as I was informed, the Queene his Wife, Queene *Helena* his Mother, and the *Cabeata*, with other his familiar friends. In the Tent of our Church stood all the great Nobles and Lords of the Court, which could stand in the roome, and the rest stood without: and from our Altar vnto the *Prete* his Tent all the way was open, because he desired to see the whole Seruice of the Masse. 40

Merits of our
Lady for wo-
men.
Bookes of
Scripture.

90. The Procession, Masse, and Communion being ended, the Ambassadors and all the rest of his company were permitted to goe home vnto their Dinner, and I onely with mine Interpreter was stayed behind. Strait way that old Father, the Kings Schoole-master came vnto mee, and said, that the *Prete Ianni* greatly commended our Seruice, but desired to know what reason we had to suffer the Lay-people to enter into the Church, as well as the Clergie, and that hee was informed, that women also came into the Church. I answered him that the Church of God was not shut vp against any Christian, and that if Christ stood alwayes with open armes to receiue all that come vnto him into his glory in Paradise, why should not wee receiue them into the Church, which is the way to passe into Paradise: and as touching women, although in old time they entred not into *Sancta Sanctorum*, yet the merits of our Lady were such and so 50
great, that they were sufficient to deserue, that the feminine sexe might enter into the House of God.

They sent me word, that they had fourescore and one Bookes of the old and new Testament, and would know whether we had any more, or no: I sent them word, that wee had about ten times fourescore and one Bookes, which were drawne out of the aforesaid Workes, with many and more perfect Expositions. They told mee that they knew well, that wee had more Bookes then they, and therefore he desired me to tell him the names of those which they had not. And so they held me with Questions and Answeres vntill night, with Messengers that ceased not to trot vp and downe. I stood on my feet leaning vpon a staffe, and Questions came vnto mee not onely from the *Prete Ianni*, but also from his Wife and from his Mother Queene *Helena*: and I 60
answered them as God assisted me. At length, I became so wearie and hungry, that I could not stand any longer vpon my legs, and they gaue mee leaue to depart. I was no sooner gone away, but a Page came running after me, and said, that the *Prete* requested mee very instantly to giue him the Canopie that was ouer my head, prayng me to pardon him, that he had stayed me so long

long without meat, and requested me so soone as I had dined, to returne vnto him, because he desired to know other things of me. After I was come to our Tents, and had scarce dined, there came a message vnto mee to pray mee to returne, and so I was constrained to goe thither, and brought them with me which had sung Masse, and there we sung a *Compleu*, as well as we could. And the *Prete* with the Queene continually shewed exceeding great attentiuenesse.

The Service being ended, he commanded the Tent of the Church to be taken downe, because he meant to depart that night to passe those bad passages, which are on these mightie high Mountaines whereof we haue spoken before. and so hee did: for at mid-night wee heard a great noyle of Horses and Mules, and euery body saying, *The Negus marcheth*. And forthwith wee put our selues in order, and followed him. And when we came to the first passage, we were constrained with Lances to make our way behind and before vs, so great was the furie and the throng, and the multitude of people which pressed vs behind. Wee traueled till wee ouer-tooke the Kings Tents, which were pitched in the midst of those great Trenches, which are betweene the Rivers before mentioned: heere wee rested vntill mid-night, and till the *Prete* beganne againe to march, and we with him: and before morning, we were gotten out of those ill passages. And we heard afterward, that the same night in those passages there perished very many men, women, Asses, Mules, and laden Oxen: and in this second passage, called *Aquasaghi*, as wee haue said before, it was told mee that a great Lady being vpon a Mule, beeing led by two of her Seruants, all of them being tyed together, fell downe from that great heighth, and were torne in pieces before they came to the bottome: so terrible and fearefull are those Rockes and downefals, that it seemes they goe downe to Hell, to him that beholdeth them. This was our iourney without keeping holy the *Octau*e of Christmas, which in that Countrey is not obserued. I haue said before, that the Court stayed in other places fise or sixe dayes in remoouing, but at these passages they stayed three weekes, and the stufte of the *Prete* was about a moneth in passing, although they passed euery day.

91. The eight and twentieth of December, 1520. we drew neere vnto a Church which wee saw before, as we came into the Countrey, but we were not thereat, which is called *S. Georges*, vnder which they set vp the Pavilion of the *Prete*, and we lodged in our appointed place. The next day very early, the *Prete* sent to call vs, and signified vnto vs that wee should see the Church, which is great and all painted round about, the walls and paintings are very conuenient, where are many goodly Histories well set forth, and made in due proportions by a *Venetian*, called *Nicholas Brancalon*, of whom we spake before, and here his name is so put downe in writing, although in this Countrey they call him *Marconius*. The walls which are without the body of the Church, and meet vnder the couered circuit, which is like a Cloyster, were all couered from top to the bottome with whole pieces of Embroydered Cloth, of Veluets, and other rich Cloth of Silke. When we came into the gate of the open circuit, and were entring into the couered circuit, they caused the Clothes to be lifted vp, which were hanged ouer the principall gate, which seemed to bee couered ouer with plates, which at the first blush wee tooke to be of Gold, because they told vs so, but when we came neerer, wee perceiued, that they were but plates of Siluer, but gilt ouer, and it was laid so cunning as well vpon the gates, as in the Windowes, that it could not be mended.

The *Cabeata*, which is so great a Lord, was the man that went with vs and shewed vs euery thing. And the *Prete* also was present, but enuironed with his Curtaines: yet when we passed by him he might see vs and we him. Whereupon when he saw vs, hee could not containe himselfe, but needs he must send to know of vs, what we thought of that Church and of those paintings. We answered him, that they seemed vnto vs to bee things that belonged to a great Lord and King, which answer pleased him not a little. The rooffe or couering of this Church is framed vpon thirtie six Pillars of wood, which are very thicke, and as high as the Masts of Gallies, and couered all ouer with Wainscot, which are painted, like as all the wals round about.

After diuers fashions, hoping that I should haue bene dispatched, there were fetched out of the Church foure great and rich Canopies, which so soone as I saw them, I greatly wondred at although before I had seene many great and rich ones in *India*, which doe shadow those Kings, but none of that greatnesse and richnesse, whereat they reioyced that brought them, and ranne to tell it vnto the *Prete*, who suddenly sent for me vnto him, and standing in the gate of his Pavilion with the *Frankes*, which remayned in the Court, he willed them againe to be shewed vnto one in their presence, commanding me to view them well, and to tell him what I thought of them. I answered him, that they were exceeding faire, and that I neuer had seene in *India*, where many of the Kings vse them, neither fairer, nor richer. Then he commanded, that they should be set vp on the ground against the Sunne, so that they made a shadow like vnto a Tent, and willed them to tell me, that when he trauelled, and would rest himselfe and his wife together, he rested himselfe vnder the shadow of one of those Canopies, and tooke his repast, and slept vnder the same. These Canopies might well be of the bignesse of a great Cart-wheele, so that ten men might well stand vnder the shadow of one of them, & were couered all ouer with Silke. After all these Questions and Answeres, hee sent to know what hee desired most to drinke, whether

X x x x x

Wine

Diuers Wines.
The manner of
the Pretes ri-
ding in pro-
gresse.

* Bedene.

Curriers.

Betudetes with
great guards.

The Priests.

Wine of Grapes or of Honey, or of *Zauna*, which is made of Barley: His traueilling was after this manner: he rode vncovered aloft, with a Crowne vpon his head, compassed with redde Curtaines, very long and high: onely behind him and on both sides, and he was in the midst. They which carryed the said Curtains were on the outside of the same, & bare the same aloft vpon small Speares. Within the said Curtaines goe six Pages, which they call *Lagameneos*, which signifieth, *Pages of the head*, because the Mule which the *Prete* rideth on, hath a very faire ornament about her bridle, which hath in the cheekes of the bridle, two Cordons of Silke with goodly Tassels, and one of these Cordons, one Page holdeth on one side, and another on the other side, which lead the Mule, as it were by the head: then follow two other Pages likewise, one on the one side, and another on the other side, which lay their hands on the necke of the Mule, and two follow after in the same manner with their hands vpon the buttockes, almost vpon the Crouper. Without the Curtaines and before the *Prete* March twentie of the principall Pages in very good array, and before the said Pages goe fixe Horses, very faire and richly furnished, each of them being led by foure men, very well apparelled, to wit; two by the head, & two behind, with their hands vpon the Crouper, in such sort as the *Prete* his Mule was led. And before these Horses goe fixe Mules, saddled and very well furnished, and euery one of them likewise haue foure men to lead them as the Horses were led. And before the said Mules, goe twentie principall Gentlemen riding vpon other Mules, with their fine Serges * about their bodies. And then wee *Portugals* went before the said Gentlemen, for this place was appointed vnto vs. Neither may any Footmen or Horsemen, either on horse-backe or vpon Mules approach neere him by a great distance, for there bee Curriers which alwayes runne before vpon horse-backe, and if their Horses be tyred, they light and take others, which cause the people to stand out of the way, so that there is no bodie to be seene in the way. The *Betudetes* march with their Guard a great distance out of the way, and one goeth on the one side, and another on the other, at the least a Calleeuer-shot distance off: and if the way be Champaigne, sometimes they goe a mile and an halfe off, according to the qualitie of the Countrey. And if the way bee rockie and strait, and so continue any long space, and that it bee necessary that euery man must passe that way, the said *Betudetes* diuide themselues a mile and an halfe asunder, and one goeth before, to wit, hee which is on the right hand, and hee on the left hand commeth behind, with each of which Officers may be about fixe thousand persons, and as I said before; with these men alwaies goe foure Lions chained with great Chaines, both before and behind. They march also which carrie the Churches and the Altar-stones, whereunto they doe great honour and reuerence. Another thing the *Prete* carryeth with him whither soeuer he goe, for hee neuer stirreth without it, which are one hundred Iarres of Wine of Honey, and as many of Wine of Raisins, euery one of which Iarres may containe fixe or seuen draughts of Wine, and they are as blacke as let, and are very smooth and finely made with a couer of Earth, and then stopped vp, and no man dare bee so hardie as to come neere or to take any of them without the *Prete* his licence. They carrie likewise one hundred Paniers painted ouer and closed, full of Wheaten bread, and these came after the *Prete*, not farre distant from him, and they carry them in a ranke, and they came one after another, that is to say, first a Jarre, and then a Panier, and behind them came fixe men which are as it were Stewards of the house. And when they are come to the *Prete* his Pauilion, they vnlade all these things, and carry them in, and afterward he sendeth some part thereof to whom he pleaseth.

¶. XIII.

How the PRETE came to the Church of Machan Celacem, and of the Procession where-
with they receined him 3 Diuers Messages: Their twelfth Baptisme of the
ABVNAS Circumcision, Orders, Consecration of the Church
and Translation of NAHV. Diuers Questions
and Discourses.

Machan Cella-
cem.

93.  He first of January, 1521. we came vnto a great Church, which when wee came that way first, and passed neere the same, they would not suffer vs to see. The Church is called *Machan Celacem*, which signifieth, *The Trinitie*. Three miles before wee came at the Church, the *Prete* commanded eight Horses well furnished to be giuen vnto vs, wherewith we should ride before him skirmishing, managing and turning our Horses far better then they could, whereat he took great delight. When we were come within a mile of the Church, there came forth an infinite multitude of people to receiue vs, and there were so many Crosses, Priests and Friars of diuers Monasteries and Churches, that they could not be numbred, and to our iudgement they were about thirtie thousand. And we thought that the Friars came from farre Countries, because in this Kingdome of *Amera*, there were no Monasteries, because all the great Churches are the burials of their Kings. There were about two

two hundred with Miters, which are made like vnto great and high hoods of Silke. And like-
wise sixtie foure Canopies of those great ones, which might well be told, because they carried
them aloft aboue the people: but they were not so faire and rich, as those of the Church of Saint
George. All these Canopies belonged vnto Churches, where Kings were buried, because at their
death they leaue the same vnto them. This great multitude of people assembled, belonged part-
ly to the Churches and Monasteries, and part of them were of the Countrey, which came to
see the Prete, who rid all open, whom they neuer saw ride so before.

Two hundred
Mitted.

The Prete hauing lighted at the Church, and hauing made his Prayers, returned to his Pau-
lion, and straight-way sent for me, and willed that the Ambassadour and his Company should
goe to their lodging. Heere he demaunded of me, *What I thought of this great meeting and enter-
tainment, which was giuen vnto him by this great multitude, and whether the King of Portugall had
any such great entertainment, and of so great number of people? And that this people were farre more
then they seemed to be, because the most part of them were naked, and therefore appeared not to the be-
holders so many as they are, and that our people in France are well apparelled, and in order, and seeme
to be many more then they be; and that I should goe rest me with the Ambassadour, whom I met vpon
the way.* Againe, hee sent me word, that this Church was newly built, and that there was ne-
uer any Masse said in it, and that it was the Custome, that as many as entred thereinto, should
giue some offering, and that the Ambassadour should giue his Weapons, and I should giue my Cap
which I wore, and likewise each man should giue somewhat.

The Preteroda
open.

Custome of of-
fering in Chur-
ches.

94. The day following, the Prete sent vs word, that we should come and see the foresaid
Church, whither he was gone before. This Church is very great and high, and the Wals are of
white stone, wrought with Iron Chizels, with very goodly worke, vpon which they lay no
Transames, because they would not beare them, for the stones are not ioyned one with ano-
ther, nor seamed together, but onely laid one vpon another, without any Ligaments or firme-
nesse: and they seeme very faire, to a man that knoweth not how they are framed within. The
chiefe gate is made all of plates, as the gate of the Church of Saint George is, and beween
these platts are counterfeited stones, and Iewels set with very good Pearles, all very well set in.
Aboue the wall of the principall gate, are two Pictures of our Lady: very reuerendly, and well
made, with two Angels, all drawne with Pensill. They say, that a certaine Frier drew them
very liuely, and I my selfe was acquainted with that Frier. In this Church are three Iles
built vpon sixe Columnes, and the said Columnes are built of pieces of Free-stone, laid one
vpon another, and very well wrought: and the circuit without, and couered like a Cloyster, is
built vpon sixe Columnes of Wood, as great as the Masts of Gallies, and very high, and vp-
on the said Columnes, is Timber laid very flat, which maketh a very thicke Roofe; and doubt-
lesse, it is a wonderfull thing to thinke, how these people which are without any great wit,
were able to set vp these Pillers of Wood which are so high. About the Church are sixteene
Curtaines hanged, running which way so euer you will, and they are as deepe as the whole
piece is, which are Embroydered Cloathes, very rich and stately, and euery Curtaine is of se-
uenteene pieces fastned together.

Description of
the Church.

Artlesse people

Curtaines.

95. The fourth of January, the Prete sent vs word, that wee should remooue our Tent, and
our Church, and should cause it to bee carried a mile and an halfe from thence, where they had
made a Poole like a Pond or Lake, full of Water, wherein they went to baptize themselves vp-
on twelfth day, because this is their custome to baptize themselves euery yeere, on the same day
that Christ was baptized. And so the next day being the Vigil, we went and saw a great cir-
cuit enclosed with an hedge in a very large field, and they sent to know, whether we would be
baptized or no? I sent them word, that the manner of our Church was to baptize vs once only
in our Infancy.

Prete Ianni v-
seth to be bap-
tized once a
yeare: as also
his subjects.

All that night an exceeding great number of Priests, ceased not to sing, vntill the morning
ouer the said Lake, saying, that they blessed the said Lake. About midnight they beganne the
baptisme, and they say (which I beleue also to be true) that the first which was baptized, was
the Prete, and next vnto him the Patriarke, Abuna Marke, and the Queene the Prete his Wife.
And these three persons had cloathes about their priuities, but all the rest were starke naked, as
they came into the world: And about the rising of the Sunne, when the baptisme was in the
greatest heate, the Prete sent for me to come and see him, I went thither, and stayed there till
three of the clock, to see how they were baptized, and they placed me at an end of the said Lake,
ouer against the Prete, and they were baptized in this manner.

The Lake hath a great bottome, and it is plaine, and cut into the ground, very right downe
and square, and boarded round about, and in the bottome with Plankes, and ouer those Plankes,
it is couered with course Cotton-cloath, made like a Cerf-cloath. The Water was conueyed
thither by a little Gutter, such as they vse to Water Gardens withall, and ranne into the
Lake through a Pipe, at the mouth whereof hung a great Sacke, to straine the Water which
ranne into the Lake. And at my comming thither, the Water ceased running, because it
was already full of Holy Water, whereinto they had cast Orle. This Lake had on the
one side five or sixe steppes, and ouer against them about sixe yards distant, was made a little

The manner
of the bap-
tisme of these
people.

A great Frost.

Three dippings.

The Abuna.
His courtesie.Circumcision
is used in the
Country of
Prete Ianni.Miracles pre-
tended.Orders given
to thousands
at once.

A Sermon.

enclosure of wood, wherein stood the *Prete*, which had a Curtaine of blue Sindall before him, being halfe slit in twaine, and through this slit he might see those that were baptized, for his face was turned toward the Lake: in which stood that old Father, the Schoole-master of the *Prete*, with whom I had conference on Christmas day at night. This old man was naked as hee came out of his Mothers wombe, and almost dead for cold, because that night was a great Frost, and hee stood in the water vp to the shoulders, for of that depth the Lake was where they entred, which were to be baptized, downe by the said steps starke naked with their backes toward the *Prete*, and when they went out, they shewed their fore-parts as well women as men. These people came neere to the said Schoole-master, and he laid his hand vpon their heads, and thrust them downe thrice vnder the water, saying, in his owne Language: *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost*, crossing of them in stead of blessing. And if they were little children, they went not downe all the said steps, but the said Schoole-master came vnto them, and dipped them downe after the manner aforesaid. And as I haue said, I stood on the other side ouer against the *Prete*, so that when he saw their backes, I saw the fore-parts of those which were baptized.

This Poole or Lake, was compassed and couered with Tents of diuers colours, so well placed and ordered with such store of boughes of Orange-trees, Limons, and Citrons, that it seemed to be an exceeding faire Garden. The great Tilt that hung ouer the said Lake was very long, and all full of red and blue crosses of Silke, which gaue a great grace thereunto.

96. The next day after the baptisme, I went to visit the *Abuna*, whom till then I had neither spoken withall, nor seene, but onely at the Baptisme; beeing almost dead for cold, where I could not speake vnto him. He tooke exceeding pleasure at my visiting of him, and would not let mee kisse his hand, but rather would haue fallen downe vpon the ground to kisse my feet. And being set downe vpon a Couch, the beginning of his speech was, that he gaue most heartie thanks to God for our meeting together, and that hee conceiued exceeding great pleasure when those things were told him, which I had so often spoken vnto *Prete Ianni*, and especially concerning that Baptisme, in that I had vttered the truth so freely in his presence, wherein hee would not beleue the *Abuna* himselfe, because he alone was of that opinion, and that if he had one companion or two to helpe to backe him in telling of the truth, that hee would draw the *Prete* from many faults and errours, wherein he and all his people were plunged. And while we were talking of this matter, there came in a white Priest, the Sonne of a *Gibete*, that is to say, of a white man borne in this Countrey, and he asked me why we were not circumcised, seeing that Christ was circumcized? I answered him, that it was true, that Christ was circumcised, and that he would haue it so, because he would fulfill the Law which at that time was used, because hee would not be accused before the time for breaking of the Law, but that shortly after, hee commanded that Circumcision should cease. This Priest forth-with replied, that he was the Sonne of a *Franke*, and that his Father would not suffer him to be circumcized, and that when he came to the age of twentie yeares after the death of his Father, on an Euening going to bed vncircumcised, the next morning he found himselfe circumcised: and how might this come to passe, if God would not haue Circumcision? I answered him, that this was a notable deceit: for though it were granted that God had not forbid Circumcision, yet hee was not so worthy a person, that God would shew this Miracle vpon him, that is to say, of an imperfect man to make him perfect: and that if it were as he had said, that going to bed whole, he was found the next morning circumcized, it might be the Deuill that had done the same to doe him dishonour. The *Abuna*, and as many as were in the house, laughed exceedingly at this speech, and tooke great pleasure thereat: and this Priest afterward became an especiall friend to me and to all the *Portingals*, and came daily to heare my Masse.

After this, the *Abuna* caused Wine and Fruits of the Countrey to bee brought in, and would needs make vs a little Banquet, and sent vnto our Tents good store of Bread and Wine, and one Oxe. The eighth of Ianuary, the said *Abuna*, determined to giue Orders, and I went thither to see the manner which hee used in giuing of the same; which was in this wise: A white Tent was erected in a great Champaigne field, where were assembled betweene fise and sixe thousand persons to receiue Orders. Hither came the *Abuna*, riding vpon a Mule, and my selfe was in his company with an infinite number of others. And sitting on his Mules backe in the midst of that so great Assembly, hee made, as it were, a Sermon in the *Arabian* Tongue, and one of his Priests expounded it in the *Abassin* Language. I asked my Interpreter, what it was that the *Abuna* said: he told me that he said, that if any man there had two Wines or more, although any of them were dead, he should not become Priest, and if he did take Orders, he did curse and excommune him with the curse of God.

This speech being ended, hee sate him downe in a Chaire before the said Tent, and three Priests sate downe before him vpon the ground, euery man with his Booke, and certaine others which directed this businesse, caused all those which were to take Orders, to set downe on the ground vpon their heeles, and all of them stood in three very long rankes or allies, and euery ranke had one of those Priests, which held the Bookes and examined them shortly, so that some read

reade not past two words: and after this man went another Priest, with a Bason full of a white tincture, and with a plate made like vnto Seales dipped in the said tincture, and with the same they made a marke vpon the bare of their right arme, which beeing done, they rose from that place, and went and laye downe in the midst of the fields vpon certaine Hillockes of Earth, where they that were examined must stand, and there were very few which went not ouer this. This Examination being ended, the *Abuna* went into his Tent and sate in a Chaire, and this Tent had two gates, through which they caused all the Examinates to passe, one after another, and as they were presented before the *Abuna*, comming in at the one gate strait-ways, he layed his hand vpon their heads, and said certaine words which I vnderstood not, and then passed out by the other gate: neither was there any one of them to whom this Ceremonie was not done.

Their manner of giuing Orders vnto Priests.

Then he tooke a Booke in his hand, and read a great while on the same, holding a little crosse of Iron in his hand, and made many signes of the Crosse therewith vpon the whole Companie. This ended, a Priest went out of the gate with a Booke and read, as it might bee, the Epistle or the Gospel, and strait-way the *Abuna* said a Masse, which continued no longer time, then a man might thrice say ouer the *Psalme* of *Miserere mei Deus*: and strait-way he ministred the Communion to all those Priests which were Massing Priests, and were in number two thousand three hundred fiftie sixe, for they make these Priests of the Masse by themselves, and the Clerkes by themselves another day. And the *Abuna* told mee, that the Clerkes were ordayned to the de-

Two thousand three hundred fiftie six Priests

gree of Deacon, as Saint *Stephen* was. Yet I saw him make Clerkes and Priests altogether in one day, and that at oftentimes, because hee made them and gaue them Orders, very often, and alwayes in great numbers, because they come to him out of all the Kingdomes and Territories of the *Prete*, for there is none that can giue Orders but he. They are not registred nor haue any Letters of Testimonie or Certificate of their Orders. And because I haue spoken of the number of two thousand three hundred fiftie sixe, I could not haue knowne the same, vnlesse I had beene told it by him which had the charge to count them, and I thinke he told me true.

None but the *Abuna* can giue Orders.

97. The next day being the ninth of Januarie, the *Prete* sent for me; When I was come vnto him he said, that he vnderstood that I had beene to see his Priests consecrated, and asked mee what I thought of them. I answered, that I had seene two things, which though they had bin told me and confirmed by Oath, yet I would neuer haue beleueed them, to wit, the multitude of the Clergie, the Crosses and Miters which were at the receiuing of his Highnesse, and the entertainment which he made them. The second, was this so great and infinite number of Priests, which receiued Orders altogether, and that me thought that Ceremonie was very well performed; but that the dishonestie of the Priests wherein they came to take Orders, displeased mee not a little. Strait-way I was answered, that I needed not to maruell at any of these things: for as touching their meeting of him, there were no Priests that came thither, but onely those which belonged to the Churches of his Grand-father and Predecessor, which were builded in those parts, and that they bare those Miters, Canopies, and Crosses which were left vnto them: and that the Priests which receiued Orders were but a few, in comparison of the number that

they were wont to be, for alwayes they are wont to make five or sixe thousand, and that now they were so few, because they knew not of the comming of the *Abuna*, and that I should tell him what dishonestie I had seene: which was contrarie to the Order of the Church. I answered, that it seemed to mee a very dishonest and shamefull thing, that the Priests which were to be admitted to the ministratiō of the Masse, and were to receiue the bodie of Christ, should come almost all naked, shewing their Priuities: and that *Adam* and *Eue* so soone as they sinned saw themselves naked, and when they were to appeare before God did hide themselves: and that these beeing to receiue the Sacrament, which is much more, are not ashamed to shew all their dishonestie, and that I had seene a Frier which was starke blind, which neuer had eyes, and another which was lame of his right hand, and foure or five which were lame of their legs, to haue receiued Orders of Priest-hood, which ought to haue beene sound, and to haue all their limmes

sound and perfect. Suddenly hee sent me word againe, that he was highly pleased, that I had marked ouer every thing particularly to tell him my opinion, that afterward things might be amended, saying, that hee would take order for the Priests, that they should not goe naked, and that touching those which were lame, I should conferre with *Aiaz Raphael*, which was present at this giuing of Orders. This *Aiaz Raphael*, is that honourable Priest and great Lord, to whom wee were recommended when wee came first vnto the Court.

No Priest ought to bee blind, lame, or maymed in bodie.

Aiaz Raphael.

The tenth of Januarie, the *Abuna* made Clerkes. These are not examined, because they make them of all Ages, even children that are carryed in the armes and cannot speake, vntill they bee fiftene yeares old, whiles yet they haue no Wiues, but if they haue Wiues they cannot bee Clerkes: and those which take Orders to be Priests of the Masse, while they bee Clerkes, may take Wiues, and so become Priests: for if they become Priests before they take Wiues, afterward they may not marry. The men beare the children in their armes, and cannot speake nor goe, because the women may not come within the Church. Their crying seemeth to bee like the crying of so many yong Kids, because they are there without their Mothers, and are halfe

Clerkes or Deacons of children.

Infancy and
illiterature
admitted,
Manner of ma-
king Clerkes.

How they make
very Babes to
receiue the
Communion.

Abassia without
an Abuna three
and twentie
yeares.

Ciriacus affe-
cted to Rome.

Age of the
Abuna.

Fewer Jewish
Ceremonies.

Peter de Co-
uillan.

starued for hunger: for this Ceremony is not ended vntill night, and they are enforced to con-
tinue without eating or sucking, because they must receiue the Communion. It is certainly
knowne, that these little ones are not able to reade, and the great ones also can reade but little.

And they make them after this sort. The *Abuna* sitting in a Chaire, which is in a Tent pla-
ced in a Church, caused these Clerkes to passe along before, and hauing read a while in a Booke,
he pulleth from each of their Temples a tuft of haire: then hee readeth a Booke, and causeth
them to passe by a second time, and to touch the Keies wherewith they open the gate of the
Tent, and they put a Cloath vpon their heads, and at euery one of these actions they must once
passe by: and likewise another they put a blacke Earthen Dish in their hands, in stead of the
Ampulle, because they haue no *Ampullas* to serue at the Masse, and at each of these Ceremo-
nies they read a little while, which being ended, the *Abuna* saith Masse. And it is a fearefull
thing to behold the danger which these little Infants suffer, which perforce they make to swal-
low downe the Communion, by powring water downe into their throats, as well because the
Host is made of course Dough, as also by reason of their tender age, and the continuall mourning
which they make.

In the end, the *Abuna* prayed me to goe and dine with him at his Tent, and heere hee desired
me to tell him, what I thought of this Ceremony, whereat I was present all the while, and had
seene euery thing particularly, and said that the *Prete* had sent him word to talke with mee
concerning this Ceremony: I said, that his Ceremony liked me very well, But to admit Infants
new borne vnto Orders, and great Lubbers without learning, me thought it vnseemely to thrust Asses
into the house of God. He answered mee, That God had sent him hither to tell the truth, and
that he did nothing, but as He was commaunded, and that the *Prete* had willed him to make all the
Children Clerkes, and that they would learne in time to come, because he was now very old, and they
wist not when they should haue another *Abuna*, seeing this Countrey heretofore had beene three and
twentie yeares without an *Abuna*, and that not long since, they had sent two thousand ounces of
Gold to Cairo, to haue an *Abuna*, and by reason of the Warres betweene the Soldan and the Turke,
they had sent none, and yet they had detained the Gold, and that now God had caused me to come thither
to tell them the truth, that this Countrey might speedily be provided of an *Abuna*, because hee was not
of any long life. After this, I went many times to see these Ceremonies, of giuing Orders to
these Priests and Clerkes, because euery day in a manner they receiued Orders, in great multi-
tudes, which came thither daily, and they obserued not the Ember-weekes, nor the Lent. And
if at any time there were any intermission of giuing these Orders, straight-way some would
come vnto me, and take acquaintance of me, although I knew them not, beseeching mee for
Gods sake, to pray the *Abuna* to giue them Orders, because they dyed for hunger while they
waited there: and I befought him in the Euening, and straight-way he commaunded the Tent
to bee set vp, to giue Orders the next day following. And certainly, I neuer requested him,
but immediatly he did the same, for he bare me exceeding good will, and tooke me as if I had
beene his owne Brother.

98. The cause why this Countrey continued three and twentie yeares without an *Abuna*,
they say was this; That in the time of the great Grand-father of this present King, whose
name was *Ciriacus*, the Father of *Alexander*, which was the Father of *Nahu*, the Father of
this present *Prete Ianni*, the *Abuna* dyed: and the said *Ciriacus* stayed ten yeares, and would
send for none, saying; That he would take none from *Alexandria*, and that if none came from
Rome, he would haue none at all, and that he would rather haue all the soules of his people to
perish, then to receiue an *Abuna* from the Countrey of Herericks: and at the end of ten yeares
he dyed, without hauing of any *Abuna*; and his Sonne *Alexander* stood stiffly in the same pur-
pose, for the space of thirteene yeares. At length the people complained vnto him, saying;
That now there were scarce any Priests or Clerkes remaining to serue the Churches, and that if
they were decayed, the Churches also would grow to decay; and consequently, the Christian
Faith. And the said *Alexander* sent for an *Abuna* to *Cairo*, where at that time the Patriarke
of *Alexandria* remained, which sent him two, that the one might succede the other, and both
of them were liuing while wee were there. And during our aboad there, *Abuna Iacob* dyed,
which was to succeed this man who now liueth: who told me, that he came into this Countrey
fiftie five yeares past, and that he was as white and hoary-headed, as he was at that instant, and
when he departed out of *Cairo* he was about fiftie, or five and fiftie yeares old, so that he think-
eth he is about one hundred and ten yeares of age. And truly, he that beholdeth and considereth
him well, would take him to be no lesse.

And farther he told me, that the *Prete* which sent for him, was a most Christian Prince, and
that the Saturdaies were not kept holy as long as he liued, nor any of these Jewish Ceremonies
were obserued, and that they did eate Hogges flesh and flesh although it the throat were not cut:
for all these things belong vnto the old Law: and that it was not long, since two Franks came
vnto this Court, to wit: one *Venetian* called *Nicholas Brancalion*; and one *Portugall*, called *Peter*
de Couillan, which when they came into the Countrey, before they came into the Court, began
to fast and keepe the customes of the Countrey, (for as yet in many places, the Saturday was
kept

kept holy) and did not eate meates that were forbidden. The Priests and Friers seeing this, which tooke vpon them to know the things continued in the Bible, much better then of any other Bookes, came to complaine to the *Prete*, saying; What thing is this, that these *Frankes* which now come from the Kingdomes of *France*, being both of them of feuerall Countries, do obserue the ancient customes of the *Abyssines*: how then commaundeth this *Abuna*, which is come from *Alexandria*, that we should obserue those things which are not in our Bookes, and hereupon the *Prete Ianni* forthwith commanded, that they should againe obserue the ancient customes of the *Abyssines*. *Abuna* reported all these things vnto me, giuing many thanks to God for our arrivall. This *Abuna* liued in his Tent after this manner, (for I neuer saw him in

Heere are omitted prophecies of the *Frankes*, &c.

The habite of *Abuna Marke*

* Scaporrall.

His pompe,

Consecration of the Church
Machan Celacem

Foure hundred
Canons.

Two thousand
Priests, and as
many Clerkes;

Translation of
the Kings body

The Patr. and
Queenes.

10 an house but once.) He sitteth continually vpon a Couch, couered with a faire Cloath, as the great Lords of this Countrey vse to doe. He hath his Curtaines about the said Couch, and likewise ouer the same. His apparell is White, that is to say, Made of most pure and fine Cotton Cloath which commeth out of *India*, where they call it *Cacha*: and it is made like a Cardinals Cloake or Paviell, which is ioyned and buttoned together on the breast. He hath also a Scaporrall, which is likewise closed before, made of Blew Silke Chamblet, and on his head a great broad Miter made likewise of Blew Silke. Hee is, as I haue said, a very old man, of small stature, and bald: his Beard is very white, but small, and long in the midst; for in this Countrey the Church-men shauie not their Beards: he is very gracious in his speech and gestures, as any man may be: he neuer speaketh, but he giueth God thanks. When he goeth forth to the Tent

20 of the *Prete*, or to giue holy Orders, he rideth vpon a goodly Mule, being very well accompanied, as well with men riding vpon Mules, as others following him on foote; he carrieth a little Crosse of Siluer in his hand, and they carrie three Crosses vpon stauies on each side of him, which reach vp higher then he is on his Mule. He carrieth with him whither soeuer he goe, two high Canopies which are to be set on foote, as great as those of the *Prete*, but not so rich. Moreouer, foure men goe before him with Whips, which make the people giue way on both sides: the ground is couered wheresoever hee trauielleth with Children, Young men, Friers, and Priests, which all runne crying after him. I enquired what they said, and I was answered; that they said, *May it please your Lordship to make vs Clerkes, and God Grant you a long life.*

99. The twelfth of January, 1521. was a very great assembly of Clerkes and Priests in the said Church, and they continued all that night with Singing and Musicke, and said, That they did consecrate the same, wherein as yet no Masse had beene said, but they said it in another little Church which was neere adioyning, wherein the Father of this *Prete* was buried, and that they would remooue and carrie him into this great Church, which hee begonne in his life time, and his Sonne had finished, and that they were thirteene yeares since hee deceased, and on a Sunday in the morning, they said Masse there. This Church hath now at the first foundation thereof, about foure hundred Canons, with great reuenues, but when the number shall increafe, as it is fallen out in other Churches, they shall not haue sufficient to sustaine themselves. The fifteenth of the said moneth, wee were called for, and they caused vs to goe to the said Church, where there were gathered together about two thousand Priests, and as many Clerkes, which

30 were assembled before the principall Porch of the great Church, and in the circuit which is like a Cloyster, and the *Prete* stood compassed in his Curtaines within a Clozet, which vseth to be placed vpon the steppes of the principall gate, and all the Clergie stood before him, which said a long Seruice, with singing, musicke, dancing, and leaping. Which being ended, he caused all the people, and the Clergie, and vs, to goe forth of the Church, and they placed vs toward the North, willing vs not to stirre from that place: and all the Clergie and people went to the little Church, where the Kings Father was buried, which also was towards the North, and therein entred as many as could stand. And as we stood heere, an exceeding great Procession in very good order, beganne to passe betweene vs and the Church, and they carried the bones of the dead King to the great Church, and the Patriarke *Abuna Marke* went in this Procession, being

40 very feeble, and two men held him vp vnder the armes, by reason of his old age. Then followed the Queenes, to wit, *Queene Helena*, the *Prete* his Mother, and the *Queene* his Wife, each of them vnder a blacke Pavilion, in mourning wise, (for before they vsed white Pavilions) and likewise all the people were clad in blacke cloath, weeping and howling with mightie cries, saying; *Abeto, Abeto*, that is to say, *Our Lord, Our Lord*. And they pronounced the same with so abrupt and pitifull a voyce, and with so great abundance of teares, that they made all the multitude to weepe. The Coffin wherein the bones lay, was carried vnder a Pavilion of Embroydered cloath of Gold, compassed about with Curtaines of Damaske, and so they entred into the Church by the side-gate, where we stood, and as many people as the place would hold; and we went to this Ceremony at the Sunne rising, and returned to our lodging at night, by

50 Torch-light.

100. Straight-way we were led into a Tent which was newly set vp, and was placed on the backe side of the great Church in that circuit, and it was very long and flat, and all the Roofe was couered with Crosses, made of Silke, like those of the Tent which was placed ouer the Lake, where they were baptized, and within it was dressed with exceeding faire Tapistries, so that

A royall feast. that it seemed to be a Hall very well furnished : and here he sent vs word to recreate our selues a little for his sake, refreshing our selues, and discoursing of our priuate matters. And while we thus discoursed a good while, we saw comming in very good order, many Iarres of Wine, and a great basket of fine Bread, and great store of meate borne in great Platters, made of blacke earth, very faire, and excellently wrought, which seemed to be of blacke Amber. The meate was made of diuers sorts of Flesh, dressed after sundry fashions, somewhat after our manner, among which, were Hennes all whole, great, and fat, some sodden, and some roasted : and in other Platters came other Hens, which seemed to be Hens indeed, but were onely the skins, in such sort, that they had taken out the flesh and all the bones, with wonderfull diligence, so that the skinne was not broken in any part, but was perfectly whole, and then mincing the flesh verie small, and mingling it with certaine delicate Spices, they filled the same againe with it, which, as I haue said, was perfectly whole, and wanted nothing but the necke and the feete, from the neather ioynt downe-ward, neither could we at any time discern how they could get out the bones, or how they might flay them, and yet could perceiue no rupture at all. We fed very well of these Hens, to our contentment, because they were so good and delicate. Then brought they in grosse and fat meate, so handsomly drest, that wee knew not whether it were sodden or roasted. Afterward certaine White-meates were brought in, in other Platters, and meats of other colours, made partly of flesh stamped, with the sinewes taken out, and part of Birds, and diuers Fruits of the Countrey, and in some of them was store of Butter, in others Hennes suet : of e- uery one of them we tasted, which seemed vnto vs very good and delicate : and we wondred how it was possible, that they should haue so good Cookes in that Countrey. Among the Iarres of the Wine of Raisins, which were all of that Earth like blacke Amber, there was one of Crystall Glasse, with a great Bowle of Crystall, all gilded ouer, and another great Bowle of Silver, Enamuled all ouer with foure exceeding fine stones, which seemed to be Saphires set in the same, standing in a square case, beset with many Rubies, and this Bowle was very faire and rich. When we had eaten as much as we thought good, the *Prete* sent vnto vs, requesting vs to sing and dance, and to recreate our selues after our owne manner.

101. The eight and twentieth of January, he willed vs to come vnto the great Church, and caused vs to be placed before his Curtaines, which were aboue the place of the steps, which are neere vnto the principall gate. Here was an infinite multitude of Clerkes, which, as they did at the moouing of his Fathers bones, did nought else but sing, dance, and leape, and in their leaping, did alwaies touch their feete with their hands, first one foote, and then another : and when we had stayed there a good while, he sent to aske vs, whether they sung after this manner in our Countrey ? We answered him, no : because our singing was more quiet and plaine, as well in voyces as in body : for we neither danced nor stirred a whit. He replied : Seeing that our custome was such, whether we thought that his was ill done ? We sent him word, that the things belonging vnto God, after what manner soeuer they be done, seemed alwaies to be wel done. This ceremonie being ended, they began to goe about the Church with five and twentie Crosses, and five and twentie Censers, carrying their Crosses in their left hands, as it were Standards, and the Censers in their right hands, casting Incense vpon them without any spare. And vpon the steppes where we stood, were two great Latton Basons, gilded and wrought about, full of a kind of Incense, sweeter then that which is brought into these parts : and as often as they passed by, they cast great quantity thereof into the Censers, and they which went about in Procession, were clad in very rich Copes, and Hoods, made after their fashion, and so were they which danced and sung.

102. The nine and twentieth of January, the Ambassador and all the *Frankes* (whereof some were come to this Court before vs) with all his Company, went to visite the *Abuna Marke*, because he had not as yet spoken with him. We found him as before, sitting vpon a Couch. The Ambassador would haue kissed his hand, but he would not suffer him, but gaue him the Crosse to kisse, which he alwaies carried in his hand, and so he did to all the rest. As soone as we were set, the Ambassador said, that hee was come to visite him in the name of the Grand Captaine, and prayed him to pardon him, that hee came no sooner to him, because they would not suffer him to visite any body. The *Abuna* answered him, that he ought not to maruaile thereat, for it was the custome of that Court, not to suffer any stranger to goe vnto any mans house, and that this was not by the consent of the *Prete*, which was a good and godly man, but of the Courtiers which are malicious. The Ambassador told him, that the King of *Portugall* was informed of his bounty and holinesse, by his Brother *Matthew*, and also by others, and that therefore he besought him to keepe the *Prete Ianni* constant and immutable in this enterprize, of chasing and destroying of the *Moores*. The *Abuna* answered, That he was no Saint, but a poore Sinner, and that *Matthew* was none of his Brother, but was a Merchant, and his friend, and although hee came with lies, yet was it manifest, that his comming was ordained by God, seeing it turned to so good seruice and profite, &c.

¶ XV.
A Discourse of PETER COVILLAN: Of the PRETES gifts and presents,
and the Portugals quarrels, and their licence to depart out
of the Countrey.

103. **¶** Hereas I haue spoken often in this Booke of *Peter de Couillan Portugues*, being The Storie of
an honourable person, and of great credite with *Prete Ianni*, and all the Court; *Peter Couillan*
10 It is conuenient that I should declare how he came into this Countrey, and

that he is my spirituall sonne, and that I haue oftentimes confessed him, because in three and
thirtie yeeres while he liued in this Countrey, he told me that he neuer was confessed, because
the custome here is not to keepe that secret which is vttered in confession, and that therefore
he went into the Church, when he confessed his sinnes vnto God. His beginning was thus: He
was borne in the Towne of *Couillan* in the Kingdome of *Portugall*, and being a boy, he went into
10 *Castile*, and gat into the seruice of *Don Alfonso* Duke of *Simle*; and when the warre began be-
tweene *Portugall* and *Castile*, hee returned home with *Don Iohn de Gusman*, brother to the said
Duke, which placed him in the house of *Alfonso* King of *Portugall*, who for his valour presently
made him a man at Armes, and hee was continually in that warre, and serued also abroad in
20 *France*. After the death of King *Alfonso*, he was one of the Guard of the King *Don Iohn* his
sonne, vntill the time of the treasons, when he sent him into *Castile*, because hee spake the *Ca-*
stilian Tongue very well, to spie out who were those Gentlemen of his Subiects, which practi-
sed there against him. And returning out of *Castile*, he was sent into *Barbarie*, where he stayed
a time, and learned the *Arabian* Tongue, and was afterward sent to conclude a Peace with the
King of *Tremizen*: and being returned, he was sent againe to the King *Amoli bela gegi*, which
restored the bones of the Infant *Don Fernando*. At his returne, he found that the King *Don Iohn*,
desiring by all meanes that his ships should find out the Spicerie, had determined to send by
land certaine men to discover as much as they might. And *Alfonso de Paima* was chosen for
30 this enterprize, a Citizen of *Castle Blanco*, a very skilfull man, and very expert in the *Arabian*
Tongue.

Confession
not vsed here.

His life in his
youth.

When *Peter de Couillan* was returned, King *Iohn* called him, and told him secretly, That
hauing alwayes knowne him loyall and his faithfull seruant, and readie to doe his Maiestie
good seruice, seeing he vnderstood the *Arabian* tongue, he purposed to send him with another
companion, to discover and learne where *Prete Ianni* dwelt, and whether his Territories rea-
ched vnto the Sea, and where the Pepper and Cinamon grew, and other sorts of Spicerie, which
were brought vnto the Citie of *Venice* from the Countries of the *Moores*; seeing hee had sent
for this purpose one of the House of *Monterio*, and one Frier *Anthony* of *Lisbon*, Prior of *Por-*
ta de Ferro, which could not passe the Citie of *Ierusalem*, saying, That it was impossible to tra-
40 uell this way without vnderstanding the *Arabian* tongue, and therefore seeing he vnderstood the
same well, hee prayed him to vnder-take this enterprize, to doe him this so principall seruice,
promising to reward him in such sort, that he should be great in his Kingdome, and all his Poste-
ritie should alwayes lue contented. *Peter* answered him, That he kissed his Maiesties hands for
the great fauour which he had done him, but that he was sorry, that his wisdom and sufficien-
cie, was not answerable to the great desire he had to serue his Highnesse; and yet neuerthelesse,
as his faithfull seruant he accepted this message with all his heart.

P. Cou. sent to
discover the
Spices, and
Prete Ianni his
Countrey.

And so in the yeere 1487. the seuenth of May, they were both dispatched in Saint *Arren*, the
King *Don Emanuel* alwayes there present, which at that time was but Duke, and they gaue
them a Sea-Card, taken out of a generall Map of the World, at the making whereof was the Li-
50 centiate *Calzadilla*, Bishop of *Viseo*; and the Doctor *Malter*, *Roderigo*, inhabitant of *Pietre Nere*;
and the Doctor *Malter*, *Moyse*, which at that time was a *Iew*: and all this worke was done ve-
ry secretly in the house of *Peter de Alcazona*, and all the forenamed persons shewed the vter-
most of their knowledge, as though they should haue bene Commanders in the Discoverie, of
finding out the Countries from whence the Spices come, and as though one of them should haue
gone into *Ethiopia* to discover the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, and as though in those Seas there
had bene some knowledge of a passage into our Westerne Seas; because the said Doctors, said,
they had found some memoriall of that matter. And for the charges of them both, the King ap-
pointed foure hundred Cruzadoes, which were giuen them out of the Treasurie of the Garden of
Almarin: and (as I haue said) the King *Emanuel* was alwayes present, who at that time was
60 Duke. Besides this, the King gaue them a Letter of credit in all parts of the Leuant, that if they
fell into any necessitie or perill, they might be succoured and aided thereby. One halfe of these
foure hundred Cruzadoes, they desired to haue in readie money, and the other halfe they gaue
to *Bartholmew Marchioni* a *Florentine*, to be payed them in *Naples*.

A consultation
for the seeking
out of the
South-east
passage.

The small be-
ginning of the
Portugal great-
nesse in the
East.

And hauing receiued the Kings blessing, they departed from *Lisbon*, and came vnto *Barcelona*

on *Corpus Christi* day, and thence vnto *Naples* on *Saint Iohns* day; when their Bills of Exchange were payed them, by the Sonne of *Cosmo de Medices*. From *Naples* they went vnto the Ile of *Rhodes*, and here they found two *Portugall* Knights, the one called *Frier Gonsaluo*, and the other *Frier Fernando*, in whose house they lodged; and after certaine dayes, they tooke their voyage for *Alexandria*, in a ship of *Bartholmew de Paredes*; hauing first bought many Iarres of Honey, to shew that they were Merchants. When they were come to *Alexandria*, they both fell grievously sicke of an ague; and the *Cadi* tooke all their Honey from them, supposing they would haue dyed. But being recovered, they were payed as they would themselves, and hauing bought sundrie sorts of merchandize, they went to *Cairo*, where they stayed till they found companie of certaine *Moores*, called *Magabrini*, of the Kingdome of *Fez* and *Tremizen*, which went to *Aden*, and in their companie they went by Land to *Tor*; where taking ship, they sailed to *Suachen*, vpon the Coast of the *Abyssins*, and from thence vnto *Aden*. And because it was the time of the Monsons or Motions, when those Seas cannot be sailed, they diuided themselves the one from the other, and *Alfonso* passed into *Ethiopia*, and *Peter* made his choice to goe into *India*, as the time serued him for to doe. And they agreed together, to meete at a certayne time in the Citie of *Cairo*, that they might be able to aduertize the King of their discoverie.

Peter de Couillan, when time serued, tooke shipping, and sailed directly to *Cananor*, and passed thence to *Calicut*, and saw the great quantitie of Ginger and Pepper which grow there, and vnderstood, that the Cloues and Cinamon were brought thither from farre Countries. Then he went toward *Goa*, and passed thence to the Ile of *Ormuz*, and hauing informed himselfe of certayne other things, he came in a ship toward the Red Sea. Hee landed at *Zeila*, and with certayne Merchants, which were *Moores*, he trauelled those Seas of *Ethiopia*, which were shewed him at *Lisbon* in a Sea Chart, to the intent hee should vse all his industrie to discover them. And he went so farre, that he came vnto the Towne of *Cefala*, where he learned of the Mariners and certayne *Arabians*, that the said Coast might be sailed all along toward the West, and that they knew no end thereof, and that there was a great Ile very rich, which was aboue nine hundred miles in length, which they call, *The Ile of the Moone*. And hauing vnderstood these things, being very glad thereof, he determined to returne vnto *Cairo*, and so he came backe to *Zeila*, and from thence passed to *Aden*, and then to *Tor*, and lastly to *Cairo*, where he stayed a great time, wayting for *Alfonso de Paiua*, and at length, had newes that he was dead.

Whereupon he determined to returne into *Portugall*: but it pleased God, that two *Iewes*, which went to seeke him, by good lucke found him, and deliuered him Letters from the King of *Portugall*. One of these *Iewes* was called, *Rabbi Abraham*, borne in *Beggian*. The others name was *Ioseph de Lamego*, and was a * Shoo-maker. These hauing beene before in *Persia* and in *Bagadet*, told the King many great matters, which they had learned concerning the Spiceries, and the riches which were found in the Ile of *Ormuz*, wherof the King conceiued great pleasure, and commanded them to returne thither againe to see the same themselves; but first, that they should seeke out *Peter de Couillan*, and *Alfonso de Paiua*, which hee knew were determined to meet together at a time appointed in *Cairo*. The contents of the Kings Letters were, that if all the things giuen them in commission, were searched out by them, then they should returne, because hee would reward them; but if they were not all discovered, that they should send him particular information of those things that they had seene, and then should doe their best endeavour to search out the rest, and aboue all things, to discover the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, and to cause *Rabbi Abraham* to see the Ile of *Ormuz*. For which cause, *Peter de Couillan*, purposed to aduertise the King of all which hee had seene along the Coast of *Calicut*, touching the Spiceries, and of *Ormuz*, and of the Coast of *Ethiopia*, and of *Cefala*, and of the great Iland of the Moone, concluding, that his ships which traded into *Guinea*, sayling along the Coast, and seeking the Coast of that Iland, and of *Cefala*, might easily enter into these Easterne Seas, and fall vpon this Coast of *Calicut*, for all along there was Sea: he had vnderstood, and that he would returne with *Rabbi Abraham* to *Ormuz*, and after his returne he would seeke out *Prete Ianni*, whose Countrey stretched vnto the red Sea.

And with these Letters, he dispatched *Ioseph de Lamego* the *Iew*. And he and the other *Iew* going againe to *Ormuz*, and returning to *Aden*, hee willed him to goe and carrie newes to the King that hee had seene the Ile of *Ormuz* with his owne eyes. And himselfe passing into *Ethiopia*, came into the Court of *Prete Ianni*, which at that time was not farre from *Zeila*. And hauing presented his Letters vnto him, who at that time was called *Alexander*, hee was very courteously entertained, and had great honour done vnto him, and was promised that he should speedily be dispatched. But in the meane while, he departed this life, and *Nabu* his brother succeeded in his stead, which saw him, and made very much of him, but would neuer giue him leaue to depart. Afterward *Nabu* died also, and his sonne *Dauid* succeeded him, which raigneth at this present, which would not suffer him to depart, saying, that hee came not thither in his time, and that if his Predecessors had giuen him so great Lands and Reuenues, he ought to enioy them, and to lose none of them: and therefore, seeing they had not giuen him licence, neither might he giue him leaue to depart; and so he remained still in the Countrey: and they gaue him a wife

a wife, with very great riches and possessions, by whom he had children, whom we also saw. And in our time, when he saw that we would depart, he was exceeding desirous to returne into his Countrey, and went to craue leaue of the *Prete*, and we with him, and were very instant on his behalfe, and besought him very earnestly, yet for all that wee could not obtaine leaue. Hee is a man of great spirit and wit, and of his qualitie hee hath not the like in all the Court, and can speake all the Languages, as well of the *Christians* as of the *Moors*, *Gentiles*, and *Abassins*: and of all things which hee hath knowne and seene, hee can yeeld as particular account, as if they were present. And therefore he is very gracious with the *Prete*, and all the Court.

104. Returning to our Voyage, or rather to our Historie; The dayes following, the Secretaries ceased not to write the Letters, which wee were to carrie with vs to the King and to the grand Captaine, and they bestowed much time and labour in making them: for their manner is not to write one to another, but their demands, answers, and messages, are all done by word of mouth. And while we were there, they beganne by little and little to learne to write; and when they wrote, they alwaies held before them the *Epistles* of Saint *Paul*, of Saint *Peter*, and of Saint *James*; and those which studied in them, were taken for the most learned and wise among them. They wrote the Letters to the King in three Languages, *The Abassin*, the *Arabian*, and the *Portugall*; and after the same manner were the Letters made vnto the Grand Captaine. The Grand *Berudete* comming vnto vs, which is the Lord that standeth on his left hand, brought mee a Crosse of Siluer, and a passing faire Staffe wrought with inlayd worke, saying, that the *Prete* sent me these things in token of the gouernment which he had giuen mee in the Iles of the red Sea; I gaue his Highnesse thanks in the best manner that I could. There came another message from the *Prete*, that he had giuen order that thirtie Mules should be giuen vnto vs to carrie our goods. And moreouer, that he had sent thirtie ounces of Gold to the Ambassadour, and fiftie for his companie; and that *George*, and those which were with him, had receiued their part; and withall, that he had sent one hundred loads of Meale, and as many hornes of Wine of Honey, to serue vs in our Voyage, and willed that we should not trouble the poore Husbandmen by the way, because he was enformed, that in our comming to the Court we had wasted the Countrey through which we trauelled, and that certaine Captaines were appointed for vs, which should conduct vs from place to place, euen to the Sea side, to wit, that euery one should furnish vs through their Countreyes with all things necessarie: and forthwith they appointed vs to a sonne of the *Cabeata*, because we were to trauell a great way through his fathers Territories, which are those where the great Church standeth, wherein the bones of the *Prete* his father were layd: which Church (as I haue said) hath foure hundred Canons, and ouer the said Canons there is a sonne of the said *Cabeata*, which is a *Licanate*, that is to say, The head ouer all the rest of the heads.

105. This day at euening, were thirtie ounces of Gold brought to our Tent for the Ambassadour, and fiftie for vs, and a great Crowne of Gold and Siluer which was the Crowne of *Prete Ianni*: and it was not so faire for the worth thereof as for the bignesse, and it was in a round Chist lined with Cloth, and without with Leather, and it was presented by *Abdenago*, the Captaine of the Pages, which said vnto the Ambassadour, that the *Prete* sent that Crowne to the King of Portugall, and that he should say vnto him, that a Crowne is not wont to be taken from the Fathers head, but onely for the Sonne: and that he was his Sonne, and that he had taken the same from his owne head to send it to the King of Portugall, which was his Father, and that he sent him the same as the most precious thing that he had at that instant, offering him all the fauours, ayde, and succours, as well of Men as of Gold, and Victuals, which he should stand in need of for his Fortresses and Fleets, and for the Warres which he would make against the *Moors* in these parts of the red Sea, euen vnto Ierusalem.

The first day of Lent, wee beganne our Voyage, and the sonne of the *Cabeata* went with vs, through whose Countreyes we were to passe, and *Abdenago* Captaine of the Pages; for, afterward we were to passe through his Territories. And we trauelled the next day, farre distant one companie from the other, vntill we came to *Manadeli*, a Towne in the Kingdome of *Tigrawahon*.

106. Being come to this Towne of *Manadeli*, which is wholly inhabited by *Moors*, who are peaceable Tributaries to the *Prete*: and one *Stephen Pagliarte*, as it seemeth, fell out with a *Moore*, which strooke out two of his teeth, and certaine of our people comming running thither at the noise of this garboile, they brake one of our mens heads with a stone. *Abdenago* ran downe, and caused certaine of these *Moors* to bee apprehended, which had done the harme: but because it was night, there was nothing else done. The next day he sent vs word to come vnto the place where he held these two *Moors* prisoners, and caused vs to sit downe on the grasse: and hee sate downe likewise, leaning with his shoulders against his Chaire. And there causing the prisoners to be brought, he began after their manner to demand Gold of them. Then he caused them to be stripped and cruelly beaten, demanding how much they would giue vs: they began to promise one ounce of Gold, two, and three; but still beating of them, they asked how much they would giue; at length they came to seuen ounces, and herewithall they ceased

The vse of writing was not in Ethiopia in these dayes.

Gifts.

The Present which *Prete Ianni* sent the Ambassadour for his part.

The present which *Prete Ianni* sent to the King of Portugall with exceeding great offers.

There was a quarrell twixt *Eren* and the Ambassadour, and *Fernandes* had wounded the Factor, *Manadeli*.

Manner of iustice.

Barn.

One of the
Moore's be-
headed.A Court cu-
stome.The particu-
lars of the Am-
bassadours wil-
ful esse against
Bren an Ethio-
pian, are omit-
ted.

A skirmish.

to beat them, and the Gold was giuen to those that were hurt, and the parties which were beaten were sent bound to *Prete Ianni*. Wee went on still on our Voyage vnto *Barna*, where wee lodged, when we came into this Countrey. While wee stayed here a long while, there came a Messenger of the *Prete*, and one of the *Moore's* which were beaten with him, with the head of the other, saying vnto vs, that the *Prete* would needs vnderstand and examine the whole matter concerning those *Moore's*, for the hurt which they had done vnto the *Portugals*, and that he had caused his head to be cut off which he found to haue done the wrong, the which he had sent vs, that we might be assured of the truth, and might know whether that were it or no: and the other which hee had not found in fault, hee had also sent vs; and that wee might doe with him what we thought good, either kill him, or free him, or make him a Slaue.

107. Two Great men were sent to vs from the Court, which seeing the enmitie and rancour that was betwixt the Ambassadour and *Bren*, which came from words to blowes, they wist not what course to take concerning our matter, seeing it is a custome in that Countrey, that no great personage may goe from the Court without licence, nor come to the Court vnlesse he be called for: therefore the said Lord stood in doubt, what they should doe concerning vs; because, on the one side, they durst not leaue vs; and on the other side, to bring vs to the Court in such great rancour, being not sent for, they feared they might incurre some great punishment; yet at length, they chose rather to returne to the Court, although they should suffer some great punishment.

108. These Noblemen hauing considered that the Monson was past, wherein the grand Capitaine was to come for vs, and that they could not pacifie vs, determined to carrie vs backe to the Court: and we set forward altogether with the *Franks*, and as we came to the Towne of *Bacinete*, before mentioned, whither the fame of our falling out was come, all the Countrey-people put themselves in Armes, and would not suffer vs to passe, and such numbers of Friers came downe an hill, with Bowes, Arrowes, and Staues, that they seemed to be flocks of Sheep; and here we had a great skirmish, and many of both sides were wounded, howbeit wee beat them backe, and made them runne away. The aforesaid Noblemen, while we were lodged here, put the place to the sacke, as if they had beene *Moore's* and tooke away their Barley, Hens, Capons, Sheepe, and whatsoever they found in the houses. And departing from hence, we travelled in two companies; to wit, *George de Bren*, and all those that were with him; and the Frier, and we with the Ambassadour, and the Lords, *Andrugaz* and *Garneta*, and wee came to *Manadeli*, where they wounded our men, and here we found the *Moore* which fled from the Ambassadour, who was nothing at all afraid: and hauing past two miles beyond this place, we met with *Barnagasso*, which came from the Court, and brought order from the *Prete*, what the said Lords should doe with vs. Which while we sought to know, we assembled all together in a Corne-field vnder a great Tree, where the said Lords were highly rebuked of *Barnagasso*, because of our returning without licence, saying, that they should goe to the Court, and receiue their punishment there. Then he began to crie out vpon the Ambassadour, and *George de Bren*, commanding the Ambassadour to giue him the Crowne and the Letters, which he carried vnto the King and the Grand Capitaine. The Ambassadour and *George de Bren* vttered very vnciuill and dishonest speeches one against another: for which cause the *Barnagasso* committed vs to certaine Capitaines, to conduct vs seuerally one from the other, in such sort as wee came to that place, and so we returned with him toward his Territories. By this time the Winter was begun, which was exceeding terrible and cruell with huge raine.

Here the Authour ceaseth to speake any more of his Voyage.

¶ XVI.

Of the time and day when their Lent beginneth in the Countrey of *PRETE IANNI*:
and strange abstinences, and other bodily exercises, with other their holtes.
Of the Troglo-dites, and Goraises.

Ethiopian Lent,
long and strict.

Zanna.

109. **I**N the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, they beginne their Lent in the Munday after *Sexagesima*, which is ten dayes before our Shrouetide; and after the day of the Purification is past, the Priests, Friers, and Secular men generally obserue a great Fast for three dayes, and they say, they doe fast the penance of the Citie of *Ninive*. And many Friers eate not aboue once in these three dayes, and then they eate but Herbs without Bread: and they say, that there are many women, which then will not giue sucke to their children past once a day. The generall Fast of the Lent is Bread and Water; for although some would eate Fish, yet they could not haue it, because they haue not the Sea neere them. In the Riuer there is great abundance of Fish, which are very good, but they know not how to take them. They eate no Milke nor Butter, neither drinke Wine of Grapes, nor of Honey; but their common drinke is of *Zanna*, which is made of Barley, or of Millet, or of *Aguzza*: for of each of these Graines they make a seuerall Wine, which in taste is like vnto Ale.

There

There are also many Friars, which for deuotions sake eate no bread all the Lent, and others all the yeare, and all their life time.

As I went on a time with the Ambassadour toward the Court, in a place called *Iannamora*, a *Iannamora*. Frier fell into our companie: and because I would pleasure him, I caused him to ride vpon a Mule, and lodged him in my Tent. The first day, I inuited him to eate with me, because it was Euen-
 tide and supper time, and he excused himselfe, that he had no lust to eate. In the meane space, the Nouices (sixe or seuen of which went with him to receiue orders) came with *Agriones*, which are Herbs of that Countrey, and gaue him an handfull without Salt, or Oyle, or any o-
 ther mixture, and those he eate alone without Bread or any thing else. Whereof when I had as-

The fasting and abstinence which some vie in the Lent.

Who hath required these things at your hands?

* *Comesaria da ficcare un legno.*

Very strange kind of penance.

A frame to stand in without sitting.

Supererogation, if not super-arrogation. Obedience better then sacrifice.

Standing in water, like Iosephus his Pharisee.

Frost and cold,

Y y y y

strous

ked the said Nouices, they told me that they neuer vsed to eate any bread. When I doubted of this, I caused him diligently to be watched night and day; for, on the day he went on foot by my Mules side like vnto a Lackey, and on the night he slept by my side, and lay on the ground in his apparell, and I alwaies saw him eate Herbs called *Agriones* and *Rabafas*, and when they could find none, sometimes he tooke Mallowes and Nettles, and when they passed by any Monasterie, he sent the Nouices to gather some Garden-herb, and if they found none, the Nouices brought him Lentiles, so long steeped in a gourd of water, that they began to grow, and he fed of them: which I would needs taste of, and found them to be the worst meat in the world. This man trauelled thirtie dayes with vs vnto the Court, and afterward stayed three weekes with vs in our Tent, and neuer eate any thing else but the things aforesaid. Afterward I saw him in the Towne of *Caxumo*, where the *Prete* caused vs to stay eight moneths, and when hee vnderstood that I was there, he came to visite me, and brought me certaine Limons. Hee wore an habite of Leather without sleeues, and his armes were naked; whereas I embraced him, by chance I thrust one of my hands vnder his arme, and found that hee had about him a girdle of Iron of foure fingers broad, and I led him by the hand into our chamber, and shewed him to *Peter Lopez* my cousin, and wee saw the said girdle, which was ioyned the one end with the other, with certaine points, as if they had beene to peg in a piece of wood: and this girdle was fastned vpon his flesh: and the said Frier tooke it in very ill part, and seemed as though hee had receiued great wrong, and suddenly departed, so that wee neuer could see him after.

After this, we saw many other Friars which wore the like girdles of Iron in the Lent; And we heard say, that there were others also, which during all the time of Lent, did neuer sit, but alwaies stood vpright. When we heard that there was one of these in a Caue sixe miles off, we rode thither, and found him in a frame made of wood, of that bignesse, that he only might stand within it. And it looked like an old Chist without a couer, and his hips were besmeared with Chalke and Oxe-dung, and where his buttocks stood, he had an open place three fingers broad: he had likewise another open place where his knees touched, and before him hee had a little Deske of wood, whereon lay a Booke. His habite was an Haire-cloth, made of the haire of an Oxe tayle, and vnderneath the same, vpon his flesh he wore an Iron girdle like to that aboue-said, and he shewed vs the same willingly. In another Caue adioyning, dwelt two young little Nouices, which prouided him victuals, which was nothing but Herbs, and for this our visitation, he became our great friend. These Caues seemed to haue beene made in old time to doe the like penance; for there were Graues in them.

In the Towne of *Barua*, in another Lent, I saw two Friars in the Church of the said Towne, that is to say, without the Church gate, which were in the like Tabernacles, one on the one side of the Church, and another on the other side, which did eate the said Herbes, and steeped Lentiles, and I went to see them often times, wherewith they seemed highly to be pleased; and if I went not to them, they sent to visite me, and they wore vpon their flesh a Sack-cloth, and a girdle of Iron. And it was told mee, that one of them was a kinsman of the *Prete*, and they continued in this penance vntill Easter day, and when Masse was sung, they went out of the same.

Having heard report, that in the aforesaid Towne of *Caxumo*, euery Wednesday and Friday in the Lent, many Friars, Priests, and Nuns stood all night in the water vp to the necke, when we could not be perswaded to beleue the same, *Iohn Scolaro*, my cousin *Peter Lopez*, and I, went thither on a Wednesday at night, and were astonied, beholding so great a multitude of them, which were in the water vp to the necke, and it was told vs, that they were Canons, and the wiues also of Canons, with Friars and Nuns, and there were seats of stone made by the waters side, and where the water was shallow, there was one stone, whereupon they sate vntill the water reached vp to their necke, and if the water were more deepe, they layed another stone there, and so all the said Lake was full of people, which came from all the Countrey round about: and in this time of Lent, there are great frosts and cold in the night. And having talked with *Peter de Comillan*, concerning this matter, he assured me, that they vsed to obserue this custome in all the Dominions of the *Prete*, and also, that there bee many which doe not onely eate no bread all that time, but also went into mighty Forrests, and into certaine mon-

Going into
Forrests and
Valleyes for
Penance.

stuous deepe Valleyes, lying betweene exceeding high Mountaines, where they may finde water, whereas no other people come, and there they doe their Penance all the time of Lent, and for prooffe hereof.

Heremites.

I was on a time with the *Prete*, in a Towne called *Dara*, which is neere those great and deep Trenches (whereof I haue spoken before) into the which, a great Riuer falleth downe headlong from an high Mountaine into a Bottome, and the water of this Riuer, breaking in the Ayre, became as white as Snow. As we stood aloft, *Peter de Couillan* shewed mee a Caue in this Bottome, which we could hardly discerne, and said, that in the same there was a Monke which they held for a Saint, and vnder this Caue, there seemed to bee a Garden: On the side of this Bottome, and not farre off, hee shewed mee such another Caue, wherein a white Man was dead, which was knowne to haue bene twenty yeeres in that Desart, and that the time of his death was not knowne. Onely when they saw him no more in this Mountaine, they went to see his lodging or Caue, and they found it closed vp on the inside with a good Wall, so that none might goe in or out thereat: and the *Prete* being aduertised hereof, commanded, that by no meanes it should be opened or touched.

The generall
fast in lent of
Friers and
Nunnes.
Queene Hele-
na eate but
thrice in the
weeke.

110. The generall fast in Lent, which the most part of the Friers and Nunnes, and the Priests also doe obserue, is to eate once, from two dayes to two dayes, and that alwayes in the night time. They fast not on Sundayes: The like doe many old Women when they are going out of the world; and so they reported that *Queene Helena* did, as often as shee fasted at any time in the yeere, that shee did not eate about thrice in the weeke; to wit, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. In the Kingdome of *Tigrai*, which is a Kingdome subiect to *Barnagasso*, and in the Kingdome of *Tigremahon*, euery body eateth flesh in the Lent, on Saturday and Sunday, and they kill more Oxen on these two dayes, then in all the yeere beside. And if they will marry their first or second Wife, they marry them the Thursday before our Shrouetide, for vpon their marriage they haue licence to eate Flesh, Milke, and Butter, for two moneths space, at what time soeuer they will. And therefore, that they may eate the same, they marry Wiues, and drinke Wine. In all the other Territories, Kingdomes, and Signiories, they fast all the Lent, as well great as small, Men as Women, Male-children as Female, without breaking the same in any point, and so they doe almost all the Aduent.

Customes of
Tigrai.

Polygamic.

Palme-sunday.

On Palme-Sunday they say their Seruice after this manner: They beginne to say Mattins about Mid-night, and they continue their singing and dancing, carrying painted Images vnconquered in their hands, vntill broad day, and at the houre of Prime, they all get boughes and hold them in their hands at the Gate, for the Women and Lay-men may not come into the Church, and the Priests stand singing in the Church, with boughs in their hands, and sing very loud, making oftentimes the signe of the Crosse, with the said Boughs, and going about without the Church, they come vnto the principall Gate, into which, fixe or seuen of them enter, as we are wont to doe, which they shut, and he stands without which is to say Masse, and they sing both within and without the Church, as wee doe: and then hee which stood without, cometh in and sayeth Masse, and giueth the Communion vnto all. On the holy Weeke, or Weeke before Easter, no Masse is said, saue on Thursday and Saturday. And their ordinary custome, which all Noblemen and Gentlemen vse at all times in the yeere, of saluting one another, is: When they meete together once a day, they kisse their shoulders, and embrace one another, and one kisseth the right shoulder, and the other the left. These salutations are not vsed this weeke, but when they doe meete, they speake not one to another, but passe by without lifting vp their eyes; and men of any quality, are apparelled all in Blacke or in Blew, and they doe no kind of worke, but all the whole day is spent in great deuotions, and singing in the Churches, and alwayes there is no Candle lighted.

Weeke before
Easter.

Custome of
Saluting.

Silence.

Mandy-thur-

day.

On Holy-thursday at Euentide, they make the Maunday, that is to say, the Ceremonie of washing of Feet, and all the people assembleth together vnto the Church, and the chiefe Priest of the Church, sitteth on a Chaire like vnto a Treuit, girded with a Towell, and a great Basen full of water before him, and beginneth to wash the Feet of the Priests; which being done, they beginne to sing, and sing all night, and the Priests, Friers, and Clerkes goe not out of the Church, neither eate, nor drinke, vntill Saturday after they haue said Masse.

Good-Friday.

On Good-Friday about noone, they trim vp the Churches according to their abilitie and riches, for there be some Churches which are hanged all with cloth of gold and crimson, and chiefly, they decke vp the principal Gate, because there is the standing place of all the people, and they hang vp a Crucifixe vpon the Cloth, made of printed Paper, and ouer the same is a little Curtaine which couereth it, and they sing all night and all day, and reade the Passion; which being done, they vncover the Crucifixe, and straightway all the people fall prostrate on the ground, beating one another with Wandes, and Cuffes, and Fists, with great fury, jowling their heads one against another, and also against the Wall, and make so bitter mourning, that any heart of Flint would bee moued to teares with pure deuotion. This lamentation and sorrow continueth two houres at the least. After this, two

Of their great
lamentation
and beating
one another,
vpon Good-
Friday at
night.

Priests

Priests goe to euery gate of the circuite, which are three; which goe into the Church-yard, and stand at all these gates, one on the one side, and another on the other side, with a little Whip in their hands, which hath five great thongs of Leather vpon it. And all they that were before the principall gate came out through one of these three gates stripped from the waste vpward, and as they passe, they bow downe their bodies, and these Priests with the Whips doe nothing else but lay on them as hard as they can, as long as they stand still: some passe by, and haue but few stripes, others stay and receiue many: but the old men and old women stand there halfe an houre, vntill the blood trickle downe their bodies, and so they lye all night in the Cloyster of the Church. And at mid-night they begin their Songs, which continue vntill the next day at Euening, and then they begin Masse, and all receiue the Communion.

Whippings.

Easter Eue.
Easter day.

On Easter day at mid-night, they begin their Mattens, and before day they make a Procession, and at breake of day they say Masse: And they obserue this weeke vntill the Munday following, the Apostles Sunday, and so they keepe seuentene dayes holy, that is to say, from the Saturday before Palme-sunday, vntill the said Munday.

The Priests haue
and

Vpon a time we were in the Lent at the Court of *Prete Ianni*, which lay on the borders of a Countrey of *Gentiles*, called *Gorages*, a Nation (as they say) very malicious, and none of these will be made slaues, for they had rather die or kill themselves, then serue the Christians. The place where the Court lay was out of the Countrey of the said people: which, as it was told vs, haue their Habitations vnder the ground, that is to say, they make Caves wherein they liue. But the Court was lodged by a goodly Riuer, the chanell whereof ran low in a deepe bottom, and on the banks on either side the Countrey all was a most goodly Greene Champaigne, but the Earth within a foot deep was a sandie Rock, like the *Rocke Di glais de Charnache* in *Portugall*. On all places on the sides of this Riuer, were exceeding store of Houses digged in the Mountaine, one aboue another: and the biggest of them had their doore no larger then the mouth of an Hoghead, whereby they might easily creepe in, and ouer the doore was an hole made where they fastened a Cord, whereby with their hands they climbed vp. In which Houses abundance of the poore people of the Court were lodged: and they said, that these Houses were able to receiue twentie or thirtie persons with their stufes.

Gorages, no host
Troglodytes, host
Cave-dwellers.
People liuing
in Caves vnder
the ground

There was also by this Riuer a very strong Towne, which on the side toward the Riuer was hewen into the mightie Rocke, and toward the Land there was a Ditch cast, fifteene fathomes deepe, and six fathomes broad, and both the ends thereof reached vnto the Riuer: and in this Trench all round about it were Houses digged like to those afore said, but in the midst of this circuit which was like a plaine field, there were little Houses made with wals and roofes, wherein at this time Christians dwell, and there is also a good Church. The entry into this Towne is digged vnder the ground, through this sandie Rocke, all made like a Vault, where a man would not thinke, that any Mule or Oxe could enter in, and yet neuerthelesse they passe well enough.

Procession.
Towne in a
Rocke.

Not farre from this Towne, going vp the Riuer is a great Rocke very steepe from the top to the bottome, and on the top thereof is a plaine field, and in the mid-way vp this Rocke, there is a Monasterie dedicated to our Ladie, and here they say, was the Palace of the King of this Countrey of *Gorages*. This Mountaine or Rocke looketh toward the East, and they goe vp to this Monasterie with a wooden Ladder, which may bee placed and remooued, for they take it away euery night for feare these people *Gorages*, when the Court is not there. Afterward they goe vp a paire of staires of stone, and on the left hand is a Ladder, and fifteene Cels of Friers, which all haue windowes very high ouer the Riuer. Then there are their Butterie, their dining roome, and Chambers to lay vp their Corne; and turning on right hand, passing through a darke way, a man cometh vnto a great height, where the principall gate of their Church is, which is not made of the said Rocke, but it seemeth in ancient time, that there hath bin a great Hall with wals about it, which is very lightsome and broad, for it hath many windowes ouer the Riuer. To this place come some small number of Friers. Many people come hither from the Court to receiue the Communion, both for the deuotion of this place, and also by reason of the fame, which these Friers haue to be men of good life, and because they suffer many miseries, by reason of the wrongs which these bad Neighbours of theirs, the *Gorages* doe continually vnto them. And because the Court doth alwayes lodge after one manner, that is to say, all the people of the Court, that part on the left hand which belonged to the great *Betudete*, lay ouer against these *Gorages*: and very few dayes passed, wherein we heard not this newes. This night, the *Gorages* haue slaine fifteen or twenty men of the great *Betudete*, and no man would succour them, because that being in the Lent by reason of the seuer Fast, no man had any courage to fight for weaknesse, and faintnesse of body, neither would they breake the season vpon any occasion.

Monasterie of
our Ladie ascended
by a Ladder, and
stone staires.

Will haue
Mercie and
not Sacrifice.

On the holy weeke, and Easter day being hard at hand, the *Prete* sent vs word to prepare our selues to say Masse before his Tent, because he would heare the same. I sent him word, that all should be readie, but that we lacked a Tent, because that which we had before was all broken and spoyled by the raine. He sent vs word, that he would send vs a Tent, and cause the same to be set vp, and that as soone as he called for vs, we should come presently with all things necessary to say Masse. And it was not past mid-night, but hee sent for vs, and strait-way wee went thither,

Six thousand
Candles.The Pretes ha-
bit.Sometime car-
ried on mens
shoulders.Crowned hor-
ses.

Proceſſion.

Black Tent.

Maſſe for the
Pretes Mother
deceased.

ther, and were brought before the gate of the *Prete*, which wee found in this manner: A great part of the circuit of the hedge was broken and taken away, and from the Tent of the *Prete* to the Church of holy Croſſe, stood about fixe thousand Waxe Candles lighted, and all in a ranke, and the distance might bee as farre as a Peece of great Ordnance might shoote: and the breadth from the one side to the other of them that held these Candles, was as farre as one could strike a Ball at twice, and all the way was plaine and equall. And there stood about fiftie thousand persons behind them, which held the Candles, so that they which held the Candles, made as it were, an hedge that could not be broken, holding Canes before them bound all along together, and the Candles fastned vpon them round about the way. Before the Tent of the *Prete*, rode foure Gentlemen on horse-backe, solacing themſelues, and they placed vs next vnto them. 10

In the meane while, came the *Prete* forth of his Tent, mounted vpon a Mule as blacke as a Crow, and as bigge as a great Horse (whereof they say, he maketh great account: and alwayes when he trauelleth, will haue this Mule come after him, and if he ride not vpon the same, hee sitteth on a Litter which is carryed on mens shoulders) and he came forth clad in an Embroydered Robe, which reached downe to the ground, and likewise his Mule was couered all ouer. The *Prete* wore his Crowne on his head, and held a Croſſe in his hand, and on both sides of him went two other Horses, and they went euen with the head of the Mule, but not hard by him, for they went as farre off, and were adorned and couered all ouer with Embroydered Cloth of Gold, and seemed to bee enclosed in Gold, by reason of the great glittering thereof. They had great Crownes vpon their heads, which came downe to their very bits, and in the tops thereof were great plumes of Feathers. As soone as the *Prete* was come forth, those foure Noblemen which rode before, departed away, and were seene no more, and those which came to call vs. As soone as the *Prete* was past, placed vs after him, so that no bodie else could come there, nor passe the raile of the Candles, sauing onely twentie Gentlemen, which went a good space before the *Prete* on foot: and in this order we came to the Church of holy Croſſe, where the Masse of the Resurrection was to be said: and here alighting and going into the Church, he entred into his Curtaines, and we stayed at the gate, out of which great numbers of Church-men immediately comming, were accompanied with a farre greater number then that which was without, and they began to make a great proceſſion, placing vs in the end of the same next vnto the first degrees and states of honorable calling: and after the Proceſſion was done, as many went into the Church as could stand therein, and the rest stayed in the fields, and they caused vs also to enter in, placing vs hard by the Curtaines of the *Prete*. 20

As soone as Masse was done, and that they began to giue the Communion, the *Prete* sent vs word, that we should make our selues readie to goe and say Masse, because the Tent was now set vp, and that he would come presently. We went our way with those which called vs, which brought vs where there was a blacke Tent set vp, hard by the Tent of the *Prete*, which when we saw to be blacke, we thought that they had done it to disgrace vs: and suddenly the Ambassador said vnto me; Father, yee shall do well not to say Masse: for this is done to try vs: answered; neither doe I meane to say Masse, let vs goe hence to our Tents; And this was done at the breake of the day. 30

After our refusall and expostulations, the *Prete* sent vs word to haue patience, because hee would see condigne punishment executed on them which had done the same, and prayed vs to goe into that blacke Tent, because that seeing it was not good to say Masse in, yet it was good enough to dine in: and so we went into it: And hither was sent vnto vs a royall Dinner, with infinite and excellent viands of sundrie sorts of flesh, and excellent Wine both white and red, which were very strong, and of an excellent smell. *Peter de Couillan* was with vs, and was present at all which passed that night. And at Dinner, he told vs, that all this was done of purpose, to trie what estimation we had of Gods matters, and of the Church, and that from henceforth, they would take vs for very good and perfect Christians. All this Lent, we were very well prouided of meat and drinke, and of good store of Fish, and of store of Grapes which were then ripe in that Countrey. As soone as we had dined, That old Father which baptized the people, came vnto vs, and told vs, that the *Prete* sent vs word, that though wee had said no Masse that day, yet at least he would haue vs say Masse the next Sunday, and that he would take order, that we should haue a good Tent prouided for vs, wherein we should say Masse according to our manner for the soule of his Mother, which was deceased a full yeere past; and that they likewise did say the *Tascar*, that is to say, The commemoration for the dead, and that we also should say the same after our manner. 40

§. XVII.

Don LEWIS de MENESES Letters: King EMANUELS death; Their Rites of mourning, Fatigar and Xoa. MAFVDI his many mischiefs and death in battell.

112. **O**N the Sunday, being the Octaue of Easter, we went thither, and found a great white and new Tent set vp, with Curtaines all of silke, below ouerthwart the midst thereof, after their manner, and it was placed very neere the Tent of the Prete, and there the Frier, which now commeth Ambassadour with vs, and other Priests, sang a Nocturne for the dead with vs, and we said Masse, and before we had finished the same, there came vnto vs two packets of Letters, which Don Lewis de Meneses had sent vs, which was come with a Fleet for vs to the Hauens of Maczua, and the Letters came by two wayes, and the Messengers arriued at one instant. There were also Letters directed to the Prete, wherein he requested him of all fauour, that he would dispatch vs without delay, that we might be at Maczua the fifteenth of Aprill, because he could stay for vs no longer, as well because the moouing of the Sea, which is the fit time to depart out of the Red Sea, would passe away, as also because there was great need of his presence in India. And it so fell out, that the same day whereon the Letters were deliuered, the terme of the fifteenth of Aprill expired. It was also written in the said Letters, that the King Don Emanuel was departed this life.

Letters from Maczua,

The death of Don Emanuel,

Shauing and Blackes for mourning vsed.

Sale forbidden

Rich gifts

Don Lewis departed.

Fatigar. Barbara and Zeila. The King of Adel a mortall enemy vnto Prete Janni, & therefore esteemed a Saint.

And because it is the fashion of this Countrey, when their friends die, to shauie their heads, and not their Beards, and to cloath themselves in blacke apparell, wee beganne to shauie one anothers head, and while wee were doing this, in came they which brought vs our dinner; who when they saw this, they set downe the meate vpon the ground, and ranne to tell it vnto the Prete, which suddenly sent two Friers vnto vs, to vnderstand what was fallen out. The Ambassadour could not answer him for the great lamentation which he made, and I told them as well as I could, that the Sunne which gaue vs light was darkned, that is to say, that the King Don Emanuel was departed this life, and suddenly all of vs began to make our moane, and the Friers went their way. Immediately at that instant were cryes made, that all places where Bread, Wine, and other Merchandize were sold, and all other Tents of Officers and Iudges should be shut vp, and this continued for three dayes, in the end whereof his Highnesse sent for vs, and his first message vnto vs was; who did inherit the Kingdomes of the King his Father? The Ambassadour said, the Prince, Don Iohn his Sonne. As soone as he vnderstood this message, they say, that hee reioyced greatly, and sent vs this word, *Atefia, Atefia*, that is to say, *Be not afraid, be not afraid, for yee are among Christians, the Father was good, the Sonne will also be good, and I will write vnto him.* At length hee was content, that wee should send Iohn Gonsalues our Factor to the Sea, with a Letter of his owne and ours also, and gaue him a very goodly Mule and rich apparell, and ten ounces of Gold, and with him went two of the Pretes his Kinsmen.

As for our selues which did solicit him with all importunitie, hee drew vs along for the space of sixe weekes, and in the end he gaue vs very rich Garments, and to foure of vs he gaue chaines of Gold, with Crosses hanging at them, and euery man his Mule: I had one of those Mules which went as though she would flie in the Aire, and that without any hardnesse in the World: and for the rest of the company, fourescore ounces of Gold, and one hundred Loaves for our iourney which we were to make. Being departed from the Court, we had not trauelled very farre, but the Messengers returned which wee had sent vnto the Sea, and signified vnto vs, that Don Lewis was departed a good while since, and though we knew that we could not ouer-take him, because the motion of the Sea would not suffer him to stay for vs, yet neuerthelesse wee went thither, and found that he had left vs great store of Pepper, and certaine goods for our maintenance, and there were Letters of his directed to the Prete, and vnto vs.

It was determined by the greater part of vs, to send halfe of the Pepper to the Prete, and that the other halfe should remayne for our vse, and that the Factor and I should goe on this message. For all this, Don Roderigo would needs goe himselfe, and would carrie all the Pepper, hoping that the Prete would giue him some great present, because it is a thing most esteemed, which may be brought into these Countries. And with these our Commodities we departed the first of September, and went faire and softly with our Mules, and these carriages of our goods, and came to the Court about the end of Nouember, and found the Prete in the Kingdome of Fatigar, which is in the vttermost part of the Kingdome of Adel, vnder which Adel, is Barbara and Zeila. This King is greatly esteemed among the Moores, and counted for a Saint, because he maketh continuall warre against the Christians, and is furnished by the Kings of Arabia, and the Lords of Mecca, and by other Kings which are Moores, with Armour, Horses, and whatsoeuer he will haue, and he on the other side sendeth them infinite numbers of Abissin slaues, which he taketh in warre. From the place or field where wee found the Court vnto the first Mart-towne of Adel, is a dayes iourney, and from that Mart-towne to Zeila, are eight dayes iourney.

Fatigar de-
scribed.

A Lake of
twelue miles
compasse on
top of a moun-
taine.

Xoa.

Partition by
lot.

Dara.

A famous war-
riour.

Nineteene
thousand
Captiues.

Husbandmen
no Souldiers.

This Kingdome of *Fatigar*, for as much as we haue seene thereof in our going and coming, is for the most part *Champaigne*, that is to say, all low hils; wholly manured, and sowed with Wheate, Barley, and other Seeds, and there are mightie *Champaigne* fields sowed all ouer with Corne. There are also infinite Herds of Cattell of all sorts, to wit, Goates, Sheepe, Oxen, Mares, and Mules. From this *Champaigne* we saw a far off, a Mountaine higher then all the rest, not of stone, but couered all ouer with Trees, and also manured, wherein are many Monasteries and Churches enuironed with manured fields; in the top of which Mountaine there is a Lake twelue miles in compasse, from whence were brought vnto the Court great store of fish of sundry sorts, and those very good, and I saw not such store in any other place. Here grow sweet Oranges, Citrons, and *Indian* Figs, in such abundance, as it is incredible. *Peter de Couillan* told me, that the said Mountaine was so great, that he trauelled eight dayes iourney about the foot thereof, and that he tooke measure thereof, and that the Lake on the top of the Mountaine was twelue miles in circuit. When the Court departed, we trauelled two dayes and an halfe, before we came to the foot of this hill, and when we came neere it, it seemed very high, and in euery part fruitfull. Many Riuers fall downe from the same, wherein is taken great store of fish.

We trauelled a day and an halfe on the back-side at the foot of this Mountaine, and leauing the same, we went out of the Kingdome of *Fatigar*, and entred into the Kingdome of *Xoa*, and here we deliuered the Pepper to the *Prete*, and the Letters of *Don Lewis*, which we had translated into the *Abissin* Tongue, and could not receiue any Answer at all. This Voyage which the *Prete* made into this Kingdome, grew vpon occasion of making certaine partitions and diuisions, betweene him and two which were his Sisters, by Father and Mother: for *Nabu* his Father had five Wiues. These partitions were of the Lands and Goods, which remayned by the death of his Mother. Here we stayed foure daies, wherein they cast Lots, what part should fall to each one of them. And *Peter de Couillan* assured mee, that there were Countries in these portions, which could not bee trauelled about in ten daies iourney. When this diuision was made of the portion, which fell vnto the *Prete*, he caused the same to be diuided in two parts, which he gaue vnto two of his little Daughters. The hils were couered with Oxen, Goates, Horses, and Sheepe. The Clothes of Silke and Gold, were likewise diuided, whereof there was great quantitie, and he gaue the greatest part of the Clothes of Silke vnto the Monasteries and Churches, which belonged to his Mother, in this Territorie. From hence we came to the Towne of *Dara*, where *Peter de Couillan* shewed the Woods vnto vs, wherein I said, that the Friers led so strait a life, and where that white man dyed, whose Caue was closed vp.

113. This Storie was told me by many, and especially by *Peter de Couillan*, of a *Moore* Capitaine, called *Mafudi*, a man of such courage and valour, that of his great Prowesse after his death, many Songs were made, which are sung euen to this day by many people in the Court. They say, that for the space of twentie five yeares together in the Lent, euery yeare he made in-roads, and spoyled the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, and because in this time, the Fast which is great, taketh away the strength of the people, so that they are not able to fight, therefore hee made in-roads without any danger through those Countries, and sometimes hee entred aboue threescore miles. And one yeare he came into the Kingdome of *Amara*, or into the Kingdome of *Xoa*, or into the Kingdome of *Fatigar*, and sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another: and he began to make these in-roads in the life of King *Alexander*, which was Vncle to the King, for the space of twelue yeares together, who being dead without Sonnes, his Brother *Nabu* succeeded him, which was the Father of this present King, and he did the like in his daies. This present *Prete Ianni*, began to raigne when he was twelue yeares of age, & til he grew to be seuenteen yeares old, *Mafudi* ceased not to make these in-roads, and warres in the Lent: and they say, that they were so great, that in one of them he led away nineteene thousand *Abissins* Captiues, whom hee sent all to the house of *Mecca*, causing them to bee presented to the Kings of the *Moores*, where being enforced to become Renegados, they grow to bee very couragious and valiant men, because they get out of the straitnesse of fasting, and enter into the fatnesse, and abundance of the vices of the *Moores*. Hee also carryed away a great multitude of all sorts of Cattell.

On the foure and twentieth yeare of his Inuasions, when hee entred into the Kingdome of *Fatigar*, all the people fled vnto a Mountaine, and *Mafudi* enuironed them about, and tooke them, and burnt all the Churches and Monasteries therein. I haue said before, that through all the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, there are certaine called *Canas*, which are men at Armes, because the Husbandmen in these Countries goe not to warre. There were many of these *Canas* in these Kingdomes, which together with the Husbandmen were retyred into the said Mountaine. *Mafudi* tooke them altogether, and put them by themselves, and the poore Husbandmen hee dismissed, sending them away that they might sow the fields with Corne the next yeare, for him and his Horses: and to the men of Armes, he said; Yee Cowards, which eat the bread of your King, and so badly defend his Territories, passe by the sword; and so five thousand men at Armes were slaine, and he returned with great victorie, and without any impeachment at all.

The *Prete* being much moued with this Act, and especially at the burning of the Churches and

and Monasteries sent Spies into the Kingdome of *Adel*, to know by what part *Mafudi* meant to enter: and vnderstood, that he meant to come with great troupes into the Kingdome of *Fatigar*, in the time of Wheate and Barley Haruest to destroy them. The *Prete* hauing learned, that he came not in the time of Lent, at which time they are forbidden * to fight, resolved to wait for him by the way, and this he did against the minds of all his great Courtiers, he set forward with his people and Court onely, without sending for any from farre Countries, because he would not be discouered, and trauelled day and night: and on a morning at breake of day, hee set vp his Pauilions, in a Towne where the first Market of the Kingdome of *Adel* is held, which is a dayes iourney from the Citie of *Adel*, where we found him when we carryed him the *Pep-*
10 *per*. Here (they say) is a great passage, which the King of *Adel* had passed the day before, and was entred three miles into the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, and was gone out of the way; when it began to be broad day, they saw one another.

* Crueltie of Superstition.

Mafudi, which was a man of great valour, and was neuer knowne to flee, as the *Abissins* vse to sing of him; as soone as he saw the Pauilion of the *Prete*, and the red Tents, which are neuer wont to be set vp, but at great Feasts, and entertainments of Princes, said vnto the King of *Adel*: Sir, the *Negus* of *Ethiopia* is here in person; and this is the day of our death, doe what you can to saue your selfe, for my part I meane here to die: and the said King being fearefull, esca-

King of *Adel* fleeth.

20 great account to run away, and become *Moores*, and if they will retorne againe, they are baptized anew, and are pardoned for their fault, and become Christians as they were before) and hee told vs all these things particularly. As soone as the King of *Adel* was gotten to a safe place, which was with great speed; the *Prete Ianni* signified to his Armie, after hee knew that the King was fled, that they should receiue the Communion, and recommend themselues vnto God, and after breake-fast, should set themselues in order: and at nine of the clocke they began to arrange themselues in battell array, and to march against the *Moores*, keeping alwayes their Tents and Pauilions armed.

The Battell betwixt the *Negus* and *Mafudi*.

Mafudi, which was resolved not to flee, and saw death before his eyes, desired to end his dayes with some notorious and honourable action, and therefore spake vnto certayne Christi-
30 ans, inquiring of them, whether there were any Knight so hardie among them, that hee durst fight with him. Hereunto a Frier offered himselfe, called *Gabriel Andreas*, which slue him in combat, and strooke off his head, and for this his victorie, he is much honoured in the Court, and we our selues were acquainted with him. The rest of the Armie gaue the onset vpon the *Moores*, and discomfited them, which could no way escape, because the *Prete* his Tents were placed in the principall passage; and another passage which was farre off, and whereby the King of *Adel* fled, was by this time also taken.

Mafudi slaine by *Gabriel Andreas* a Frier.

After this victorie, the *Prete Ianni* rested in his Tents, and the day following made an inroad through the Kingdome of *Adel*, vntill he came to certayne Palaces of the said King, which he found quite abandoned, the Gates whereof the *Prete* strooke thrice with his Launce, and
40 would suffer no man to enter in or come neere them, because it should not be said, that hee came thither to rob; for if the King had beene there, or any body else, hee would haue beene the first that should haue entred in, and made them faire warre: and when he found no body therein, he would suffer none to enter into them, and so returned backe. This battell was in the moneth of Iuly; and it is said, that it was on the very same day, that *Lopez Suarez* destroyed and burnt the Citie of *Zeila*, at the sack whereof I my selfe was, and the *Moores* which were taken told vs, that the Captaine of *Zeila* was gone with the King of *Adel*, to warre against the *Negus* of *Ethiopia*. And oftentimes the *Prete* sent to shew vs foure or fise bundles of Swords, with hilts of siluer, but grossely made, and told vs, that he had won them in the Warre against the *Soldan* of *Adel*; and the Tent which he sent vs of embroidered cloth and veluet of *Mecca*, he also wan
50 in the said Warre, and wished vs to hallow it before we said Masse therein, becaute the *Moores* had committed many sinnes in the same.

Fides pietasque viris qui castra seqq.

Lopez Suarez tooke *Zeila* in the yeere 1597

The head of this *Mafudi* was carried for three yeeres space with the Court, euen vntill our coming thither, and on euery Saturday, Sunday, and other Holy-dayes, which the common people keepe; all the Boyes and Girles did nothing else but sing Verses, made after their man-
60 ner, in the praise of this Victorie, and at this day their singing passeth throughout all the Court, and I thinke it will continue to the worlds end. *Gabriel Andreas*, as I haue said, is a Frier, and a very honorable Person, and a Gentleman of very great reuenue; and besides this worthy Act which he did, he hath done many other; and the report is, that he is very eloquent, and a friend to the *Portugalls*, and vnderstandeth very well the holy Scriptures, and the things that concerne the Christian Faith, and hath great delight to talke of them, although King *Nabu* caused the tip
of his tongue to be cut off, for his over-much talking.

Gabriel's tongue cut.

114. He sent vs word, that he purposed to write to the Pope of *Rome*, whom they call, *Rumen Negus* *Lique Papas*, which signifieth, King of *Rome*, and head of the Pope, and that I should make him the beginning of the Letter, because they are not wont to write, and knew not how they should

Learning all
in bookes.

Zaga Zabo Am-
bassadour.

Hearing of the
Cause.

Zaga Zabo lost
the day.

The Lord
chiefe Iustice
miserably bea-
ren.

should write to the Pope. I sent him word, that I would make the beginning for him, and that they should adde the rest which they meant to write, or request at his hands. When wee came thither, we found all those which they hold most learned and wise with many books, and they asked me where mine were. I answered, that I had no need of books, but onely to know his Highnesse purpose, and that we were to bee gouerned according thereunto. Forthwith, by a chiefe man, as well in authoritie as in knowledge, which was there present, and by his office is called *Abucher*, which signifieth, A chiefe Chaplaine; the *Prete* his intention was deliuered to the Frier, and he told it me, and I set my selfe to write, and made a brieue Preface, which forthwith was carried to his Highnesse in my hand-writing. Which hauing seene, hee sent mee back againe, and forthwith we translated it into his language, and returned it againe vnto him. 10
Within a while there came a Page, which said, That the King liked very well of that which I had written, and maruelled much, that it was not taken out of books; commanding, that it should be written in a faire hand, and in two Papers, and that his learned Priests should studie their books, for the rest which should be added to these Letters. The Copie of the Letter which I made, is written in a Paper by it selfe, and beginneth in this manner: *Right happy and holy Father, &c.* Three dayes they bestowed in making of the other Letter, and aboue fiftene in making a little Crosse of gold, which weigheth one hundred Cruzadoes, which also I was to carrie to the Pope.

115. At this time the *Prete Ianni* determined to send an Ambassadour into *Portugall*, because that hitherto he had sent none, and he sent for *Don Roderigo* and me, and told vs, that hee purposed to send a man of his with vs vnto the King of *Portugall*, to the end, that his desires might sooner take effect: and asked vs, whether we thought, that *Zaga Zabo* the Frier, who alwayes kept vs companie, were sufficient for this Ambassage, seeing hee vnderstood our language, and had beene before-time in our Countries. We answered him, That he was most sufficient, and was a man which vnderstood vs, and we him. He sent vs word, that wee should take him with vs in our companie. The next day he sent vs againe very honorable apparell, and thirtie ounces of gold, and one hundred loaves of bread for our voyage, and yet wee stayed a good while after: The *Prete* sent a Messenger vnto vs, appointing vs to returne vnto the Towne of *Chaxumo*, where (as I said before) we had beene a long time: and here he furnished vs with five hundred loades of Graine, with one hundred Oxen, and one hundred Sheepe, with one hundred earthen Pots of Honey, and another hundred of Butter, and sent for the Ambassadour which went with vs, twentie loades of Corne, twentie Oxen, twentie Sheepe, twentie pots of Honey, and as many of Butter. 30

116. While we abode in the Towne of *Chaxumo*, the said *Zaga Zabo* was aduertized, that a certayne little Lordship, which he had, was taken from him: whereupon he prayed me, that I would goe with him to the Court to demand iustice. When we came thither, we found, that his Aduersarie was *Abdenago*, Captaine of all the Pages of *Prete Ianni*, for here is no office but hath an Head aboue all the rest. And because all Suites and Answeres are made to the *Prete* by Pages, we had no meanes at all to make the *Prete* acquainted with our suite; howbeit, wee were aided by one *Aiace*, which is a great Lord: and though he were a great friend of *Abdenago*, yet made he the *Prete* acquainted with the cause of our comming. Our Iudges were appointed, *Aiaz Daragote*, and *Aiaz Caite*, to whom we imparted our request; and they appointed vs a time the next day, when the Sunne should be in such a place, shewing vs the place in the skie: and the Proctor of *Abdenago* was there present, and *Zaga Zabo* the Ambassadour was there in person. When the day was come, both parties disputed and alleaged greatly for themselves, and they concluded in words, for in their Courts they write nothing at all; and the Iudges gaue sentence by word of mouth, after this manner; That the Mannor and Lordship, which *Zaga Zabo* demanded, was a very small thing, and in former times subiect to another great Lordship, whereof *Abdenago* was Lord, and that it was right, that as the great Winde passeth ouer all the Earth, so *Abdenago*, which was a great Lord, might not be hindred from entering vpon this, but that he ought to enter vpon this little Signiorie. 50

When we heard this sentence, we were much amazed, and went to complaine vnto the *Prete*, which sent vs word to goe to our lodging, and be of good cheere, for all should be well, and that the next day we should repaire to the chiefe Iustice, which should see vs dispatched; and here withall we departed. The next day we waited vpon him at his Tent, who receiued vs with a cheerfull countenance, saying, That he had a commandement from the *Prete* to dispatch vs, and that we should stay for him at his Tent; howbeit, wee would needs goe with him vntill hee went to speake vnto the *Prete*. Where, after he was gone in, and had stayed a while, hee came out with two Pages, which led him to the place where offenders are beaten, and there calling two which doe this office, they stripped him, and throwing him downe vpon the ground, they tyed his hands vnto two posts, and his feet straight, with a thong of Leather, which two men held fast. These ministers of Iustice stood one at his head, and another at his feet, smiting him oftentimes, and for the most part on the backe; and when the *Prete* commanded them to touch him, the stripe pierced vnto the bones, and of these stripes he had onely three. I haue seene this chiefe

chiefe Iustice beaten three times besides, and within two dayes after, he returned to his office : because they are not alhamed hereof, but rather say, that *the Prete meaneth them well, and is mindfull of them, and shortly after bestoweth his fauour on them, and putteth them in office.*

When this chiefe Iustice was beaten, there were sixtie Friers in new apparell present, which was yellow, after their custome. And when the chiefe Iustice his punishment was ended, they tooke an old Frier which seemed to be a man of account, and was Head of the rest, and beat him after the aforesaid manner, but he was not touched to the quicke. After him they tooke another which was aboute fortie yeeres of age, who seemed to be a man of much honour, and they beate him as they did the rest, and this last was twice touched to the quicke. While this was done, I inquired the cause, and what fault the Friers had committed : it was told me, that the last Frier which was beaten, had taken to wife a daughter of a *Prete Ianni*, that is to say, of *Alexander* the vnckle of this *David*, and that he was separated from her, and had taken another sister of this present *Prete*, which being very dishonest, and doing what she listed, her husband fearing to put her away, in regard of the *Prete*, and because also in this Countrey the faults of women are not regarded, he forsooke this second wife, and tooke againe the first : and the *Prete* hauing commanded him that he should receiue his sister againe, he would not obey it, but went and became a religious man : and the *Prete* hauing committed this cause to the chiefe Iustice, to consider whether hee might become a Frier lawfully or no ; the Iustice gaue sentence, that hee might lawfully take vpon him the habite of a religious man, and for this cause, the Iustice was punished. The father of the Friers was beaten, because he had giuen him the habite ; and this third man, because he receiued the same : and immediatly he was enioyned to leaue the same, and to take againe the sister of the *Prete* ; and by this meanes wee could not haue audience for the space of fiftene dayes.

Yellow Friers.

Womens fautes neglected.

§. XVIII.

Death of Queene HELENA. Tributes of Goïame, and other Prouinces. Succours giuen to the Queene of Adea. Apprehension of the two Betudetes and TIGREMAHON: their sentence, and the execution. Expedition of the Negus to Adea. Strange Oxen. The PRETES Tent-court, and manner thereof; Places, Courts, and courses of Iustice, with other parts thereof described. His Treasuries.

117. **Q**ueene Helena had beene dead some eight or nine moneths, which gouerned the greatest part of the Kingdome of Goïame, when as many as came newly to the Court, went to bewaile her in her Tent, which as yet stood vpright in the old place, and wee did the like, when wee came anew to the Court after her death. And the *Prete* hauing sent vnto that Kingdome the grand *Betudete* to receiue the *Gibre*, which is the yeerely tribute of the King ; at this time the said *Betudete* came to the Court with the *Gibre*, which was three thousand five hundred Mules, three hundred Horses, and three thousand *Bassuti*, (which are a kind of clothes which great men weare vpon their Litters, and they are made of Cotton, shaggie on the one side, like vnto Carpets, but not so course ; and great personages lay them vpon their Beds ; and they are of so great price, that one of them is worth an ounce of Gold at the least, and sometimes three or foure ounces, yea and five ounces) and aboute three hundred Cotton clothes of small value, whereof two are worth but a dramme of Gold, and sometimes lesse : and, as wee haue said, an ounce is worth a *Pardoa*, which is three quarters of a golden Ducat of *Portugall*, and it was told me, that he brought thirtie thousand drachmes of Gold.

40 I my selfe was at the presenting of this tribute, and saw it all ; and it was in this manner. The *Betudete* came on foot naked from the girdle vward with a cord tyed about his head, like vnto a wreath of a *Castilian* Carrier, and comming within audience of the Tent of the *Prete*, he said three times this word in short space, *Abeto, Abeto, Abeto*, which signifieth *Lord* : and answere was made him but twice in his Language, *Who art thou? Who art thou?* And he said, *I which call, am the least of thy house, which saddles thy Mules, and tyeth vp thy Cattell, and doe other businesse which thou hast commanded mee, and I bring thee that which thou hast inioyned mee :* and these words were spoken three times ; which being ended, a voice was heard, saying, *Come, come forward.* And he comming neere did reuerence before the Tent, and passed by. After him came the Horses one after another, all led by the heads by seruants. The first thirtie were saddled, and in very good order, the rest which followed were deare of two drachmes of Gold, and many were not worth one dram a piece, and I saw them afterward sold for lesse, and there might be some three thousand of them. After these Hackneys came the Mules in like order, to wit, thirtie which were saddled, faire, and in good order ; the rest were little young Mulets like those Hackneys, and there were Mules and Mulets, of one, of two, and of three yeeres old, and not past,

Goïame, the gouernment of Queene Helena.

Gibre, or tribute of Goïame.

Bassuti.

* One Copie hath 3000. which seemeth better to agree with that which followeth.

Strange ceremonies.

* Ronzini.

past, and none of them saving those which were saddled, were fit to bee ridden: and they passed by as the *Betudete* and the *Horfes* had done. After the *Mules*, came the *Cloathes* called *Bassuti*, and one man could carrie but one of them, they were so weightie. After the *Bassuti* passed, the *cloathes* made vp in *Fardles*, and one man carried ten of them; and there were about three thousand men, that carried *Bassuti*, and three thousand men that carried thole other *Cloathes*; and all these were of the Kingdome of *Goiame*, which are bound to bring the said *Gibre*. After these *cloathes*, came ten men, each of them bearing a *Charger* vpon his head, made like vnto those wherein they doe eate, and were couered with *Greene* and *Red Sindall*. After these *Chargers*, came all the men of the *Betudete*, which passed by one after another, as hee himselve had passed. In these *Platters* was the *Gold* put, which was commanded to bee borne vnto his lodging, with the rest of the tribute, which was done accordingly. In this *Procession* were spent about ten houres, that is to say, From the morning vntill euening.

About fifteene daies before our comming to the Court, thither came a *Queene* of the *Moores*, Wife vnto the King of *Adea*, which was the Sister of one, which was sent to be the Wife of *Prete Ianni*, whom he refused, because two of her fore-teeth were too great, and therefore she was married vnto a great Lord, which was the *Barnagasso*, and is now a *Betudete*. This *Queene* came to craue succour of the *Prete*, because a Brother of her *Husbands* was risen vp against her, and tooke her Kingdome from her. She was well accompanied like a *Queene*, and brought with her fiftie *Moores*, which were very Honourable persons, and very well appparelled, riding vpon *Mules*, and one hundred men on foote, and sixe *Maids* of Honor mounted vpon *Mules*, and they were people which were not very blacke. She was receiued with great honour, and was called for within three daies after her comming, and she came before the Tent of the *Prete*, being herselfe enclosed in a blacke Litter. She changed her apparell twise that day, once in the morning, and againe at euening, and both times she was clad in Embroydered Cloath of *Veluet*, and in *Moorish smocks* of *India*: and the *Prete* sent her word, that she should take her ease, and put away all sorrow, because she should haue her whole desire, and that shee should stay for *Barnagasso*, and *Tigremahon*, at whose comming she should presently depart.

Within eighteene daies after her comming hither, she was againe appparelled after the former manner, and the next day, the foresaid parties arriued at the Court, and each of them brought the *Tribute* which they are bound to pay vnto the King. And with them came the *Canas*, that is, The men at Armes of their Kingdomes, with many other Noble-men. They being arriued, the *Prete* commanded, that the *Betudete* should first shew his tribute of the Kingdome of *Goiame*. After him the *Barnagasso* began to giue his *Tribute*, which were one hundred and fiftie exceeding faire *Horfes*, and the first day they did nothing else but runne and prance, and the next day he presented great store of *Cloath* of *Silke*, and great store of passing fine *Cloathes* of *India*. I was not at this presentment, because I felt not my selfe well. When this was done, the next day very early, *Tigremahon* began to present his *Tribute*, which were two hundred *Horfes*, fatter, fairer, and better then those of *Barnagasso*, because they came from a farther Countrey, yet both of their *Horfes* were of *Egypt* and *Arabia*, and all this day, they did nothing else but view *Horfes*. The next day they presented more *Cloathes* of *Silke*, then euer I saw together in my life, and the whole day was bestowed in presenting, counting and receiuing of the same. The Monday following, about noone, came *Balgada Robel*, a great Nobleman, subiect to *Tigremahon*, to present his *Tribute* by himselfe, which were thirtie *Horfes*, all of *Egypt*, great like *Elephants*, very fat, and a *Xumagali*, that is, a Gentleman without Title vpon each of them; and eight of these *Xumagali* had good *Curasses* like vnto ours, part couered with *Veluet*, and part with *Cordouan*, and their studs gilded. They had also *Helmets* like ours vpon their heads. *Balgada Robel* himselfe was one of these eight: the other two and twenty had shirts of Maile, with long sleeues, which were very well fastned to their bodies: they had thirtie *Iauelins*, and *Maces* of *Iron* like vnto the workes, and all of them weare *Blue wreathes* about their heads, with long haire which waued in the wind.

Of the *Canas*, that is, The men of Armes which came with *Barnagasso* and *Tigremahon*, and with the Gentlemen of their Companies, the *Prete Ianni* appointed, that fifteene thousand of them, with a Noble-man named *Adrugaz*, which is often spoken of in this Booke, should goe immediatly into the Kingdome of *Adea*, and pacifie that Kingdome, and that the *Queene* should follow soft and faire. And forth-with the *Queene* and *Adrugaz* departed, and it was reported, that they should trauaile through the Countrey of the *Prete*, thirtie daies iourney, before they could come into the Kingdome of *Adea*. The next day after, the *Queenes* departure, the *Prete* commanded the *Grand Betudete* to be apprehended, which had brought him tribute from the Kingdome of *Goiame*. Likewise he caused the other *Betudete* to be taken, whose name is *Canba*, he caused also *Tigremahon* to be taken; which being apprehended on a morning before day, the *Prete* departed, and all the Court with him, and we after him.

And as the Ambassador of the *Prete*, and I stood by a *Riuers* side, watering our *Mules*, this *Betudete* that brought the *Tribute* passed by vs, and said vnto mee, *Abba Barqua*, which signifieth, *Father giue me your blessing*: I answered him; *Ihezaria Barqua*, that is to say, *God blesse you*. He answered

Queen of the
Moores.

Her traine.

Tributes of
Barnagasso and
Tigra.

* An hyperbo-
licall speech.

Their Armes.

Succours for
Adea.

Apprehension
of great men.

answered with teares, which trickled downe his cheekes : *Father, pray to God for me, for at this time I shall end my daies.* His prison was a little Chaine, very thinne, of a fathome * long, like a Chaine to leade a Dogge in, with a little thin circle about his necke, and himselfe carried his Chaine in his hand. A Chaine-prison.
* Vn Braccio.

On a Wednesday, we came to the place where the Tents of the *Prete* were set vp, and that night it was said, that the *Prete* commanded the *Betudete* to bee brought to his presence, and so he was brought with two of his *Sonnes*. When they were come to the gate of the Tent, the *Prete* sent forth two Pages, to cause him to be brought to the backe-side of the Tent, because he would speake with him in his owne person, commanding the Guard and his *Sonnes* to attend, and withdrew themselues a little from the gate of the Tent. Here they stayed vntill the morning, when the *Prete* rid away, and all of vs with him, without any newes at all of the *Betudete*, whether he were dead or aliue, or what was become of him. His said two *Sonnes*, and three others which stayed at home, being all great personages, and worthy Warriors, made pitifull moane, and all their Fathers Seruants, which kept an honourable house, like a great King. After this the *Prete* commanded, that they should not vse any Seruant of their Fathers, nor of their owne : and I haue seene them riding all alone without any Seruant, naked from the Girdle vpward, with a blacke shaggy Sheepe-skinne vpon their shoulders, and clad in blacke Cloath from the Girdle downward, and all their Mules couered with blacke. Their owne Seruants and their Fathers, were diuided all, and walked mourning on foote, and droue their Mules sadled before them.

On a Munday, when we entred into the Kingdome of *Oisa*, there was a commandement, to obserue the *Feast of the Kings*, or *Twelve-day*, which they call, *Tabuchete*, on which day they obserue their Baptisme, as I haue said before. This day very early in the morning, these Sons of the *Betudete* went from house to house, that is to say, To the Tents of the great persons, as others were wont to come vnto them, enquiring newes of their Father, whether he were liuing or dead, whereof they could learne nothing at all, vntill fiftene daies after, when they were returned, which had conueyed him into the Kingdome of *Fatigar*, into a Mountaine, which is said to be in the vttermost Border of the Kingdome of *Adel*, which is very high, hauing a deep Valley in the midst thereof, and there is but one entrance thereinto : In this bottome or Valley, are all kind of Beasts and Oxen, but the men which came into it, dye within foure or fve daies of an Ague, and that there they had left him without any man to waite vpon him, sauing certaine *Moores* which were to guard him vntill he were dead. This newes increased their grieve more then the first : and men beganne to speake of this death in the Court, that the *Prete* had put him vnto the same, because he had lien with the *Queene* his Mother, and the report went so while shee was aliue, and that hee had a Sonne by her, and that the *Prete* would not put him to death while his mother liued, because hee would not discredite her. And while these rumours went about the Court, Proclamation came forth, that no man should speake of the *Betudete*, on paine of his life. Suddenly this rumour ceased; And three moneths after, while wee were nere the Sea side, in the Territories of *Tigremahon*, there came a new report, that the *Betudete* was not dead, and that his *Sonnes*, by the helpe of the King of *Adel*, had wrought his escape. Immediately there came other newes, that the *Prete* had beheaded twentie *Moores*, which guarded him, and two of his Seruants, because they came to speake with him : and this we knew to be very true.

119. Also on a night, the *Prete* commanded that *Tigremahon* should be carried away, neither was there any man that could tell, to what place he was conueyed. The next day they sent to lay hold vpon all that hee had in his Tents, and ceased not three daies together, to carrie, count, and deliuer out course Cloathes, and many Chamblets, and very fine Cloathes of *India*. We were then in the Court fixe White men of vs, to wit; I, and one *Portugall*, and foure *Geno-ueses*. To each of vs the *Prete* sent fixe cloathes, to wit, three pieces of Chamblet, and three cloathes of *India*, and it was reported within few daies, that the *Prete* had sent *Tigremahon* into the Kingdome of *Damute*, into a wonderfull high Mountaine, which had but one way made by hand into it, and the top thereof was cleansed, and very cold. Hither they send men, whom they would speedily ride out of the way. And according as false newes came into the Countries of *Tigremahon*, that the *Betudete* was fled, so certaine newes came vnto vs, that *Tigremahon* was dead in that Mountaine for hunger and cold. At this time also, while wee were at the Court, the other *Betudete* which was apprehended, was deposed from his Office, and *Arraz Nobiata* was made *Betudete*, which had beene *Barnagasso*, and *Balgada Robel* was made *Tigremahon*, who came with thirtie Horses in such good order. And there ranne a great brute through all the Court, lamenting the death of the *Queene Helena* : for they muttered, that since her death, Both great and small went all to wracke, and that while shee liued all were preserved aliue and cherished, and that she was the Father and Mother of all men ; and that if the *Prete* went forward on this fashion, all his Kingdome would speedily come to nought.

The *Tabuchete* or Baptisme being ended, the Ambassadour *Zago Zabo*, and I, left off the prosecution of our suit, because we durst not proccede therein, by reason of the great and weightie affaires,

affaires, which we saw to be in hand. The *Prete* sent for vs, and taking away a Lordship, which *Abdenago* our aduersarie held, and the other which we demanded, he gaue them both vnto the Ambassadour, and so dispatched vs fully contented. Before wee departed, newes came from *Adrugaz*, which went with the Queene of *Adea* to succour her Husband, whereby the *Prete* was aduertized, how the people would not obey her, and that whether soeuer she came, they fled away, and ranne into the Mountaines, and that his Highnesse must send more men. The *Prete* determined to goe thither in person, and to bring the Queene his Wife vnto a Towne, wherein before we had beene with her, which is called *Orgabra*, being in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of *Adea*, and there to leaue his Wife, his Children, and all the Court; and so hee did. There went with him of the *Portugals*, *George de Bren*, *Diego Fernandez*, *Alfonso Mendez*, 10
and *Aluarenga*, and fise or sixe *Genoueses*. Vpon their returne, they reported, that wheresoever the *Prete* trauelled through the Kingdome of *Adea*, all the people came to do him homage, as vnto their Lord, and that he would haue gone a great deale farther, euen vnto *Magadaxo*; and that the Countrey was very fruitfull and full of Woods, so that they could not trauell, vnlesse they cut downe the Trees, and so made their way. And that there was infinite store of victuals of all sorts, and great herds of all Cattell, which are very bigge, and that in this Kingdome there is a Lake so great, that it seemeth to be a Sea, and that a man cannot see from the one side to the other, wherein there is an Iland, where in times past a *Prete Ianni* built a Monastery, and placed many Monkes in the same, although it were built in the Land of the *Moores*, which Friers for the most part dyed of the Feauer, sauing a few that remained in a little Monasterie 20
out of the Ile, by the Lakes side, which were found aliue, and that the *Prete* forth-with commanded, that other Churches and Monasteries should bee built, and many Priests and Friers should be left there, and lay-people to inhabite the said Kingdome, which being pacified, he returned backe againe to the Towne where he had left the Court. This Kingdome payeth a great number of Oxen for tribute, and we haue seene of them in the Court, and they are as bigge as great Camels, and white as Snow, and without hornes, and haue very great and hanging eares.

120. The manner which the *Prete* obserueth in disposing of his Court, is, that alwaies hee lodgeth in the fields, for no other place were able to containe his traine; And if there be any high place, thereon they set vp the Tents of the *Prete*, the backe parts whereof stand alwaies to the East, and the Gates vnto the West, and they are alwaies foure or fise Tents, all fastned 30
together one to the other, and these are properly his habitations, enuironed about with certaine high Curtaines, which they call *Mandekate*, being wrought in Checker-wise, diuided into black and white, and if you will stay there any long time, they compasse them about with an hedge, which is a good mile about, wherein they make twelue Gates. The principall Gate looketh toward the West, and behind the same a good distance off, are two other Gates, one on the one side, and another on the other, which serue for the Church of *Saint Marie of Sion*, which standeth toward the North, and the other serueth for the Church of *holy Crosse*, which is towards the South. Next vnto these gates, which serue for these Churches, as farre distant from these as the principall Gate is from the Gates aforesaid, are two other Gates on each side. That towards the South, serueth to goe to the Tents of the Queene, the Wife of the *Prete*, and that toward the North, serueth to goe to the lodgings of the Pages; and at all these Gates, stand seuerall Guards. I could not see the rest, for they will suffer no man to goe round about that hedge. This I wot well, that in all places wheresoever he lodgeth, they make twelue Gates: 40
among which there is one, that serueth for the Pages of the Kitchin.

Behind these Tents, the distance of a Crosse-bow shot and more, are the Kitchens placed, and the Tents of the Cookes diuided into two parts: To wit, the Cookes on the right hand, and the Cookes on the left hand. And when the meates are brought from these Kitchens, they vse to carrie them after this sort, (according as I saw in the Citie of *Orgabra*, in the Kingdome of *Xoa*, as I stood vpon an hill neere vnto the Kitchens; for in other parts the Tents are set in the Plaines, that no man may see them.) There passed a Canopie of Red and Blew Crimzon, 50
as it seemed of sixe whole long pieces sewed together, and they carried this Canopie vpon certaine Canes, which in this Countrey are very good, strong, and so long, that they make Lances with them. Vnder this Canopie came the Pages, which carried the meate in certaine great Platters of Wood, which they call *Canete*, being made like plaine Patens of Wood, wherein we cleanse our Wheate, with a brim two fingers high, but they be greater, and in each of them were set many Dishes of black earth, wherein the meates were put, as Hens, Turtles, and other small Birds, and many fruits, and White-meates, which are for the most part made with Milke, and other things. There were also little Pipkins, as blacke as the dishes, with other Viands, and Broth of diuers sorts. These meats which I speake of, which were carried in these Platters, I say not that I saw them when they carried them, because I was a farre off; but I saw them, 60
when they sent them to vs, that they came in the same Platters, as they were brought from the Kitchin, without any Canopie, and the Pipkins were couered with their heads closed vp with Paste: and these Platters which they sent vs, were full of these Pipkins, which were seething hot. In all meats wherein they may put Ginger and Pepper, they layed on so much, that we

Orgabra.

Magadaxo.

A mightie Lake.

White Oxen without horns, as bigge as Camels.

How the Pretes is lodged in his Tents.

The hedge with twelue gates.

Saint Mary of Sion.

Meats hot with spices.

we could not eate of them, because they were so hot. Betweene the Kitchins and the Tents of the Cookes, almost behind the same, is a Church of Saint *Andrew*, which is called, *The Church of the Cookes*. No man may repaire vnto the place where the Kitchins are, nor yet behind them.

121. Two Crosse-bow shoots distant, before the gates of the Kings Tents, or of the lidge, if it be there, a long Tent is set vp, which they call *Cacalla*, and this is the house of Iustice or Audience. And betweene this Tent and the Tents of the *Prete*, no man passeth on Horse-backe, in reuerence of the King, and of his Iustice, but all doe light and goe on foot. Into this Tent of *Cacalla*, no man entreth: onely thirteene low Chaires of Iron are placed therein. The place where they sit is couered with Leather; and one of the said Chaires is very high, reaching as high as the brest of a man, and the other twelue are as low as our stooles. None of the Iudges which heare the parties sitteth in these Chaires, (they onely stand there for a Ceremonie) for they sit on the ground vpon the grasse, if there bee any, as many on the one side, as on the other, and there they heare the parties which contend, and euery one according to his iurisdiction: because (as I haue said) as the Cookes were diuided into two parts, so are all others; to wit, on the left hand, and on the right, and Audience is giuen after this sort.

The Plaintiffe deliuereth his Action by word of mouth, and no man speaketh while he hath done. The Defendant speaketh against him as long as hee will, without any mans disturbance: when the Defendant hath done, the Plaintiffe replyeth if hee will, and the Defendant answereth him the second time, if he thinke so good, without any disturbance. When they haue done their Oppositions, and Answeres by themselves, or by their Proctors, there standeth vp a man, which is, as it were, a Reporter; and hee repeateth ouer againe as much as the parties haue said, and at length deliuereth his opinion, which of them both hath best right. Then one of those Iudges which sit downe, to wit, he that is the first, doth euen so as the Reporter had done, to wit, he repeateth all that the parties haue said, and at length deliuereth, which of them he thinketh to haue best reason. And after this manner, doe all the rest which sit and deliuer their opinions: and they stand vp when they speake, vntill they come to the Chiefe Iustice, which standeth vp last, who hauing heard the opinion of all the rest, giueth his sentence, if there bee no need of prooffe: but if they haue need of tryall, they giue them due and necessary respite. And all is done in words without writing.

Other matters which the *Betudetes* and the *Aiaz* heare, they heare standing, because they stand before the Tents of the *Prete*, and before this *Cacalla*, and as soone as they heare the parties, immediately they goe with that which they say vnto the *Prete*, and they enter not into his Tent, but onely within the *Mandelate* or great Curtaine, and there they speake, and then returne to the parties with the resolution of the *Prete*. And sometimes they spend a whole day in passing thus too and fro, according to the weightinesse of the causes.

122. A good distance before the Tent or House of Iustice, on the right hand and on the left, are two Houles or Tents, as it were Prisons, to keepe men in Chaines; and they are called *Maignes Bete*, where the Prisoners are kept on both side, to wit, on the right hand, and on the left. And they are kept after this manner, that according to their fault and cause, such is their Prison and their Guards. The Prisoner is bound to maintaine the Guards which keepe him, and payeth them as long as he is in Prison. And if there be any that hath Fetters on his legges, when they bring him before the Tent of the *Prete*, where they haue Audience, these Warders carrie him in their armes, to wit, two reach their hands one to another, and cause the Prisoner to sit vpon their armes, which layeth his hands vpon their heads, and the rest of the Warders follow him with their weapons, and so they goe and come.

There is another kind of Prisoners: for if you will haue a man attached, you are bound to find him, if you will accuse him, and his Guard also to guard him. And this I know, because our *Portugals* caused certaine to bee apprehended, for Mules which were stolne from them, and because they sent meate vnto the Prisoners, and to their Keepers, they made request to haue them set at libertie. I knew another which was a *Genouese*, which had a Mule stollen from him, and the Thiefe confessed that he had stollen her, but that she was not in his possession, and that he had not wherewithall to pay for her. They condemned him to bee a slaue, and hee was sold, and he was a very couragious fellow.

123. Right ouer against the Tents of the Prisons, a good distance off, are the Tents of the two Chiefe Iustices placed, to wit, one on the one side, and another on the other, and betweene them is a Church, called, *The Church of the Iustices*. And ouer against this Church, a good way from the same are foure Lions in Chaines, which are alwayes led, whithersoever the *Prete Ianni* goeth. And a good way from the Lions, is another Church, which is called, *The Church of the Christians Market*, who sell in the same: for the greatest part bee *Moores*, especially the principall Merchants of goods, and wares sold by the great; and the Christians sell small wares, as bread, wine, meale, and flesh; because the *Moores* are not suffered to sell any kind of victuals; neither will any man eat of that which they doe dresse, nor of the flesh that they doe kill. This Market must alwayes be right before the Tent of the *Prete*: the least roome that the compasse setteth.

of the Market taketh vp, is a mile and an halfe, and sometimes three miles and more. Although the Court change as often as it will, yet this Order of placing their Tents is alwayes obserued. And from the Tent of the King vnto this Market, the way is free and open, that is to say, there standeth no Tent at all, saue onely the two Churches of the two Iustices, and those of the Lions, and that of the Church of the Market. And these are a good way distant from all other Tents.

Vestries.

Double Tents
and Capitaines
to each.

Abuna Marke.

The Cabeata
married.

124. On each side of both the Churches, standing on either side of the Tent of the Prete, there is placed a very faire and goodly Tent, wherein they keep the Vestments of the Churches and another, where they keepe the fire and the flower to make the *Corban*, that is, the Communion Bread. And al other Churches haue a Tent after this maner. Before these Churches are set vp other great, long, and wide Tents, like vnto Halls, & these they cal *Balagamie*, wherein they keep the Apparel, Robes, & Treasures of the Prete, & as many of them stand on the one side as on the other; for they are double, as the rest of the Tents of the Officers of the Court are. These Tents haue their Capitaines which are ouer thole that guard them; And the greater part of this people are slaues, which are Eunuches. Behind these Tents of the Wardrobe on the right hand, stand the Tents of the Queene the Wife of the Prete, and of all the women that wait vpon her, and the Tents of Queene *Helena*, which was wont to be serued in very great pompe: but none but women and Eunuches enter thereinto. On the left hand, are the Tents of the Pages: then the *Aiazi* haue their lodging, because they take vp a great roome, for they haue many people vnder them, which are alwayes neere about them: after the *Aiazi*, lodgeth the Patriarke *Abuna Marke*, with a great number of Tents, because an infinite number of people come to bee admitted into Orders, so that he occupieth as much roome as were sufficient for a great Towne.

On the other side lodgeth the *Cabeata*, which in like manner hath a multitude of Tents, and his lodging was wont to be next vnto the Church of Saint *Mary*, because this Office was wont alwayes to be giuen to a Frier; but this present *Cabeata* being a Priest, and hauing a Wife, they place him next the *Abuna*. Then follow all the Noblemen in their places, and next vnto them the people that are well apparelled, and then the common people, as the *Tauerners*, and *Bakers*, which sell and make Wine, and vie victualling. Then follow the Tents of the women hired to doe businesse, which they call *Amaritas*; and these are many, and they haue many other Tents separated from theirs, wherein the strangers are lodged, which come to sell, to buy, and to traffique with the Court of the Prete. And hereof there be many richly and well apparelled. Next vnto these are lodged all the *Carpenters*, on the one side, and on the other, and they take vp a very great roome. The two great *Betudetes* with their people, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, doe lastly occupie the space of a Citie; so great a multitude doe they alwayes carrie with them, and are as it were, the Guard of this Court. And alwayes the Tents of the Prete are first set vp, and strait-way euery one knoweth his place, where he ought to set vp his, whether on the right hand or on the left. And the Streets, Markets, and Churches are easie to bee seene: And this Campe or Lodging of the Prete *Ianni*, extendeth it selfe for the space of fixe good miles.

The Prete absolute Soue-
reigntie.

Manner of
great mens
comming to
the Court.

125. No great Lord, nor Gouvernour of Territories, if hee bee in his Gouvernement may come forth, nor stirre to come vnto the Court in any wise, vnlesse he be sent for by the Prete: and being sent for he may not deferre his comming for any occasion: and when he remoueth hee leaueth there neither Wife, nor Children, nor any goods at all, for he alwayes feareth, that he shall not returne backe againe, because (as I haue said before) the Prete giueth and taketh Governments at his pleasure: and if he taketh them from any, strait-way that Nobleman which is placed in his roome, taketh from him whatsoever hee findeth, and therefore they carrie euery thing away, or send them into other Territories. And when they come neere the Court with great triumph, they stay at least three miles distance from the Court, where they remayne oftentimes one or two moneths, without stirring from thence, so that they seeme to be forgotten, vntill it pleaseth the Prete to thinke of them: yet cease they not, in this meane time, while they stay as forgotten, to enter into the Court, and to talke with other Noblemen, but not with triumph, nor well apparelled, but with two or three men, and naked from the Girdle vpward, and with a sheep-skinne on their shoulders, and so they goe, and returne to their Tents, vntill they haue licence to repaire vnto the Court; which being obtayned, they make their entrance with great triumph of Musicke and Drummes, and retyre themselves vnto their place, which in former time was appointed vnto them.

And when any of them is lodged, hee goeth not out of his house apparelled, as hee did at his comming to the Court, but goeth naked, as I haue said, although he came at his entrance apparelled with great pompe. And at this time all men commonly say: *Now such an one is not in the Kings fauour, because he goeth naked.* And if hee hath any fauourable speech from the Prete, incontinently he commeth forth apparelled, and then the people say; *Such an one is in his Lords fauour*, and the cause is spread abroad, for which he was sent for. For the most part they returne vnto their governments, and sometimes not: and if they returne, they are strait-way dispatched: if they be taken from them, they stay them fve, fixe, and seuen yeares, without departing from

from the Court, from whence they may not depart without licence. They are wonderfully obedient vnto their King. Before they were not so greatly accompanied, but now they are as greatly abandoned, and now they ride vpon a Mule with two or three men after them, for the rest which were wont to waite vpon them, belonged to the gouernments which were taken from them, and those are appointed to wait vpon the new Gouverneur.

Honourable respect of souldiers.

126. If any Gentleman be called forth for the warres (as oftentimes wee haue seene) his entry into Court is not forbidden, but presently he entred, and passeth along as he commeth, with many people. These Gentlemen are not forbidden, that which I haue spoken of, not to passe betweene the Tent of *Cacalla*, and the Tent of the King, neither on horse-backe, nor on Mule, because when they come to goe to warre, they enter into that space, euen to the Tents of the King, and neere vnto them they make their musters, skirmishing, and ranging themselves in battell array, as they thinke good, that the King may take pleasure thereat. And this wee haue seene very oftentimes. These Souldiers stay not in Court aboue two dayes, for so they bee accustomed, for in two dayes they will assemble one hundred thousand persons together, if they will haue so many, and as they come to Court they are speedily dispatched, for there they vse not to giue any wages, but euery man bringeth his victuals with him, namely, Meale of Barley, and of Chiches, and of Millet parched, which is a good food to go to warre withall: for they find Oxen and Kine euery where as they go; and if it be in Wheate Haruest, this is the principall victuall carryed by those people vnto the warre.

The case is now altered.

The Pretes Carriages.

Cauces for Treasuries.

* The Turkes then warring against the Soldan, halfe of them were destroyed. No walled Castles nor Cities in all Ethiopia.

* Sic perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur?

127. All the Pretes Robes of Silke are laid in square Paniers made of wicker, which are foure spans long, layed two and two together, and are halfe so broad, couered with raw Oxe Hides with the haire on, and at euery corner there is a chaine, which commeth ouer the couer, and hath in the midst a Locke of Iron, wherein these Chaines are locked with a little Key. And as these are locked which carrie the Silke, so likewise are those which carrie fine Clothes of *India*, and they are borne vpon mens heads, and are aboue fife thousand or sixe thousand, and betweene euery hundred goe certaine Souldiers. And because euery yeare the Silkes and embroydered Clothes grow to such quantities, as wel of those which are payd for the Tributes of diuers Realmes, as of those which the Prete sometimes causeth to be bought, and so great numbers are not spent, and cannot be carryed with him in his trauell, therefore euery yeare they put them into certaine Cauces, which are digged in Mountaines for this purpose: and one of these Cauces we saw in our way, when wee came first to Court, which was neere to the gates, called before *Badabaie*, neere vnto certaine deepe Vallies before-mentioned. At this Caue many Warders are continually, and euery passenger payeth vnto them a certaine Toll, which is appointed for this Guard. After the same manner that the Robes and Clothes of Silke are carryed, so is the Treasuror likewise carryed in Chests, but somewhat lesser, which are couered with Leather, and locked, as those which carryed the Robes: and ouer the couering, the Chaines, and the Locke, is another raw Oxe-hide put, which is fastned with thongs of the said Hide, and there it dryeth and becommeth very strong. And these Chests of Treasure are wonderfull many, and alwayes goe with a great Guard, and likewise yearely many of them are put into those Cauces, for they cannot carrie so many with them as doe increase, and multiply euery yeare.

This Caue which we saw, was three miles from the house of *Peter de Conillan*, and hee told vs, * that the Gold in this Caue was sufficient to buy the one halfe of the World: for euery yeare they put vnto the same exceeding great summes, and hee neuer saw them take any out. Touching the Silke and Cloth of Gold, *Peter Conillan* told vs, that oftentimes they tooke out thereof to giue vnto the Churches and Monasteries, as was done three yeeres before our comming thither, when the Prete sent exceeding great Offerings to *Ierusalem*, of Cloth of Gold and Silke, which he had taken out of those Cauces, because of the great store that was therein. And the Offerings were so great, that they couered the wals of the Church of the holy Sepulchre. * He sent thither also a quantitie of other Gold. There are many more of these kind of Cauces made after the same manner that this is, being all of them in the sides of Mountaines, because they haue no walled Cities or Castles, wherein they may keepe such kind of things. The Ambassadour which went vnto *Ierusalem*, to carry the foresaid Offerings, is called, *Abba Axerata*, who at this present is chiefe Guardian of the Sisters of *Prete Ianni*, and carryed with him aboue fiftene hundred men, with other Gentlemen with Drummes: and I haue heard of them which were with him, that they alwayes trauelled by the way playing vpon their Drummes, from the Citie of *Cairo* vnto *Ierusalem*, and in their returne they came running away being halfe destroyed, because the Great Turke came against the Soldan of *Egypt*, and against the said Citie of *Cairo*, whereby they were to passe.

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§. XIX.

p. XIX.

Pilgrimage to Ierusalem. Of the Countries which border on PRETE IANNI: Moores, Gentiles, Amazones, Cafates, Damute, Goiame, Bagamidri, Nubia. Of SALOMONS Officers.

Pilgrimage to
Ierusalem.

128.  Hile we were in the Towne of *Barna*, which is the head of the Kingdome of *Barnagasso*, there assembled a Carauan to goe to *Ierusalem*, and they were three hundred thirtie six Friers and Priests, and fiftene Nuns. And this was in the Christmas Holy-dayes: for they depart immediately after Twelvetide, and vse to be at *Ierusalem* the weeke before Easter, traueilling soft and faire as their manner is. They began their iourney from a Towne distant from *Barna*, a dayes iourney and an halfe, which is called *Einacen*, which is a Towne and a Territorie, abounding with all kind of victuals, and there are many Monasteries, and here they began to close vp their Carauan, and it is a place subiect vnto the gouernment of *Daffila*, which is vnder *Barnagasso*. When the said Friers departed, they made a very small iourney, and in the Euening tooke vp their Lodging, and presently set vp the Tents of their Churches, whereof they had three, and began to say their Hournes and Masses, and receiuing the Communion; the next day, about nine of the clocke, they began their Voyage, and they were all laden with victuals, and with Gourds, and *Barrachios* of water, and the Tents of their Churches, and the stones of their Altar were carryed vpon Camels: and they trauelled not aboue fixe miles a day. And becaule I would see their manner of traueilling: I went two dayes iourney with this Carauan.

The Pilgrims
Parish.

This Carauan, after they had passed *Suachen*, was assaulted by *Arabian Moores*, which overthrew those that were their guides, and tooke the Pilgrimes, and hauing slaine the old men, they sold the young men for slaues: and of three hundred thirtie fixe there escaped but fiftene, which went forward on their Voyage. And afterward I saw three of them, which declared vnto me all their mis-hap, and they told me that this out-rage was done vnto them, because they were the *Portugals* friends, and it is most certaine, that they are very odious vnto their Neighbours for our sakes. Since the Massacre of these friends vntill this instant, no man hath passed in Carauan to *Ierusalem*, but they goe thither secretly as Passengers, and these are accounted for holy men. And becaule the Inhabitants of *Ierusalem* are white people, when we came first into this Countrey, they called vs Christians of *Ierusalem*. There is also another way by Sea, which is gone in a lesser time. They imbarke themselues at the Hauen of *Maczua*, and sayle to the Hauen of *Tor*, which is neere to Mount *Sinai*, and they passe in fise and twentie dayes.

Dangali?
Della.

129. The Territorie, Kingdomes and Lordships confining vpon the Kingdomes of *Prete Ianni*, as farre as I can learne, are these. First, beginning at *Maczua* toward the Red Sea and the East, on that Coast are *Arabian Moores*, which keepe the Cattle of great Lords that are vnder the Kingdome of *Barnagasso*. And these goe thirtie and fortie together with their wiues and children, and haue a Christian for their Captaine, and are all Theeues, and rob by the high way, and are fauoured by the Lords whose Cattle they keepe. A little farther, you enter into the Kingdome of *Dangali*, which is a Kingdome of the *Moores*, and it hath one Hauen, called *Della*, and this Hauen is neere vnto the Streight of the Red Sea, entring into the Land toward the *Abissins*, and this Kingdome stretcheth vnto the borders of the Kingdome of *Adel*, which belongeth vnto the Lord of *Zeila* and *Barbara*: and these two Kingdomes meete in the in-land, vpon the Confines of *Prete Ianni*. And there is foure and twentie great Captain-ships or Lord-ships, which are called *Dobas*.

Kingdome of
Adel.

130. *Adel* is a very great Kingdome, and stretcheth to the Cape of *Guardafui*, and in that part, a subiect of his gouerneth; and this King of *Adel* is held for a Saint among the *Moores*, because hee maketh continuall warre vpon the Christians: and of the spoiles which hee winneth, hee alwayes sendeth Presents to the house of *Mecca*, to *Cairo*, and to other Kings: and they returne vnto him in recompence, Armour, Horses, and other things for his ayde. Of which King I haue spoken in the one hundred and fourteenth Chapter. This Kingdome of *Adel* bordereth in some part with the Kingdome of *Fatigar* and *Xoa*, which Countreyes belong vnto *Prete Ianni*.

Adela.

131. In the midst of the Kingdome of *Adel*, as you passe into the Countrey, beginneth the Kingdome of *Adela*, which is inhabited with *Moores*, who are subiect to *Prete Ianni*, and this Kingdome stretcheth vnto *Magadaxa*.

Lord-ships of
Gentiles.

132. Amidst the Kingdome of *Adela*, as you goe Westward, beginne the Lord-ships of the *Gentiles*, which are no Kingdomes, & border vpon the Dominions of the *Prete*. The first of these Lord-ships, or Captain-ships, is called *Ganze*, and is inhabited with *Gentiles* and *Christians*. Next vnto this is a great Lord-ship, almost as bigge as a Kingdome, and they are *Gentiles*, the slaues of which Countrey are made no great account of. They haue no King, but many Lords in diuers parts of the Countrey, and this Lord-ship is called, *Gamu*. And as you passe farther toward

ward the South-west, in the Kingdome, called *Gorage*. And with this Kingdome of *Gorage*, and Lord-ships of *Ganze* and *Gannu*, the Kingdomes of *Oisa* and *Xoa*, which belong to *Prete* *lami*, doe confine together.

133. As yee trauell toward the West, vpon the said Frontiers of the Kingdomes of the *Prete*, especially vpon the Kingdome of *Xoa*, there is a very great Citie and Kingdome, called *Damute*, the Slaues of which Kingdome are highly esteemed by the *Moores*; who will not depart with them for any money. And all *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Egypt* are full of the Slaues of this Countrey, which become perfect *Moores*, and great Warriours. The people of this Kingdome are *Gentiles*, although there be many *Christians* among them. I say thus much, because I haue seene many
10 Priests, Friers, and Nuns conuersant in the Court of the *Prete*, which assured mee that there are many Monasteries, and Religious persons in that Countrey. This King is called, *The King of the Gentiles*. And the most part of the Gold which runneth current in the Dominions of the *Prete*, is brought out of this Countrey; for they know better how to digge and refine the same: and great store of victuals is also brought from thence. And when we kept our Lent in the Countrey of *Gorage*, we had great store of greene and fresh Ginger brought from thence, and great store of Fish, and plenty of Grapes, which in Lent season were ripe in those parts. And after Easter we had many great Sheepe and Oxen.

And I was certified and assured that on the Frontiers of these Kingdomes of *Damute*, and *Gorage*, as you trauell toward the South there is a Kingdome gouerned by women, which may
20 be called *Amazones*, according as it is recorded and written in the Booke of *Don Pedro*, the Infant of *Portugall*. But these women (if it bee true) in generall haue their Husbands with them all the yeare, and liue with them: they haue no King but a *Queene* that hath no certaine Husband, but suffereth any man to lye with her, and to get her with child, and the eldest Daughter succeedeth in the Kingdome. They say, that they be very valiant women and great Warriours, and that vpon certaine beasts which are very swift, and like vnto Oxen. They are great Archers, and in their youth they cause their left brest to be dried vp, that it hinder not their shooting. They gather great store of Gold in this Kingdome, which is first carryed into the Kingdome of *Damute*, and from thence into many other parts. The Husbands of these women are no Warriours, because they will not suffer them to manage Armes.

30 In the Kingdome of *Damute*, they say, there springeth a most mighty Riuer, which is contrarie to *Nilus*; for the one runneth one way, and the other another. *Nilus* runneth toward *Egypt*, but the Inhabitants know not particularly whither this other runneth, but it is supposed to run westward vnto the Kingdome of *Congo*. In the Kingdome of *Damute*, when the winter approacheth, and that they looke for raine showres, and lightning, although they be not enforced thereunto, they digge and delue the Earth very well, till the mould be fine, that the water which falleth may wash the same, and the Gold may remayne cleane, and most commonly they seeke it in the night by Moone-light, for then they see it glister. Also I haue often seene the people seeking Gold in the aforesaid manner, in the Towne of *Caxumo*, which is in the Kingdome of *Tigrai*,
40 and they told me, that they found it for the most part by night.

134. Trauelling Westward, and as it were directly West, through this Kingdome of *Damute*, there are certaine gouernments of people, called *Cafates*, a Nation very blacke, and of great stature; and it is reported that they were descended of the race of the *Jewes*, but they haue neither Bookes nor Synagogue. They are very subtile men, and of greater wits then any other people that are in these parts. They are *Gentiles*, and great Warriours, and alwaies are in warre with the *Prete*. They confine with part of *Xoa*, and *Goame*. I was neuer there my selfe; but that which I say, I heard reported by our *Portugals* which were there, when the great *Betudete* went against them with an Armie; and againe, when the *Prete* went in person: and they told mee, that these *Cafates* made great assaults vpon them, and chiefly by night, when they came to stay and rob them: on the day-time they retired to the Mountaines and Woods, and namely, into
50 certaine wonderfull deepe Valleyes, which are among the Mountaines.

135. But leauing the South, and taking the West; another Kingdome lieth somewhat lower, belonging to the *Prete*, called *Goame*, a great part whereof belonged to *Queene Helena* his mother. In this Kingdome springeth the Riuer of *Nilus*, which in this Countrey is called *Gion*, and it issueth out of two Lakes, which are so great, that they seem to be Seas, wherein, as they report, are Tritons and Mermaids, and some haue assured me, that they haue seene them. *Peter de Comillan* told me, that he had bene in this Kingdome, by commandement of *Queene Helena*, to giue order for the making of an Altar, in a Church which shee had caused to bee builded in that Territorie, wherein shee her selfe was buried, and that this Altar was made of wood, which they filled full with masse Gold: and the Patriarch *Abuna Marke* told me, that he did consecrate the
60 Altar stone, which was great, and very heauie, that is to say, it was all of Gold. We were certaine times vpon the frontier of the said Kingdome, where we were informed, that this Church had great Guards appointed vnto it, because of the great quantitie of Gold which was in the same: and all the Gold of this Kingdome of *Goame* is somewhat base. I could not vnderstand, with what People this Kingdome confineth on the farther side, which lieth in the West, only I

Iewes to the west of Goïame. heard say, that there were Desarts full of Mountaines, and that beyond them were certaine *Iewes*. I affirme not this, but only deliuer that, which I heard spoken in generall by euery bodie.

Bagamidri a great Kingdome 600. miles long. 136. At the end of this Kingdome of *Goïame* beginneth another Kingdome, which is the greatest in all the Dominions of *Prete Ianni*, and is called *Bagamidri*. This runneth along by the bankes of *Nilus*, and therefore is very great, for it beginneth at the Kingdome of *Goïame*, and passeth along by the Kingdomes of *Amara*, of *Angote*, of *Tigrai*, of *Tigremahon*, and *Barnagasso*; and passeth aboue fixe hundred miles in length. Betweene the Kingdomes of *Angote* and *Tigrai*, at the end of them, are certaine Lordships, Westward toward *Nilus*, the people whereof are called, *Agaos*, which are partly *Gentiles*, and partly *Christians*. On the other side, I know not vpon whom they doe confine, but I thinke they must border vpon this Kingdome of *Bagamidri*, in which Kingdome, I was certified by many, that were there themselves, that there is a Mountaine of Siluer in great abundance, which they knew not how to get out of the same, but in this manner, that where they saw any Caue, they filled it with wood, and set fire on it, as they vse to doe in a Lime-kill, and this fire maketh the Siluer to melt, which runneth all into barres, which is a thing almost incredible: neuerthelesse, *Peter Conillan* told me, that I needed not to doubt, but that this was most true. I say, that which I haue heard, and know, that this Siluer is in exceeding great reputation, and desired of all men.

Agaos.

Mountaine of Siluer. 137. At the end of this Kingdome of *Bagamidri*, toward *Egypt*, dwell certaine *Moores*, called *Belloos*, which are Tributaries vnto *Prete Ianni*, and pay great numbers of Horses. Toward the North, these *Belloos* border vpon the People called *Nubij*, who by report were sometimes *Christians*, and subiect vnto the Church of *Rome*. I haue oftentimes heard reported by a *Syrian*, borne in *Tripoli* of *Syria*, whose name was *Iohn*, and conuersed with vs three yeeres in this Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, and afterward went with vs into *Portugall*, that he had beene in *Nubia*, and saw there one hundred and fiftie Churches, which to this day haue all of them the Images of the Crucifixe, and of our Ladie, and other Images painted vpon walls, and that all this is old and ancient worke. The Inhabitants are neither *Christians*, *Moores*, nor *Iewes*, but liue with a desire to become *Christians*. All these Churches were builded in certaine old and ancient Fortresses, which are in the Countrey: and looke how many Fortresses there be, so many Churches there are in them.

Nubia.

Their religion.

Famine of the Word, and miserable niggardise: whereas, how many of vs are wearie of Maani, and fall a lusting? The Nubians, for want of a Bishop and Priests are fallen from the faith of Christ. While wee abode in this Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, there came from *Nubia*, fixe men in forme of Ambassadors, to craue of him Priests and Eriers to instruct them in the Faith; but he would send them none, saying vnto them, that he had sent for his Abuna, that is, his Patriarch, from the Citie of *Alexandria*, which is subiect to the *Moores*, and that therefore he thought it not conuenient to giue Priests and Eriers vnto them, seeing he had obtained them with so great trauell by the meanes of others: and so they returned backe againe. These *Nubians* said, that in old time they had their Bishop from *Rome*, which being dead many yeeres agoe; and being not able, by reason of the Warres of the *Mahumetans* to haue another, they were without Priests and Religious men, and by this meanes the *Christian* Faith began to be forgotten. These *Nubians* border vpon *Egypt*, and this Countrey lieth ouer against *Suachen*, which is toward the East vpon the red Sea: and the Dominions of these *Nubians* are on both sides of the Riuer *Nilus*: and as many Fortresses as there be, so many Captainships be there also.

Salomons Officers. This *Suachen* is that Towne, which standeth on the frontiers of the dominions of *Prete Ianni*, and in the beginning of *Egypt*, and on the frontiers of these Lordships of the *Nubians*: and hath betweene it and them the *Moores*, called *Bellois*. As you come from this *Suachen*, and goe along the Sea-coast toward the Ile of *Maczua*, it is said, that the Countrey is so full of Woods, that a man is not able to trauell through them. This is as much as I could learne and know, concerning the Kingdomes and Dominions of *Prete Ianni*, on euery side of the same, the greatest part whereof, I haue heard by others, and the lesser part was seene by my selfe.

** The Prophecies of the Jewish reiection (not to mention their conuersion prophesied) by that deluge of destruction verified, contrarieth this conceit of a Jewish Monke possessing so long so large a Soueraigntie, as all others tales of the Queene of Sabas sonne and his followers, hatched (it seemes) by some Politician, which to confirme a Soueraigntie (perhaps wonne by the sword) would deuise dreames of so honourable descent. And if Salomon had this sonne, how is Christ descended of a legall sonne of Salomon by the line of Nathan, whenas Salomon his owne line (if he had any) ought to inherit? Neither doe the Jewish, or Gentile, or Christian Storie; or common reason, or probabilitie subscribe to this Meilech-tale. And contrarie to Iacobs Prophecie, both before and euer since Shilos coming, Iuda hath a Scepter and a Law-giuer in Ethiopia: yea, the partition wall was pulled downe, and had extended it selfe to Cham before Iapheth was perswaded to dwell in the Tents of Shem: and yet, the Kings of Sheba and Saba are reserued by name to the second Salomon, to whom prayer should be made, and who should every day be praised, whom all Nations should serue, and whose name should be continued as long as the Sunne, Ps. 72. Neither would Christ himselfe vouchsafe any Nationall calling, till after his resurrection, to any but the Iewes. But it is absurd to be earnest in refuting so absurd a iest. Once, if this tale were true, they were neither good Israelites which neglected the Temple and legall Rites; nor are good Christians to admit so many of them. Yet is it likely, that some Iew, or Jewish Christians haue corrupted their Christianitie by continuance of Circumcision, which the Ethiopians and Arabians haue so many Ages before and since Christ vsed: And also many Ethnick parts of Africa still doe: and made way to some Statifer to brew this headie liquor to the mysteries of Christianitie. See my Pilg. l. 7. c. 2, and 6. S. 4.* 138. *Salomon* is said to haue appointed Officers to his sonne *Meilech*, when hee sent him from *Ierusalem* to *Ethiopia*, to the *Saba*, his mother. And truth it is, that vnto this day the said Offices continue in the race of them which then were sent hither, hauing succeeded from the father vnto the sonne. Which Officers hee gaue him out of the twelue Tribes, to wit, out of

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each Tribe one Office, as Chamberlaines, Porters, Surueyers, Vfhers, Trumpetters, Captaines of his Guard, and other Officers necessarie for a King or Patentate in his Court: and these are much honoured, because they be Gentlemen, and descended of the People of *Israel*: and there be many of euery Office, because the sonnes of the Chamberlaines, and all their off-spring carrie the name of that Office, and the like is to be said of all the posteritie of the rest. And all of them are taken for such, sauing the Pages, which were wont to be the sonnes of great Noblemen, and Lords; but now they are not: because (as I haue said before) when the *Prete* sends for any great Nobleman, he sendeth him not word wherefore he sends for him: and when he was serued by Pages, which were the sonnes of great Noblemen, they discouered his secrets; and therefore he put them from that Office, and vied Pages within his chambers, which were Slaues, and the sonnes of Kings of the *Moors*, or of the *Gentiles*, which are daily taken by inroads which the *Prete* his people make: and if he see that they be towardly, hee causeth them to be instructed, before they be admitted into his presence: and if they proue discret and good, he taketh them in, and vseth them for Pages. Indeed hee vseth the sonnes of great Lords for Pages abroad or without doores; as, for Pages for his Bridle, when he rideth, and Pages of the Kitchin; but they come not into his Chambers, as is reported, and as we our selues haue seene. Moreouer, all the Canons, which they call *Debeteres*, descend of the race of those which came from *Ierusalem* with the sonne of *Salomon*: and therefore they are more honourable then all the rest of the Clergie.

XX.

The Frier-Ambassadours Signiories. Their departure and arriuall at Ormuz, and after at Goa: at Lisbon. Briefe Notes of Ethiopia, and Letters to the King of Portugall, and the Grand Captaine.

139. **T**He same day that the *Prete* departed toward the Kingdome of *Adea*, the Frier his Ambassadour, and I, departed toward the Lordship, which the *Prete* had giuen him. One of these Lordships contayneth eightie houses and two Churches, and belonged vnto a little Monasterie, which the said Frier had before.

30 The Lordship which was newly giuen vnto him, was *Arras* of the *Canas*, that is, Captaine of the men of Armes, in the Countrey of *Abugana*, and they may be some eight hundred and more. About mid-Lent, wee came to the place where our people aboad, and wee thought long vntill Easter, when the *Portugals* were to come for vs. When Easter was past (about which time is the motion of the Sea) and we saw no body come for vs, we remayned very sad, as we had been before. The moneth of Iuly being come, when the *Prete* vnderstood, that the *Portugals* were not arriued, he gaue order to his Ambassadour, and to a Nobleman of *Abugana*, whose name was *Abue Arraz*, that they should goe with vs vnto these Lordships, to furnish vs with victualls: and because the Haruest was alreadie ended, hee commanded that wee should haue fve hundred loades of Corne, one hundred Oxen, and one hundred Sheepe: and that *Zaga Zabo* his Ambassadour should giue vs Honey to make vs Wine. And hauing receiued those victualls, we returned to *Barua*, by the midst of Ianuarie.

140. On Easter Tuesday at mid-night, there came Letters from *Don Hector de Siluiera*, Grand Capayne of *India*, that he was come for vs, and was at *Maczua*: which Letters being read, we conceiued all of vs vnspeakable ioy. *Don Roderigo* the Ambassadour, would haue had vs depart without delay the next morning, but I would not, saying, That if we did so, they would take vs for no Christians, and that we ought to stay till the Octaues of Easter; and immediately we dispatched one of our *Portugals* with a man of the Countrey, with our Letters, vnto the said *Don Hector*, and sent another Letter to *Zaga Zabo* the Ambassadour of the *Prete*, who stayed behinde, that he should come with as great haste as was possible, and trauell day and night toward the Sea-side, to the Towne of *Ercoco*, because the Fleet was come thither to fetch vs away.

141. On Munday, being the Octaue after Easter, we departed from *Barua*, the *Barnagasso*, and all we *Portugals*, toward *Ercoco*. The *Barnagasso*, what with his owne and his Gentlemens traine, had one thousand men riding vpon Mules, and aboue fixe hundred men on foot: and wee lodged fixe miles from *Barua*, in a Towne called *Dinguil*, standing in the midst of a great champaigne field, where euery Munday at night great store of people meet together, to goe to the Faire of *Ercoco*, and they goe as it were in Carauan, for feare of the *Arabia*s, and of the wilde Beasts of the Countrey. Here two thousand men ioyned themselves with vs, which went to the said Faire. And they said, they were but few, because the rest would not goe thither, for feare they should not finde water to drinke; howbeit, the people that went with *Barnagasso*, From *Barua* to and we our selues, were all prouided: and from the Towne of *Barua* to *Ercoco*, might bee some *Ercoco* fve and fve and fortie miles, and we spent a whole weeke in this voyage. And on Saturday morning, fortie miles. we lodged neere the Towne of *Ercoco*, and came not vnto our Ships. On

* The Mon-
son.

The Portugall
Fleet of five
sailes.
Camaran.
Aden.

The Hauen of
Mazcare.

On Tuesday morning, the *Barnagasso* with all his Captaines and people, deliuered vs to *Don Hector de Siluiera*, with exceeding ioy and gladnesse, and sent vs for a present fiftie Oxen, many Sheepe, Hens, Capons, and Fish, which hee had caused to bee taken, to diuide the same among our Ships. On Wednesday morning, came *Zaga Zabo*, the Ambassadour of *Prete Ianni*, whom we went to meet with vnto *Ercoco*, to accompanie him; and so *Barnagasso* came and deliuered him to the Captaine of the Armie, and so we stayed attending for the motion of the * Sea, that is to say, the time for our departing, which alwayes commeth betweene the foure and twentie or fixe and twentie of April, and the third or fourth of May: and if wee depart not at this motion, and in this season, there commeth none other till the end of August.

142. On the eight and twentieth of April, 1526. the whole Fleet departed, which consisted of five Sailes, that is to say, of three great Galeons, and two Carauels, and wee arriued on the Ile of *Camaran*. The tenth of May, when wee were ouer against the Citie of *Aden*. And when we began to launch into the mayne Sea, from whence the Winter of *India* began to come against vs full in our faces, and we sailed against the same, there began so great a Tempest, that the second night wherein we entred into the same, with extreme darknesse and rage of weather, we lost companie, not knowing what course any of our Consorts held. We sailed in this storme vntill we came to the Streight of *Ormuz*: and the eight and twentieth of May, we came to the Hauen of *Mazcare*, which belongeth to the Kingdome of *Ormuz*. Departing from this Hauen, we arriued in the Citie of *Ormuz*, where the King our Master hath a Fortresse. Here *Lopez Vaz* of *Saint Paul*, being Grand Captaine and Gouvernour of the *Indies*, came forth to receiue vs on the Sea-shore, who embraced vs all; and the next day, after we had heard Masse, we went to speake with the said Grand Captaine, and presented vnto him the Letter of *Prete Ianni*, which we brought for *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, which brought vs into the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*; which Letter the said *Lopez Vaz* did reade, because he was Successor to *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*. Then we presented him a Vesture of silke, hauing five plates of gold before, and five more behinde, and one vpon each shoulder, which make twelue in all, euery one of them as bigge as the palme of a mans hand, which the *Prete* sent to *Diego Lopez*: and the said *Lopez Vaz* gaue vnto *Don Roderigo de Lima* the Ambassadour two hundred Pardaos, that is to say, two hundred Ducats, and vnto the Ambassadour of the *Prete* other two hundred, and to me one hundred. *Don Hector de Siluiera* stayed but a while in *Ormuz*, and would needs returne with his Fleet, to wait for the ships which depart from *Zidem* to come vnto *Diu*, and set forth at the time of the motion of the Sea, wherein we came forth; but they winter in *Aden*, and so goe forward in their voyage: but we stayed here in *Ormuz*, vntill wee were sure that the Winter was ended.

A Copie of the Letter which *Prete Ianni* writ to *Don Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, which was deliuered to *Lopez Vaz* of *Saint Paul*, his Successour in the gouernment of the *Indies*.

IN the Name of God the Father, which hath beene alwayes, who hath no beginning; In the Name of his onely begotten Sonne, which is like vnto him, before the light of the Starres was seene, and before the foundation of the Ocean Sea was laid, who was conceived at another time in the Virgins wombe, without the Seede of Man, and without Marriages, for after this sort was the understanding of his Office: in the Name of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, which knoweth all secrets, whatsoever they bee, that is to say, of all the heighths of the Heauen, which is sustayned without any pillars or props, and hath amplified the Earth, which before was neither created nor knowne, from the East vnto the West, and from the North vnto the South. And of these three Persons, none is afore or after another, but is a Trinitie, containd in one eternall Creator of all things, by one sole Counsell, and one onely Word eternally. Amen.

These Letters and Ambassages are sent from mee *Atani Tingil*, that is by interpretation, The Incense of the Virgin (for so was I named at the day of my Christning) but now am called *Dauid*, the Head of my Kingdomes of the higher and larger *Ethiopia*, the beloued of God, the Pillar of the Faith, descended of the Stocke of *Iuda*, the Sonne of *Dauid*, the Sonne of *Salomon*, the Sonne of the pillar of *Sion*, the Sonne of the Seede of *Iacob*, the Sonne of the Hand of *Mary*, the Sonne of *Nahu*, according to the flesh; To *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, Grand Captaine of the *Indies*. I haue understood, that albeit you are subiect vnto a King, yet neuerthelesse, that you are a Conquerour in all enterprizes, which are committed to you, and are not afraid of the innumerable forces of the *Moores*, hauing subdued Fortune, with the Armes of the holy Faith, and that you cannot be vanquished of any secret things, being armed with the Truth of the Gospell, and resting your selfe vpon the Speare, which carrieth the Banner of the Crosse, for which cause the Lord be alwayes blessed, which hath fulfilled our ioy for the loue of our Lord *Iesus Christ*.

Vpon your comming into these parts, you certified vs of the ambassage of the King your Lord, *Don Emanuel*, and of the Presents which you haue preserved with so great travell in your ships, hauing indured great Windes and Stormes, as well by Sea as by Land, wherein you haue come from so farre Countreies,

Countreyes to subdue the Moores and Pagans, conducting and gouerning your Ships whithersoener you thinke good, which is wonderfull to consider: and aboue all things, that you haue beene two whole yeeres in Warre vpon the Seas, enduring so great tranell, taking rest neither day nor night; considering, that the actions of Man, according to the vsuall custome, are done in the day-time, as to buy, to sell, to tranell by the way, and the night is made to sleepe, and to take rest, as the Scripture saith; The day is made for Men to doe their businesse, from the morning vnto the euening, and the Lions roaring after their prey, doe seeke their meate at God; and when the Sunne ariseth, they get them away together, and lay them downe in their Dens: and so both Men and Beasts are wont to take their rests: yet neither sleepe hath overcome you, nor the night, nor the day, when the Sunne ariseth, for the loue which you beare vnto our holy Faith, as Saint Paul saith; Who shall separate vs from the loue of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednesse, or perill, or sword. And the Apostle Saint Iames saith: Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried he shall receiue the Crowne of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that loue him. God fulfill your desires, and giue you prosperitie, and bring you safe and sound vnto King Don Emanuel, your Lord, and remooue the Moores out of your sight, which you haue vanquished, because they beleue not in the Faith of our Lord Iesus Christ: and blessed be your men of Warre also; for surely, they be Martyrs for our Lord Iesus Christs sake, for they die for hunger, for cold, and for heate, for his holy Names sake. Honorable Sir, when I vnderstood of your comming into our Countreies, I greatly reioyced thereat, and afterward vnderstanding of your sudden departure, I was not a little grieved. I reioyced also, when I was informed, that you had sent an Ambassadour vnto mee, and praised the Name of God the Father, and of his Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord, especially for the good report of you, which resoundeth on all sides, and because you were desirous to enter into friendship with vs. And because (as I conceiue) your goodwill is such, I wish that you would vouchsafe to fulfill the same, in sending vs Artificers which can worke in gold and siluer, and can make Swords, and Armour of Iron, and Head-peeses; and also Masons to build Houses, and men that are skillfull to plant and trim Vines after your manner, and to dresse Gardens, and are skillfull in all other Artes, which are best and most necessarie for the life of man, and also Worke-men to cast sheets of Lead for the couering of Churches, and Tile-makers for our houses, for we couer them with Grasse, and of these we stand in very great need, and for want of them we are alwaies in disquiet. I haue built a great Church, which is named the Trinitie, wherein the body of my Father is buried, for his soule is in the hand of God, and the walls thereof (as your Ambassadour can declare vnto you) are good, and I would couer the same as soone as I could possibly, and would take away the Grasse which at this present is vpon it. For Gods sake, send mee of these Artificers, twelue at the least in euery Art: and yet for this you shall neuer want Crafts-men. And if they will stay with vs, they shall stay, and if they will depart, they shall depart, and I will pay them very bountifull for their paines, &c. This Towne of Zeila is the Hauens, whither all the Victuals doe come, which are transported into Aden, and so through all Arabia, and other Kingdomes and Countreies, which cannot be furnished, but onely with such Victuals as come from Zeila and Maczua, which are brought thither from our Kingdomes, and the Kingdomes of the Moores. And if you doe this, which I perswade you, you shall bring vnder your subiection the whole Kingdome of Aden, and all Arabia, and other Kingdomes adioyning, without warre, or the death of any of your people, for taking victuals from them, they will remaine besieged, and hunger-starued. And when you will wage warre against the Moores, acquaint mee with whatsoener you want; for I will send you great troopes of Horse-men and Archers, Victuals and Gold, and will come my selfe in person, and I and you will defeat the Moores and Pagans, for the aduancement of the holy Christian Faith.

Father Don Francisco is worthy of double reward, because hee is an holy man, and of an upright conscience, and exceeding honest for the loue of God. Being fully acquainted with his good disposition, I haue giuen him a Iurisdiction, a Crosse, and a Staffe in his hand, which is a signe of authoritie, and haue made him an Abbot in our Dominions, and I would wish you to increase his honour, and to make him Bishop of Maczua, and of Zeila, and of all the Islands of the Red Sea, and head of our Countreies, because he is sufficient, and deserueth the like, or a greater office, &c.

143. Wee departed from Ormuz in the fleet of Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, the Grand Captaine, because Don Hector de Siluiera was gone toward the Red Sea, to encounter the Ships of Mecca, which wintered in the Citie of Aden, as I said before: and being come out of the streit of Ormuz, we found that the Winter of India was past, and that wee might sayle without any Tempest, and we sailed to a Fortresse of the King our Lord, in the Countrey of Chaul, which is very pleasant, and aboundeth with Corne, which commeth from Cambaia, and of Oxen, Sheepe, Hennes, and infinite store of Fish, and many fruits of India, and Herbs of Gardens, made by our Portugals. Within few daies after, Don Hector de Siluiera returned, and brought with him three Ships of Mecca, which he had taken, with great riches of Gold, because as yet they had not brought their merchandize, and came to buy them in India, and all the Moores which were young and lustie, that were taken in the said ships, they thrust into the Kings Gallies, selling them at ten Duckets a man, which is the Kings ordinary price. The rest which were old and weake, were likewise sold for ten duckets a piece. Departing from thence, wee came vnto the Citie of Goa, the five and twentieth of Nouember, on Saint Katherines Euen.

Wee

Psalm. 104. v. 20.
21. 22.

Rom. 8. 35.
Iames 1. 12.

Ormuz.

Chaul.

Three rich
ships of Mecca
taken.

Goa.

Cananor. We departed from thence, and came to *Cananor*, where we stayed fixe daies, then wee went to *Cochin*, where wee found *Antonie Galuano*, the Sonne of *Edward Galuano*, the Ambassadour, whose bones I brought with me from *Camaran*, to whom I declared the whole matter, and hee exceedingly reioyced thereat, and would needs come and fetch them from the ship, with all the Priests and Friars of the Citie, and with an infinite number of Waxe-Candles, and so hee was carried to the Monasterie of Saint *Antonie*. And because the Mariners will not carrie dead CorpSES in their ships, therefore the said *Antonie* caused a Graue to bee made behind the high Altar, and made as though he had put the Coffin therein, but secretly caused the same to bee carried to his ship, whereof he was Captaine.

Greatheate. 145. Being come to an Anker in the Riuer of *Lisbon*, ouer against the Kings house, incontinently came Boats vnto vs to receiue our stuffe, and carried them to Saint *Arrem*, where we rested fixe daies, and bought vs Mules and apparell, after the manner of *Portugall*. From hence we departed in a greater heate, then euer I felt in the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, or in the *Indies*. The Ambassadour of *Prete Ianni* with-drew himselfe out of the way to the Towne of *Azinaga*, being himselfe and all his Company almost smothered with heate. The Kings Commissary conducted me to *Ponte de Anonda*, where I thought verily that I should haue ended my daies for extreame heate, and if I had not beene succoured with coole Water, I had presently beene stifled. While we stayed in this place, *Don Roderigo* came thither, riding as fast as he could, and crying, Helpe, helpe for the loue of God, for the *Moores*, the Kings Pilots, and my Slaues, are dead for heate. Straight-way foure Mulettiers ranne with foure Mules, and brought them thither, whereof one dyed immediatly, and another within two daies after: and so we indured a great extremitie of heate. And vpon the death of these two *Moores*, there was some suspicion of the plague, but the Kings Commissarie gaue sufficient Testimony of the truth, that is to say, That they dyed with extreame heate; because that albeit they came out of hot Countries, yet were they not wont to goe clad and shod, but onely with a cloath from the girdle downward: and now in this extreame heat which happened, being cloathed in apparell, they were vtterly stifled. And truly, all the time that I was in the *Indies*, and in *Ethiopia*, I neuer felt so great a heat; and it was told me for a certaintie, that the selfe-same day, there were very many that dyed of heate. The next day we trauiled by night, and came to *Zarnache*, where we receiued order from the King, to stay there till he sent for vs.

Two *Moores*
dyed in *Portugall*
for heat.

146. Having stayed thirtie daies at *Zarnache*, with as much pleasure as might be, *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, Surueyer of the Nauie, came vnto vs, who was the man that brought vs with his Fleet into the Country of *Prete Ianni*, to fetch vs vnto the Citie of *Coimbra*, where the King lay. After two daies came many Bishops, the Deane of the Chappell, and sundry Chaplaines, to fetch the Ambassadour of *Prete Ianni*, and all of vs which were with him from his lodging, and they brought vs to the Kings Palace, where the said Ambassadour presented to his Highnesse a Crowne of Gold and Siluer, which was square in foure pieces, and euery one was two spannes high, and very rich, which the *Prete Ianni* sent, and two Letters made in quaternians of Parchment, said; King Dauid my Lord, sent this Crowne, and these Letters to the King your Father, which is in glorie, and sent him word, that neuer Crowne was sent by the Sonne vnto the Father, but that they were wont to come from the Father to the Sonne: and that by the signe of this Crowne King Dauid himselfe was knowne, loued, feared, and obeyed in all his Kingdomes and Signiories, and hee being his Sonne, sent vnto the King his Father the said Crowne, to assure him, that all his Kingdomes, Signiories, and people, were readie to doe whatsoever his Highnesse should command. And afterward, hauing beene enformed of the death of King Don Emanuel, hee said; Let the Crowne and Letters, which I sent vnto the King Don Emanuel, my Father, be sent vnto the King Don Iohn, my Brother, with other Letters which I will write vnto him.

This being done, the said Ambassadour and I presented two bagges of Embroydered Cloath, with two Letters, and a little Crosse of Gold, which the *Prete Ianni* had sent to the Popes Holinesse, which things he requested to bee presented vnto him by me, *Francis Aluarez*. His Maiestie receiuing the Crosse, kissed the same, and afterward gaue it to *Antonie Carniero*, together with the Letters, and said, that he thanked the Diuine Maiestie, for that hee had guided in an happy way, the things which were begunne by the King his Lord and Father, and that hee would finish them accordingly, to the honour and glory of our Lord Iesus Christ.

In the yeare 1529. a good Benefice being fallen void in the Arch-bishopricke of *Braga*, his Maiestie bestowed the same of me, and commanded me to goe and present my selfe to my Lord Arch-bishop, *Don Diego de Sousa*, that hee might confirme me in the same: which when I had done, his Lordship asked me many things concerning the Countrey of *Prete Ianni*, which hee wished me to put downe in writing.

When the *Prete* trauelleth with all his Court, the Altar of the consecrated stone, whereupon Masse is said, is carried by Priests vpon their shoulders, and the said stones are laid vpon a little beare of Wood, and the Priests are alwaies eight, that is to say, Foure and foure to carrie them by turnes, and before them goeth a Clerke with a censur, and a Bell which he ringeth, and euery man remoueth out of the way, and they which are on horse-backe do light, and doe their reuerence.

In all this Countrey there is no Towne, that hath in it aboue sixteene hundred houses, and there are but few that are so bigge. Neither is there any walled Towne or Castle. Their Villages are without number, and they haue an infinite multitude of people. Their Houses are made in a round forme, all of Earth couered with Flagges, or with a certaine kind of Straw, which lasteth a mans life, with yards about them. There are no stone Bridges vpon their Riuer, but Bridges of Wood. They lye commonly vpon Oxe-hides, or in beds made of the thongs of the said Hides. They haue no kind of Table to eate vpon, but feed vpon certaine flat Platters of wood, which are very broad, without Towels or Napkins. They haue

Their manner of feeding.

10 Cups to drinke water, and the Wine of the said Countrey. Many eate raw flesh, others broyle it vpon the coles or burning embers: also there are Countries so destitute of wood, that they broyle their meate vpon fire made with Oxe-dung.

The cause why *Nilus* ouerfloweth *Egypt*, is this, that whereas the generall Winter beginneth in *Ethiopia*, in the midst of Iune, and lasteth vntill the midst of September, by reason of the exceeding great raines, which continue there all that season; *Nilus* groweth great and ouerfloweth *Egypt*.

The cause of the in rease of *Nilus*.

Prete, and all his receipts and expenses are onely put in writing. The *Prete Ianni* hath two names of honour, that is to say, *Aregue*, which signifieth an Emperour, and *Neguz*, a King.

20 Wine of Grapes is made openly but in two places, that is to say, in the house of *Prete Ianni*, and of *Abuna Marke*, and if they make it else-where, they doe it secretly. The Wine which they vse at the Communion, is made in this manner. In the Monasteries and Churches they keepe Grapes as it were halfe dried in their Vestries, and steepe them ten dayes in water, when they be swolne, they dry them, and then they presse them in a Wine-presse, and with that Wine they say Masse.

Small store of Wine made in this Countrey.

There is infinite plentie of Sugar-canes, but they know not how to boyle and refine the same, onely they eate them raw.

Sugar-canes.

There is no Mountaine in the Countrey whereon Snow is seene, neither doth it snow, although there be verie great Frosts, and specially in the plaine Countries.

No snow is seene in *Ethiopia*.

30 There is exceeding great quantitie of Honey in all this Countrey, and the Bee-hiues are placed after our manner, without the principall house, but they set them in the Chambers where the Husbandmen remayne, and set them against the wall, wherein they make a little hole, whereby they goe out into the fields. They also flie about the Chambers, and yet the people will stay within, for they vse to goe in and out. They bring vp great store of these Bees, especially in the Monasteries, because they are a great foundation of their sustenance. There are also Bees in the Woods and Mountaines, by whom they set wholsome barks of Trees, and when they be full of Honey, they carrie them home. They gather great store of Waxe, and make Candles thereof, because they vse no Tallow-candles.

Abundance of Honey.

Waxe.

40 They haue no Oyle of Oliues, but of a certaine kind, which they call *Hena*, and the Herbe whereof they make it is like vnto little Vine-leaues: this Oyle hath no smell at all, but is as faire and yellow as Gold. There groweth Flaxe also, but they know not how to dresse it to make Cloth thereof. There is great store of Cotton-wooll, whereof they make Cloth of diuers colours. There is also a certaine Countrey that is so cold, that they are forced to goe apparelled in course Cloth like a darke tawnie.

Flaxe.

Cotton-wooll.

In no Towne where I haue bene, haue I seene any shambles of flesh, sauing in the Court: and in other places no man may kill an Oxe, although it be his owne, without asking licence of the Lord of the Towne.

50 Touching their ordinarie iustice, it is not their manner to put any man to death, but they beat him, according to the qualitie of his fault, and also they put out his eyes, and cut off his hands and feete, howbeit, I saw one man burnt, because hee was found to haue robbed a Church.

Their ordinary manner of iustice.

The common people seldome speake the truth, although an Oath bee ministrd vnto them, vnlesse they be bound to sweare by the head of the King. They greatly stand in feare of Excommunication, and if they be commanded to doe any thing which is greatly to their preiudice, they doe it for feare of Excommunication. An Oath is ministrd after this manner. They goe to the Church gate with two Priests, which carrie Incense and Fire with them: And hee which is to sweare, layeth his hand vpon the Church gate, and the Priests will him to tell the truth, saying, If thou sweare falsly, as the Lion deuoureth the sheepe in the Forrest, so let the Deuill deuoure thy soule; and as the Corne is grinded vnder the Mil-stone, so let the Deuill grind thy bones; and as the fire burneth the wood, so let thy soule be burnt in Hell fire. And hee which sweareth, answereth *Amen*, to each of these Sentences. But if thou shalt tell the truth, let thy life be prolonged with honour, and thy soule goe to Paradise with the Blessed: and hee saith, *Amen*. Which Ceremonie being done, they cause him to giue like testimonie.

Their manner of ministring an Oath.

Whereas I haue said, that they sit not in their Churches, therefore I tell you, that without the gates of the same, there are alwayes placed a great number of wooden Crouches, like those where-

Of the Churches.

wherewith lame men doe helpe themselves, and euery man taketh his owne, and leaneth vpon it vntill Seruice be done. All their Bookes, which are many, are written in Parchment, for they haue no Paper, and the writing is in the Language of *Tigia*, which is the *Abassine* Tongue, that is the Language of that Countrey wherein they became first Christians.

All the Churches haue two Curtaines, one by the high Altar with Bels, and within this Curtaine none doe enter but the Priests; then there is another Curtaine in the midst of the Church: and none doe enter into the Church, but such as haue receiued holy Orders, and many Gentlemen and Honourable persons doe receiue Orders, that they may be admitted into the Church.

The greatest part of the Monasteries are seated vpon high Mountaines, or in some deepe Valley. They haue great Reuenues and Iurisdiccions, and in many of them, they eate no flesh all the yeare long. They eate also very little fish, because they know not how to take them.

No painted Crucifixes.

Vpon all the wals of the Churches are Pictures of Christ and of our Ladie, and of the Apostles, the Prophets, and Angels, and in euery one of them is the Picture of Saint *George*. They haue no grauen nor carued Images; neither will they suffer Christ crucified to be painted in the wals, because, they say, they be not worthy to see him in that Passion. All their Friers, Priests, and Noblemen, continually carrie a Crosse in their hand; the people weare Crosses about their neckes. Euery Priest alwayes carryeth with him a Cornet of Brasse, full of holy water, and wheresoeuer they goe, the people alwayes pray them to bestow holy water, and their blessing vpon them, which they giue vnto them, And before they eate, they cast a little holy water vpon their meat, and likewise into the Cup where they drinke.

Their principall Feasts.

The moueable Feasts, as Easter, the Ascension and Whitsuntide, are kept on the very same dayes and seasons, wherein wee obserue them. Touching Christmas, the Circumcision, and Twelfe-tide, and other Feasts of Saints they likewise agree with vs; in other Feasts they doe not.

When their yeare beginneth.

Their yeare and their first moneth beginneth the sixe and twentieth of August, which is the beheading of Saint *Iohn*. And their yeare consisteth of twelue moneths, and their moneth of thirtie dayes: and when the yeare is ended they adde fise dayes, which they call *Pagomen*, that is to say, the ending of the yeare. And in the Leape yeere they adde sixe dayes, and so they agree with vs.

Their Muscicall Instruments.

They haue Cymbals like ours, and certaine great Basons wherewith they ring. Flutes they haue, and certaine square Instruments with strings like Harpes, which they call *Dauid Mosamquo*, that is to say, *Danids* Harpe, and they play vpon these before the *Prete Ianni*, but somewhat rudely.

The naturall Horses of the Countrey are infinite, but are not very good, but are like vnto Hackneies, but those which come from *Arabia* and *Egypt*, are very excellent and faire, and the great Lords haue Races of these Horses, and as soone as they bee foled, they suffer them not to sucke their Dams about three dayes, whom they will presently trauell on, and taking the Colts from their Dams, they put them to be suckled of Kine, and they become exceeding faire.

These Letters following were translated into Latine, by *Pa. Iouius*, and reviewed after also and published by *Damianus à Goss*, and in Italian by *Ramusio*. That which is omitted, is the same with that in the former Letter.

* *Breu.*
* *Madagascar.*

The Letters of *Dauid*, the Mightie Emperour of *Aethiopia*, vnto *Emanuel* King, of *Portugall*, &c. Written in the yeere 1521. as also to King *Iohn* and Pope *Clement*.

IN the name of God the Father, who was from Euerlasting, and hath no beginning, &c. These Letters are sent from me *Athani Tingil*, &c. Emperour of the great and high *Aethiopia*, and of mightie Kingdomes, Dominions, and Territories, King of *Xoa*, of *Cassate*, of *Fatigar*, of *Angote*, of *Baru*, of *Baaliganze*, of *Aden*, of *Vangue*, of *Goiame*, (where *Nilus* springeth) of *Amara*, of *Baguemedri*, of *Ambeaa*, of *Vagne*, of *Tigremahon*, of *Sabaym*, from whence came the Queene of *Saba*, of *Bernagaes*, and Lord euen to the Countrey of *Nubia*, bordering vpon *Egypt*. These Letters are directed vnto the most mightie, most excellent, and victorious King, *Don Emanuel*, who dwelleth in the loue of God, and remayneth stedfast in the Catholike Faith, the Sonne of the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, the King of *Portugall* and *Algarbi*, a louer of Christians, an Enemye, Iudge, Emperour, and Vanquisher of the Moores and Gentiles of *Africa* and *Guinea*, of the Cape of *Buona Speranza*, and of the Ile of the Moone, also of the Red Sea of *Arabia*, *Perfia*, and *Ormuz*, of the greater *India*, and of all places, Ilands, and Countries adiacent, the destroyer of the Moores, and stout Pagans, the Lord of Fortresses, high Castles and Walls, the Inlarger of the Faith of *Iesus Christ*. Peace be vnto thee, King *Emanuel*, who relying vpon the assistance of God, destroyest the Moores; and with thy ships, thy Souldiers and Captaines, expellest them in all places like faithlesse Dogs. Peace be with the Queene thy Wife, beloued of *Iesu Christ*, Seruant of the *Virgine Marie*, the Mother of the Saviour of all people. Peace be to thy Sonnes, being now, as it were, in a fresh Garden, amidst the flourishing Lillies, a Table furnished with all Dainties. Peace bee vnto your Daughters, which are adorned with Princely Robes, as Palaces are with Hangings of *Tapistrie*. Peace vnto your Kinsfolkes, the Off-spring of

of Saints, of whom saith the Scripture, Blessed are the Sonnes of Saints, and mightie abroad and at home. Peace be to thy Counsellors, thy Officials, thy Magistrates and Iudges. Peace be to the Captaines of thy Castles and Borders, and of all thy defensible places. Peace be unto all Nations, People and Cities, and to all Inhabitants, except Moores and Iewes. Peace bee to all Parishes, and to all that are faithfull to Christ, and to thy selfe. Amen.

I was aduertised (most worthy King, and my Father) that so soone as the renoune of my Name was brought unto you by Matthew, mine Ambassadour, you presently caused a great number of Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelats to be assembled, to giue thanks unto our Saviour Christ, for the same Ambassage, and that the said Matthew was entertained with great honour and solemnitie,

10 &c. But let vs omit these matters, and consult betweene our selues, how wee may innade and conquer other Lands of Infidels. I verily will bestow 100000000. drachmes of Gold, and so many thousands of Souldiers. Yea, I will bestow Wood also, and Iron, and Copper, for the building and furnishing of a Navy, and great plentie of victuals. Oh King, and my Father, Emanuel, that one God protect and saue you, which is the God of Heauen, and almaiies of one substance, being subiect neither to youth nor old age. He which brought your message, was called Roderigo de Lima, and was the principall of all his good company, and with him came Francis Aluarez, whom for his honest demeanour, his singular Religion, and upright dealing, I could not but most entirely loue, especially, when as being demaunded as touching the Faith, he answered most truly and aptly. You ought therefore to exalt him, to call him Master, and to grant him authoritie to conuert the people of Maczua, of Delagua, of Zeila, and of
20 all the Ilands of the Red Sea, because they are upon the Borders of my Kingdomes, and I haue giuen unto him a Crosse and a Staffe, in token of authoritie, and so likewise commend you the same things to be graunted unto him, and let him be created Bishop of the said Countries and Ilands, for he deserueth so to be, and is meete for the administring of this Function: and God will so mightily blesse you, that you shall euer haue the vpper hand of your enemies, and shall constraîne them to fall downe before your feete. The same God pralong your daies, and make you partaker of the Kingdome of Heauen in a most Honourable place, euen as I would wish for mine owne selfe. I haue heard with mine eares, many good reports of thee, and with mine eyes I see those things that I neuer expected to haue seene: God prosper all your affaires from good to better, and grant you a place vpon the wood of life, where the Saints themselves are placed, Amen.

30 I, like an obedient Sonne, haue done those things which you commanded, and will hereafter doe, whensoever your Ambassadors shall come, to the end we may mutually assist one another. And unto euery of your Ambassadors which shall come, as the former did unto Maczua, or Delaca, or to other Hauens within the streits of the Red Sea, I will giue, and cause to bee giuen those things which you shall request, according to my earnest desire: that wee may prosperously bee conioyned, both in Counsels and Actions. For when your Forces shall resort unto those Coasts, I will there be present with my Armies also. And because that vpon my Borders there are no Christians, nor Christian Churches, I will freely giue unto your subiects those Lands to inhabite, which are next unto the Dominions of the Moores: for it is requisite, that you bring your good beginnings to a happy end. In the meane while, send mee learned
40 men, and Caruers of Silver and Golden Images, and such as can worke in Copper, Iron, Tinne, and Lead: as also Artificers, which may Print Bookes in the Letters of our language for the Church, and likewise such as can beate Gold into thinne Plates, and therewith can gild other Metals. All these shall be most honestly intreated in my Court, and whensoever they will depart, I will giue them liberall wages for their paines. And I sweare by our Lord Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God, that I will freely dismisse them, when they shall thinke good. And this I doe most confidently demaund, because I am not ignorant of your vertue, and know right well the goodnesse of your disposition, being also assured of your exceeding loue toward me: and this I know the more certainly, because you so honourably entertained, and dismissed Matthew for my sake. And this is the cause that maketh mee so earnestly to request. Neither let this cause you to bee ashamed, for I will pay for all things to the uttermost. That which a
50 Sonne asketh of his Father, ought not to be denied: you are my Father, and I am your Sonne: let vs therefore be ioyned together, as one stone in a wall is ioyned to another, so being two, we doe agree in one heart, and in the loue of Iesus Christ, who is the head of the world, and they that are with him, are likened vnto stones united in a wall. Amen.

Here is much omitted for breuitie, which in the former Authors may be seene: as that Matthew was not sent by him, but by Queen Hekua, &c.

IN the Name of God the Father, Almighty Creator of Heauen and Earth, of all things visible and Inuisible. In the Name of God the Sonne, Christ, who is the Sonne, and Counsell, and Prophet of his Father. In the Name of God the holy Spirit, the Comforter, the liuing God, equall to the Father and the Son, who spake by the mouth of the Prophets, inspiring the Apostles, that they might giue thanks
and glorifie the Trinitie, perfect alwaies in heauen, and in earth, in the sea, and in the deepe. Amen.

His Letters to Iohn the third King of Portugall.

60 These Letters and this Messenger are sent from me, the Incense of the Virgine, &c. Now I send my message by Frier Christopher Licanati, being named at his Baptisme, Zaga Zabo, that is to say, The Grace of the Father, who shall sollicite my request unto you. Moreover, unto the Pope of Rome, I send Francis Aluarez, to performe obedience in my Name, as it is meete. Renowned King and my Brother, indouour thy selfe to confirme that friendship betweene vs, whereof thy Father was the Authour, and send often unto me thy Messengers and Letters, which I greatly desire to see, as comming from

my deare Brother: for it is very conuenient, sithens we are both Christians, and sith the wicked Moores are alwaies at concord in their sect. And now I doe protest, that I will not hereafter admt the Ambassadors of the King of Egypt, nor of other Kings, which haue often sent Messengers vnto me, but onely the Ambassadors of your Highnesse, whose comming I earnestly desire; for the Moorish Kings esteeme not me to be their friend, in regard of our dissention in Religion: but they faime a kind of friendship, to the end they may more safely and freely exercise Traffique in our Kingdomes, whereby they reape great Commoditie. For they conuey mightie summes of Gold, whereof they are most greedy, out of my Dominions, whereas they are my Enemies, neither doe their Commodities please me any whit. Howbeit, this was to be tolerated, because it hath bene an ancient custome of my Predecessours, I doe not indeed wage warre against them, nor utterly destroy them, but spare them onely in this respect, least they on the contrary should violate and cast downe the holy Temple at Ierusalem, wherein stands the Sepulchre of Iesus Christ, which God hath left in the power of the abhominable Moores, and least they should make banocke of all other Christian Churches in Egypt and Syria; and this is the cause why I doe not invade and conquer them, and it is a great grieve vnto me. And I am the more perswaded hereunto, seeing I haue no Christian King neere vnto me to ayde me, and to comfort my heart. I my selfe (Oh King) can finde no cause of reioycing in the Christian Kings of Europe, when as I heare that they are at discord and warre among themselves. Be ye all united in one concord; For you ought all to bee conioyned together in a certaine league of amitie. And verily, if I had any Christian King bordering vpon me, I would not depart for the space of one houre from him: but I know not in the world what to say or doe, as touching this matter, when as it seemeth so to be appointed by God. My Lord, send (I pray you) Messengers often vnto me: For in seeing your Letters, I doe certes behold your countenance, because greater friendship groweth betweene men farre distant asunder, then betweene those that are neere together, in regard of the mutuall desire which they haue. For he that hath hidden Treasures, not seeing them with his eyes, he loueth them alwaies, and that most vehemently with his heart, as our Lord Iesus Christ in his Gospell saith, Where thy Treasure is, there is thy heart; Euen so my heart is with thee, seeing thou thy selfe art my Treasure, and thou likewise oughtest to make me thy Treasure, and sincerely to ioyne thy heart with mine. Oh Noble Brother, keepe this word: for thou art most wise, and (as I heare) like vnto thy Father in wisdom, which when I know, I presently gaue thanks vnto God, and abandoning sorrow, I exceedingly reioyced, and said; Blessed bee the wise Sonne of so great a Father, the Sonne of King Emanuel, which sitteth in the Throne of his Kingdomes. My Lord, see that you be not discouraged, because you are strong as your Father was: neither send you any feeble forces against the Moores and Gentiles. For by Gods helpe, and the indenour of your vertue, you shall easily vanquish and destroy them. And say not that your Father left you but meane forces: for they be very great, and God will euer assist you. I haue men, Gold and Victuals, like the sands of the Sea, and the Starres of Heauen. Wee two ioynd together, will destroy all the sauage and barbarous Moores. Neither doe I request ought else of you then men of skill, which may teach my Souldiers feats of warre. And thou (Oh King) art a man of a perfect age. King Salomon at twelue yeares old, undertooke the managing of his Kingdome, and had mightie Forces, and was wiser then his Father. My selfe also, when Nahu my Father deceased, was a child but of eleuen yeares old, and being inuisted into his Throne, I haue by the goodnesse of God, attained to greater wealth and strength then he. For in my hand are the Borderers and Nations of my Kingdome: Wherefore both of vs ought to thanke God for so great a benefit receiued. Giue care vnto me, my Brother and Lord: for heere in one word I request you, that learned men and Artificers may be sent mee, which can Print Bookes, and make Images, Swords, and all kind of Militarie Weapons: as also cunning Builders, Carpenters, and Physicians, which can both minister Potions, and heale Wounds. I would gladly also haue such, as can beate Gold into thinne Plates, and can artificially carue, both Gold and Silver, and also can digge Gold and Silver out of the Mines, and such as haue skill in Mining of all other Metals. Moreover, they shall bee welcome vnto me, that can make sheets of Lead, and such as can frame Bricks and Tiles of Clay. To be short, all Artificers shall be seruiceable vnto me, & especially Gun-founders. Assist me (I beseech you) in these things, as one Brother should assist another, &c.

His Letter to
Pope Clement
the seuenth.

HAppy and Fortunate Holy Father, who of God art made a Conseruer of Nations, and holdest the Seat of S. Peter, to thee are giuen the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt binde and loose, shall be bound and loosed in heauen, as Christ hath said, and Matthew hath so written in his Gospell. I, the King, whose Name the Lions honor, and by the Grace of God, Atani Tingil, &c. Emperor of great and high Ethiopia, of great Realmes, Iurisdicktions, and Lands, King of Xoa, of Caffate, of Fatigar, of Angote, of Baru, and of Baaliganze, of Adea, of Vangue, and of Goiamé, (where Nilus springeth) of Amara, of Bagua Medri, of Ambea, of Vaguc, of Tigremahon, of Sabaim, (whence was the Queene of Saba) of Barnagaes, and Lord as farre as Nubia, which is on the Confinés of Egypt. All these Prouinces are in my power, and many other great and small, which I reckon not. Nor haue I expressed the said Kingdomes and Prouinces by name, induced by pride or any vaine-glorie, but that the great God might be praised therefore, who of his singular bountie, hath giuen to the Kings my Predecessors, the Empire of so large Kingdomes of Christian Religion, and hath after exalted me with speciall Grace amongst other Kings, that I should continually be at the seruice of his Religion, and for this

this hath made me Lord of Adel, andemie of the Moores and idolatrous Gentiles. I send to kisse the feet of your Holinesse, as other Christian Kings my Brethren are wont to doe, to whom, neither in Power nor in Religion I am inferiour. I in my Kingdomes, am the Pillar of Faith, nor haue I neede of other aydes, but place all my confidence and help in God, who hath alway sustained and gouerned me, from that time that the Angell of God spake to Philip, when he taught the right Faith to the Eunuch of Candace, a puissant Queene of Ethiopia, which went from Ierusalem to Gaza. Then Philip baptized the Eunuch, of whom afterwards the Queene was baptized, with great part of her Family, and her people which neuer since ceased to be Christians, and all of them from that time till now, haue beene strong in the Faith. My Predecessours helped of none but God, haue enlarged the Christian Faith in these great Kingdomes, which I enforce my selfe also to doe. I abide in my Confiner, as a Lion encompassed with a thicke Wood, strong against the Moores, and other Nations, enemies of the Christian Faith, which will not heare the word of God, nor my faithfull exhortations, I girt with my Sword, pursue them, and by little and little, chase them out of their nest, by the helpe of God which neuer failed mee, which hath otherwise happened to other Christians. For if they will extend the Confiner of their Kingdomes, they doe it not against Infidels, which they easily may, because one of them may helpe and succour another, being also marueilously furthered by the benediction of your Holinesse, whereof I also am partaker, hauing found in my Bookes the Letters of Pope Eugenius, which in times past he sent with his blessing to the King, the Seede of Iacob, of which blessing, hauing receiued it from hand to hand, I am glad and reioyce. Moreover, I hold in great veneration the Temple of Ierusalem, whither I often send due offerings by our Pilgrims: and much better and richer would I send, if the waies were not infested with Moores and Infidels, which not onely take away the Presents and Treasures from my Messengers, but hinder them also from free passage. And if the way were open, I would come into familiaritie, and commerce with the Church of Rome, as doe other Kings Christian, to whom I am not inferiour: and as they beleene, I also confesse one right Faith and Catholike Church, and beleene sincerely in the holy Trinitie, and in one God; the virginie of our Ladie, the Virgin Marie, and I hold and obserue the Articles of the Faith, as the Apostles haue written. At this present, our Lord God, by the hand of the most mighty and Christian King Emanuel, hath opened the way that we may know each other by Embassie, and Christians ioyned with Christians to serue God. But his Ambassadors being in our Court, newes came of his death, and that his Sonne Iohn (who is my Brother) hath receiued the Scepter in his Fathers Kingdome. Whence, as by his Fathers death I was much grieved, so was I marueilously cheered by the happy succession of his Sonne in the Kingdom: inasmuch as I hope, that hauing ioyned our Armies and Forces, we shall be able both by Sea and Land to open a way through the Prouinces of the wicked Moores, and set upon them with such furie, that we shall chase them out of their Seates and Kingdomes, and so Christians may more commodiously goe to the Temple of Ierusalem, and returne at their pleasure. And I, as I earnestly desire to be made partaker of the Diuine loue in the Temple of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, so I desire to haue the holy blessing of the Vicar of Christ; and without doubt, I hold that your Holinesse is the Vicar of Christ; and also that of the Pilgrims, which come from our Regions to Ierusalem, and to Rome, and not without great miracle returne, I heare many things spoken of your Holinesse, which cause me incredible pleasure and ioy. Yet should I haue much more pleasure, if my Ambassadors could vse a shorter way, and at all times relate the newes unto mee, as I hope they shall once bring me before I dye, by the Grace of Almighty God, who keepe you in health and happinesse. Amen. I kisse your holy feete, and humbly intreat your Holinesse to send me your blessing. Your Holinesse shall receiue these by means of our Brother Iohn, King of Portugall, of our Ambassador, Francis Aluarez.

Another Letter of his was deliuered by the same Aluarez, to the same Pope: desiring him to send him Artificers in Glasse, and Muscull Instruments, &c. Also to accord the Christian Kings, that they might take Armes against the Mahumetans, which assist one another, &c. But we haue beene already tedious, and therefore omit it: And the Letter of his mother Helena, sent 1509. by Matthew aforesaid, which in Goes aforesaid is to be seene. Aluarez was receiued by the Pope, Clement the seventh, at Bologna, January 29. 1533. in the presence of Charles the fifth Emperour, and Martin the Nephew, Counsellour and Ambassador of King Iohn of Portugall, and entertained as Ambassador of the said King David, in his Name, presenting obedience to the Pope, as more at large in Ramusio appeareth.

CHAP. VI.

A Rutter of Don Iohn of Castro, of the Voyage which the Portugals made from India to Zocz. Dedicated to the most Illustrious Prince, the Infant Don Luys, and here abbreviated: shewing the state of Socatora, and the parts on both sides the red Sea, as they were about eightie yeeres since, with the Harbours, Ilands, Depths, Shelues, and other things pertayning to the Historie of the Sea, Land, and People. The originall of which is reported to have beene bought by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, at sixtie pounds, and by him caused to be done into English, out of the Portugall.

§. I.

The sayling from Goa to Socatora, and into the red Sea, as farre as Mazua.

* This Voyage being occasioned, by sending the Patriarch Bermudez to Ethiopia, and relating how that State decayed, invaded by the Moors, and embroiled with ciuill discontent: containing also a more full intelligence of the red Sea, then any other Rutter which I haue seene, I haue here added; and next to it, Bermudez owne report, translated, it seemeth, by the same hand (not the most refined in his English phrase, which yet durst not be too busie with, wanting the Originall) and reduced to our method; here and there amending the English, which yet in part was done, as I thinke, and many marginall notes added, by Sir



He one and thirtieth of December, 1540. * at Sunne rising, we set saile from the Barre of Goa, the way of the Straights, the wind was off the Land to the Eastward. Wee coasted along the Coast, bearing but little saile: about ten of the clocke, we came to an anchor at a River, which is called *Chapora*.

The thirteenth of Ianuarie, 1541. in the morning we saw great quantitie of Oze, that growes vpon the Rockes of the Sea, and within a little while wee saw a Snake; the Sunne being vp, wee saw Land of the Iland of *Socatora*, in search of the which we went, and the Land bare with vs flat South.

Now, after we were at anchor in this part, I asked of the most principall Pilots of the Fleet, how farre they made themselves off the Land the day that they saw it, and I found, the chiefe Pilot was ninetie leagues short, when wee saw it; the Pilot of the Galleon *Bufera*, one hundred and odde; and others, eightie: those which made themselves the least, were seuentie leagues short. In such fort, that my Pilot, which made it sixtie fve, was the neereest to the Land. And I found among them all, a great wondring and a murmuring, how the error could be so great; and either because it was so, or because the Pilotes would make their reason good, they all cried out, affirming, that this deceit proceeded, of the way being shorter then the Cards make it. Likewise, the *Morish* Pilots made good their complaint, affirming, that from *Goa* to *Socatora*, there were no more then three hundred leagues.

The Iland of *Socatora* hath in length, twentie leagues, and nine in breadth; it stands in twelue degrees and two third parts, on the North side; the front of the Iland that is opposite to the Septentrionall part, runneth East and West, and somewhat to the North-west and South-east: the Coast of the Sea is all very cleere without any Rocke, or Shoald, or any other impediment that may hinder the Navigators: the ground in the Road is sand, and in some places stonie, but in such qualitie, that it will not cut the Cables. On this side the treuerse wind, or the North wind is so forcible, and bloweth with such a rage, that it raiseth great heapes of sand ouer the Hills, and doth driue them beyond their high and craggie tops. In all the circuit of the Iland, there is not any other place or harbour, where any ship may safely winter. The Coast of the Sea is very high in euery place, and begirt with very great and high Mountaines, with many Pikes, Piramides, and diuers other very faire shewes. In these Coasts of this Iland the tides are contrarie to them of *India*: for, when the Moone riseth, and appeareth in the Horizon, it is high floud, which the Mariners call, full Sea; and the Moone beginning to ascend in our Hemisphere, the tide begins to ebbe, till it commeth to the Meridian of this Iland, and being in it, it is dead low water; but the Moone descending from the Meridian, it begins to flow, by the same order and degrees that it was set in the great circle of our Horizon, and being set, it is here full Sea. I made this obseruation many dayes by the Sea shoare, and found alwaies the same operation. This Iland of *Socatora*, (if I be not deceiued) was called in old time, *Dioscoridis*. There was in it a Citie, called also *Dioscorides*, as it appeareth in *Ptolomie*, the sixth Table of *Asia*: but, by the manner that he had in casting it, and the place where he seated it, it appears

that

For prolixitie we haue omitted the way hitherto. A Snake. *Socatora* Iland. From *Goa* to *Socatora* is 300. leagues, as the *Moors* account. The Iland of *Socatora* is in length 20. leagues and nine in breadth. The tides here contrarie to them of *India*, being alwaies full Sea, when the Moone appeareth here in the Horizon. *Dioscoridis Insula*, in which in times past was an ancient Citie, called *Dioscorides*.

that he had euill information of the Trauellers. The *Socatorians* doe keepe the Law of the Gospel; and they were enlightned, and brought to the Faith by the blessed Apostle Saint Thomas, as they themselves beare record. In all the circuit of the Iland are many Churches, in which there is no Oracle, but the Crosse whereon our Sauour suffered. They pray in the *Chaldean* Tongue, as I was enformed, they want instruction, but they are very desirous of it, and demand with great efficacie the doctrine and customes of the *Romish* Church; and all of them doe confesse this alone to be good, and is to be kept; they call themselves by our names, as *John, Peter, Andrew*, &c. and the women generally *Maries*. To consider the manner how this People liueth, certainly is worth the noting; for, among them they haue no King, Gouvernour, Prelate, or person to obey, or who may gouerne them; but they liue in a manner like the wild beasts, without any order of Iustice, or politique life. In all the Iland there is no Citie or great Town, but the greatest part of the People dwellerh in Caues, and some haue little Cortages thatcht, separated the one from the other, liuing a life more then sauage and pastorall. Their food is Flesh and wild Dates, they drinke Milke, and taste the water very seldome. All of them are very deuoted to the Crosse, and for a wonder shall you find one person that doth not weare it about his necke: this People is of the best disposition in all these parts, they haue their bodies tall and straight, their faces well proportioned, their colour is swarthie, the women are somewhat whiter, and honestly faire. In all the Countrey there is no manner of weapons, offensive and defensive, except certaine Swords of dead Iron, very short; the men goe naked, and they couer onely their secret parts with certaine Cloth, which they call *Cambolis*, of the which they make great quantitie in the Iland. The Countrey is naturally poore, and no other merchandise are found then * *Verdigrease*, and *Sanguis Draconis*. But the *Verdigrease* is in great abundance, and esteemed aboue all. All this Iland is mountainous, and breedeth all sort of Cattell that is in our parts, of the which there is great abundance. The Countrey neither produceth Wheat nor Rice, nor any maintenance of this kind. I beleue, this is not the fault of the ground, but want of Industrie and Arte in the Inhabitants; for the Iland within the land is very fresh, and hath many Valleys and Plaines, very conuenient for to receiue all benefit that they will bestow on it. This People hath no manner of Nauigation, neither industrie for to catch the Fische, which by the Coasts of this Iland is infinite; they haue very few Fruit-trees, among the which the *Palm-trees* are esteemed, and nourished, as the principall part of their food to maintaine life: the Countrey yeeldeth all manner of Garden-herbs, and medicinable Herbs, the Mountaines are couered with the Herbe *Basill*, and other smelling Herbs.

The seuen and twentieth of Ianuarie, 1541. in the morning, we were very little beyond the Citie of *Aden*, in such sort, that it was to the North-west of vs, the distance might be about fixe leagues, the wind was at East, and faire, wee sailed West South-west, and wee knew that the Land that wee saw yesterday in the afternoone, and seemed to vs an Iland, was the Mountaine of *Aden*: this Mountaine is very high and faire, on euery side craggie and rough; vpon it there arise some very high pikes and sharpe, in all shewes it is very like, and of the making of the Hill of *Sintra*, which more then any other thing doth make it noble and famous. This Hill descendeth to the Sea, and with great violence, thrusteth within her waues, a very great and long point, and presently withdrawing it selfe a great space inward to the land, there remaine, made two nookes, as faire as compassed, wherein that which lieth on the East side, stands situated the strong Citie of *Aden*. This Hill in times past, was called *Cabubarra*, and was made famous by the Nauigators, and the Citie of *Aden* was knowne for *Madoca*. This Citie of *Aden*, within this three yeeres, is come to the power of the *Turkes*, by Treason which *Soliman Bassa*, Gouvernour of *Cairo*, did to the King of it, which past in this manner. The Great *Turke* making a great Armie, at the request of the King of *Cambaya*, and of all the Inhabitants of the Straights of *Mecca*, for *India*. Hee sent the Gouvernour of *Cairo*, called *Soliman Bassa* Eunuch, with a great Armie of Ships and Galleys for *India*. This Captaine being come to the Port of *Aden*, the King and Citizens, fearing the little trueth of the *Turkes*, denied them the entring into the Citie, but they provided them with all necessities of victuals and prouisions: *Soliman*, and also the Souldiers, not shewing any grieve at this hospitalitie, the King assured himselfe, and with many messages and visitations of great friendship, which past betweene them both, they came to conclude, to meete in the Admirall Galley, that they might intreat together about the Conquest, which newly he went to make in *India*. The day of the agreement, the King comming to consult with *Soliman Bassa*, was taken prisoner, and the *Turkes*, which for this act were prepared, assaulted the gates of the Citie, and being entred, easily possessed themselves thereof; and the day following, the King was hanged before the gates. The Citie being taking by this Treason, *Soliman* leauing a great Garrison within it, made his iourney in all haste toward *Dio*.

On the side of *Africa*, beginning at the Cape of *Guardafui*, in other times, called *Aromata*: and on the other side of *Asia*, from the Promontorie *Siagros*, or Cape of *Fartaque*, which is the same; all the Sea that is containd vnto the ancient Citie of the *Heroes*, which now is called *Soez*, is called the *Arabick* Gulfe, knowne vulgarly for the Red Sea. The space of Sea that lyeth betweene these two Promontories, and diuideth in this place *Asia* from *Africa*, may be the

The *Socatorians* converted to the Faith of Christ by Saint Thomas the Apostle. Since this was written, the *Moors* of *Arabia* rule here as in many *English* Iournals of later times you may read. See *Finch* and others in the 3. and 4. Bookes.

Cloth called, *Cambolis*.

* I thinke he meaneth *Aloe Socatrina*, *Verdigrease*, and *Sanguis Draconis*, merchandises in this Iland.

Basill, sweet herbs in the Mountaines. The like *Aluarix* relateth of *Ethiopia*. The Mountaine of *Aden*.

The Situation of *Aden*. *Cabubarra*, *Madocha* Citie, *Aden* brought in subiection of the *Turke* by Treason *Bassa*. See hereof *Dam. à Goes* Bell. in a speciall Treatise called *Dienst oppagnatio*.

Cape of *Guardafui*. *Aromata* Promontorie. *Siagros* Promontorie, or Cape *Fartaque* Gulfe.

Arabique signe
or Gulfe, or T
Red Sea.
Aden.
Zeila, in Abexi
or Ethiopia.
Possidium Pro-
montorie.

The Streight,
fixe leagues
broad.

Pego.

See Sir Henrie
Middleton,
Cap. Downton,
Cap. Saris, and
other English
Iournalls, of
their voyages
to Moha.
Eleuen fa-
thoms in all
the Channell.
Eastern winds
raine in this
place.

The Mouth of
the Streight of
the Red Sea,
twelue de-
grees one
quarter.

summe of fiftie eight leagues. And from hence, viz. from these Promontories, the Coast of e-
uery side turning to the setting of the Sunne, doe runne almost in the same distance, till they
come to two Cities, that is, *Aden* in *Arabia*, and *Zeila* in *Ethiopia*, or *Abexi*; and from thence
the Coasts begin to streighen very much, and euery time more running with desert Coasts and
little winding, till they meete in the place of the Mouth, with two Promontories, that is, *Possi-*
dium on the *Arabian* side; and another which lyeth on the contrarie side, that is, of *Ethiopia* or
Abexi, whose name, as well Ancient as Moderne, is not come to my notice; where as farre as
these Promontories is the narrowest and streightest passage of the Streight. This streightnesse,
of the neighbouring people, and of those which inhabit the Coasts of the *Indian Ocean*, is called
Alhabo, which in the *Arabian* tongue, do signifie Gates or Mouthes; and in this place and mouth, 10
the Land doth neighbor so much, and the shewes which they make of willingnes to ioyne them-
selues, are so knowne, that it seemeth without any doubt, the Sea, much against their wills and
perforce, to enterpose it selfe in separating these two parts of the World. For the space which
in this place diuideth the Land of the *Arabians*, from the Coast of the *Abexi*, is about fixe leagues
distance. In this space there lye so many Ilands, little Ilets, and Rocks, that they caule a double,
considering this streightnesse without, that some time it was stopped, and so by these streight
Sluces and Channels, which are made betweene the one Iland and the other, there entreth such
a quantitie of Sea, and maketh within so many and so great Nookes, so many Bayes, so many
names of great Gulfs, so many diuersities of Seas, so many Ports, so many Ilands, that it see-
meth not that we saile in a Sea betweene two Lands, but in the deepest and most tempestuous 20
Lake of the great Ocean. Now returning to the Mouthes of the Streight, which is the intent of
our Description, Wee are to note, that in this place the Land of *Arabia* stretcheth into the Sea,
with a very great and long point, and so for this cause, as because it remayneth out of the Mouth,
and a great Nooke from this Point, it seemeth comming from the Sea, that the Land of this
Point is some Iland, very distant from the firme Land. This Point is the Promontorie, which
Ptolomie calleth *Possidium*.

Against this Point or Promontorie *Possidium*, little more then a stones cast standeth a little I-
let, called the Ilet of the *Robones*. For *Roboan*, in the *Arabian* tongue, is as much as *Pilot*, the
which dwelling here did bring in the Ships that came from the Sea, and from thence directed
them to the places of their Countrie that they went vnto. This Iland is round and very flat, the 30
circuit may comprehend the sixt part of a league, from it to the firme Land yee may passe, the
Water being low, but the Tyde beginning once to flow from one quarter flood, it cannot be wa-
ded. To the Sea off this little Iland, opposite to the Coast, about one league, standeth an Iland,
which hath in length about a league and a halfe, the which on that side that fronteth the *Abexi*,
hath a very great Hauen and sure from all Windes, where a great Nauie may well bee harboured
of Galleyes, but the other front of the Iland which is opposite, and fronteth the Land of the *A-*
rabian, not onely wanteth a Harbour and Receptacle, but also wanteth a landing place. This
Channell is sailed well in the middest North-west and by West, and South-east and by East:
through all the Channell is eleuen fathome deepe, we may passe either neere the Iland, or neere 40
the firme Land, or through the middest it is very cleane in euery place without any Flats or
Shoalds, or any other inconuenience that may disturbe vs; the ground is a soft stone, which they
call Corall stone, and scarcely shall yee finde a sandie plot, though you seeke it with great dili-
gence. Being farre within the Channell, and going to seeke the Roade and Hauen, which may
harbour vs from the Easterne windes, which in this place are very strong, the depth diminish-
eth somewhat, but it is no lesse then nine fathome. Besides this Channell of the *Arabian*, there
be many other whereby you may goe into the Streight safely, and being many, the mention is
made of one onely of them, and they called it, the Channell of the *Abexin*; because from the
Iland of the *Gates*, vnto the Promontorie opposite to *Possidium*, which is in the Coasts of *Abexin*,
there may be of distance about fiue leagues, in this space there lye fixe Ilands very great and high,
and seeing them from without the Mouth of the Streight, they put the Sailers in great feare 50
and doubt, shewing that they forbid the passage that way, but the truth is, that betweene them,
there goe very large Channels and of great depth, whereby without any danger wee may make
our way, and also if we will, leauing them all on the right hand, wee may passe betweene them
and the Mayne of *Abexi*.

The nine and twentieth of Ianuarie, 1541. at noone, I tooke the Sunne, and being in his grea-
test heighth, it rose ouer the Horizon two and sixtie degrees and three quarters, the declination
of this day was fifteene degrees, whence it remayneth that the Mouth of the Streight and Pro-
montorie *Possidium*, standeth in twelue degrees and one quarter towards the North. The Pilot
tooke the same heighth, the which being taken vpon the Land, it cannot choose but be of very
great certaintie.

That night, two houres after mid-night, wee set saile from the Mouth of the Streight. The
thirtieth of Ianuarie, 1541. by day, we saw the Land of both the Coasts, and wee were neerer
the Land of *Abexi*, then to the *Arabian*; the Wind blew hard at East South-east, till noone; we
sailed to the North-west and by West, making the way by a Channell that goeth betweene the
first

first Ilands, and the Coast of the *Abexi*, the which vntill this day was vnknowne and strange to the *Portugals*; the distance wee went from the Land by this Channell, might bee about foure leagues; an houre after Sunne rise, we saw along the Coast a ranke of Ilands, the greatest part of them were low, and as the ranke of Ilands, to the Coast stretched North-west, South-east; the ranke of the Ilands might comprehend about sixtie leagues iourney. Now, sailing by this Channell with a prosperous winde, at whatsoever part we cast our eyes, we saw many little Ilands, as well on the one side as on the other.

By this Channell, which is called of the *Abexi*, we must not saile by night, and without the winde in the Poop, for if the winde change, we cannot come too and againe, nor come to an anchor in any place, till we are so farre forward as the first of the first Ilands, wee shall see to the Sea-ward nine little Ilands, and from thence forward the Sea remayneth free and open, and onely to the Land of vs there be a great quantitie of them; and some doe separate themselves from the Coast and the Mayne, about two leagues; but the greatest part of these Ilands doe lye along the Coast; the length of this Channell, which incloseth it selfe in the three first Ilands, and the Land of *Abexi*, may be about eight leagues: to make a safe voyage, it behoueth to goe neerer to the firme Land, then to the Ilands; but about all things, my opinion is, that none doe take it in hand without a Pilot of the Countrey.

The one and thirtieth by day, we came to a shoald, where were sixe fathom water, and to the Sea of it against certaine Ilands, which are called the seven Sisters; there is a Rocke of stone very dangerous, as the *Moorish* Pilots told me: so that the good Navigation in this part is to goe very neere the firme Land, and in no case goe to the Sea of this shoald. At night wee came to an anchor within a Hauen, which is called *Sarbo*, in nine fathome and a halfe water, all this day very close to the Coast we saw great quantitie of little Ilands.

The first of Februarie, I went on Land in the Iland, and Port of *Sarbo*, carrying the Pilot with me and the Master, that we all might take the Sunne: and in his greatest heighth it was risen ouer the Horizon one and sixtie degrees scarse: the declination of this day, was thirteene degrees and sixe and fiftie minutes; whence it remayneth manifest, this Iland and the Port of *Sarbo*, to be in fiftene degrees and seven minutes, towards the North side.

About foure and twentie leagues short of *Magna*, and distant from the Coast of the *Abexi* foure leagues, in fiftene degrees of heighth, there is a great Archipelago of Ilands; some of which lye so low, that they rise very little aboue the superficies of the Sea, and others doe rise so high, that they seeme to touch the Cloudes, and betweene the one and the other, there are so many Bayes, Ports, Harbours, as no winde can annoy vs: all of them want water, except one very high, which the *Portugals* call, The Iland of the Whale, because it resembleth one very much, and there is water, and plentie of Cattell, and here is a great Hauen where Ships may winter. Of all these, that which is most to the Sea, is one that in *Arabique* is called *Sorbo*, where at this present we lye at anchor. This Iland of *Sarbo*, is of length about a league, and almost halfe a league broade, the Land of it is very low, it hath many Trees but very low and barren, all the Plaine is full of grasse, in euery place yee finde the footing of Men and Cattell, but there was onely one Camell scene, for the which occasion, they called it, The Iland of the Camell; in all the circuit of the Iland, we found no water, though we sought it very diligently, except one Well digged in a stone, which according to the appearance of it, was to receiue the raine waters. Betweene these Ilands doe enter many armes of the Sea, Reaches and Channels.

The fourth of Februarie, 1541. at Sunne rise, we set saile from the Port of *Sorbo*, Februarie the seuenth, we sailed along many Ilands, which are distant from the firme Land about three or foure leagues; the greatest part of them are very low and flat with the Sea. Wee went to the Sea of them all about a league, and about euen-song time, we saw to Sea of vs a ranke of Ilands very long, which seemed to take some fve leagues distance, there was from vs to them about some foure leagues, all of them lay North-west and South-east, as farre as I could discerne. The Coast which all this day we saw, stretched North-west and by West, and South-east and by East. So that this Channell, wherein this day we sailed, hath in breadth about fve leagues, reckoning the space that lyeth betweene the one Iland and the other: the greatest part of this day I commanded to cast the Lead, and I found alwayes fve and twentie fathome water, and the ground Ozie.

The eight of Februarie, 1541. two houres after the Sunne rose, wee set saile. Most of this time we sailed to the North-west, at Sunne set we were almost entred into the Channell, that goeth betweene the Point of *Dallaqua*, which looketh to the firme Land, and an Iland, which is called *Xamea*, but hauing respect that night began to come on, and that many Galleons remayned farre off, and it would bee difficult to hit the Channell, and also considering, how at this time the winde was alreadie scarse, we tooke in our sailes, and with our fore-sailes we went rummore, sailing to the South-east; and two houres within night we came to an anchor in fortie fathome water, the ground Osie. All this day wee saw along the Coast many Ilands, so flat, that they and the Sea seemed to haue one superficies. The Coast that shewed it selfe to vs, stretched North-west and South-east, to a low Point, which is as farre forward as the Iland of *Dallaqua*.

Many little Ilands.

Annotations, how we are to saile by this Channell.

Moorish Pilots. The seven sisters. Little Ilands.

The description of the Iland and Port of *Sarbo*.

A good Harbour for ships.

The Point of *Dallaqua*. *Xamea Insula*.

The description
of the I-
land of Dalla-
qua.
This Iland is
five and twen-
tie leagues
long, and
twelve in
breadth.
The Metropo-
litan Citie cal-
led Dallaqua.

Xamoa Insula,
in which are
Springs or
Wells of wa-
ter.

Seuentie fa-
thome water.
The King of
Dallaqua, a
Moore.

The description
of the Iland
and Port of
Maqua.

The Citie of
Ptolomaida,
sometimes
built here.

In Nadyuel I-
land are many
Cisternes of
water.

Wilde Beasts.

laqua. Doubling this Point, the Land maketh a great Nooke, that entreth ten or twelue leagues into it.

The Iland of *Dallaqua* is a very low Land, and almost flat with the Sea, without rising in it, Mountayne, Pike, or any other height; it hath in length, according to the common opinion, five and twentie leagues, and twelve in breadth; the side of this Iland, which is opposite to the South, stretcheth East South-east, and West North-west, that is, all the Coast which I could comprehend with the sight, and along the Coast lye great quantitie of little Ilands, all very low, and beare the same course of the Coast. I onely coasted this side of the Iland seven leagues, and two distant from the Land, and casting many times the Lead, neuer found ground. The Metropolitan Citie, is situated almost in the Point of the Iland, which lyeth on the West side a frontier to *Abexi*, it is called *Dallaca*, whence the Iland tooke the name, which is to say in the *Arabique* tongue, ten leagues, and this, because in times past, the Custome-house thereof, yeelded so much euery yeere to the King. Euery *Arabian* league is worth ten thousand *Seraphins*, and euery *Seraphin* *Arabique* two *Tangas* *larmas*; in sort that ten *Arabian* leagues, are worth in our money fortie thousand *Cruzados*. The Point of this Iland on the West side, and opposite to the *Abexi*, is distant from the firme Land about fixe or seven Leagues, and in this space of Sea, there lye five Ilands, very flat; the first is distant from this Point one league, it is called *Xamoa*, it hath in compasse two leagues, in it there be some Springs and Wells, and betweene this Iland of *Xamoa*, and the Western Point of *Dallaqua*, is the principall Channell and most current for to goe to *Maqua*. In this Channell there are seuentie fathome water, the Land of this Iland is red; it produceth few Trees, and great abundance of Herbs. The King of it is a *Moore*, and all the People, he is resident the most part of the yeere in *Maqua*, because of the traffique he hath with the *Abexins*. This Iland at this present yeeldeth little; for after the rising of *Suaquen*, *Maqua*, *Aden*, and *Indaa*, it lost the traffique, and with the traffique the reputation.

The twelfth, the Naue of Galleons came into the Port of *Maqua*. *Maqua* is a small Iland, very flat, and in it in old time was built the Citie *Ptolomaida*, of the wilde beasts. This Iland hath in length about the fift part of a league, and of breadth a Caluer shot, it lyeth in a great and crooked Nooke, very neere the Point of the Nooke that is on the North-west side. The space of Sea that diuideth this Iland from the firme Land, is about a Faucon shot, and in some parts not so much; in this distance, to wit, betweene the Iland and the firme Land is the Hauen, in the which the Sea is not troubled with any weather, and the Current is very little, and all windes come ouer the Land, the depth is eight or nine fathome water, the ground is Ozie. The entrance of this Port lyeth on the North-east side, by the middest of the Channell betweene the Land and the Iland, because that from the Point which turneth to the East North-east, there goeth out a Shoald toward the Land, and the Point of the Nooke casteth another against the Point of the Iland, for the which they force the Ships to beware of the extremes of the Mouth of the Channell, and to seeke the middest of it. The Channell is very streight, it runneth North-east and South-west; very neere to this Iland of *Maqua*, toward the South and South-west, lye other two Ilands, the neereft to the firme Land is somewhat the bigger of them, and that which is more to the Sea, and lyeth toward the South-west, is the lesser, and very round. These three Ilands stand in a triangle forme, they are all very flat and barren, there is no springing water in any of them, onely in *Maqua* are many Cisternes, whereof the Inhabitants doe drinke and liue. Betweene these Ilands are scattered many Shoalds, but through the middest of them goeth a Channell where Gallies and rowing Vessels may passe at a full Sea. This Iland of *Maqua* was a little while since of the Signiorie of *Preste Iohn*, with all the Coast, contayned from the Cape of *Guardafui* to the Citie of *Suaquen*; but within these few yeeres, the King of *Dallaqua* hath vsurped it, and is resident in it the most part of the yeere, because of the traffique he hath with the *Abexines*, of whom he hath great quantitie of Gold and Iuorie. The ayre is vnhealthfull in the moneths of May and Iune, and very vntemperate through great and intollerable calmes, in such sort that as well the King as the Inhabitants, doe auoid it, and leaue it emptie these two moneths, and goe to *Dallaqua*. The firme Land of the Nooke, wherein standeth this Iland of *Maqua*, till yee come to a place of many Wells of water, called *Arquito*, by the Sea side, is very high and mountaynous, but from thence forward, the Sea coast is more open and cleere, and betweene the Hills and the Sea are great Fields and Plaines. There may bee from *Arquito* to *Maqua* a league. *Arquito* standeth to the South from the Iland: through all these Mountaines and Fields, are great number of wilde beasts of diuers kinds, to wit, Elephants, Tygres, Woolues, wilde Boares, Stagges, Elkes, and many other formes of Beasts, not knowne vnto vs; whence, with much reason, it is called *Ptolomaida*, of the wilde Beasts. And that *Maqua* and *Ptolomaida*, be one and the selfe same thing, the eleuation of the Pole doth testifie in this behalfe.

§. II.

Relations of Ethiopia sub Ægypto, and P R E S T E R I O H N : of Nilus, and the Abassine Customs and Neighbours. The cause and meanes of the decay of that great Empire, neuer since recovered. Of Marate and Suaquen.

He *Preste Iohn*, which by another name, is called King of the *Abexi*, is Lord of all the Land of *Æthiopia sub Ægypto*: which is one of the greatest Prouinces we know in the World. This Easterne Empire beginneth at the Cape of *Guardafui*, called in old time, the Promontorie of *Aromata*, and from thence running along the Red Sea with Desert coasts, & not very crooked, it reacheth vnto the bounds of the rich City of *Suaquen*: on the Northside it bordereth with the warlike people of the *Nubijs* or *Nubians*, which lyeth between the Land of the *Abexij*, and the superiour part of *Egypt*, called, *Thebayda*, and from hence running great spaces within the Land, toward that part where the Kingdome and Land of *Manicongo* lyeth, after it hath taken too it selfe some part of *Libya interior*, all the other on the Westside remayneth for his bounds, and presently turning againe behind the Springs and Lakes of *Nilus*, going through the fierie and vnknowne Countries, it finisheth and endeth on the Southside in the *Barbarian Gulfe*, which at this day is knowne of the *Portugals*, which doe nauigate the same on the Coast of *Melinde* and *Magadaxo*.

Nilus at this day is knowne by his ancient name, for of the *Abexijs*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, it is called *Nil*, a thing certainly worth the knowing; the Springs and Lakes whence this Riuer proceedeth, are in the Confines that separate the Land of the *Abexins*, or *Æthiopi-ans* from the *Safres*, which inhabit the mayne of the Land, that goeth from *Melinde* toward *Mosambique*, as I vnderstood, by some great Lords, and other persons of *Abexij*. Which thing is held of them all for manifest, and well knowne, and hence appeareth, the little knowledge that the Ancients had of his originall. Now, enquiring of these persons, if it were true, that this Riuer in many places did sinke vnder the Earth, and came out againe many daies iournies thence, I knew there was no such thing: But that through all the Land where it ranne, it shewed it selfe vpon the Superficies thereof, carrying a great depth and breath, without hiding it selfe or flying from the sight of men, as yee reade in *Plinie, Lib. 5. of the Naturall Historie*: About the increasings or over-flowings of the Riuer, I asked very often the causes, this beeing a thing so disputed of all the ancient Philosophers, and I came perfectly to know of them the Solution of this doubt, hitherto neuer determined; and so almost iestingly, with certaine simple Questions, I came to know that which so great and proud wits of Philosophers knew not.

These principall Lords of *Abexij*, told me, that in their Countrey the Winter beganne in the end of May, and lasted Iune, Iuly, and part of August, but that in August, the Ayre is more pleasant, the weather milde and tractable, but that in the monethes of Iune and Iuly, for a great Wonder appeared, the Sunne; so many, and so continuall were the raines which continually fell from Heauen, with the which the fields and low grounds were so couered and over-flowne of the waters, that in these two monethes, they cannot goe nor passe from one place to another, and that this multitude of waters had no other issue or place where to gather themselves, but only to the Channell of the Riuer *Nilus*: because toward the Red Sea, there ranne along the Sea very great Mountaines, it was of necessitie, that the Riuer should increase and go out of his owne course, not being able to containe so great abundance and weight of waters in it selfe, and the Riuer running with such vehement and terrible rage, it is very apparant, that as well in the *Egyptian*, as in other Lands whereby it passeth, it would goe out of his naturall course, and cause, whereby it passeth, great over-flowings: and the Territories of *Egypt* being most plaine, of necessity, the over-flowings in it would be more copious, and the Riuer would haue a larger scope to spread it selfe with his waters in euery place, the which could not so happen in the high and Mountainous Lands.

Now then, since it was manifest, that all the inundations of *Nilus* in *Egypt*, begin to increase when the Sunne was in the *Solstitium Estiuale*, which is in the moneth of Iune, the Sunne entering in the beginning of *Cancer*, but passing by the Signe of *Leo*, which is in Iuly, the Riuer increased in greater abundance, and when it was in the Signe of *Virgo*, which is in August, where in this moneth the raines begin to assuage in the *Abexij*, and Winter takes his leaue, the Riuer began to decrease by the degrees it had increased, till it come altogether into his Channell, the occasion remayned manifest of the increasing of this Riuer, to be the great and continuall raines, which in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, did fall in the Land of *Abexij*, or *Æthiopia*, which is all one; Seeing that when these raines ceased in August, the Riuer at that same time did beginne to withdraw himselfe to his accustomed bounds. I was my selfe in *Maçua*, the moneth of Iune, and part of Iuly, where I saw great stormes, raines, thundering, and within the Mayne continually, we saw great blacknesse and cloudinesse, and tempests, and the *Abexins* said, that we saw

The Cosmographe of *Æthiopia*, (sub *Egypto*. The *Negus* or *Priest Iohn*, King of the *Abexins*. Promontorie of *Aromata*. Where this Easterne Empire beginneth.

Æthiopia produceth many Mines of gold. Lakes of *Nilus*.

And so it doth in *Shiana*, the raines falling most violently in these moneths.

Aluax hath deliuered the same reason of this over-flowing.

the Riuer

but

Cape of Bona
Esperanza.

Meroe insula, in
which is a
great and rich
Citie.

The Colours
of the
King of
Ethiopia
are
the
same
as
the
King of
Ethiopia
are.

Dauid's tyranny,
of which some
Examples of the
two Betudetes,
and Chiefe Iu-
stice, and Tri-
gremahon, and
four Barna-
gassoes, in fixe
yeares, &c. you
may reade be-
fore in Aluarez.
This humour,
it seemeth, in-
creased with
his yeares, and
perhaps he in-
tended some
alteration in
Religion also,
as appeareth
by Aluarez and
Bermudez his
Legates to the
Pope, which
might more
instigate his
subjects a-
gainst him.
Gradamet ouer-
threw in bat-
taile Preste
Iohn, by means
of Harquebus-
ses.
Dauid's death.

* Since which
to this day,
they haue de-
creased, and
are now al-
most vtterly
ruined.
Mountaine of
the Jewes.

but little to that which went within the Land. Likewise, wee haue experience, that the moneths of Iune and Iuly, is the Winter of Cape *Bona Esperanza*, and all this Coast where the raines are very continuall. In this manner, hauing resolued my doubt, of the flowings of *Nilus*, I asked them if the Riuer made any Ilands; they answered mee, that it made many; but one of them was very great, where was built a most rich and great Citie, which by due consideration ought to be the Iland of *Meroe*, and they told mee, that aswell in this Iland, as through all the Riuer there were great numbers of certaine fierce and pestiferous beasts, which, without doubt, must be the Crocodiles; and being desirous to know if it were true, that in a certaine place the Riuer fell from such a height, that with the great noise of the fall, those that inhabited in the bordering Townes were borne deafe: I found no Historie of this, onely they told mee, that in a certaine place, which they named, the Riuer did fall of a great Rocke, downe with a great noise and rumour, but that there was no other thing.

As touching the customes and manners of the *Abexines*, the Lecture that of them might bee made, it would disturbe the Historie of the *Rutter*, for which cause, I will touch in briebe some things most worthy to bee knowne; especially, of the ruine and losse of this Empire, in our unhappie dayes.

Preste Iohn, by name *Atini Tingill*, called after *Dauid*, raigning in the yeare 1530. in the Land of *Ethiopia*, he became so cruell to his Subjects, and did tyrannize so much ouer the people, that he fel into an vniuersall hatred of the *Abexines*; in this time *Gradamet*, King of *Zeila*, finding the time fit, began to attempt warre with *Presbyter Iohn*, to see what he could find in the minds of the *Abexines*, & this, not that he was able to take such an Enterprize in hand, but either he encouraged himself in the great enmitie the *Abexines* had with their King, either this warre was secretly moued by some Lords of the Kingdom. Now, beginning to enter through the Land of the *Presbyter*, and to take some Townes, he diuided largely the spoiles among his Warriours, among the which he had three hundred Harquebusses, *Turkes*, which was the greatest strength of his Armie, and franchized all the Inhabitants of the Townes, where through he passed, and exempted them of the Taxes and Impositions imposed by *Presbyter Iohn*, with which liberalities hee got the minds of the *Abexines*, and not onely of the vulgar sort, but also of the most principall Lords of the Kingdome.

The *Presbyter Iohn*, seeing the damage receiued of the King of *Zeila*, sent against him his Captaines, which beginning some Skirmishes, as soone as the *Turkes* shot their Calceuers among the *Abexines*, and did kill some of them, the feare they tooke of these shots was so great, that presently they set themselues in flight. The King of *Zeila* proud of this victorie, entred within the Land, confident alreadie in the fauour of Fortune, accompanied with great companies of *Abexines*, which followed his partie, and foraging the Land of *Ethiopia*, by that part which standeth vpon *Magadoxa*, and *Melinde*, to the end that by this way hee might in shorter time might come to a Mountaine, where was the great Treasure of all the *Presbyters* past, the *Presbyter* seeing that euery day his *Abexines* passed to the Campe of the *Moores*, determined to come to a battaile, before that so great Harpyes did make an end of deuouring the Land altogether, and the minds of his Subjects, and gathering his Armies, and going against the King of *Zeila*, hee gaue him battaile, in which the *Presbyter Iohn* was ouercome, because that the *Abexines* could not abide the Harquebusses, and so fled from them, as from a cruell pestilence. The *Presbyter* with-drawne after this conflict to the Mountaines with some of his, within a few dayes, hee left this life, in the yeare of our Lord 1539.

The King of *Zeila* obtayning so great a victorie, trauelled by great iourneyes toward the Mountaine, where the Treasure was of the Kings of *Abexy*, and comming to the foot, assaulting the paces with great furie, notwithstanding, they were vnaccessiblle, and were defended from the top, in the end they entred them, and gained the Mountaine, where was taken the greatest Treasure, that vnto this day we know together in the compasse of the whole Earth. Now, vpon the decease of *Presbyter Iohn*, the *Abexines*, which continued in the faith and loue of their Countrey, elected his eldest Sonne for *Presbyter*, and King of *Abexy*, being a yong man of little age, which finding the Realme vsurped by Infidels, and almost irrecoverable (and because there might remaine nothing wherein Fortune might not be contrarie to him, and fauourable to the *Moores*) it hapned that a Brother of his, dealt with some great men how to get the Kingdome, which was the ytter ouerthrow of the *Abexines*. The matters of *Ethiopia*, beeing in these termes, and the infortunate youth contending with his Domesticall and Native Countriemen, the King of *Zeila* came vpon him, but the new *Presbyter* not being able to resist, with-drew himselfe to the Mountaine of the Jewes.

We are to note, that in the inward part of *Ethiopia*, there ariseth a great and most high Hill, which hath but one onely ascending and very difficult, but on the highest top of it lyeth a very plaine Countrey, where there are great abundance of Springs, Fruits, Cattell, and Tillages, the Inhabitants of this Mountaine doe obserue the Law of *Moses*, not finding in all the Land of *Abexy* any Jewes: the Historie and Antiquitie how they haue arrived here, and the cause of neuer descending downe, and conuersing familiarly with the *Abexines*, is not come to my notice, though

though I laboured it much. The new *Presbyter* receiuing of these *Jewes* friendly entertainment, and reknowledged for their Lord, they defended him from the *Moores*, and King of *Zeila*, which despayring of the victorie, and entring the Mountaine, rettyred backward. About this time we arriued at *Maçua* with all the Armie: which when it was knowne, it put the *Moores* in a great feare, and lifted vp the decayed hearts of the *Abexines*, in sort that the *Presbyter* emboldned himselfe to descend from the Mountaine, and seated himselfe with his people in certaine Mountaines towards the Sea and Towne of *Maçua*, where we were arriued, writing many Letters more then pittifull and miserable, and in all of them before the writing, came Our Lord *Iesus crucified*, of the which, hauing louing Answeres, and full of hope of succour, wee made our iourney toward *Soez*, and being returned againe to *Maçua*, it was ordayned to send him five hundred men with a Captaine. This done, we set saile, and came directly the way to *India*, and to this present, I haue not knowne what more hapned, or is become of the *Presbyter*, and matters of *Ethiopia*.

What these Portugals petformed in *Ethiopia*, you shal reade in the following Relations of *Bermudez*, Customes of the *Abexines*. They are esteemed great Warriours out of their owne Countrey.

The *Abexines* are naturally ceremonious men, and full of points of honour. Among them there is no other kind of weapons then Darts, in which they here figured the Lance where-with Christ was wounded, and the Crosse whereon he suffered for Sinners. Some, though very few, weare halfe Swords. They are nimble on Horse-backe, but badly apparelled, generally they are lying people and giuen to Rapine. Among them he is not counted rich, that possesseth many, but he that hath abundance of Cattell, and Camels, and notwithstanding, this they esteeme the Gold very much: In their owne Countrey they are weake and cowards, but in a strange Countrey strong and valiant, in sort, that it is a Prouerbe in all *India*, to say, That the good *Lascarin*, which wee call a Souldier, must be an *Abexine*; and they are so esteemed in *Ballagate*, *Cambaya*, *Bengala*, and in other places, that they are alwayes Captaines, and principall persons in the Armies. Their attyre is vile and poore: they weare Shirts of linnen cloth, and some great person weareth a *Beden*, the vulgar goeth naked, and couered with whatsoeuer cloth; they eate *Bolliemus*, and raw flesh, and when they lay it to the fire, they hold it so little at it, that when they eate it, the blood runneth out of it. In the Land there is no Cities, nor Townes, but they liue in the fields in Pauillions or Tents, like the *Alarbes*.

A kind of vpper garment.

They doe honour themselves very much of the Queene of *Saba*, and they say, she tooke shipping in the part of *Maçua*; and others affirme, that it was in *Suaquen*, and carrying great riches with her and Jewels of great value, she came to *Ierusalem* to see King *Salomon*, giuing him great gifts, and returne from thence with child by the King, to her Kingdome. It is an historie much talked of among the *Abexines*, that a *Soldan* of *Babylon*, moouing warre against *Presbyter Iohn* many yeares agoe, the *Presbyter* gathered a great multitude of people, with the which he put in practice to turne the Riuer *Nilus* another way to the Sea, so that it should not runne through *Egypt*. The *Soldan* amazed at so great an Enterprize, and seeing that the worke comming to perfection, it would be the vtter ouerthrow of *Egypt*, he sent vnto him his Embassadors with great gifts, by the meanes of the which he obtayned his friendship and peace with the *Presbyter Iohn*, and gaue a priuiledge to the *Abexines*, that they might passe through all his Countrey, without paying any Tribute, and at this day they pay no Tribute when they goe to visit the holy Sepulchre, and Saint *Catherine* of Mount *Sinai*; I asked within the streights of some old learned *Moores* for this Antiquitie, and they told mee the same, not digressing one iot from the *Abexines*.

The nineteenth, at Sunne rising, we set saile from the nooke which is beyond *Maçua*, halfe a league and an halfe of water, distant from the Land about halfe a league: This day the weather was very close, and it rained, and numbring our Armie, I found sixtie foure rowing Vessels, that is, three Galliots, eight small Gallies, and thirtie five Foyfts. By night the wind was North-west, it calmed, and blew a little at West, in the second watch it began to raine, and halfe the morning watch past, wee wayed our Anchors, and went rowing along the shoare till the morning, it rained very hard all this time.

The Portugall Armada.

The twentieth, at euening, we were as farre as the Point of the ranke of Ilands on the Northside, at this time wee might bee from *Maçua*, about fourteene leagues, the Coast from *Maçua* hither, stretcheth North North-west, and South South-east, there is in the distance fourteen legues, in the Ilands which we saw on the Sea-side, we knew that in some of them there was Cattell and water, with some few and poore dwellings, the distance between them and the firme Land, might be some foure leagues, the names of these Ilands where the Cattell and the Water is, are *Harate*, *Dobull*, *Damanill*, the Land of them is low, and round about it is full of Shoalds and Flats.

Harate, *Dobull*, *Damanill*.

By night all the first watch, the wind faire at East, we sailed to the North North-west, at the beginning of the second watch, wee fell on a sudden in certaine very whitish spots, the which did raise and cast from themselves certaine flames like vnto Lightnings, wondring at the shew of this strange euent, presently we tooke in our Sailes, and beleeuing wee were vpon some Shoalds or Bankes, commanded to cast the Lead: I found twentie sixe fathome water, now

now this noueltie making no impression in the Pilots of the Countrey, and seeing how we went by a great depth, wee set sayles againe.

An Iland vnder water to be feared.

The one and twentieth when it was day, wee saw at Sea off vs, the low Iland, whereof the *Moorish* Pilots were afraid.

The two and twentieth when it was day, wee set sayle: my Pilot tooke the Sunne at the highest, and found himselfe in eightene degrees and an halfe. At this time we were as farre as a Point of sand very long, which the firme land thrust out, doubling this Point, we found the Sea very faire, and we sayled North-west and by West. An houre after noone, we came to an Hauen, called *Marate*. All the Coast wee saw this day, stretcheth North North-west, and South South-east, the Land by the Sea side is very low, and maketh neuer a Hillocke, but within the Land there arise so great Mountaines, that they seeme to reach the Clouds. 10

A Description of the Port and Iland of *Marate*.

Marate is an Iland very low: the land thereof is very Desart, and without water, it is beyond *Maçua*, about sixtie sixe leagues; the Iland hath in compasse a league and an halfe, the figure thereof is rather round then any other, it lieth from the firme land about three leagues, in the side of this Iland which is opposite to the South-west, and beholdeth the firme land, there is a very good Hauen, free from all winds, and especially from the Easterne winds: for on this side, the Iland doth cast out two very long points into the Sea, which stretch East and West, and a quarter North-west and South-east: betweene the which the land on both sides doth streighten very much, and makes a very great and hollow bosome, in the mouth and front of which lieth a long Iland, and very flat; and also some Heads of sand, and Shoalds, by reason of which no Sea can come in there: this Hauen hath two entries, one of them goeth on the East side, and the other on the West side, the one and the other very neere the points of the Iland, betweene the which the Hauen is made. The Entrie and Channell which goeth on the East side, stretcheth North and South, a quarter to the North-west and South-east, the depth is three fathom in the shallowest place, and comming out of this, it encreaseth presently, and within the Hauen wee haue neere the Shoare foure and fiae fathome, the ground is mudde. By night, the wind blew at East, and lesse then by day, we rode all night. 20

Foure or fiae fathom water.

The Ilands of *Daratata* and *Dolcofallar*.

The three and twentieth the Sunne being vp, we set saile from the Iland and Port of *Marate*, and found seuen fathome, and sandie ground; at eleuen of the clocke, wee came in sight of two little Ilands, which were farre to the Sea; one of them is called *Daratata*, and the other, 30

Suaquen Channell full of Shoalds.

Dolcofallar, from which to *Suaquen* is a dayes iourney: from noone forward, we sayled North-west and by West, till Euen song time that we entred the Channell of *Suaquen*, and entring into it we sayled North-west the space of a league, and presently there wee had ahead of vs certaine Shoalds, for which cause wee sayled West, and a quarter North-west, and sometimes West, to free our selues from them, and we sayled this way about three leagues, till we saw a great Iland ahead of vs; as soone as we saw it, we went by a tacke toward the Land, and came to an anchor betweene certaine great Shoalds of stone, where there is a good Hauen, called *Xabaque*, which is to say in the *Arabian* Tongue, a Net. At this time it might bee an houre before Sunne set. This day my Pilot tooke the Sunne in his greatest height, and he found himselfe in nineteene degrees scarce. 40

Xabaque Hauen in 19. degrees scarce.

A Description of the Shoalds of *Suaquen*. A Shoald vnder water.

The Shoalds of *Suaquen* are so many, and so intermingled the one with the other, that no information or picture is sufficient, I say not to passe them, but for to vnderstand them, the Ilands, Shoalds, Bankes, Rockes, Channells that are among them are so many. These Shoalds at the entring, when wee are readie to goe in, haue on the Sea side a Shoald vnder water, whereupon the Sea breaketh very much, and to the Landward a litte Iland, which stretcheth with the Shoald North-east, and South-west, a quarter of the East and West, the distance is about three quarters of a league: as soone as we enter by these Shoalds, the Channell appeareth to vs large and spacious, and the farther wee goe forward, so much more to the Seaward there appeare to vs such an infinite number of Ilands very flat, Flats, Heads of sand or stone, that they haue no number, the which toward the Land are not so many, though in comparison of any other Sea, it is the foulest and vnnauigable. The precept which most ought to be kept for to passe between these shoalds, is to take heed that we goe alwaies neerer to them that lie to the Sea, and keepe our selues the most we can, from the other that are to the Landward. The breadth of the Channell that goeth betweene the one and the other, in some places is about halfe a league, in others a quarter, and in others lesse then a Caluer shot. As touching the depth of water through all this Channell, wee are to note, that in the entrie of it we found sixe fathoms, and from thence to the Port of *Xabaque* it abated nothing of this depth, nor exceeding twelue fathoms: from the beginning of these shoalds to this Hauen, there may be about fiae leagues, the length of them may be eight or nine leagues, where there goeth another Channell surer for ships and great vessels, and wee may likewise passe these Shoalds, leauing them all to the Sea, going very close with the firme land, and this is the rightest way and most pleasant. 50

Infinite number of Ilands, Flats, and Heads of sand and stone. A precept how to auoid them.

Fiae leagues of Shoalds, eleuen leagues from *Suaquen*.

The foure and twentieth, the Sunne being vp, wee set sayle from the Port of *Xabaque*, and rowed by so narrow a Channell, that in the broadest place we could not goe abreast, but one after another, & wherefoeuer it widened it might be about a Crof-bow shot, the most we went from the

the

the firme land, might be a Cannon shot, and the least little more then a Crof-bow shot. The Shoalds, Rockes and Bankes, we had on eueny side, and were all vnder water, vpon them wee saw manifest signes to auoyd them; For wheresoever they lay, the water ouer them did appeare to vs very red, or very greene, and where wee saw none of these colours, it was manifest to be the deepe, and cleereft of the Channell, the water shewing it selfe darke. Now going by this Channell, compassed with so many controuersies; at halfe an houre past eleuen, wee came to an anchor vnder the lee of a little low and round Iland, in nineteene degrees. In this height *Ptolomie* placeth the Mountaine of the *Satyres*, of the which I found no memorie in the Pilotes of the Countrey, but going into the Land about halfe a league, I found the foot of so many kinds
 10 of Beasts, and flockes of Pianets, so great, that it was a wonder, and all the footings came till they set their feet in the Sea, and the tracke was so great, that it occupied the greatest part of the field. I beleene that Fable so spread abroad of the *Satyres* to come from hence, which they say, inhabite these Hills and Mountaines, and likewise it is to bee noted, that in these foure leagues of Channell that is from *Xabague* to this Iland, the water is no lower then two fathoms and an halfe, nor higher then eleuen, and also that the tide in the Iland ariseth not aboue halfe a yard. And it begins to flow as soone as the day beginneth to ascend by the Horizon, according to the order of the tides of *Socatora*.

Rednesse of the water.

Mountaine of the Satyrs.

The fixe and twentieth by Sunne rising, we departed from this Iland, rowing along a Shoald of stone, that ranne betweene vs and the Land almost equidistance from the Coast, and from it
 20 to the Land all the Sea was full of Shoalds and Bankes, to the Sea of vs there appeared neither Shoalds nor Flats, or any other impediment. At nine of the clocke, we came to an anchor in a little Iland, compassed with many Flats and Shoalds, where was a good Hauen: this Iland was distant from the other, whence wee parted in the morning, a league and an halfe, and short of *Suaquen* five leagues.

The seuen and twentieth the Sunne vp, wee set saile from this second Iland: two houres within night, we came to an anchor a league and an halfe from the second Iland, in eight and twentie fathome water.

The eight and twentieth by day, we bridleed the Oares, and set saile: at nine of the clocke, we came to an anchor about two leagues from the Land, in three and twentie fathome water,
 30 the ground was a soft sand like oze, or mudde. This morning, wee found some Shoalds vnder water at Sea, but vpon them it shewed it selfe very greene or red. Two houres after noone wee set saile againe, at night wee came to an anchor in seuen and thirtie fathome water, the ground was sand, the place was short of *Suaquen*, a league and an halfe, hard by an Iland, the Coast runneth North North-west, and South South-east, and all along there runneth a Shoald that entreth into the Sea neere halfe a league, the Land vpon the Sea side differeth in nothing from that we left asterne.

The first of March, 1541. by day, we departed this place, which is short of *Suaquen*, a league and an halfe: hauing doubled a point which the Shoald maketh, being as farre as the place, wee approached the Land, and entring by the Channell inward, we came to an anchor within the
 40 Hauen of the Citie of *Suaquen*.

Suaquen was called in old time, the Port *Aspi*, as wee may see in *Ptolomie* his third Table of
 50 *Africa*: at this day * it is one of the richest Cities of the Orient, it is situated within the *Arabike* Gulfe, in the Coast of *Ethiopia sub Egypto*, called now, the Land and Coast of the *Abexij*. Among all the famous places, this may be equall or superior to them all in foure things. The first, in goodnesse and securitie of the Hauen. The second, in the facilitie and good seruice for lading and vnlading of the Ships. The third, in the traffike with very strange and remote People and Lands, and of diuers behaviours. The fourth, in the strength of the situation of the Citie. As touching the goodnesse of the Port, and the securitie of it, I will first speake of: Nature made this Port in such manner, that the storme of the Sea cannot come into it by any place whatsoever. Within the Hauen it is so quiet, and it runneth so insensibly, that scarcely yee can perceiue to haue any tides; the ground is mudde, the Road hath in all places five and six fathom, and in some it hath seuen, in this compasse and harbour of the Hauen, may well two hundred ships lie, and rowing Vessels without number. Yee may plainly see the ground, and where it appeareth not, it is so deepe, that at the least it hath ten or twelue fathom water. The ships are laden round about the circumference of the Citie, casting a planke into the Ware-houses of the Merchandise, and the Galleys fastning themselves to the stones and doores of the houses, set their Beak-heads ouer the streets, and by them as by Bridges they are serued. Now, touching the Traffique and Navigation that is in it, with People of many sorts, and strange and remote Countries: I know not what Citie can compare with it (except it be *Lisbon*,) for, this Citie tradeth
 60 in all *India intra Gangem*, & *extra Gangem*, that is, *Cambaya*, *Tanaçarin*, *Pegu*, *Mallagua*, and within the *Arabike* line, in *Iuda*, *Cairo*, *Alexandria*, and from all *Ethiopia*, and the Land of the *Abexi* it gathereth great abundance and quantitie of Gold, and Iuorie. As touching the strength of the situation of the Citie, there cannot so much bee said that it is not much more, seeing that to come to it, the inconueniences, lets, dangers, and hinderances are so great, that it

Description of the Citie and Port of *Suaquen*. The Port of *Aspi*.
 * Ann. 1541. Since the Turkish Conquest, *Moba*, and other places haue bene of greater trade. The great traffike of *Suaquen* with many Nations for Gold, Iuorie, and rich merchandises.

Suaquen, for
some fiftene
leagues, is en-
uironed about
with Shoalds,
Flats, Ilands,
Rocks, Chan-
nels, Banks, &c.

seemeth almost impossible. Seeing that fiftene leagues about the Shoalds, Flats, Ilands, Channels, Rocks, Bankes, and Flats of Sand, and breakings of the Sea, are so many, that they put the Saylers in a great doubt, feare and dispaire. The situation of the Citie is in this manner: in the very midst of this Nooke standeth a most plaine Iland, which is almost leuell and euen with the Sea, and it is so round, that it seemeth a circle. It hath in compasse a quarter of a league, vpon this Iland is the Citie of a *Suaquen*, built in such manner, that in all the compasse of the Iland, there is not one foot of ground that is not replenished with houses, so that this Iland may rather be said to be full of Houses and Inhabitants, then built and inhabited of people, so that all the Iland is a Citie, and all the Citie an Iland. On two sides this Citie and Iland, doe come within a Bow shot of the firme Land, that is, on the East South-east, and on the South-west side, but all the rest is further of the Land: The Road in this Hauen or Nooke, is round about the Citie, from the edge of it to a great Crosse-bow shot of it. We may cast Anchor where wee list, and all this distance hath fixe and seuen fathome water, the ground is Mud. This Nooke where this Citie lyeth, as in his Centre, round about it along the shoare hath a great Shoald, so that the deepe is at the edge of the Citie, and a Bow shot round about it on euery side, and beyond this distance it is full of Shoalds. In this Nooke lye other three Ilands on the Land side, that lyeth to the North-west; the second of them that lye further in, are little, but the other neereſt to the Channell, is about the bignesse of the Citie. Betweene this Iland and the firme Land of the Nooke, on the North side, there goeth a great Channell very long, in which is seuen fathome water: Along this Channell may a great Naue lye at Anchor, without any danger of hurt from the Citie, or seeing more then their Maſts. When the morning appeareth in the Horizon, it is full Sea; and the morning comming on, it beginneth to ebbe till the day comes to our Meridian, when it is dead low water, and passing from hence to the setting in the Horizon, it beginneth to flow till day shutting in, and being shut in it is full Sea: from dead low water till full Sea againe, the water riseth not in the Citie more then a quarter of a yard, and along the Coast, the most that it riseth, is a yard and an halfe to be measured, and in some high places lesse then three quarters of a yard. But when I made this obseruation were new Tides.

The ninth of March, an houre before Sunne set, wee weighed Anchor from before the Citie, and lay at the mouth of the Channell. The tenth, we set saile from the mouth of the Channell of *Suaquen*; We lay all night at Anchor, and the Dew was so great, that it was wonderfull.

§. III.

Mountaines of Sand on the Coasts of Dradate, Doroo, Fuxaa, Arequea, Farate, Quilfit and Igidid.

THE eleuenth, the Winde was at North, and it blew so hard that it was a storme, it raised along the Sea Coasts great Mountaines of Sand toward heauen, and after they were very high it brake them, and the ayre remained as though it were a great mist or smoake; all this day we lay at an Anchor.

Many Rockes,
Shoalds and
Flats.

The twelfth, we went out of this Channell, two leagues beyond *Suaquen*, and being without we set saile, and being about a league and a halfe from the Coast, we met so many Rockes, Shoalds and Flats, whereon the Sea did breake very much, that wee were forced to take in our Sayles, and to row the space of three houres, till we were free from these Shoalds, and presently we set sayle againe. At Euen, we came to an Anchor within the Banke, entring a very narrow Channell, this Channell is one league beyond the other whence we parted, & three from *Suaquen*, it is great and spacious within, the ground is very cleane, there can no Sea come in nor doe any hurt.

The thirteenth, we went an houre before day out of the Channell, and to the Sea of vs about a Canon shot, we saw a very long ranke of Shoalds breake, which seemed to beare the same course that the Coast. At eleuen of the clock, the wind scanted and blew from the North North-west, for the which not being able to make any way, we were forced to fasten our selues to the Rockes of the Shoalds, and being here about three houres, at two of the clocke afternoone we set sayle, the wind was very much fresher, and about North North-east, we sayled North-west, and when we were with the banke of the Land, we tooke in the Sayle, and rowing, we entred a Channell, and well within the banke we harboured. This Channell and place is from *Suaquen* about seuen leagues, the Channell is very narrow, and windeth in many Crookes, the Coast from *Suaquen* hither, stretcheth North and South, and North & by West, and South and by East.

A Channell
seuen leagues
from *Suaquen*.
Obseruation
of the Tides.

The fiftenth, I went a shoare, and obseruing the order of the flowing and ebbing of the Sea, I found that after the morning was ouer the Horizon, two houres it was full Sea, and thence it began to ebbe till two houres afternoone, at which time it was dead low water, and presently it began to flow till the Moone was set, and two houres after: Now measuring the quantitie, the tide did arise, I found two and twentie cubits.

Course of
Tides.

The sixteenth, we went out of this Channell, that is seven leagues from *Suaquen*, the winde was at North, halfe a league at Sea we cast Anchor. The seventeenth, we entred into a very good harbour, called *Dradate*: the Coast from the Port of *Suaquen* unto *Dradate*, lieth North and by West, and South and by East: It is distant ten leagues, the Land ouer the Sea is all very low, and three leagues within the Maine, are great and high Mountaines.

The Port of *Tradate*, with great reason ought to bee placed among the great and famous Ports, it hath eleuation of the Pole, nineteene degrees five sixth parts, and is beyond *Suaquen* ten leagues. The mouth and entry hath in bredth, about a small Faulcon shot, and entring within, presently it beginneth to narrow, and close more and more, but in all his length, the depth
10 of water is twentie fathome, the ground is mud. About a quarter of a league within the Land, there is a great watering place of Wells, where is the best and greatest quantitie of water, that is knowne in all these Coasts. A great watering place.

The nineteenth, the Sunne being vp, we set sayle: we iournyed this day about three leagues and a halfe at Sea off vs we saw many Shoalds, the Coast stretched these three leagues and a halfe North and South. The twentieth, at Sunne rising the wind blew at North, and troubled the Sea: wherefore we were forced to seeke harbour within the Shoald, entring by a very narrow and troublesome Channell: after wee were within, the wind came North North-east, we lay all day at an Anchor. The one and twentieth, we went out of the Shoald, the wind was West North-west faire weather, we sayled to the North, distant from the Land about halfe
20 a league: an houre after Sunne rising, we were with a very long and faire point, which *Ptolomie* calleth the Promontorie of *Diogenes*.

Doroo, is a very great and faire Bay, it is fiftene leagues beyond *Suaquen*, and a halfe: this Bay on the South side thrusteth a verie large and bare point into the Sea, where there is built a great and round Turret in manner of a Pillar, *Ptolomie* calleth this Point, the Promontorie of *Diogenes*. Through this Channell, presently at the entrie, there is fixe fathome Water, and from hence it goeth diminishing till it come to three, and thence doth not descend; the ground is a verie hard Clay, the Bay is so great, and maketh so many Creekes and Nookes, and within it lye so many Ilands, and the firme Land is cut with so many Creekes, which doe penetrate so farre into the Land, that in euery place there may be many Vessels hidden, without any notice of them. A quarter of a league to the Sea of this Bay, there lyeth a Shoald that doth gird and compasse it in such sort at the mouth thereof, that no Sea can come into it, because it is alwaies about water, without hauing any entrance, except the mouth which about I haue rehearsed. This entry or mouth stretcheth East and by North, and West and by South. A Cannon shot from this Bay, is a Well, of great quantitie of water, but it is very brackish and salt. The two and twentieth, when it was day, wee departed, and made our way Rowing, the Sea seemed to be very full of Rockes, and getting free of some, we encountred with others; halfe an houre past ten of the clocke, we made vs fast to the stones of them. About Euen-song time, we were with the Land, and hauing doubled a low point, we entred into a very great Bay, which is called *Fuxaa*, there is betweene *Doroo* and *Fuxaa* three leagues and a halfe, the Coast stretcheth North and South, and seemeth to take something of North-West and South-East. The Bay of *Fuxaa*, is made Noble or famous, by a verie high and sharpe Pike, and in it the Pole of the North doth rise twentie degrees and a quarter. In the entry and mouth of this Bay, there are two verie low points: they lye North and by East, and South and by West, the distance is one league and a halfe. No great Sea doth enter heere, and for this cause heere is a good harbour, where there is ten and twelue fathome water, and the ground is mud, euery where else it diminisheth, till it come to five fathome. Along the Land of the Bay that goeth on the South side, there lyeth nine little Ilands on a row, and in other places are some other scattered, all of them are small, low, and compassed with Shoalds: In this Bay there is not any water, the Land is verie dry and barren. A Description of the Bay of *Doroo*. Promontorie of *Diogenes*. A Brackish salt Well.

The five and twentieth, wee iournyed along the Coast to the Sea off vs, about a league wee saw many Rockes: at ten of the clocke we entred into an harbour, verie great, which is called *Arequa*. There is betweene the Bay of *Fuxaa* and this Hauen foure leagues, the Coast runneth North and South, and taketh something of the North-west and South-east. *Arequa* is the strongest and most defenceable Hauen that hitherto I haue seene, it is beyond *Suaquen* two and twentie leagues. In old time it was called *Dioscori*, as wee may see in *Ptolomie*; in the midst of the entry and mouth of this Port, lyeth a great Iland, which hath in length about a Crosse-bow shot, and almost as much in breadth, and there runneth from it to the firme Land, on the South side a Shoald and a Banke, that ioyneth with the Land, in such sort, that not any thing can passe ouer it: but from the same Iland to the Land on the North side, which is about a Crosse-bow shot distance, there goeth a Channell that hath fiftene fathome water, it runneth North-west and South-east, and both neere the Land, and neere the Iland it is verie shallow and full of Rockes, so that the way lyeth in the very midst; the Channell hath in length about a Caluer shot, and presently the Coasts on euery side winding, doe make within
60 a great

a great and very faire Hauen, in which there is no feare of danger. This Port hath in length about one league, and halfe in breadth, it is deep in the midst, and neere the Land full of Shoalds, there is no water in it. The token we haue to know when we are as farre as it, is, that the Pike abouesaid remaineth to the West South-west. Here we agreed to send all the Armie to *Maqua*, and to goe forward onely with sixteene small Gallies.

Salaqua Hauen,
four leagues
from *Arequa*.

The thirtieth at noone, we set sayle from the Port of *Arequa*, we came to an Anchor in a Hauen, which is called *Salaqua*, beyond *Arequa* four leagues, and from *Suaquen* fixe and twentie; the Coast North and South, and taketh somewhat of the North-east and South-west. The Land which is ouer the Sea, maketh many risings and hillocks, and behind them there arise great Mountaines: and we are here to note, that the Land by the Sea from *Arequa*, beginneth to make this shew forward, for hitherto it is all very plaine and low, till it reacheth to the Mountaines that are within the Maine. The one and thirtieth, we set sayle from the Port of *Salaqua* an houre before Sunne set, we fastned our selues to a Shoald, that is a league from the shoare, we might goe this day about seuentene leagues, and were beyond *Suaquen* three and fortie.

The coasting
of these seuen-
teene leagues.

The Point of
the Calmes.

Toro.

Magarçon.

Elmante.

From the Port of *Salaqua* forward, the Coasts doe begin to winde very much, and from *Raseldoaer* forward, the space of a league, the Coast runneth very low to the North North-east, and in the end it maketh a point of Sand, where there are thirteene little hillockes or knobs of stone, which as the *Moorish* Pilots said, were Graues, and from this point of the Calmes about two leagues, the Coast runneth to the North North-west, and from thence as farre as this Shoald, which is three and fortie leagues from *Suaquen*. It is the most famous and named point of all this Coast; because all that doe sayle from *Maqua*, *Suaquen*, and other places, to *Inda*, *Alcocer*, and to *Toro*, must of force fetch this point. As touching the Sea that lyeth within these seuentene leagues, I beleue there can be no rules or experience to be securely sayled, but that as well the skilfull as the vnskilfull, must passe at all aduentures, and saue themselves by chance, for the Shoalds are so many, and so great, the Sea so sowed euery where with Rockes, the Bankes are so continuall in euery place, that it seemeth certainly rather that we may goe it on foote, then sayle it; yea, although it be in small Boats, in these spaces which are contained; betweene *Salaqua* and *Raseldoaer*, are three Ilands lying in tryangle, neerer to *Raseldoaer* then to *Salaqua*. The greatest of them is called *Magarçon*, it hath in length about two leagues, the Land of it is verie high, and without water. This Iland beareth with *Raseldoaer* North and South, the distance is three leagues. The second Iland lyeth much to the Sea, and is called *Elmante*: the Land is likewise high, and without water; but the third Iland is very low, and all of Sand: it lyeth four leagues from *Salaqua*, toward *Raseldoaer*, the name whereof is not yet come to my notice.

Quilfit Hauen.
The Descripti-
on the Riuer
of *Ferate*.

A Description
of the Port
of *Quilfit*.

Rasilgid Ha-
uen.

Moamaa Ha-
uen.

The second of Aprill, 1541. an houre before day, we loosed from the Shoald, that is three and fortie leagues beyond *Suaquen*, and went Rowing along the Coast, wee entred into a Riuer which is called *Ferate*: there might be from the Shoald whence wee departed to this Riuer, four leagues, and setting sayle a league from thence, wee entred into an Hauen very faire, which is called *Quilfit*. All this day we saw not to the Land of vs any Rocke, but to the Sea of vs we did see a Shoald. *Ferate* is a Riuer very great and faire, the Channell thereof hath of eleuation of the Pole one and twentie degrees, and two third parts, that separates two low Points; at the entrance are a small Caluer shot, and from each of them commeth a Shoald toward the mouth of the Riuer, so that the Channell or entry is in the very midst; this Riuer runneth East and West. The Land of euery side of the Riuer is very low, without Bush or any Trees of any other kind; in the mouth of the Riuer is thirtie fathomes water, and from thence it diminisheth till it remaineth in eightene.

Quilfit, is an Hauen no lesse faire and noble, then very sure and profitable, because being once within, we need to feare no winde or any misfortune. There are at the entrie of this Port two very low Points, which are coasted North-west and South-east, a quater North and South. The distance is almost a quater of a league. All the Hauen round about, may comprehend more then three leagues, and wee may lye at Roade in any place of it, and bee safe. In all this Hauen is twelue fathome water, along the Shoare the Coast is rockie, betweene this part and the Riuer of *Ferate*, which is a great leagues iourney, there crosseth a ranke of Mountaynes, one higher then the rest.

The third, one houre before day, we came out of the Port of *Quilfit*, and went rowing along the Coast. An houre before Sunne set, we came to an anchor in an Hauen, which is called *Rasilgid*, which in the *Arabian* tongue is, The new Head. This day we went about nine leagues, to the Sea of vs, we saw some Shoalds, but fewer then we had seene before. Two leagues from *Quilfit* there is a very good Hauen, which is called *Moamaa*, and presently from this Point of the Shrubs, vnto another Point of Sand very long, which is about two leagues, before the Port of *Rasilgid*, the Coast runneth North and South, and taketh somewhat of the North-west and South-east, the distance is about three leagues and a halfe.

Igidid, is a small Hauen, but a very pleasant one, it is beyond *Suaquen* seven and fiftie leagues; the proportion thereof is like a great Cauldron, and within is so round, that it seemes a part of a Circular: in the mouth and entrie of the Port are two Points; which stretch North and South. Within this Port, onely the Easterne winde can doe some hurt, all the ground is very cleane: at the Mouth there is eightene fathome water, and within thirteene; and halfe a league from it into the Land there is a Well of water, though little abounding, the water of it is very bitterish; the Port hath in compasse a great halfe league. It is a thing to be noted, that as well in this Port, as in all the rest, which I haue seene in this Coast, Riuers, or Harbours, none hath any Barre or Banke at the Entrie, but rather the greatest depth is at the Mouthes, rather then within. In this Port I found certaine Trees, which in the Trunke or Stock resembled the Corke Trees, for the Trunkes and Boughes of them were couered with a kind of Barke or Corke, and very different in all the rest, for the leaues of them were very great and large, and wonderfully thicke and greene, hauing certaine bigge veines that did crosse them, these Trees were with Flowre, and the Flowre in the Bud resembled the Mallow flowre when it is in the Bud, but that this was very white; and after it openeth, the Bud it resembleth the white Cockle. Cutting a little Bough or Leafe of these Trees, there runneth out a great streame of Milke, as if it were the dugg of a Goat. In all this coast I saw no other Trees but these, except a Groue that is a little beyond *Maqua*, hard by the Sea in the marsh ground; besides these Trees, within the Land, there are some Valleys where grow some Capers, the leaues of which the *Moors* doe eate. They say, that they be appropriated to the ioynts.

A description of the Port of *Igidid*. *Igidid* Port, in proportion like a great Cauldron. A Well of water very bitterish.

Trees like Corke trees.

Trees of Capers.

Thunder and very great Hayle.

The exceeding heat of the Sunne.

Starta.

Comol, a good Hauen.

The fourth, from Sunne rising till eleuen of the clocke, the winde blew so much at North-west, that it was a great storme; and from eleuen of the clocke, it began to thunder very hard, and it hayled with the biggest drops that euer I saw; with these thunders, the Winde ranne through all the Points of the Compasse, and at last it remayned North. This day I carried my instruments on Land, and found the variation one degree and a quarter to the North-east, and the Port in two and twentie, by many obseruations.

Notwithstanding, that these operations were made a shoare, and with so much heede in the setting of the Instrument, that after once placed I neuer stirre it, till the end of all the obseruations, yet there cannot be but that some error may be in them and some difference, because the great heate and scorplings of the Sunne, did cracke the plate of Iuorie in the midst, and there remayned a great Clift as thick as a Portegue of gold, betweene the one halfe and the other.

The sixth, an houre before day, we weighed from the Port of *Igidid*. All this dayes iourney might be three leagues and a halfe.

The seventh, in the morning, the Winde blew fresh at North-west, we rowed to the shoare: and at eight of the clocke, in the morning, wee fastned our selues to certayne stones of a Shoald and a Shelve, that lyeth before a long Point, which hereafter I will call *Starta*; we went in this space about three leagues; but about noone we departed, and set saile, being in no little doubt, because on the one side and on the other of vs, we saw so many Shelues that it was a wonderfull thing: we were forced to take in our sailes, and helpe our selues with the Oare. At Sunne set we came to an anchor in a good Hauen, which is called *Comol*.

§. IIII.

A description of the Coast, that is contayned from the Port of *Igidid* vnto *Comol*, *Raselnaxef*, *Xuarif*, *Gadenauhi*, *Xermeelquiman*, *Gualibo*, *Tuna*, *Alcocer*, and *Toro*.

From a Point that lyeth two leagues beyond the Port of *Igidid*, to another, very long and flat, it may bee about foure leagues: these two Points stretch North-west and South-east, in this space there is a great and famous Nooke, and within it toward the long Point of the North-west, is a Hauen so close on all sides, that no Wind can doe it any harme, and it is very deepe. The Point remayneth an Iland, which by reason of the heighth and place where it standeth, without doubt it seemeth to be an Iland, which *Ptolomie* calleth *Starta*. But from hence to a great Point, which the Land ouer the Port of *Comol* doth thrust out, there may be five leagues, these two Points stretch North-west and by West, South-east and by East; betweene them both there is another great and faire Nooke. As touching the description of the Land vpon the Sea coast, we are to note, that from as farre as *Igidid*, till halfe a league short of the Port of *Comol*, along the Sea, the Land sheweth all along in small Hills and very close, and behind them there arise within a league distance, very great and high Mountains, rayising very high Pikes and sharpe Points, with other very faire shewes, the which the neerer they come to the Port of *Comol*, so much the neerer they come toward the Sea, and being come to the edge of it, they runne very high, ouer-pearing the Coasts, till they come within halfe a league short of this Port of *Comol*.

Comol Hauen two and twentie degrees and an halfe.

Starta Insula.

A description
of the Port of
Comol.

Badois.

Promontorie
of Prionoto.

Xaabiliden, a
great Shelve,
Zemorgite I-
land.
The Point of
the Moun-
taines end.

Raselnaxef
Point, or the
dry Cape.
Promontorie
Pentadatilor.
Note an Iland
where the land
of both Coasts
is scene.
Agabon insula.

Cornaqua an
Iland.

A great Tem-
ple.

Comol, is beyond *Igidid* eleuen leagues, and from *Suaquen* sixtie eight; the Pole in it is eleuated two and twentie degrees and an halfe. This Port standeth in the end of this second Nooke, very neere the face of the Point, which the Land that lyeth on the North-west side, doth thrust out, the which though it be not very great, yet it is very sure and profitable: for toward the Sea side it hath certaine Shoalds ouer water, which defend it, that no Sea can come into it; the Land which is scene round about it, is very plaine and pleasant, and greatly peopled with *Badois*. Now, the Point of the North-west, wherewith the Land ouer this Port and end of the Nooke, commeth out into the Sea, is very long and faire: the Land of it is all low and equall. This Point is the Promontorie *Prionoto*, if wee looke well to *Ptolomie* in the third Table of *Africa*; which, because that as farre as it the great Mountaines doe end, which roame along all this Coast. Three houres after mid-night, we went out of the Port of *Comol*, and rowing a little while, wee all set saile and went along the Coast; but an houre before morning, some Foyfts strooke vpon Rocks and Shoalds, for which cause we strooke saile, and made our iourney, rowing vntill morning.

The eight, at breake of day, we came into a great and faire Bay, of which toward the North and North-west side, we saw no end, or any Point where it might end. We sailed in the broad and high Sea, the Shoalds on euery side were so many, that it was a wonder wee could make any profit of a large winde, for now going roamour, now by a tacke, sometime out of the way, and sometime in it, there was no way wee could take certayne and quiet. About Sunne set, wee found a very great Shelve, and fastning our selues to the stones of it, we tooke harbour. The ninth, being cleere, we set saile from the Shelve. We tooke harbour within a very great Shelve, which is called *Xaabiliden*: after we were at anchor, we saw to the Sea an Iland, which is called *Zemorgite*. This Port and Shelve stretcheth North-east and by East, South-west and by West. From the point of the Cape of the Mountains, to another Point which is beyond it, where are certain great Furies or Whinnes, the Coast runneth North-west and by North, and South-east and by South, bushes of the distance may be about three leagues & an half, or foure, & presently from this Point, the Coasts of the great nooke, beginne to wind toward the Land inward, drawing toward the setting of the Sunne, and afterward they turne againe very winding and crooked, making with so many turnings a great and large circuite, and from hence they wind outward, carrying a great and long front, till they thrust into the Sea a notable and great Point, called *Raselnaxef*, which in *Arabique*, is to say, the dry Cape which *Ptolomie* doth call. The Promontorie *Pentadatilor*, as we may see in the third Table of *Africa*, the Iland of *Zemorgite*, is distant from this Point about eight leagues towards the Sunne rising, and from it, as the *Moorish* Pilots told vs, is the first place from whence the Land is scene of both the Coasts, but the Coast of *Arabia* is a great deale further from the Iland, this Iland is barren and very high, and hath another fast by it very small, the greater *Zemorgite*, *Ptolomie* doth call *Agabon*, and maketh no mention of the lesser. Now, for a declaration of the shelve *Xaabiliden*, wee are to note, that in the end of this great Bosome farre to the Sea, there lyeth a very faire shelve aboue water, all of it, which maketh a figure like to two armes wide open with their hands, and because of this shew that it representeth, it was called, *Xaabiliden*; which in *Arabian*, is to say, The shelve of the Hands, the Port of this shelve is on the Land side, for on this side it windeth very much, and stretcheth such armes that keepe and shut vp the Hauen from all the winds of the Sea, this Hauen stretcheth with *Raselnaxef*, East South-east, and West North-west, the distance is about foure leagues.

The tenth, the Sunne being vp, we set saile to the North North-east, the wind began to blow fresher, and the Sea appeared to vs cleere and Nauigable, about halfe a league from the Point, we saw in the iudgement of all, a ship vnder saile, and making toward it, after wee were very neere it, we perceiued it was a white Rocke that was in the Sea, which, as wee had notice, deceiueth all the Nauigators, and presently we sailed to the North and by East. At nine of the clocke, wee were as farre as an Iland, which is called, *Cornaqua*, and wee passed betweene it and the firme Land: this Iland is small and barren, it hath in compasse about halfe a league, the distance from it, and the firme Land is about a league and an halfe, the Land of the Iland maketh the figure and shew of a great and mightie Lizard, with his armes stretched out, which is the occasion it is much noted and scene of the Nauigators, and therefore made famous, this Iland of *Cornaqua* beareth with the Iland *Zemorgite*, North-west and by West, and South-east and by East, the distance is about sixe small leagues, but returning to our way, about halfe an houre past ten, wee were as farre as a very long Point of Sand, entring a great way into the Sea, which is called, *Raselnaxef*; which in *Arabique*, is to say, The Point or Cape of the Nose. This Point hath not round about it any high Land, but a great or vast field doth begirt it, without seeing in all this space any Tree or any greene thing, and in the very face of the Point, is a great Temple erected, without any other building, and on euery side of it is a very cleere landy Coast, in manner of a Bay. *Raselnaxef* is very famous; all the trouble of their Nauigations, is, till they come to this Point, and whensoever they double or come to it, they hold themselves at home and sure. Now prosecuting our iourney running along the Coast, the wind was at South-east. At noone my Pilot tooke the Sunne, and found himselfe in twentie foure degrees of height, one sixt part,

at this time we might be beyond *Raselenfe* three leagues, whence it remayneth manifest, this Point to stand in the height of twentie foure degrees; and of this it appeareth, that the Citie of *Berenice*, was built in this Point of *Raselenfe*, for *Ptolomie* doth place it vnder the Tropicke of *Cancer*, by the Sea-side in this Coast, and in his time they made the greatest declination, almost twentie three degrees fiftie minutes: Likewise, *Pinie, Lib. 6.* speaking of *Berenice*, saith, that in the *Solsticium* at high noone, the *Gnomon* maketh no shadow, which signifieth, this Citie to be vnder the Tropicke.

Note the Citie
of *Berenice*.

Halfe an houre before Sunne-set, we were as farre as an Iland, which is called *Xuarit*, but passing forward a quarter of a league, we met certaine shelues of sand, and others of stone. Wee came to an Anchor betweene them in a good Harbour, which in the *Arabique* Tongue, is called *Cial*. In these shelues wee saw so great a quantitie of Foule, as hitherto in no part of this Sea wee haue seene: these shelues and Port of *Cial*, is beyond *Suachen*, one hundred and three leagues.

Xuarit Iland,

From *Raselnaxef*, till so farre as the Iland *Xuarit*, there may be betweene sixteene and seuentee leagues. The Coast when we haue doubled *Raselnaxef*, which by another name, I call the North-west point of the great Nooke, doth wind very much, and runneth into the Land, and turning outward againe, it thrusteth into the Sea: a verie long Point of Sand, called *Raselenfet*. These two Points stretched North-east and South-west, and take almost the whole quarter of North and South, there may be in the distance about sixe leagues large, and presently from *Raselenfet*, forward the Coast windeth directly to the North-west, till we are as farre as the Iland of *Xuarit*, this distance is betweene ten and eleuen leagues: the Sea that lyeth in this distance is in onely three places foule and full of Shoalds, the first is, to the Sea of the Iland of *Connaqua*, where is seene a great and very faire Shoald, which going ouer water raiseth a great ridge of very great stones, and runneth a great space toward the Land. The second place is in the Iland of *Xuarit*, for from this Iland, as well on the East as on the West-side, there goe great Shoalds and Flats toward the firme Land, in such manner that they seeme to shut vp all the Sea, that lyeth betweene the Iland and the Land, but the third remayneth manifest, to bee this part where at this present we lye at Anchor, called *Cial*, in the which the Sea is so full and thicke, with so many Shoalds and Flats, that they haue no number, neither can yee perceiue any part of it, that shewes it selfe free and void of them. The Iland of *Xuarit* is a Caleuer-shot in length, and in breadth almost as much, the Land of it is very low, and in the midst of it a great Bush very Greene, on the East-side there is opposite to it a great Rocke like an Iland, this Iland is distant from the firme Land little more then halfe a league.

The coasting
from *Raselnaxef* to *Xuarit*

Raselnaxef
Point.

Xuarit Iland, a
Caleuer-shot
in length, and
in breadth al-
most as much.

From *Suaquen* to *Raselenfe*, the Countries are inhabited of a people, called *Badois*, which worship *Mabomet*, the one and the other called of the Cosmographers *Ethiopians*. And from *Raselenfe* vpward to *Soez*, and the end of this Sea, the Coasts doe appertaine to the great Region of *Egypt*, therefore the Inhabitants which doe inhabit betweene them and the Riuer *Nilus*, *Ptolomie* will haue them called, *Arabique Egyptians*. *Pomponius Mela*, and other Authors doe onely giue them the name of *Arabians*, but in these diuisions we must hold with, and follow *Ptolomie*, as Prince of the Cosmographers. These *Arabique Egyptians*; all those that doe inhabit from the Mountaines toward the Sea, are commonly called *Badois*, of whose customes and life, wee will intreat in some other place.

Arabique Egyptians.

The eleuenth, we tooke in our sayles, and Rowed along: at nine a clocke of the day we entered into a great Nooke, which is called *Gadenauhi*, there may be from the part of *Cial* to this Nook, about foure leagues: the Coast stretcheth North-west and South-east, and taketh of the North and South: the Land ouer the Sea, leauing the shape it had, to wit, of a Wall or Trench, it commeth very mountainous and doubled, making so many Mountaines, and so close, that it is a very strange thing. The Port of *Gadenauhi*, is beyond *Suaquen*, one hundred & seuen leagues, and in it the Pole is eleuated foure and twentie degrees, and two third parts; being low water, it was one houre after high noone, and flowing from that houre, comming to the Point of full Sea, it was one houre after the Moone rose ouer the Horizon, & from that houre the Moone ascending by the Hemisphere, it beganne to ebbe, till the Moone passed the Meridian, about an houre of time, and presently the Moone descending from hence, going to set vnder the Horizon, the Tyde began to flow till the Moone was set, and an houre after it was set, was full Sea. By night the wind was North-west, two or three houres after mid-night wee departed from *Gadenauhi*, and prosecuting our iourney, at the passing betweene the Shoald which commeth from the North-west Point of the Nooke, and the Iland of *Babuto*: we stricke and were fast vpon the Shoald, and all being troubled, wee were in the Net, (as they say) but in this there was neither danger nor hurt, insomuch that we got out of this place, and hit vpon the Channell, and went along the shoare, rowing against the North-west winde till it was day.

Gadenauhi
Nooke, foure
leagues from
Cial.

Variation to
to North-east
halfe a degree.

Babuto.

The twelfth, we rowed along the shore, one houre after Sun rise, we anchored in a haven, which is called *Xarmeelquiman*, which in *Arabique*, is to say, a cleft or opening of the Mountaines: This Port lyeth beyond *Gadenauhi* a league and a halfe. *Xarmeelquiman* is a small Port, and little pompous or proud in quantitie, but in qualitie great and Noble. This Port is from *Sua-*

Xarmeelquiman
Hauen.

A description
of the Port of
Xarmeelquiman
quen,

A strange
chance of the
winds.

Gales of winds
that scorched
likes flames of
fire.

Xacara Port.

Xaona Port ve-
ry great.

Many Trees
very great and
high.

The Port of
Tuna.

quen, one hundred and eight leagues, it is much like the Port of *Igidid*. The twelfth of Aprill, we set sayle going along the shoare, the winde came fresher and larger, that is, at East South-east, about noone it blew verie hard, and it came with so great Gales, that it raised the Sands of the Coast very high, raising them toward the heauens, in so great Whirle-winds, that they seemed like great smoakes. About Euen-song time the Armie comming together, the Winde calmed altogether to some ships; and some other that came hard by, or a little behind, or more to the Sea, or to the Land, had the wind so strong, that they could beare no sayle. The distance from those that were in calme, and those that were in the storme, being no more then a stones cast, and presently within a little space, it tooke the shippes that were in calme with their Sayles, vp to the top, so that they had the Winde very fresh; and the other that went verie swift, remained in calme, and so in short time the one was reuenged of the other. This chanced going close all together, in such sort, that it seemed a thing done for the nonce, and in mockage. In this chance, there came some Gales of East, and East North-east winde very great, and so hot, that in their scorching they made no difference from flames of fire. The Dusts that were raised on the shoare, went sometime to one place, and sometimes to another, as they were driuen and cast with the Winds: many times we saw them make three or foure waies before they were alayed, or did fall in the Sea, with the Counter-winds that tooke them from diuers parts. This Mysterie and Chance among hills and high grounds had not beene much, nor any new thing to haue happened; but so farre from the Coast with the Sea Winds, certainly it ought to be much regarded. When these Counter-winds beganne to take vs, we were as a Port, that is called *Xaona*, and going on in this sort, now striking Sayle, now Hoyling, sometimes taking pastime at that which we saw, and other whiles dread and feare, we went almost till Sun set, when we entred into a Port, called *Gualibo*, which is to say in *Arabique*, The Port of Trouble; we went this day, and a piece of the night past, about thirteene leagues.

From *Gadenauhi*, to a Port that is called, *Xacara*, (which a very red hill doth beguirt) the Coast runneth North-west, and by North and South-east, and by South, the distance is about tenne leagues: and from this Red hill, to a Point that lyeth beyond this Port of *Gualibo* almost a league, the Coast runneth North North-west, and South South-east, the distance is about sixe leagues. In these sixteene leagues the Coast is very cleere, and onely one league beyond the Red hill lyeth a Shoald, distant from the Land halfe a league large. In the length of these Coasts contained in the sixteene leagues, are many faire and famous Ports, the most that I haue seene or thought to see in so short a space of way: among which Ports, there is one that is called *Xaona*, very great, where the *Moores* and Inhabitants doe say, A famous Citie of *Gentiles* was built in times past, which looking well to *Ptolomie* in his third Table of *Africa*, was called *Nechesia*. Along the Sea runne great and infinite Mountaines, very double and close together, and behind farre within the Land, there arise ouer them great and mightie hills. In all the length of the Coasts where these Mountaines are placed, there are two great Mountaines, not onely more Noble then the other their neighbours: but all those that are in this Coast, the one of is very blacke, and seemeth as though it were sindged, and the other is yellow, betweene them are certaine heapes of Sand: From the blacke Mountaine inward to the Land, there is an open field, where I saw many Trees very great and high, which tooke a great compasse with the tops. These Trees were the first I saw in this Coast, that seemed Domesticall and proper, to the Land: for the other, that before I made mention of, which are a little beyond *Maqua*, are like, and of the kind of them that grow in the Marishes, by the Borders of the Sea, and of the Riuers, and likewise those which stand in the Port of *Xarmeelquiman*, and the other that stand in the Port of *Igidid*, are wilde, and sad to the sight, without boughes or fruit, but hauing leaues they seeme naked and dry. These two Mountaines and Graue, stand about two leagues before the Port which is called, *Xarmeelquiman*.

Gualibo, is beyond *Suaquen*, one hundred and twentie two leagues. This Port is like in fashion and entry, very much to the Port of *Xarmeelquiman*, in this onely they differ, that the other hath ouer it many Mountaines, that enuiron it, and all the Land round about this, is plaine and vaste. The entry of this Port, is betweene certaine Rockes or Shoalds, whereon the sea breakeeth very much, the Channell is deepe and large.

The thirteenth of Aprill after Sunne rise, we weighed, and went out of the Port of *Gualibo*, the wind was North-west very strong, and made the Sea to rise very much, we rowed along the shoare: at ten of the clocke in the morning, wee entred into a Port, which is called *Tuna*, which is a league and an halfe beyond *Gualibo*.

Tuna is a small and foule Hauen, it is beyond *Suaquen* one hundred twentie three leagues and an halfe, the North Pole is eleuated in it twentie five deg. and an halfe, the entring of the Hauen is betweene certaine Rockes, and within, the greatest part of it is occupied with a shoald and stones, in such sort, that within there is a small and forrie Harbour, the turning which the point of the Land that is on the North side of the Port doth make, there is a good Harbour and Road against the North-west wind, the Land round about it is a very barren land; on the land of this Port on the North-west side there are three sharpe Mountaines of stone, made to my thinking, for a knowledge and token that there is an Hauen here.

One houre before Sunne set, we fastned our selues to a Shoald, which stands beyond *Tuna* a league, the Coast from a Point, which is almost one league beyond *Gualibo*, runneth with another Point that is beyond this Shoald, a league and a halfe, North North-west, South South-east, the distance is foure Leagues.

The fourteenth, we went along the shoare, the Sea rose very bigge, and molested the Rowers very much, but resisting both Winde and Sea, after high noone wee entred into a very faire Nooke, and in the hidnest corner of it, where it maketh a good Port, wee came to an anchor. This day and night we went about five leagues, and might be beyond *Suaquen* one hundred and twentie nine leagues, the Coast in these sixe leagues stretcheth North-west and South-east, the Land ouer the Sea coast, some of it is low and plaine, and some mountainous.

A very faire Nooke, one hundred twentie nine legues from *Suaquen*. Alcocer Port and Towne.

The fifteenth by day, wee were a league short of *Alcocer*, and making to it, an houre and a halfe after Sunne rise we came to the place, an cast anchor in the Hauen; we might goe the night past, and this little of the day about seven leagues, the Coast in this space runneth North North-west, and South South-east.

The height of Alcocer.

The place of *Alcocer*, noting well *Plinie* in the sixt Booke of his Naturall Historie, and likewise *Ptolemie* in the third Table of *Africa*, was called *Philoteris*, and all the Land that is contained from it vnto the Citie *Arfinoe*, and the end of this Sea was knowne by the name of *Eneo*; this place is so neighbouring to the Riuer *Nilus*, that the distance of both may bee betweene fifteene and sixteene dayes iourney, setting your face toward that place where the Sunne setteth.

A description of Alcocer. Alcocer sometimes *Philoteris*.

This is the onely Port in all this Coast, where all the prouisions, which the Land of *Egypt* yeeldeth at this day, doe arrive, which Land is now called *Riffa*, and from hence all the Townes, situated within the Coasts of the Streight, doe carrie them and prouide themselves.

Riffa, a fruitfull part of *Egypt*.

The Towne of *Alcocer* was built in old time two leagues further vpon the Sea coasts, but because of the euill discommoditie, and ioyntly because the Port was not sufficient for so great a resort, they past it hither; and yet at this day are the old buildings of the ancient Towne seene, and are standing, and is called the old *Alcocer*, by the which I meane *Philoteris*. But returning to the description of the new *Alcocer*, as twise I haue verified, it hath of eleuation of the Pole, six and twentie degrees and one quarter, toward the North side; it is beyond *Suaquen* one hundred thirtie sixe Leagues; the Port is a great Bay, and very open to the Easterne windes, which in this Coast are of great force and trauerse, right against the place lye some shoalds though small, whereon the Sea breaketh, betweene the which and the shoare the Frigats and Ships harbour, which come to seeke lading: the Towne is very small, and more then any other of the World, barren and miserable. The buildings differ very little from yards to put Cattell in; howsoeuer, the walls of the houses are of stone and clay, and others of sods, the tops of which haue no couering at all, except a few Mats or such base things, which defend the Inhabitants from the Sunne, and from the Raines, if peraduenture the Heauens doe send them now and then, as it is truth, that in this place they fall but seldome, and by a great chance. In all the circuit of the Place, Coast, Fields, Mountaines or Hills, there groweth no manner of Herbe, Grasse, Bush, Tree, or any other thing appeare, except certaine blacke scorched Mountaines, which make a great number of bare Hillocks, the which carrying this euill shew and melancholike sight, doe enuiron the place from Sea to Sea, and betweene them and the inhabiting, wherefoeuer any waste place chanceth to be, it is a drie and more then barren sand to the sight, mingled with infinite grauell. The Port is the worst of all that I saw in this Coast, in it for his excellencie is not any kinde of Fish to bee found, hauing through all the Coasts and Strands very great abundance. Neere the Towne are three Wells of water whereof the people drinke, whose water with great difficultie yee can discern from that of the Sea. Here is no kinde of Cattell.

New Alcocer, twentie six degrees and a quarter.

Alcocer, the most barren and miserable place in the world, the manner of the buildings and houses.

It raines seldome in Alcocer.

Three Wells of water neere the Towne.

The most expert *Moores* told me, that the name of *Egypt* was not knowne neere them, but that all the Land from *Alcocer*, and a great way behind, vnto *Alexandria*, was called *Riffa*. In which, more then any other Countrey of the World, there was great abundance of victuals and prouisions, Cattell, Camels, Horses, without hauing one foote of vnprofitable ground in all that Prouince. I asked them what language or customes they had: they answered mee, that they followed the *Arabians* in all things. I asked them also for the qualitie of the Land: they told, that it was altogether very plaine, and that it neuer rained in it, and that if at any time it chanced to raine, it was held for a Wonder, the which God hath prouided for, with ordaining that the Riuer *Nilus* should twice a yeere exceed his bounds and naturall course, and water the fields. I asked them also if from as farre as *Alcocer*, one might sayle by the Riuer to *Alexandria*: they told me they might, and from farre behind *Alcocer* toward the *Abexi*: but that there was along the Riuer many Ilands and Rockes, for the which good Pilots were needfull, or to sayle by day. I asked them more, what the cause was, that the men of that Countrey inhabited so great a situation as *Alcocer*: they answered mee, They being the neereft Sea-hauen to *Nilus*, and Prouince of *Riffa*, of all the Coast, from whence the fruits and prouisions of the Land were transported. I asked them for what reason the Inhabitants of this place did not couer their houses, and made roofes vnto them: they answered me, that for the Sunne, the defence of Mats was sufficient, and that with raines they were not molested, but that

It neuer raines in *Riffa*.

So barren a Seat as Alcocer.

The Badois, a
peruerse peo-
ple, and void
of all goodnes.

that against the malignitie and wickednesse of men, they were forced to seeke stronger defences, and therefore ordained to make the wals of stone and clay, and others of fods. I asked them what men these so fierce enemies of theirs were, against the which they armed themselves with so strong Bulwarkes. They told me that they were *Badois*, a peruerse people, void of all goodnesse; which many times with sudden assaults and robbings, did molest the place, and did rob the Droues that came from *Nilus* with victuals and other prouisions.

The eighteenth of Aprill, in the morning, we fastned our selues to a Shoald, that is beyond *Alcocer*, about foure leagues, and presently past noone we set saile.

The nineteenth, there tooke vs like a gush of the North North-west wind, faire weather, halfe an houre past eight of the clock, that we tooke Port in an Iland, which is called *Suffange-elbahar*, 10
we lost of the way we had gone foure or fve leagues.

The descripti-
on of the Iland
Suffan-elbahar.

Suffange-elbahar is to say in the *Arabicke* Tongue, a Sea Spunge, this Iland stands beyond *Alcocer* thirteene leagues, the eleuation of the Pole in it is seuen and twentie degrees, all the land is sandie without any Trees or Water, the Iland hath in length about two leagues, and lesse then a quarter in breadth, there is a good Hauen with all weathers, but in the firme Land are so many Nookes, Ports, and Harbours, that it is a wonder, the deepest Channell whereby the Sea that is betweene the Iland and the Mayne, is along the firme Land, because on the Ilands side there bee some Shoalds, in the mouth and entring of this great Port, that is on the North-side, there are certaine Shoalds aboue water, of the which comming in by day, yee need not feare, and in the other that lyeth on the South-side, in the very midst of the entry of it, there is a great stone. 20

A good Hauen
for all wea-
thers.

The twentieth of Aprill, 1541. at Sunne-set, we might be about fixe leagues beyond the Iland *Suffange-elbahar*, the Coast in these fixe leagues runneth in this manner, from *Suffange-elbahar*, to a sandie Point, that is, beyond the Iland a league and an halfe, North North-west, and South South-east, and from this sandie Point forward, the Coasts doe wind inward to the Land, and doe make a great Nooke, within the which doe lye many Ilands, Ports, Creekes, Bayes, and many other notable Harbours.

The one and twentieth,

by day, we were fast by the Land of an Iland, which is called, *Xednam*, the wind was calme, we rowed along the Iland on that side which is opposite to the Land of the *Arabian*, this is very high and craggie, all of an hard Rock, it hath in length three leagues, and two in breadth, it is beyond *Alcocer*, twentie leagues, there is no water in it, nor any kind 30
of Trees. The Land of the Iland lyeth betweene both Coasts, there is from it to the firme Land of euery side fve leagues, beyond toward the North-west are other three smaller Ilands, the Land of them is low, and betweene the one and the other lye some Shoalds. An houre after Sun rose, we were vpon the Cape or Point of the Iland that lyeth toward the North-side, and from thence we crosse to the Coast of the *Arabian*, the wind at this time was calme, wee went rowing, but within a little while it began to blow from the South-east faire, and presently wee set saile, and sayled to the North-west. At eleuen of the clocke in the morning, we were with the Land of the *Stonie Arabia*, and presently wee sailed along the shoare: two houres before Sun-set, we came to an Anchor at the Towne of *Toro*, there may bee from the Iland of *Xednam*, to *Toro* twelue leagues, the Iland and *Toro* lye North and by West, and South and by East. 40

Stonie Arabia.

A description
of the Towne
of *Toro*.

Elana, a Towne
now called
Toro.

You shall reade
another opini-
on of the gulfe
Elaniticus, af-
terwards to
be twentie
leagues be-
yond *Toro*.

Making good consideration, the Towne of *Toro*, was called in old time *Elana*, as we may see in the writing of *Ptolomie*, *Strabo*, and other Authors, notwithstanding that in the Eleuation of the Pole, and situation, we find at this present a great change and diuersitie in these places: because those that write of the Towne *Elana*, did shew it to bee seated in the inwardest part of a very great Gulfe, called *Elaniticus* of the name of this place, and in the height of twentie nine degrees and one quarter. And now we know that *Toro*, hath eight and twentie degrees, one sixth part of Eleuation of the Pole, and is seated along a very straite and long Coast. The cause of this deceit, if it be true, that these places be both one, might proceed of the euill information that those persons gaue which saw it. But that *Elana*, is the Towne which now is *Toro*, appeareth, because that from it to *Soez*, as well by the one Coast as by the other, not onely wee find 50
no memorie of any Towne; rather the barrennesse of the Countrey, want of waters, and rough and craggie Mountaines, did giue vs to vnderstand, that in no time, there could bee any inhabiting, so that hauing respect to *Ptolomie*, his placing the Towne *Elana*, in the Coast of *Arabia Petrea*, in the place most neighbouring vnto Mount *Sinai*, and not to make any mention of a Towne betweene it and the Citie of the *Heroes*, which lyeth in the vtermost Coasts, where this Sea endeth, and seeing how in this Coast of *Arabia*, there is not any Citie, Village, or inhabiting that commeth so neere the height of *Elana* as *Toro*, and jointly with this it is neighbouring to Mount *Sinai*, and how from *Toro* to *Soez*, there is not any inhabiting, it seemeth a iust thing we should beleue that *Elana* and *Toro* be one selfe-same place. This Towne of *Toro* also seemeth to be the Port which the holy Scripture calleth *Ailan*, where *Salomon* King of *Iuda*, 60
commanded the ships to be made, which went to *Tarsis*, and to *Ophir*, to lade with Gold and Siluer for to make the Temple. For taking away the second Letter from *Ailan*, the ancient names are almost one thing. Neither stands it with reason it should bee in any other place for the Timber whereof this Armie was made, was brought from the Mount of *Libanon*, and *Antilibanon*,

10 *tilibanon*, the which was a manifest thing, that because of the great labour and expences, which
 of necessitie would be in the carriage, they would direct it to the neereft and fitteft Port for so
 great a businesse, especially the *Jewes* possessing the Region of *Idumea*, and that part of *Arabia*
Petrea, which is containd from *Toro* to *Soez*. *Strabo* a *Capadocian*, doth hold that *Elana* and
Ailan, are one selfe-same thing, and treating of this Citie in another place, hee saith: From the
 Port of *Gaza*, there is one thousand two hundred and sixtie furlongs to the Citie of *Ailan*,
 which is seated in the Gulfe, or inwardest part of the *Arabicke* Gulfe, and these are two, the
 one is toward *Arabia* and *Gaza*, which they call *Elaniticus*, of the Citie that stands in it; the
 other toward the *Egyptian* side toward the Citie of the *Heroes*, and the way from *Pelusia* to
 20 this Gulfe is very little; This is that which I could take out of ancient Histories. The Citie of
Toro is seated vpon the Sea-side, alongst a very faire and long strand, and before wee came at it
 about a Canon shot, it hath twelue Palme-trees close together very neere the Sea, and from them
 inward to the Land. There runneth a plaine field till it commeth to the foot of certaine high
 Hills, these Hills are those which come from within the Streight of *Ormuz*, called in times past,
 The *Persian* Gulfe, the which hitherto came running along the Coast, very high ouer the Sea,
 and as farre as *Toro*, they leaue the Sea-coast, and with a great and sudden violence, they returne
 from hence to the *Mayne* toward the North-east, as angry and wearied of so continual and long
 Neighbour-hood with the waters, by these Mountaines is diuided the *Stonie Arabia*, from *A-*
rabia Felix. And on the highest tops of them, doe some Christians at this day leade a holy life,
 30 but a little beyond *Toro*, by the border of the Sea, there beginneth a Mountaine to arise by little
 and little, the which thrusting a bigge and high Point into it, it seemeth to them that are in the
 Towne or Port of it, that it endeth there, and goeth no further, and remayneth, making a shew
 of three great and mightie Mountaines separate the one from the other. This Towne is small and
 very pleasant, and well seated, all the people are Christians and speake *Arabicke*, it hath a Mo-
 nasterie of Friers of the Order of *Monferrat*, in the which the Oracle or Image is of the bles-
 sed Virgin Saint *Katharine* of Mount *Sinai*. The Nation of the Friers is *Grecian*, the Sea Port of
Toro, is not very great but sure from the winds that may doe it hurt. For it hath opposite on
 the Sea-side a very long stonie banke, which runneth along the Coast of the Towne, betweene
 the which and the Land is the Hauen, and here, that is, as farre as the Towne, both the Coasts
 40 are so neighbouring, that the space of Sea that separateth them is about three leagues iourney, I
 being desirous to know some particularities of the Countrey, tooke notice of the Friers and the
 information, they gaue me was this.
 Touching Mount *Sinai*, they told me that it was thirteen smal iournies into the Land, in which
 there might be eightene leagues; the which Mountaine is very high, the Countrey round about
 it plaine and open, and that in the borders of it there was a great Towne of Christians, in the
 which no *Moore* came in, but onely one that gathered the Rents and Duties of the *Turkes*.
 And that on the top of this Mountaine, there was a Monasterie of many Friers, where the bo-
 die of the blessed Virgin Saint *Katharine* lay buried. This Virgin, as *Anthony* Archbishop of *Flo-*
 50 *rence* writeth, was carried away from the Citie of *Alexandria* by the Angels, and brought to
 this Mountaine, and buried by them; the Friers told me, that about foure monethes past, this
 blessed and most holy body was carried with great pompe in a triumphant Chariot, all gilt to the
 Citie of *Cairo*, where the Christians of the Citie, which is a great part of the people, did come
 to receiue it with great Procession and Solemnitie, and set it in a Monasterie much honoured; they
 told me that the occasion of this so great and strange remoue, was the many discourtesies which
 the *Alarabes* did to the Monasterie, and how far to excuse others, they were inforced to redeeme
 them for money, of the which the Christians of *Cairo* complayning to the *Turke*, obtayned of
 him that they might bring the bodie of this blessed Virgin to the Citie, which the Friers did
 withstand, but it auailed them nothing. I am in doubt of this so great a chance: for it may bee
 the Friers did faine these newes, for feare lest we should goe and take this holy bodie from them,
 60 for they looked for vs with an Armie of ten thousand men; notwithstanding, they affirmed it
 very much, shewing great grieve and sorrow for the same. The Friers told me also, how that in
 the Mountaines, right against the Towne, which I haue said before, to diuide the *Stonie Arabia*,
 from *Arabia Felix*, there were some Heremites which leade a holy life, and that through this
Arabia, there were many Townes of Christians I: asked them where they had notice that the
Jewes did passe this Red Sea; to the which they answered me, that they knew no certaine place,
 but that there was no doubt of being betweene *Toro* and *Soez*. And that they crossed from the
 one Coast to the other, and that two or three leagues before yee come to *Soez*, in the *Arabian*
 Coast, there was that Fountaine which *Moses* caused to breake in the Rocke, when he strooke
 it with his Rod, the *Jewes* being in great dispaire for thirst. The which at this day the *Arabian*
 60 *Moores* doe call, The Fountaine of *Moses*, and that the water thereof was more then any o-
 ther pleasant and singular; likewise, I asked them how many leagues there were from *Toro* to
Cairo by Land, they told me that seuen dayes iourney going meanly, and that the right way
 was by *Soez*.

The Streight
of Ormuz;Christians liue
vpon the top
of these Moun-
taines.Mount Sinai
about some
eightene
leagues from
Toro.The Citie of
Cairo.
The Alarabes.The Fountaine
of Moses.Cairo seuen
dayes iourney
from Toro by
Land.

leagues

But that after the Gallies of the *Turkes* beeing there, they changed the way about two

Where the
passage of the
Iewes was.
The Iewes flee-
ing from the
Egyptians arri-
ued right a-
gainst Toro, and
passed this sea,
being the red
Sea, and came
to the place
where Toro
now standeth.
But the Egypti-
ans followed
them, and were
all drowned to
the number of
600000.

Cairo at this
day called Me-
cara.

leagues higher, and that when they were as farre as Soez, they went toward the Sun set. Hauing had this information of the Friers, I talked with a very honest, learned, and curious Moore, the which I neuer found in any Moore, and I asked of him, through what place he thought the Iewes passed this Sea, he answered me, that that which was in memorie of the people, and likewise in some Scriptures; was, that the Iewes comming away, fleeing from the Egyptians, arriued against Toro, on the land of the other side and coast that commeth from the Abexy, where all the power of the Egyptian come vpon them for to destroy them, and being in so great danger, Moses their Captaine made prayer vnto God, and presently strooke the Sea with a Rod twelue times, and there were presently opened twelue pathes, whereby all the people of the Iewes entred and arriued to the Land of the other side, where now stands the Citie of Toro: And the Egyptians 10
entring after them, the Sea closed vp, and all of them were slaine, whose number was about fixe hundred thousand men. And also that the Iewes comming to the place of Toro, Moses their Captaine did leade them the way to Mount Sinai, where he many times spake with God. I approued this opinion very much; for if this passage had beene by Soez, as some will say, what need had the Egyptians to enter into the Sea, to the end of persecuting the Iewes, being able to goe about the Nooke, and take the foreward of them, especially being Horle-men against Footmen, which shall manifestly be seene in the Picture of Soez hereafter, and although in all these things there was a Miracle, we see alwaies, that in the like chances, there is a shew and manner of reason. Being satisfied with these Histories of the Moore, I asked of him if it was true, that the Christians that were in Cairo, did carrie away from Mount Sinai, the bodie of Saint Katherine, he answered me, that no such thing was come to his notice, neither was it to be beleueed, 20
and that it was but foure moneths past since he was in Cairo, which Citie they cal Mecara, where he heard no such thing, and that it seemed an impossible thing to him, that the Christians round about Mount Sinai would permit such a thing, because all men held this woman for a Saint, and in great reuerence: Hee told mee also, that before wee came to Soez, by two or three leagues, there was a Fountaine, which God gaue to the Iewes, by the intercession of Moses, which Prophet they call Mucaa, whose water surpassed greatly all the rest. I asked him for the Towne of Soez, how it was. He answered me, that he was neuer in it, neither could any person enter, except those that by the Gouvernour of Cairo were ordained for the keeping of the Galleys, and that neerer then two leagues none might come to it vnder paine of death.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, a cleere morning, we departed from Toro. The foure and twentieth, we were in nine and twentie degrees seuentene minutes. 30

¶ V.

A Description of the Nooke or Bay beyond Toro, and how by it is understood the Gulfe Elaniticus. Of Soez, and of their returne homewards. Of the Badois, and of their customes, and why this Sea is called Red. 40

This Nooke
supposed to be
the Gulfe Elaniticus.

TWENTIE leagues beyond Toro, and fiftie two from Alcocer, the Land of Egypt, or Coast that commeth from Abexy, commeth out into the Sea with a very lowe and long Point, from the Coasts winding a great space inward to the Land, running very winding and more then any other crooked, after hauing made a very great and very faire Nooke, it entreth into the Sea with a mightie and great Point very high, from the which to Soez is three small leagues iourney, these two Points, betweene the which the Nooke is containned, stretcheth North-west and by North, and South-east and by South, the distance is fixe leagues, the Land by the Sea coast of this Nooke is most high and rough, and therewith it is barren and drie, within the Nooke it is so deepe, that if we come not very neere the shoare, with fiftie fathome we shall take no ground, which ground is a soft sand like Oze. This Nooke vn- 50
doubtedly, I hold to be the Gulfe which the Cosmographers doe call Elaniticus. But Strabo a Capadocian, and Ptolomie were deceiued in the knowledge and situation of it: for they placed it in the Coast of stonie Arabia, little more or lesse, where now stands the Towne of Toro; and that this is so, the words of Strabo, which I repeated a little before in the Description of the Towne of Toro, where the Arabicke Gulfe endeth, doe plainly say, to end in two Gulfes, one of them which standeth on the Arabian side, called Elaniticus, and the other on Egypt side where standeth the Citie of the Heroes. Ptolomie doth shew vs plainly the Gulfe Elaniticus to be in the Coast of Arabia, where now standeth the Towne of Toro, whereof I cannot but wonder euery time I doe remember how Ptolomie was borne in Alexandria, where he wrote his Historie, and dwelt in it all the dayes of his life, which Citie is very neighbouring to these places.

The fixe and twentieth, weighing presently our Grapples, wee set sayle; at eleuen of the clocke of the day we were fast by the shoare, where we found all the Armie, and striking our sayles, wee rowed a little along the shoare, and cast anchor; but two houres before Sunne set we weighed againe, the wind was at North, wee rowed along the Coast, and before Sunne set we 60

we tooke Hauen behind a Point which the Land of *Arabia* thrusteth out, where there is good being and harbour against the North winds: this day we went directly one league and an halfe, the point is short of *Soez*, three small leagues, it beareth with the North-west point of the great Nooke, which I said to be the Gulfe *Elaniticus*, East and West: there may be in the distance one league: from hence about halfe a league within the Land, standeth the Fountaine of *Moses*, of which I haue spoken alreadie, when I spake of *Toro*. And now, as soone as we were at anchor, we went on shoare, and we saw the end of this Sea, which seemed to vs alreadie infinite, and likewise the Masts of the Ships, and all things gaue vs great content, and ioynctly with it great care. By night the wind was at North very hard, we lay all night at anchor till it was day.

Moses Fountaine.

The end of this Sea, called by vs the red Sea, and by the *Moor*es, *Mecca*.

Soez kept by the *Turke*, with Garrisons.

The Nauie of the *Turkes*.

Soez in times past, called the Citie of the Heroes.

The Port of *Danao*.

The Citie of Heroes and *Cleopatra*, which some call *Arfinoe* in the end of the *Arabi*ke Sine *Isthmo*.

Babylonia of *Egypt*, or *Cairo* the great City. *Pelusia*, one of 7. Mouthes of *Nilus*.

Trenches which the Kings of *Egypt* made.

Isthmo is the space of 40. leagues betwene *Soez* and *Pelusia*.

The manner of the situation of *Soez*.

A mightie Bulwarke of moderne worke.

10 The seuen and twentieth in the morning, the wind blew hard at North North-west, at ten of the clocke we departed from this Point, and made ahead to *Soez*, and to the end of this Sea, going along rowing, and being about one league from it, I went before with two Catures to spie or view the situation of *Soez*, and the place of landing, and wee came thither at three of the clocke in the afternoone, where wee saw in the field many troopes of Horse-men, and in the Towne two great bands of Souldiers, they shot at vs many shots out of a Blocke-house. The Armie of the *Turke* was as followeth; that is, one and fortie great Gallies, and nine great Ships, hauing seene all these things, we went toward the Land of the Nooke, which is on the West side, and came to an anchor neere the shoare in five fathome water, the ground was a soft sand, and very small, a very good harbour for ships: this day at Sunne set we saw the Moone.

20 It is to be held for certaine, *Soez* to be called in times past, The Citie of the Heroes, for it differeth nothing in heighth, situation and confrontings, as we may see in *Ptolomie* Tab. 3. *Africa*, especially, *Soez* being seated in the vttermost Coasts of the Nooke where this Sea of *Mecca* endeth, in the which the Citie of the Heroes was seated, as it is read in *Strabo* the seuenteenth Booke, saying these words. The Citie of the Heroes and *Cleopatra*, which some doe call *Arfinoe*, are in the vttermost bounds or end of the *Arabi*ke Sine, which is toward *Egypt*. *Plinie* in the sixth Booke of the Naturall Historie, seemeth to call the Port of *Soez*, *Danao*, by reason of the Trenches, which they opened from *Nilus* to this Sea; *Soez* hath of eleuation of the Pole, nine and twentie degrees three quarters, and it is the neereft Port and Towne of all the Streight to the great Citie of *Cairo*, called anciently *Babylonia* of *Egypt*, and from it to the Leuant Sea,

30 where is one of the seuen Mouths of *Nilus*, called *Pelusium*, may bee fortie leagues iourney, which place is called *Isthmus*, which is to say, A straight or narrow Land betwene two Seas. Touching this way, the words of *Strabo* in his seuenteenth Booke, are these. The *Isthmus* that lieth betwene *Pelusium* and the Extreme, where the Citie of the Heroes standeth, is of nine hundred furlongs. This is the Port of the red Sea, whither *Cleopatra* Queene of *Egypt* commanded the ships to be carried by land from the Riuer *Nilus*, after the victorie gotten by *Cesar* against *Antonie*, for to flee in them to the *Indians*; And likewise *Sesostris* King of *Egypt*, and *Darius* King of *Persia*, did take in hand to open a Trench vnto the Riuer *Nilus*, to make the *Indian* Ocean nauigable with the Sea *Mediterraneum*, and none of them finishing the worke, *Ptolomie* made a Trench of an hundred foot broad, and thirtie foot deepe, which hauing alreadie almost finished,

40 it is said, he left vnfinished the bringing of it to the Sea, for feare that the water of *Nilus* would become salt, the water of the Streight mingling it selfe with it. Others doe say, that taking a leuell, the Architects and Masters of the worke, did find, that the Sea of the Streight was three cubits higher then the Land of *Egypt*, and feared that all the Land would bee drowned. The Authors, are *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plinie*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo* of *Capadocia*, and many other Cosmographers. Although the Towne of *Soez* was in old time great in name, at this day it is small enough, and I beleue it had alreadie beene vtterly lost, if the *Turkish* Armie had not lyne there. The situation of it is in this manner, in the front and face of the Land which is opposite to the South, where this Sea endeth, is opened a Mouth not very great, by the which a Creeke or Arme of the Sea entring a little space into the land, it windeth presently along the coast, toward

50 the setting of the Sunne, till a little Mountaine doth oppose it selfe, which alone riseth in these parts, from the which to the mouth and entring of the Creeke, the Creeke and firme Land remayning on the North side, and the nooke and end of this Sea on the South side, and the little Mountaine to the West, all the space that is contained is a very long and narrow Tongue or Point of sand, where the Gallies and Nauie of the *Turke* lie aground; and the warlike and ancient Town of *Soez* is situated, in which appeareth at this day a little Castle, and without two high and ancient Towers, as ancient Reliques of the great Citie of the Heroes, which was there in times past. But on the Point of sand where the Creeke entreth, there standeth a great and mightie Bulwarke of moderne worke, which defendeth the entrie and mouth of the Riuer, and likewise scoureth the Coast by the sterne of the Gallies, if yee would land in that place: and besides,

60 there runneth betwene the Gallies and the strand, a Trench with a Ditch cast vp, which maketh a shew like a Hill, in such sort that as well by mens worke, as by the situation and nature of the ground, the place is very strong and defensible. Now considering this landing of the place for to enter into it, it seemed to me not to be possible in any place, onely behind the little Mountaine and West side, for here we shall be free from their Artillerie, and possessing the Mountaine,

Cairo about
fifteen leagues
from Soez.

A description
of the Sea and
Land, that go-
eth from Toro
to Soez.

The end of the
Red Sea, or
Sea of Mecca.

it will bee a great meanes to get the victorie: but wee are to note, that along this Strand is shoaly about a Bow shot, and the ground a soft Clay and sticking Sand, which I perceived, feeling the ground from within the Foyft, which is very troublesome and preiudiciall to them that are to Land; touching the Antiquities and things I could know of *Soez*, they were told mee by some men of the Streight, especially by the *Moore* that informed mee of the particulars of *Toro*, and all of them are as followeth, that is, that three leagues from *Soez* towards *Toro*, was the Fountaine of *Moses*, and the *Moore*s and Inhabitants doe confesse, that God gaue it vnto the *Iewes* by a Miracle; and also they haue in their memorie, that in this place there was a great Citie in old time, of the which they say, some buildings are yet to bee seene, they could not tell mee the name of it. They told me also that afore-time, the Kings of *Egypt* would haue made a Trench from *Nilus*, where the Citie of *Cairo* standeth vnto *Soez*, for to make these Seas Nauigable, and that they are seene at this day, although the length of time had defaced them and stopped them vp, and that those which trauelled from *Toro* to *Cairo* of necessitie should passe by them; some told mee that the occasion of this opening was not to ioyne the Straight with the Riuer *Nilus*, but to bring the Water to the Citie that was there. I asked them what Countrey was there betweene *Soez* and *Cairo*, they told mee that a very plaine Field, full of Sand and barren without any Water, and that from the one to the other was three dayes iourney going at leisure, which was about fifteene leagues, and that in *Soez*, and round about it, it rained seldome, and when it chanced, it held on much, and that all the yeare the North wind blew with great force.

From *Toro* to *Soez* is eight and twentie leagues iourney, without any Iland, Banke, or Shoald, that may hinder or doe any harme to the Nauigators, these eight and twentie leagues, lye in this manner: departing from *Toro*, through the midst of the Current, yee run about sixteene leagues North-west and by North, and South-east and by South, and hitherto the Coast commeth in an equall distance and separation, hauing from the one to the other, the space of three leagues, but in the end of these sixteene or seuentene leagues, the Lands begin to close very much, and to ioyne in such sort, that from Coast to Coast there is but one league, and continueth this narrownesse two leagues, and presently the Land that commeth from the *Abexij* withdraweth it selfe, making the great and faire Nooke aboue said; treating of the situation and place of the Gulfe called *Elaniticus*, the Channell in the middle distance, from the end of the sixteene or seuentene leagues till as farre as the North-west Point which commeth out of this Nooke, lyeth North North-west South South-east, the distance is eight leagues, in this place the Lands doe Neighbour very much againe, for the Land of the *Arabian* thrusting out a verie long and low Point outward, and the Land that commeth from the *Abexij*, comming forth with another bigge and high Point, at the end of the Nooke on the North-west side, there remayneth from Land to Land one leagues iourney or little more, and from these Points to *Soez*, and the end of this Red Sea, the Coast on each side doe wind, and make another Nooke, which hath in length little more then two leagues and a halfe, and in breadth one and an halfe, where this Sea so celebrated in the holy Scripture, and spoken of by Writers, doth finish and make an end; this Nooke is extended through the midst North and South, and taketh somewhat of the North-west and South-east, the distance is two leagues and an halfe: as touching the Land that commeth along the Coast from *Toro* to *Soez*; wee must note, that a Caleuer-shot beyond *Toro* on the *Arabian* shoare, there ariseth a Hill very neere the Sea-side, which is all bespotted with certaine red streakes, which goe from one side to the other of it; giuing it a great grace, this Hill runneth still along the Coast about fifteene or sixteene leagues, but it hath not these workes, and red streakes; more then sixe leagues space beyond *Toro*, and in the end of these fifteene or sixteene leagues, the Hill maketh a great knob and high, and from thence by little and little, the Hill doth forsake the Coast, and goeth into the Land till it come within a league short of *Soez*, where it endeth, and there remayneth from this bigge and high knob vnto *Soez*, betweene the Hill and the Sea, a very plaine and low ground, which in places hath a league in breadth, and in others neerer to *Soez*, a league and an halfe: By this Hill towards *Toro*, I saw great heapes of Sand along to the top of the Hill, reaching the highest of it, hauing no sandie places betweene the Hill and the Sea, and likewise, by the Clifts and Breaches many broken Sands were driuen; whence I gathered, how great the force and violence is heere of the crosse winds, seeing they snatch and driue the Sand from out of the Sea, and lift it so high; these crosse windes, as I noted, the Sands did lye and were driuen, are Welts and West North-wests.

But as touching the description of the Land, that goeth along the Sea, on the Coast of *Abexij*, from as farre as *Toro*, wee must note, that there ranne certaine great and high Hills or Mountaines very high, and ouer-appearing the Coast of the Sea, the which about seuentene leagues beyond *Toro* toward *Soez*, doe open in the midst, and descend equall with the Field, and presently they rise againe very high and continually along the Sea, till they come a league short of *Soez*, where they stay and passe no further.

I con-

I considering with great diligence, the fluxes and reflexes of the Sea that lyeth from *Toro* to *Soez*, found them to bee no greater nor smaller then the other of these Coasts of the Streight, but after the same manner. Whence appeareth the fallhood of some Writers, which said the pathes were not opened to the *Iewes* through this Sea, but that the Water ebbed so much in this place, that it remained all dry, the which the *Iewes* carrying for, had the passage free to the other side.

The rides from *Toro* to *Soez*, all equall with other Ports of the Sea.

Considering also, whereby *Sesostre* King of *Egypt*, and afterward *Ptolomie* could make the Trenches and Channels from *Nilus* to this Sea, for to make it nauigable with the Easterne Sea. I saw it was not possible except by two places, which stand from *Toro* to *Soez*. The first, by the Breach which the Hills doe make that runne along the Sea, by the Coast that commeth from *Abexi*, which Breach is seuentene leagues beyond *Toro*, and eleuen before yee come to *Soez*. The second, by the end of this Sea and Nooke, where the Towne of *Soez* standeth. For in this place the Hills on both sides doe end, and remaine all on Land and Field very low, without Hillocks or high Hills, or any other impediment. And in this place it seemeth to me more certaine and conuenient for to take so great a worke in hand, then by the breach I spake of, because in this place the Land is very low, and the way shorter, and hath an Hauen heere: and besides these two places, any where else I thought it impossible, because as well on the one Coast as on the other, the Mountaines are so great and so high, the which are all, or the greatest part of a Rock and hard stone, that it is not in the iudgement of men they may be cut, and bring through them a Channell or Trench that might be Nauigable. Whence it must remaine manifest, *Soez* to be the Port where *Cleopatra* commanded the Ships to bee brought by Land from *Nilus*, crossing the *Isthmus*, howsoever that a thing of so much labour and importance, in the which the breuitie was the greatest part of the Nauigation. It was manifest that they would seeke the shortest, neereft, and easiest way they could find of them all. And because this is that which commeth from *Nilus*, and the Citie of *Cayro* to *Soez*. Wee must make no doubt that this Navy of *Cleopatra* was brought hither; and likewise the Trenches from *Nilus*, whereby they would communicate these Seas, especially considering, how from as farre as *Toro*, all the Coast of *Egypt* is waite, and without any Port, except this of *Soez*, which stands in the utmost end of this Sea.

Cleopatra commanded the ships to bee brought by Land to *Soez*, from *Nilus*, crossing the *Isthmus*.

Considering also in the dayes we spent betweene *Toro* and *Soez*, I saw that the Heauen was very close ouer-cast with very thicke and blacke Clouds, which seemed contrary to the nature and condition of *Egypt*: for in it, as all men affirme, it raineth not, neither doe the Heauens or the Ayre permit any Clouds, nor Vapours, but it may be that the Sea of his owne nature doth raise here these Vapours, and into the Land the Heauen may be free, and void of them, as we see in *Portugall*, that in the Citie of *Lisbon* the daies being cleere and pleasant, and in *Sintra*, which is foure leagues from thence, are great ouer-castings, mists, and shewers. Now this Sea contained from *Toro* to *Soez*, is very tempestuous and suddaine, for whensoever it beginneth to blow from the North, which is the Wind that raineth in this place, though his force be not very great, presently the Sea is raised so high, and proud, that it is a wonder, the Waues being euery where so coupled and like to breake, that they are much to bee feared. And this happeneth not because of the little depth heere, for all this Sea is very deepe, and onely along the Coast that commeth from the *Abexi*, close with the shoare it is a little shoally. About this Sea, I saw certaine Sea-foames, which by another name are called, Euill Waters, the greatest that I haue seene, for they were of no lesse bignesse then a Target, their colour a whitish dun. These Sea-foames doe not passe from *Toro* downe-ward, as not willing to trouble or occupie a strange Kingdome, but contenting themselues with their ancient habitation, which is from *Toro* to *Soez*. And presently going out of this place or bounds, there are infinite small ones, and like the other, and they are bred and goe about the Sea; in the daies that I was in this Sea, contained from *Toro* to *Soez*, I felt by night the greatest colds I can remember to haue past, but when the Sunne came, the heate was vn sufferable.

The end of the voyage to *Soez*.

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, in the morning we departed from before *Soez*, toward *Maqua*. At Sunne set, we were one league short of a sharpe and red Pike, which stands ouer the Sea. This day we went about twentie leagues. By night wee tooke in our Sailes, and ran along the shoare with our fore-sailes onely, the Wind blew hard at North North-west: Two houres within night we came to an Anchor neere the shoare, in three fathome water, the Heauen was very darke, and couered with many thicke and blacke clouds. The nine and twentieth in the morning, we set Sayle. At nine of the clocke in the morning, we entred in *Toro*, and came to an Anchor, but within a little while we weighed againe, and went to an Hauen about a league from thence, which is called, The Watering of *Suliman*, where wee tooke in Water, digging pits in the Sand, a stones cast from the Sea, in which pits we found much water, though brackish.

The height of an Island that stands beneath the *Toro*.

The thirtieth, in the morning wee departed from the watering of *Suliman*: halfe an houre past ten, we tooke Hauen in the first of the three Ilands which stand two leagues to the North-west of the Island of *Xednam*, and presently I went a shoare with the Pilot, and we tooke

the Sunne, and in his greatest height it rose ouer the Horizon eightie degrees, a little scant. The declination of this day was seuentene degrees, fixe and thirtie minuts, whence it followeth, this Island to stand in twentie seuen degrees & two third parts. The first of May, the sun being vp we set sayle. About Euen-song time we were with a great Island, which hath in length two leagues, & thrusteth out a Point very close to the firme Land, where betweene the firme Land and the Island, is a singular good Harbor for al weathers, for all the ships of the world. The second of May, at Sun set, we came to an Anchor in the Port of *Goelma*, a Port onely for small Vessels, safe from the North, and North-west. Within the Land a little space, is a dry Brook, whereby in Winter the water of the floods, which descend from the Mountaines doth auoid, where digging a little, ye finde fresh water, and heere is a Well, though not very plentiful of water. This Port was called *Goelma*, which in *Arabique*, is to say, The Port of water, it lyeth to the North North-west of *Alcocer*, the distance is foure leagues.

Acallaihe Port, two leauges beyond *Xacara*.

A Description of the Port of *Acallaihe*.

A Description of the Port *Bobale Xame*.

The Tombe of an Arabian.

The fourth of May, we rowed along the shoare: almost Sunne set, we came to an Anchor in a Port, which is called *Acallaihe*, which standeth beyond *Xacara* toward the South-east two leagues. By night the wind was at North North-west, we lay all night at Anchor.

Acallaihe is a small Port, but very good, betweene *Xacara* and the blacke Hilocke.

Bobale Xame is a great Port, wherein may harbour many Shippes, it is very deepe within. This place was called *Bobale Xame*, because within the Land dwelt a *Badoil*, very rich, which was called *Bobalel*, the which came or sent to sell Cattell to the Ships, which did take or come into that Hauen, and *Xame*, is to say, Land. And heere wee found an honourable Toombe within a house like a Chappell, where was hanging a Guidon or Ancient of Silke, and many Arrowes or Darts round about the Graue, and about the Wals and Cords a great quantitie of Bulls did hang. At the head of the Graue there was a Table standing vpright, with a great Epitaph, and about the house, many Waters and Fragrant smelling things.

I enquiring of the *Moores* and *Arabians* of such a thing, I learned that here lay buried a very honourable *Arabian*, of the Linage of *Mahomet*, which crossing these Coasts, fell very sicke, and in this Port ended his daies: and they made him this Graue as a man of so high a Genealogie. Where the *Xarifes Iuda* and great Prelats gaue Indulgences, and granted pardons to euery one that should visite this house. But the offerings and reuerence which the *Portugals* did vnto it, was to sacke the house, and afterward for to burne it, that no signe was left where it had beene. In this Port wee found great footing of Tygres, and wilde Goats, and other Beasts which came all to the Sea, as though they came to seeke water for to drinke.

A Description of the Land of of *Badois*, and of their customes & life. What *Badoile* signifyeth *Troglodithas*, or *Badois*.

The *Badois*, which is the generall name for the *Ithiofagis* or *Eiofagis* are wilde or sauage. They haue no King.

The many times that I bring to the field the name and memorie of the *Badois*, and likewise the traelling by their Coasts and Countries, doth binde me to speake some thing of them. *Badoil*, in good *Arabique*, signifieth a man that liueth onely by Cattell: these men, called *Badoies*, is properly the people of the *Troglodithas*, *Ophiotofagus*, of the which *Ptolomie*, *Plinie*, *Pomponius Mela*, and other Authors doe write: the which *Troglodithas* or *Badoies*, doe liue in the Mountaines, and coasts of the Sea, which are containd from the coast of *Melinde* and *Magadox*, to the Cape of *Guardafui*, and from thence going inward to the Streight, they doe begirt and occupie all her Coasts, as well on the one side as on the other, and turning againe outward on the *Arabian* side, they runne along the Sea to the Streight of *Ormuz*, and all these Lands may rather be affirmed to be occupied by them then inhabited.

The *Badoies* are wilde men, amongst whom is no ciuill societie, no truth nor ciuilitie vsed: They worship *Mahomet*, and are very bad *Moores*, aboue all other People they are giuen to Stealths and Rapine; they eate raw flesh, and drinke milke; their habite is vile and filthy, they are greatly endued with swiftnesse and nimblenesse; they fight on foote and horse-backe, their weapons are Darts, they neuer haue peace with their Neighbours, but continually haue warre, and fight with euery one.

Those that dwell along the Red Sea, from as farre as *Zeila* vnto *Suaquen*, doe fight with the *Abexys*; and those from *Suaquen* to *Alcocer*, haue warre with the *Nobys*; and those which inhabite from *Alcocer* to *Soez*, and end of this Sea, doe molest continually the *Egyptians*. But returning by the *Arabian* side, by all the Coast of the Sea, that lyeth from *Soez* to the Streight of *Ormuz*, doe contend with the *Arabians*. Among the *Badois* there is no King or great Lord, but liue in Troopes or Factions; they permit no Towne in their Fields, neither haue they any certaine Habitation, for their custome is to be Vagabonds, from one place to another, with their Cattell. Not onely doe they abhor Lawes and Ordinances, but alio the Sutes and Differences that arise amongst them, they will not haue them iudged by any Custome, and they are content that their *Xequie* doe determine them as he list; their dwelling is in Caues and Holes, and other such like habitations, but the greatest part doe helpe themselves with Tents and Bothes; their colour is very blacke, their language the *Arabian*, the rest of their Custome and Life, I omit.

The tenth of May, by day, we weighed anchor from the Port of *Igidid*. An houre before Sun set we fastned on a Shoald, which stood about foure leagues from *Farate* toward the South. In this

this Shoald is an excellent Hauē, and it is so great, that wee could not discerne with our sight the end of it, it lyeth almost East South-east, and West North-west, but it is very crooked and winding. The two and twentieth of May, 1541. by breake of day, we were one league short of the great Groue, that standeth foure leagues from *Maczua*, the wind was of the Land. About nine of the clocke it began to blow from the North North-east, a faire gale. We entred at noone into the Port of *Maczua*, where we were receiued with great ioy and feast of our Armie. From the day wee entred in *Maczua*, which was the two and twentieth of May, to the fifteenth of Iune, the winds blew alwaies at North, North North-east, and North North-west: but from the fifteenth of Iune, to the seuenth of Iuly, they blew Easterly, that is; East, East South-east, and South-east, many times they brought great stormes. The last day of Iune at night, we had a storme from the South-east of so much winde, that it droue the Gallions and they passed great danger of striking a ground. This storme brought much Raine and fearefull Thunders, and there fell a Thunder-bolt from Heauen vpon a Gallion, and comming downe by the Mast, it raced it all: and likewise the second of Iuly, wee had another storme from the East very great, which vnfastned many ships, and lasted the most part of the day. From thence to the seuenth of Iuly, although we had other stormes, they were but small: From the seuenth of Iuly, to the ninth of the same, the Wind came to the Land and brought two stormes from the West, but the wind was not ouer-much.

A grear Groue
foure leagues
from *Maczua*.

They lay at
Maczua thirte
two daies.

A thunderbolt

The ninth of Iuly, 1541. one houre after Sunne rose, wee set sayle from *Maczua*. The eleuenth of Iuly, by breake of day, we were two or three leagues short of the Point of *Dallaqua*, that lyeth on the North-side, and betweene certaine flat Ilands which haue some Woods, and doe lye scattered on this side of the Iland; wherefore wee set all Sayles and went aloofe all that wee could to goe betweene two of these Ilands, the wind was almost North-west verie faire, we sayled North-east and by North, hauing doubled a Shoald we came to an Anchor: and two houres after noone we set sayle againe, the wind about North North-east faire, wee sayled along the shoare of the Iland of *Dallaqua*. An houre before Sunne set, we were with an of Iland Sand very flat, which is called *Dorat Melcuna*, from the which to all parts there came out great Shoalds: Sunne altogether set, wee were a league short of the Iland of *Xamoa*, and from the Point of *Dallaqua*, which stands on the West side, and opposite to the firme Land of the *Abexi*, betweene the which and the Iland of *Xamoa*, is the most frequented Channell of those which sayle to *Maczua*. All the Coast of *Dallaqua* which we saw this day, is coasted North North-west, and South South-east, and it is all wonderfully low. The eighteenth, by breake of day, we saw the mouth of the Streight, and we might be from it three leagues, and we saw all the Armie lye at Hull, and presently we set sayle altogether.

Darat Melcuna,
a flat Iland of
Sand.

Whether this
Sea of the
Streight be
red or no, and
the causes
wherefore they
called it the
Red Sea.
Opinions of
the Red Sea.

Before we departed from the *Arabique Gulfe*, or Streight of *Mecca*, which is all one, it will be iust to speake something of my opinion, and of that which I haue seene, touching the reason that moued the ancient men to call all this Sea, the Red Sea: and likewise, whether her colour doth differ from the other of the great Ocean, or not. *Plinie* in the sixt Booke of the *Natural History*, Cap. 23. rehearseth many opinions, whereby the people called this Streight the Red Sea. The first is, that it tooke this name of a King that reigned in it, called *Eritbra*, because *Eritbros* in the Greeke, is to say, Red. Another opinion was, that of the reflection of the Sun-beames, there grew in this Sea reddish colour. Some held, that of the Sand and Ground that runneth alongst it. Others also beleueed, that this water was Red of his owne Nature, whereby all this Sea got this name. Of these opinions the Writers chose them that they liked best, and seemed most certaine. Now the *Portugals* that haue Nauigated this way in times past, affirmed this Sea to be all spotted with certaine red strakes: the cause they attributed vnto it, is this. They said, the Coast of the *Arabian* was naturally verie red, and that as in this Countrey there arose many stormes, and did raise great dusts toward the skies, after they were verie high, driuen with the force of the Winds, they fell in the Sea, and this Dust being red, it did dye the water of it, whereby it was called the Red Sea. When I came to *Socatora*, till I past all the Coasts of this Sea, and set my selfe before *Soez*, I neuer left by day nor night, to consider of these Waters, and viewing the colour and manner of the Countrey that goeth along the shoare: and certainly, I was not so troubled for any thing, as for the bestowing my labour in obtaining the truth of the things, and to search out the occasion of them, and that I got of mine owne Industrie, and most clearly haue I seene many times, is as followeth. First, it is false to say, that the colour of this Sea is Red, for it hath no difference from the colour that all the other Water of the Sea doth shew vs, and to say that the dusts which the winds doe snatch from the Land and driue into the Sea, doe staine the Water where they fall, till now wee saw no such thing, seeing many stormes raise great dusts, and driue them into the Sea, but not to change the colour of the Waues thereof. And to say that the Land ouer the Sea Coast is Red, they obserued not well the Coasts and Strands: for generally on the one side, and on the other, the Land by the Sea is browne, and verie darke, and seemeth scortcht: and in some places it shewes blacke, and in others white, and the Sands hath their owne colour, but onely in three places there are certaine pieces of Mountaines which haue certaine veines of Red, where *Portugals*

Red Corall
stone.

neuer came, except these which now are here-away, which places are all farre beyond *Suaquen*, that is, toward *Soez*, and the end of this Sea ; but the three hills that shew this red colour, are of a verie hard Rocke, and then all the Land round about that we can see, is of the common and accustomed colour. But the truth of these things is, that the Water of this Sea taken substantially, hath no difference of his colour ; but in many places of it, the waues thereof came by accident to seeme very red, which is caused in this manner. From the Citie of *Suaquen* vnto *Alcoer*, which is, one hundred thirtie fixe leagues iourney, the Sea is all thicke with Shoalds and Shelues, whose ground is of a stone, called Corall-stone, which groweth in certaine Trees and Clusters, spreading one way, and another way certaine branches, properly as the Corall doth, and this stone is so like vnto it, that it deceiueth any person that is not very skilfull in the growth and nature. The colour of this stone is of two sorts ; the one wonderfully white, and the other very red. In some places this stone lies couered with very Greene Ozies ; and in other free from this Herbe, which Slime or Ozies in some places, is very Greene ; and in others it maketh a colour very like Orange-tawny. Now we must presuppose, that the water of this Sea is clearer, especially from *Suaquen* vpward, then euer was any, in sort, that in twentie fathome water ye may see the ground in many places. This presupposed, we are to note, that wheresoeuer that these Shoalds and Shelues did appeare, the water ouer them was of three colours, that is, Red, Greene, or White, the which proceeded of the ground that was vnder, as many times I saw by experience ; for if the ground of these Shoalds was Sand, it caused that the Sea ouer it appeared white ; and the ground where the Corall-stone lay couered with Greene Ozies, the water that couered it did giue a colour greener then the Weeds : but wheresoeuer the Shoalds were of red Corall, or of Corall-stone couered with red Weeds, it made all the Sea that was ouer it seeme very red ; and because this red colour comprehended greater spaces in this Sea, then the Greene or the White, because the stone of the Shoalds was the greatest part of red Corall. I beleue it was the reason whereby it receiued the name of Red Sea, and not of Greene nor White Sea : Notwithstanding, this Sea doth represent these colours most perfectly. The meanes that I had to obtaine this secret, was to fasten many times vpon the Shoalds, where I saw the Sea looke red, and commanded diuers to bring me of the stones that lay in the bottome, and the most times it was so shallow, that the Foyft did touch : and other-whiles, that the Mariners went on the Shoalds halfe a league with the water to the breast, where it happened that al or the greatest part of the stones they pulled vp were of Red Corall, and others couered with weeds like Orange-tawny, and the practise I had wheresoeuer the Sea seemed Greene, & found beneath White Corall, couered with Greene Weeds : and in the White Sea I found a verie white Sand without any thing else whereof it might proceede. For some Saylers giuing relation of the Red colour that they saw in this Sea, as of the greater and most compendious of all, being ignorant of the cause, or not being willing to offer it, for to increase admiration to their Navigations and Trauels : and seeing that men do not only know this Sea by the name of Red Sea, but doe beleue that the waters are naturally red. I haue talked many times with *Moorish* Pilots, and curious persons of Antiquities, which dwelt in some places of this Streight, about the name of this Sea : euery one did say to me, they knew no other name then the Sea of *Mecca*, and they wondred very much at vs, to call it the Red Sea. I asked of the Pilots, if they found sometimes the Sea stained red with the dusts that the winds brought of the Land, they told me, they saw no such thing. With all this, I reprove not the opinion of the *Portugals*, but I affirme, that going through this Sea more times then they did, and seeing all the length thereof, and they onely one piece, I neuer saw in the whole, that which they say to haue seene in the part.

The ninth of August, we entred in the Port of *Angedina*, and remained there till the one and twentieth of August, that we embarked in Foyfts, and going directly to *Goa*, wee entred ouer the Barre thereof vnder Sayles : and our Voyage was ended, and this Booke.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A briefe Relation of the Embassage which the Patriarch Don IOHN BERMUDEZ brought from the Emperour of Ethiopia, vulgarly called PRESBYTER IOHN, to the most Christian and zealous of the Faith of CHRIST, Don IOHN, the third of this Name, King of Portugall: Dedicated to the
 10 *most High and Mightie King of Portugall, Don SEBASTIAN of most blessed hope, the first of this Name. In the which he reciteth also the death of Don CHRISTOPHER of Gama: and the successes which happened to the Portugals that went in his Companie.*

Printed in Lisbon, in the house of FRANCIS CORREA, Printer to the Cardinall the Infant, the yeere of 1565.

20 *A Letter of the Patriarch Don IOHN BERMUDEZ, to the King our Lord.*

MOST High and Mightie King, your Highnesse said to me few daies agoe, that you would be glad to know the truth, of what happened to a Captaine and people, which the King your Grand-father which is in Glorie, gave unto me for the succour of the Emperour of Ethiopia Onadinguel, *called Presbyter Iohn, for to avoid the errors which
 30 *some persons doe write of this; insomuch that even in the Name they erre, naming him Don Paul, he being Don Christopher his Brother. And others doe write, and say some things which did not passe in truth, neither did they see them. Therefore I, that saw it all, will tell you in briefe in this small writing all that passed. The Lord keepe your person, multiply your young age, and prosper your Royall estate. Amen.*

So he calleth Atani Tingil before mentioned.

¶ I.

Don IOHN BERMUDEZ elected Patriarch of the Presbyter, and sent to Rome: His returne into Ethiopia: Arriuall at Maczua; The death of the Negus,
 40 *entertainment of him and CHRISTOPHER of Gama, with the Portugall Forces by the Queene Regent.*

A Faithfull and good Christian, called Onadinguell, being Emperour in the Kingdome of Ethiopia, (vulgarly called Presbyter Iohn) and the Patriarch of that Countrey, by name Abuna Marcos, being at the point of death in the yeere of our Redemption, 1535. The said Emperour said to the Patriarch, that he requested him, that according to their custome, he before his death would institute me for his Successour, and Patriarch of that Countrey. And the said Patriarch did so, ordering me first with all the sacred Orders. The which I accepted with such condition, that it should bee confirmed by the chiefe Bishop of
 50 *Rome, successour of Saint Peter, to whom wee all were to giue obedience. The said Emperour answered me, that he was well contented: and moreouer he desired me, that for my selte, and for him, and for all his Kingdomes I should goe to Rome, to giue the obedience to the holy Father: and from thence should come to Portugall, to conclude an Embassage, that he had sent hither by a man of that Countrey, called Tegazano, in whose company came the Father Francis*

Zaga Zabo the Frier mentioned in the

60 *Aluarez. After many troubles passed in the Iourney, I came to Rome, the Pope Paul the third governing then in the Apostolike Sea: the which receiued me with great clemencie and fauour, and confirmed all things as I brought them, and at my request he ratified it all againe, and commanded me to sit in the Chaire of Alexandria, and that I should entitle my selfe Patriarch and Bishop of the Sea.*
 From Rome I departed towards Portugall, where I came, the King your Grand-father of glorious Memorie, being in the Citie of Enora, who reioyced particularly at my comming, to conclude as he desired, the Embassage which the Tagazano had brought, for hee had bene here twelue yeares, without concluding any thing through meere negligence. For the which the Emperour Onadinguel commanded me, that I should take away his charge of Embassadour, and should apprehend him, and carrie him a Prisoner with me. And therefore I brought him a letter

Zaga Zabo his negligence. from

His imprison-
ment.
Bermudez his
Embassage
from the Negus
to the King of
Portugall.

from the Emperour, the which I gaue him in *Lisbon* where he was, and he tooke it and kissed it, and reknowledged it to be true, and by it he acknowledged me for his Patriarch and Superiour, and kissed my hand, and gaue me his place, without speaking any more words. I commanded to imprison him with two chaines of Iron, on each arme one, after the manner of his Countrey: the which I tooke from him againe within a few daies, because his Highnesse intreated me. The Embassage which the said Emperour demaunded, was his perpetuall friendship and brotherhood: and therefore he desired him they would marrie their children interchangeably the one with the other; and that from *Portugall* a sonne of his should goe to marrie with a daughter of his, and reigne in his Kingdomes after his death, that this alliance betweene the *Portugals* and them, and alio the obedience of the Pope might be greater and endure. And likewise, he sent to request him, hee would send him some men for to defend himselfe from the King of *Zeila*, which vsurped his Kingdomes: and he would send him great store of riches, for he could verie well doe it. And likewise to send him some Pioners for to cut a hill whereby already *Eylale Belale* his Predecessour did bring the Riuer *Nilus*, to bring it now also that way to annoy *Egypt*. 10

The King your Grand-father hauing taken counsell, thought good to grant mee that which I demanded, and commanded to giue mee foure hundred and fiftie Caluer-men and Pioners, and that they should dispatch me that I might returne that yeere in company with *Don Garcia* of *Noranya*, which then went for Vice-roy of *India*. I fell suddenly sicke, and the Physicians said of poyson: as it was suspected the *Tegazana* caused it to bee giuen mee. The chiefe Physician which then was, named *James Lopez*, cured me, and he which now is, *Leonard Nunyes*, and others, which his Highnesse commaunded: for the which sicknesse, I remained that yeere in this Realme. 20

Anthonie Fer-
nandes.
See Dam à Goes
of this siege,
1538.

Presently, the next yeere, being recovered by the goodnesse of God, I went in his Highnesse Armie. I carryed alio *Anthonie Fernandes*, and *Gaspar Suriano* both *Armenians* borne, which by commandement of *Presbyter Iohn*, came to seeke mee, to the which his Highnesse did many fauours. We arriued in *India* safely, at such time as the Vice-roy *Don Garcia*, was come from *Dio*, with the Victorie which he had of the *Turkes*, *Anthonie Selueyra*, beeing Captaine of that Fortresse, the which Vice-Roy receiued vs with great ioy, and shewed me great honour, the Bishop of *Goa* came to receiue me with his trayne in Procession, with Crosse on high, and carryed mee from the Sea-side vnto the Sea in a Chaire, which the King your Grand-father gaue vnto mee for that purpose: going next vnto me on the one side, the Vice-Roy *Don Garcia*, and on the other, *Don Iohn Deça*, Captaine of *Goa*, and re-knowledging me for Patriarch, gaue mee the honour due vnto my dignitie. 30

Stephen Gama
Vice-Roy.

In the meane-while, the Vice-Roy sickned of a Fluxe, whereof hee dyed: and *Don Stephen* of *Gama* succeeded in his stead. The which I presently requested to dispatch me, and send me to the *Presbyter Iohn* with the succour, as his Highnesse had commanded, and he answered me, that he could not doe it, because one hundred thousand Crownes were not sufficient to dispatch mee or more, in hazard of neuer being recovered: and I answered him, that all that was nothing, for the *Presbyter Iohn*, which without missing it might spend a Million of Gold or more, for he hath innumerable riches. It was determined, that he in person should transport mee: and presently he commanded a good Nauie of Gallies and Gallions, and other ships well furnished, as for such a Voyage was necessarie, and many chosen men, of the best that were in *India*. With the which Armie we came to the Port of *Maqua* in the Red Sea: where we found newes that the Emperour *Onadinguel*, was dead of his naturall death; of the which we all were very sorrie, and I aboue all, as he whom it touched most. 40

Macqua, or
Maqua.
The death of
King Dauid.

Aba Joseph.

I encouraged my selfe, till there came from *Presbyter Iohn* two Friers, good religious men, one of them Prior Prouinciall of many Monasteries, and a great man among them, called *Aba Joseph*, which went to *Ierusalem*, and told vs how the Queene, and a Sonne and Heire of hers did maintaine their estate, and resisted their Enemies. This being knowne, the Gouvernour *Don Stephen* said vnto me, that I should send to visit them, as in effect, I presently sent by one *Arias Diz*, a Tawanie man borne in *Coymbra*. 50

Arias Diz, a
Mullato Portu-
gall.

In the meane-time, the Gouvernour like a good Gentleman, and willing to lose no time, and beeing a Captaine of a valiant spirit, went with the Gallies that came in the Fleete, to the Port of *Suez*, for to take or burne the *Turkes* Gallies, which were in that Hauen, which he could not doe because they were on dry Land.

Sixty fugitiues

Being there, tarrying the Gouvernours comming, there fled from the Fleete sixtie men in a Skiffe and a Boat to the firme Land, the which came to a Port of Land very dry and excessiue hot, and being willing to trauell into the Land, they found it so dry that they dyed for thirst, and being thus pinched with necessitie, one Captaine of the King of *Zeila*, that was in that Countrey sent to tell them, that he would send them Meate and Water, and would assure them their liues, so that they would giue him their Weapons: and they seeing they had no other remedie, and beeing pinched with need they gaue them: with which presently they slue them all. 60

At that instant the chiefe Captaine sent a Galley to *Arquico*, to seeke water, in the which he sent

sent also a thousand Cotton Webs, for to change for Kine, or Beeues to eate: and they which carried them going from *Arquico* by Land, where the Armie was; a *Bernagaiz*, called *Noro*, Captaine of the King of *Zeila* tooke them from them, & sent word presently to the chiefe Captaine, that the King of *Zeila* his Lord was Lord of all *Ethiopia*, and had wonne all the Countreies of the *Presbyter Iohn*, therefore that he would make peace with him, and traffique with his Merchandize in his Countreies, in the which there is much Gold, Iuorie, Ciuet, Frankincense, Myrrhe, and many other Drugges, and Slaues, wherein they might make great profit: and hee also would giue him store of prouision, and would restore the Cowes that hee had taken, and would make amends for the sixtie men that were slaine.

Commodities of Zeila.

Sic ars deludi- tur arte:

- 10 I told the Captaine that hee should not trust the words of *Moore*s, for they were false, and that they said, was fained, to doe vs some harme; therefore that wee should also vse some slight with them, and it should be this. That he would send him a Present, and with it words of thankfulness for the good will that hee shewed vs, whereby he may thinke that he hath deceiued vs, and may be assured of vs: for by this slight we shall hinder his deceit. The chiefe Captaine did so, and commanded the Factor of the Armie to carrie to the *Bernagaiz* a Barrell of Wine, and another thousand of Cotton Webs; the Wine for a Present, and the Webs for to change for Beeues: and that he should tell him from him, that the other Webs, that seeing they were taken in good and lawfull Warre hee should not speake of them, and as touching the men that were slaine, that they deserued not to be reuenged, for as much as they were Rebels and Traytors, and deserued the death they had: and as touching Traffique and Peace, that for the present they were in the holy weeke, and could doe no worke, but as soone as the Feast was past, wee would doe that which he desired, and would bring our Wares ashore for to traffique with them.

The Portugall stratagema.

- 20 Having taken counsell againe, the chiefe Captaine commanded that the Boates should not go ashore, because no *Moore* or *Blacke-moore* might haue any meanes to goe thither, and giue him warning. And commanded the Souldier to be in a readinesse, the secretest that they could: and that in the Boates, and the other light Vessels that were in the Armie: in the which hee commanded they should make no fire, because they might not be perceiued: And commanded *Martin Correa*, that at ten of the clocke at night hee should land with sixe hundred men, and possesse the passages whereby they might escape, he went and killed some *Turkes* and *Fartaquis*, and tooke all the Carriage they had, which was but little, for he had no time to take any store. The *Bernagaiz* of *Zeila*, when he saw the King set himselfe to flight, hee likewise fled, and lighted vpon *Martin Correa*, where being knowne a Calecuer-man killed him; and men comming to rescue him were many of them slaine, Foot and Horse, and the rest saued themselves by flight. Our men thought good to cut off his head, and send it for a Present to the Queen, wherewith she reioyced very much; shee sent a great man of her Countrey, called *Esmacherobel Tigremacan*, to the chiefe Captaine, and to me, to giue vs thanks.

The King of Maczua flyeth, and the *Bernagaiz* is slaine.

- 30 As soone as the Gouvernour *Don Stephen* came, hee gaue order presently to dispatch and send me to the King and Queene, and because they vnderstood already, that the Enterprize was of honour and profit, many did couet it more then before: among the which, one was *Don Christopher Gama*, Brother to the Gouvernour: who desired mee very earnestly, that I would giue him the charge of all the men that he was to carrie, for he would goe with me. Presently there came where I was, *Don Iohn* of *Castro*, *Don Manuel* of *Lima*, *Don Payo* of *Noronya*, *Tristram* of *Tayde*, and *Manuel* of *Sosa*, and I granted their request, and gaue him the command of the men for *Don Christopher*: of the which they were all contented and satisfied, and the Gouvernour gaue me thanks for it. And presently hee commanded to enroll the men that hee gaue mee. So foure hundred men, among the which, there went many Gentlemen, and men of account, which besides the number limited, carryed Seruants, which increased the number and profited very much.

Returne of the Vice-Roy from Soer.

- 40 * This is hee which had bin with the Vice-Roy in the bottom of the Gulfe, and did write that former Rutter. *Peter Borges Henriques*, was before appointed Captaine.

- 50 Beginning to order our departure, there came the Christian *Bernagaiz*, which had beene there already, and brought some Camels, Mules, and Ases for to beare the Carriage, and also for seruice and to helpe. I commanded the *Bernagaiz*, and the *Tigremacan*, that they should command to bring vs some victuals and refreshing for all the Armie: which commanded to bring many Beeues, Muttons, Goates, Butter, Honey, Miller, Figges and Quinces, and other things in abundance.

The Vice-Roy and the Part company.

- 60 The Gouvernour with all the Gentlemen of the Armie came to *Arquico*, where they requested me to giue them my blessing: the which I gaue them on Gods behalfe, to whom I recommended them, and they went to Sea, and we remayned on Land very solitarie. And beginning to trauell, within three dayes we came to *Debarua*. Within a few dayes they vsed Schismaticall and Hereticall Ceremonies, differing from the *Romane*. I satisfied the best I could, *Don Christopher* and his men, and the murmuring ceased, and they concluded how to carrie the Ordnance when they journeyed. They made presently certaine Carriages like vnto ours: the which, because in the Countrey there was no Iron, they shod them with certaine old Calecuers, which brake, because they would serue for no other vse.

BARN.

Wang of Iron.

I sent to the Queene, who came with all speed possible: whom we went to receiue out of the Citie,

Citie a league, with all the men of *Portugall* in Warlike order, and Ancients displayed with Trumpets, and as well the Kings as of the Captaines. I say of the King, because wee had Ordnance, whereof she was amazed, being a thing vnaccustomed. The first thing she did, as one that had a respect vnto the things of God, she receiued my blessing: and presently receiued *Don Christopher* with great entertainment and honour, giuing him many thanks, that hee would vouchsafe to take that Enterprize, and charge to defend her from her Enemies. From thence we went to the Citie, and the next day we heard all Masse, and wee gaue order that Processions should be made, in the which we all went, and the Queene also, with two *Infantes* her Sisters in-law, and a little Princeesse her Daughter, which she brought with her, desiring all of God with great Deuotion and many teares, that he would vouchsafe to heare vs, and giue vs the victorie of his Enemies and ours.

§. II.

Don CHRISTOPHER and the Portugals Warre on the King of Zeila, and hauing in two Battels preuailed, in the third are ouerthrowne. A new Captaine appointed. Don CHRISTOPHERS resolution and death. Mountaine of the Iewes.

DEparting from *Debarua*, we went eight dayes by rough Countries: at the end of which wee come to plaine grounds, and very well inhabited, and better then they past, but in them there dwelt Christians, which for feare did follow the *Moore*: which as soone as they knew our comming, went presently to *Don Christopher*, and gaue him obedience. At the end of three dayes, we came to a very pleasant field, and in it a Fountaine of faire water: in the which we pitcht our Campe round about the Fountaine.

Goranya King of *Zeila*. Some call him *Gradamet*, *Godignus* calls him *Gragna*, which varietie happens by the different pronuntiation of so different a Language. Prouoking Presents.

The next day there came a Messenger to vs from *Goranya*, King of *Zeila*; with some of his men in company, and asking for the Captaine of those men, said vnto *Don Christopher*, that his King sent to aske him who he was, and from whence hee came, or who gaue him leaue to enter in his Kingdomes with men of warre: for those Realmes were his, and hee had wonne them by his Lance, and of his Gentlemen, with the helpe of his Prophet *Mahomet*: therefore if wee would become *Moores*, and serue him, hee would entertaine them well, and giue them his wages: And moreouer, Wiues and Goods to liue vpon: and if not, that wee should presently auoid his Countrey, and goe out of it. *Don Christopher* answered him, that he was a Captaine of the King of *Portugall*, by whose commandement hee came with those men for to restore the Kingdomes of the *Presbyter Iohn*, which hee tyrannously hath vsurped, and to take them out of his hands, and giue them to whose they were. And with this message he sent him for a Present, a Looking-glasse, and a paire of Mullets to pull the haire with, and an Egge of Siluer of *Pegu*, signifying, that those things pertayned to him. And to the Messenger hee gaue two Bracelets of Gold, and a very rich Sute of Cloth of Gold, which things the Queene had giuen to him; and he gaue him also a Cypres of *Bengala*, and a *Turkish* Caslock with his vpper Garment: this by my counsell in disgrace of the *Goranya*, raysed presently his Campe, and beganne to march toward the place where we were with one thousand Horsemen, and fise thousand foot, and fiftie *Turkes* Cateuer-men, and as many Archers.

Don Christopher commanded to place the Queene (who was very fearefull) and the women with all the Carriage in the midst of the Squadron. The *Moore* when hee saw vs goe vp a Hill (whereon stands the Church of the Ladie of Pitie) wheeled vpon vs to take the height from vs; and he came alreadie so neere vnto vs, that the shot began to fight on both sides. When I saw the Battle was begun, I called sixe *Portugals*, and with the Queene and her Sisters in-law I was going aside, and in this I knew the *Moorish* King, which came neere to his Antient on a Bay Horse, and I shewed him to *Peter Deça* a Gentleman, and a good shot: which shot at him and slue his Horse, and hurt him in the legge. His men came about him, and set him on another Horse, and tooke him from that place. Our Captaine *Don Christopher* was also hurt in his legge; and I commanded the Steward to set vp the Queenes Tent in signe of victorie. The *Moore* had inuironed vs on euery side, when they saw vs setting vp Tents, and their King hurt, they began to retyre, and goe after their King, which withdrew himselfe with the paine of the wound toward a Mountaine that was neere to that place to be cured.

At this instant there came to vs a *Moore* that had been a Christian, Cousin German to the *Bernagaz*, and told vs how the King was hurt in his legge: and how great a fauour God had done to vs therein, for if it had not beene so he had taken vs all, without doubt, but that God miraculously had deliuered vs from his hands: and that therefore hee with all his men did returne to vs, and would serue vs and pay the Tributes that vnto that time they payed to that King: and that

that he went presently to his Countrey for to send vs Beeves and Prouision for our Campe: for hee was Captaine and Gouvernour of all that Countrey where we were: the which belonged to the *Presbyter*, and he also: and when the King of *Zeila* conquered it, hee yeelded vnto him, and now that he saw him ouer-come, he returned to vs againe, whereby he seemed to be a man of, *Line he that ouer-commeth.*

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

In the meane while, it pleased God that *Don Christopher* healed of his wound; but we suffered great hunger, for there was very little prouision in the Campe, and the people died with hunger. *Don Christopher* went to the Queene, and told her, that the people suffered great hunger, and that they had need to eat all they found, notwithstanding it was Lent, that it would be good to kill the Beasts, that they had in the Campe, for to eat: and with this request, they came both to my Tent, praying me that I would giue the people leaue to eat flesh in Lent, because of the necessitie there was: and besides, the Queene requested me, that I should giue her my Oxen that I had for my carriage, to giue them to the people, and as soone as her Captaine afore-said came, shee would satisfie me, which would stay three dayes: and so it was, for he presently came with great store of prouision, viz. Beeves, Sheepe and Goates, Butter, and other prouisions for Lent, and for Easter, which was already at hand.

Scarfitie.

Flesh in Lent.

As soone as Easter was past, the *Goranya* sent word to *Don Christopher*, that he would come to see him, that he should prepare himselfe; which he did as he had said. He came to seeke vs, with more and better men then before he brought: for, he had about two thousand Horse, and infinite number of foot, and an hundred *Turks*: for the which, the Queene was in such a feare with her Sisters in law, that they knew not what to doe, in such sort that being at Dinner, as soone as they knew the comming of the *Moore*, they would haue left Dinner. *Don Christopher* being the next day ordering his men, before day, for to set vpon the *Moore*s; the Queene sent for me, and said to me, that shee saw the great power that the King *Goranya* brought, and that it was impossible to scape his hands if we stayed, therefore that shee desired me that we should be gone, for shee had so determined, and that in any sort shee would doe it; therefore that shee requested me very earnestly, that I would not let her goe alone, seeing I was her Father, but I should accompanie her, and goe with her. And I, to shew her the loue that I bare her, and that shee should not thinke that I esteemed not her life, granted her request, and we both interpreted

The Queenes feare.

the flight. But *Don Christopher*, which was already warned for that purpose, sent after vs ten Horse-men, and some Foot-men, crying aloud, and saying, that it was neither seruice of God, nor the worke of a Father, to goe away and leaue them. Hearing these wordes, Shee by my meanes returned to the Campe weeping and bewayling her selfe. There *Don Christopher* said vnto me, that as a Father and Prelate, according to the good custome of the *Portugals*, he requested me that I should giue him my blessing, and should make him a generall absolution before he entred into the battell. I did so, and granted him a plenarie Indulgence of all his sinnes: which I might doe, because the Pope had granted it me, and was the stile of the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*. From thence we remoued with our Campe, by the breake of day, downe the Hill, and marched till we came to a Plaine; and presently, with great furie, they assaulted our standings on

Indulgence.

euery side. Our men defended themselves with the Ordnance and Fire-works, wherewith they annoyed them very much: and before they came, they had cast a great quantitie of powder in the wayes, whereby they were to come vp; the which, when they were in the heate of the battell, was set on fire, and it burned them, proceeding vnder their feet, they not knowing from whence it came, they vnderstood not the stratageme. Our men did cast among them certaine Balls of wilde fire, and Pots full of powder, wherewith they burned the greatest part of them, and the other retyred with feare, and durst come no more neere vs. The Ordnance killed many of the Horse-men, and of other People, that the field was all full of them, and the Horses ranne masterlesse about the fields. The *Turks* with their Peeeces and their Bowes, killed vs twentie men, and the master Gunner. Our men killed fifteene *Turks*. The Queene was next to me, embracing a Crosse, and weeping, and said vnto mee; *O Father, what haue you gayned in bringing me hither? Wherefore did you not let me goe my way?* I said vnto her: Lady, doe not afflict your selfe; commit your selfe to God, and open your eyes, and you shall see the great destruction that is done in your enemies.

The second battell.

Fierie stratagem.

At this time the Foot-men began already to flee, and the Horse-men durst not come neere, but skirmished a farre off; and the King said to his men, that the *Portugals* were no men, but Deuills, for they fought like Deuills. And with this he retyred himselfe towards the Hill, and left his Campe.

The victorie.

We gathered our Campe, and went forward as fast as wee could, but they fled as fast as they could, and wee could not ouer-take them. But wee found many *Abexins* on foote and horse-backe which returned to vs, which afterward were baptized, and loyall to their King. Of whose returne, the Queene and we all were as glad as of the principall victorie. We came to the campe of the *Moore*s, which we found forsaken without any people, but wee found in it all the spoile, for the feare which Saint *James* put them in, gaue them no leisure to take any thing away. Wee found it with Tents vp, and in them Apparell, House-hold stuffe, Mony, and other riches, and

Great spoile.

store

store of prouision, which were very needfull for vs, for it was alreadie very scant. Here wee stayed, and let the people rest two dayes.

Nazareth
Country ap-
pertaining to
the Patriarch.

This Countrey and all the borders, is called the Prouince of *Nazareth*, and it is of the Patriarchs, their owne proper with all iurisdiction, without the King entermeddling in it by any meanes, neither hath he any Rent thereof. It yeeldeth for the Patriarch three thousand ounces of gold every yeere, the which King *Theodorus* appropriated vnto them, for a certaine offence that he committed against a Patriarch.

From the Campe wee drew toward the Mountaines, where the King *Goranya* with-drew himselfe, and pitched our Campe in a field, at the foot of the Mountaine, inuironed with the carriages of the Ordnance.

The Turke so-
licit.

The *Moore* sent to *Zebide* to a *Bassa* of the great *Turke* which was there, to aske him succour, saying, that he should succour him, and not suffer those Kingdomes to be lost, which were all of the great *Turke*, and he held them for him, and that in token thereof, hee sent him one hundred thousand *Oquies* of gold, and twentie thousand for his person. An *Oqui* is a waight of gold, which in that Countrey is worth as much as ten Crownes or Cruzados in this, and weigheth as much. We with-drew our selues, while we knew what passed, to a strong Mountaine, the which was compassed on euery side with Rocks and Craggs, in such sort, that in it there was scarce a way for foot-men. For to carry the Ordnance and other carriage, was needfull to make a new way, the which the Captaines of the Countrey made with their men, and it was so streight, and so rough, that the Ordnance could not bee carried vpon the carriages, but they carried it on their backs with Leauers. Aboue was a Plaine where wee pitched our Campe. From thence the Queene sent through her Prouinces, and I also through mine, that they should bring vs store of victualls, and other prouisions necessarie, of which we were presently well prouided, and the wounded were well cured.

Mountaine of
Iewes.

Being there well lodged, *Don Christopher* said vnto mee, that wee should remoue to a higher Hill which was neere from thence, because the Armie might be more safe; and that in the meane while he would goe to a Mountaine, which was neere from thence, inhabited with *Iewes*, in the which was a Captaine of the *Moore* with an hundred and fiftie Horse, as we were aduertised. And being gone with the *Portugals*, and some few of the Countrey, for to shew him the wayes; hee left with vs two *Portugall* Captaines with his men. As soone as hee came to the Mountaine, he set vpon the *Moore*, and killed sixtie Horse-men, and tooke thirtie Horses, the rest fled. The *Iewes*, inhabitants of the Mountaine, pursued after the *Moore*s, and taking the passages of the Mountaine, which they knew very well, they killed them almost all, and among them the Captaine, and tooke all the spoile they carried, and the women, which they brought all to *Don Christopher*, and gaue it him for a present, with the head of the Captain, which they brought also; and among other Gentle-women which were there, the wife of the Captain *Moore* was very faire, the which *Don Christopher* tooke for himselfe. And because two of his Captaines did looke too much vpon her, he was jealous of them, and tooke away their charges, they being as they said blamelesse.

The *Iewes* pur-
sue the *Moore*s.

Sixe hundred
Turks sent to
aide the *Moore*.

Don Christopher being in the Mountaine of the *Iewes*, the *Moorish* King came to seeke vs with sixe hundred *Turks*, which the *Bassa* sent vnto him, and two hundred *Moore*s on horse-backe, and a great number on foot: and comming to the foot of the Hill where we were, he pitched his Campe. From thence he sent a man of his with a Boxe of pedlarie ware to our Campe, to sell Beades and looking glasses, and to tell *Don Christopher* that his Master was a Merchant, and came behinde, and would not tarrie three dayes, with very good merchandize that hee brought to sell him. This came to light vpon *George of Abrewe*, and *Iames of Silua*, that remayneth with vs, and kept the entrie of the Mountaine, which tooke away his Beades, and brought them vnto me, and I blessed them, and gaue them to the women and deuout persons, granting many pardons to them that did pray vpon them, because that their mockage might redound to the praise of God, and the profit of his faithfull. We sent in all haste to call *Don Christopher*, which was not come from the Mountaines. Meane while, the *Turks* in despite of our men entred the Mountaine, and did vs much hurt. Presently that night after they were entred came *Don Christopher*, and sent presently for the other Captaines, to take counsell with them what were best to doe; which told him, that it were best to set vpon the *Moore*s by night: for when the forces are not equall in strength, the weakest haue need to vse some policie; and this is one of the best we can vse with them, for the manner of the *Turks* is not to fight by night, in so much that come out of their Tents they dare not. And besides, we shall take them on a sudden and vnprepared, and we shall ouerthrow them before they can come to themselves: and for the more amazing them, we will assault them on two sides. This counsell seemed not good to *Don Christopher*, because mutable Fortune was willing to change her course; and God, to make an end of sensualities, which at such times, men that are Christians, should not remember. *Don Christopher* said, that he would giue battell to the Enemies by day, because they should not thinke that he was afraid of them, wherein he preuailed, though none liked his counsell.

Beades blec-
fed.

The vnfortu-
nate battell.

As soone as it was day they went all downe, and before they set any thing in order (because the

the misfortune was to haue some beginning) by a mischance, a Horse of ours brake loose, and ranne towards the *Moore*s Campe, they came out to ketch him, and our men went out to defend him, and in this sort the fight began without any order or gouernment. This skirmish lasted a great while; in the which many *Moore*s and *Turkes* died: and likewise of ours there died some; among whom *Don Garcia* of *Noronia* was one. The Ancient-bearer of *Don Christopher* fought with the Ancient Royall, like a valiant Gentleman, and in his defence slue some of the Enemies, and wounded them so fiercely, that they durst not come neere him, vntill that for wearinesse he could fight no longer; then they slue him. *Don Christopher* was wounded with a shot in the arme, of the which, although he suffered great paine, he left not therefore the battell till
 10 very late, that hee found himselfe almost alone, then hee retyred to the top of the Mountaine with some few that he found about him. Before he retyred, I seeing the spoile of our men, said to the Queene that she should mount, and goe to the Mountaine: and because shee would not leaue some women that had not whereon to ride, I made her mount perforce, and one sister-in-law of hers and so I sent, them before, and I tooke her daughter behind me.

Don Christopher hurt.

A Nurse of the Queene, a vertuous woman with two daughters, and other women, tooke a barrell of Powder; saying, God forbid, wee should bee deliuered to the power of Infidels, they brought it into the Tent; set it on fire and burned themselues. The like did fiftene or sixtene men which came fore wounded from the battell, and could not trauell. I went away with the Girle that I had behind mee where her mother was, which thought shee had lost her alreadye,
 20 and when shee saw her shee gaue great thanks to God. Wee went a little farther into the Mountaine, and there we made another stand, tarrying for more men, and for *Don Christopher*, for whom the Queene was very sorrie, and wee all were very sad for his not comming, doubting he was dead or captiue. Being in this doubt, we saw him come hurt, as I said before, in an arme, with great paine of the wound; for it seemed he had the Bullet within. The Queene commanded me to cure him with a little Balme that she had, for to mitigate his paine; and shee tooke a Vaile from about her head, and tore it, and bound his arme therewith. But he tooke no rest, for he remembred more the losse and dishonour, then the paine of the wound: and said, that hee had better beene slaine, then to haue lost the Kings Standard; and that seeing it remayned in the power of his Enemies, that hee would not liue. I answered him, that hee should not vex
 30 himselfe so much, for with his life and health hee would recouer againe (God willing) that which then hee had lost: for so wee saw it fall out euery day in matters of warre, &c. And as touching the Ancient, in that Countrey they tooke no such regard of it; and that presently they would make such another, hauing men to fight vnder it, and a Captaine to gouerne them: for the men are the true Ancient, and not the signe which they carried.

Lamentable and desperate act.

Wee made him mount, and went from thence, and with all speed wee passed two Riuer so great, that the Foot-men waded to the breasts. Wee trauelled till we came to the Riuer of the Draw-bridge, which they had told vs, which was so deepe, that it could not be passed but by that Bridge. There *Don Christopher* said to me, that he would not passe the Bridge, but would remaine on this side the Riuer: and called presently his seruants, which tooke him downe, and
 40 set him vp a Bed whereon he cast himselfe. He called me, and requested that I would shriue him: hauing ended his confession, he said vnto me, that his will was to remaine there; I said vnto him, that I would not suffer it, and commanded those that were there to take the Bed, and to carrie him in it as he was, and he said that he would kill himselfe if they carried him from thence. When I saw his determination, I said vnto him, that I would remaine with him: he answered me, that I should not doe it; for I was necessarie for to gouerne those men, that they might not altogether be lost, and therewith all that Countrey: but that I should leaue him a little Balme for to dresse him with, and that his Chamberlaine, his Secretarie, and other three *Portugals*, with which he would goe hide himselfe in a Groue that was there. I could neuer vnderstand to what end he remained.

Don Christopher disconsolatenesse.

From thence I went to the Queene, and desired her to mount, and that we should passe on the
 50 other side the Bridge; for it drew towards day, and our enemies would come: shee answered, that in no wise shee would doe it, nor passe any farther, seeing *Don Christopher* remayned there desolate. But I desired her to mount, saying to her, that not onely shee, but her sonne with all his Kingdomes would be lost if we tarried there. And with this the Queene mounted, weeping, and speaking so many dolorous words, as shee could haue vttered for her owne sonne, if he had remayned there. Wee commanded all the men to goe with the carriage, and all the people with the greatest haste possible: and before we had passed we heard a rumour of Men, and noise of Horses, for the which we made great haste to goe ouer, and drew the Bridge after vs. By this time it was alreadye day, and we beginning to goe vp the side of a Hill on the other side,
 60 we saw many *Moore*s about the place where *Don Christopher* remayned: the Queene, when she saw them, was greatly afraid, and said that wee could not escape. Her men told her that shee should not feare; for shee was alreadye in her owne Countries. Notwithstanding, wee went on with all haste possible for to lose them out of sight: and we trauelled all that day, passing many Mountaines and Riuer with great trouble, and heat of the day. There was by those Riuer great

Or *Tamarindos*: store of *Cassia Fistola*, and *Indian Dates*, whereof our men did eate, for they had no other food. Finally, we came to a Riuer somewhat big, where the people caught some Fish, which they did eate while the Captaine of that Countrey came with victuals, which presently brought great store: And there we began to rest, for we were alreadie in a sure Countrey.

Wee wanted fortie *Portugals*: To the rest that remayned, which were few more then three hundred, I made my speech thus, and said vnto them; that they saw very well that it was necessarie to giue them a Captaine, that might gouerne them and fight before them, seeing wee knew not what might become of *Don Christopher*, remayning as hee was willing to bee left. They answered me, that I should doe what I thought best; for they would hold it for very well done, and would obey whom I should command and ordaine. I declared vnto them, that I elected for their chiefe Captaine, one *Alfonso Caldera*, borne in *Coimbra*, a discret and valiant Gentleman: the which all receiued with a good will, except some Gentlemen, which because they were of Nobler bloud, thought that charge rather belonging vnto them. These murmured somewhat of that which I did: but did not leaue their obedience. I made also a Sergeant, and a Iudge, to looke to the Souldiers, that they did no wrong to the people of the Countrey; or betweene themselues, one to another.

There came to vs *Iohn Gonzales*, and *Aluaro Deniz*, which remayned with *Don Christopher*, of whom the Queene demanded what was become of *Don Christopher*: they told vs, how they being hid in the Groue where they remayned, there came a woman fleeing from the *Moores*, and came into the same Groue, and the *Moore* comming after her, found *Don Christopher*: and asked him who he was, and he told them that he was *Don Christopher*: whereof they were so ioyfull, that they could not beleue it: and they called an Eunuch which had beene ours that came there, and asked him if that was *Don Christopher*, and if he knew him well: and hee said, it was he without doubt, for he knew him very well. They presented him to their King, which also was very glad to see him. And after demanding some things of him, he said, that if he would become a *Moore*, that he would doe him much honour. *Don Christopher* answered him smiling, that he was the seruant of *Iesus Christ*, whom he would not change for a lying Dog. The King hearing what he said, commanded to giue him a boxe on the eare, and to pull him by the beard. He desired him with great Oathes and promises that he would write to his companions, that they should leaue *Presbyter Iohn*, and returne to their Countries: and he said, that he would doe it. And presently he wrote a Letter, according to the will of the *Moore*: the which sent the Eunuch aboue-said, that he should looke well what *Don Christopher* did write: and he did so, therefore *Don Christopher* wrote that which the *Moore* commanded, and no other thing: but set two thornes in his name, by the which he signified, that they should looke what they did. With this Letter of *Don Christopher*, the *Gorania* sent two *Moores* of his to our Campe, and they gaue it to me.

The Queene, when shee saw it, remayned almost dead, thinking that *Don Christopher* had written that Letter of purpose, and that it would somewhat auaille among the *Portugals*, by whom, vnder God, she trusted to haue her Kingdomes restored: and shee tooke very strangely that deed of *Don Christopher*. But after that we declared vnto her the deuise of the thornes that came in his Firme, shee was glad, and tooke it in good part; and euery one praised him very much. Finally, the chiefe Captaine *Alfonso Caldera*, in his owne name, and in the name of all his companions the *Portugals*, answered to *Don Christopher*, that he should giue many thanks to the King *Gorania* for his good will: but that they would not receiue of him that fauour, neither did they doubt that they should stand in need of it, rather to the contrarie, they hoped with the helpe of *Iesus Christ* their God, to finish the act; whereunto the King of *Portugal* all their Lord had sent them thither, which was, to take or kill him, and deliuer from his tyrannie, the Kingdomes of *Presbyter Iohn*.

This Letter being deliuered to *Don Christopher*, hee carried it to the *Moore*, and hee shewed him not therefore the worse countenance, for hee thought that *Don Christopher* had written faithfully, he asked him also wherewith he had cured himselfe, and he said vnto him, that hee could make a certaine Medicine wherewith the wounds were very quickly cured: and the *Moore* desired him to cure with it his Captaine generall, which was sore wounded: and he cured him with such Medicines, that the Dogge liued but three dayes. For the which, the *Moore* commanded to giue him many stripes and blowes, and said, that hee would command to kill him. *Don Christopher* answered him, that he could doe him no more hurt then to kill the bodie, for the soule God had power ouer it: and that hee was very certaine, that *Iesus Christ* would receiue his into euerlasting life. The *Moore* commanded that they should carrie him to the place where the other *Portugals* died, and that there they should cut off his head. The which head of *Don Christopher*, that King did send for a Present to the Gouvernour of *Cairo*: and one of his quarters he sent to *Iuda*: another to *Aden*: and one legge to the *Bassa* of *Zebide*, which sent him the succour aboue-said. So much doe they esteeme in that Countrey, to ouercome a few *Portugals*.

All the rest of the bodie of *Don Christopher* remayned there where they killed him: and from thence

thence certaine Religious men carried it to their Monasterie which was neere to that place, and doe hold it in great reuerence with estimation of a Saint: for presently, and many times after, did God shew by manifest Miracles, his labours to bee acceptable and meritorious before Gods Diuine Maiestie, his death precious, and his soule glorified. Presently, as soone as they cut off his head, God shewed a great and manifest Miracle by him: which was, that in the place where they slue him, there sprung vp a Fountaine of running water, which had neuer been seene there, whose water giueth sight to the blind, and cureth sicke persons of other diseases, by the goodness and power of God. This Miracle is much like to that which God did in Rome, for his Apostle Saint Paul. The Reliques of the bodie of *Don Christopher* doe smell, yeelding so sweet a sent of themselves, that it seemeth rather heavenly then of the earth.

From thence the *Moorsish* King went toward a Kingdome, called *Dembia*: whereby the Riuer *Nilus* passeth, and maketh a Lake, which hath in length thirtie leagues, and five and an halfe in breadth. In this Lake are many Ilands: *Asmache* of *Doaro*, called *Obitocon*, which is to say, *Don George*, and *Asmache* of *Guidmi*, subiects of King * *Gradeus*, came with one hundred and fiftie Horse-men, and one thousand Foot-men. The Captaine conducted them vnto the Queene, which receiued them louingly, and asked whence they came; and they said, that they came from the Campe of *Gorania*, and that they departed from him there where they killed *Don Christopher*, the *Moore* going towards *Dembia*. The Queene asked them for the death of *Don Christopher*: and they told her the manner which wee already knew.

Wee comming to the skirt of the Mountaine of the *Iewes*, their Captaine came to vs with victuals and refreshings, and said to the Queene, that shee should come vp to the Mountaine: for in no place of that Prouince shee could bee surer then in that Mountaine; which had no more then one entrance, and that might easily be kept, and defended from the Enemies, if they came. This Captaine of the *Iewes* demanded Baptisme: and as soone as we were on the Mountaine, and had pitched our Campe, I baptised him, his wife, and his children. The Captaine *Alfonso Caldera* was his God-father: and they named him *Don Christopher*. From thence *Alfonso Caldera* went with ninetie *Portugals*, and some of the Countrey to forage some Townes which in that Countrey stood yet for the *Moore*: and they killed much people, burned the Townes, and brought great store of Cattell. Two honest old men seeing this, in the name of all the people, came to aske mercie of the Queene, saying, that they were hers, and were *Christians*, and that perforce they obeyed, and payed their Tributes to the *Moore*: and likewise for need, because they had none to defend them from the *Iewes* of the Mountaine, that did euill neighbourhood: therefore that it would please her Maiestie to forgiue them, which shee did.

§. III.
Commings of *GRADIVS* the young Negus, his reiecting the Patriarch and Pope: their reconciliation and battell with the *Moores*, in which *GORANIA* was slaine, and after him the King of *Aden*.

To this time came *Arias Dix*, which *Don Christopher* had sent to visite the King, the sonne of *Onadinguall*, and of this Queene, called *Orta aureata*, and the sonne was called *Gradeus*. This did not yet follow the Campe with his mother, because he was very young. This message brought *Arias Dix*, that the King would bee with vs within two moneths. The two moneths almost past, wee departed from the Mountaine of the *Iewes*, where we were, and went to other Mountaines in another Prouince, whither the King came within eight dayes, accompanied with fiftie Horse-men and many on Mules. All the Captaines went to receiue him a little way off the Campe, with all their men, *Portugals*, and of the Countrey, and accompanied him into the Campe. Entering into the Campe he went presently to my Tent, and there hee alighted to take my blessing. I came to the doore to receiue him, which he esteemed greatly: for in that Countrey they hold the Patriarch in that esteeme that here we doe the Pope. From thence he went to see the Queene his mother, and withdrew himselfe, and mourned three dayes for *Don Christopher*. He commanded his Tent to be set vp in the midst of the Campe.

Some few dayes being past, before we medled in any other thing, I sent to call the Captaine *Alfonso Caldera* to my Tent, with the other Captaines and honourable persons of the *Portugall* Nation in the Armie, and said vnto them.

My most louing children, and most Christian *Portugals*, I remember well, that a few dayes agoe, being in *Debarua*, some of your charities moved with a good zeale, did mislike some Rites and Ceremonies, which the people of this Countrey doe use, differing from the *Romane* customes. A great Nation cannot be cleansed of all the Cockle and Tares which the Deuill soweth in it; euen as a field can-

Miracles; if any be so prodigious, as to beleeue in them, I adde them to let men see the probabilitie of other their miracles in *India*. In other things where they aduantage not their fancies, I beleeue them as men: these which looke to Rome and superstition, in *credulus odi*.

A Huge Lake. *Io. Gabriell* saith it is 60. miles long, and 25. broad.

Supplies from the *Negus*.

* The *Gradeus* by *Godignus* is called *Claudius*.

A Mountaine of *Iewes*.

Captaine of the *Iewes* baptised.

Gradeus the young *Negus*.

The Patriarch *Bern*. his Speech to the *Portugals*.

The King acknowledged head by this Patriarch: only except the Popes case, and they say the same with vs. But then one head may be cut off to please the other. His speech to the Negus.

The Kings Answer and refusal. Why the Western Christians are called Frankes. You may read noted before in Alvarez. They conceiue wee beleue foure Gods, because wee hold two Natures in Christ which they following the Eutichians and Monothelite heresies denie. The Patriarchs Speech to the Portugals. Their receiving Graculus his gift.

An Archbishop made by the Patriarch. The Queenes mediation.

not be weeded of all the Weeds and Thornes that grow in it: for if wee seeke to weed them cleane, we shall also pull up the Wheate among the Weeds, as Christ saith in the Gospell. It is enough to doe now the principall, which is the obedience an uniting of the holy Mother Church: this is the Fountaine of all the rest, from hence depend all the other circumstances. This hath her foundation in the Head, which is the King. As soone as the King shall obey, all the rest will follow him.

Comming to the Kings Tent, I found him with his Mother, whereof I was very glad, and said to him these words.

Most louing Son in Iesus Christ: You know, that the most Christian King your Father which in glorie desired mee that I would goe to Rome, for mee and for himselfe to giue the obedience to the chiefe Bishop: and if you doe not remember it for your tender age, see heere a Letter signed by him, which hee gaue mee that the chiefe Bishop should giue me credit, and know that was true which I said to him on his behalfe: which as I say, was to tell him that your Father did acknowledge him to be the Successor of Saint Peeter Prince of the Apostles of Christ, and Vicar of his vniuersall Church, it is also reason you should succeed him in knowledge, in vertues, and in the feare of God. Therefore, you conforming your selfe with the will and Ordinance of God, and imitating the vertue and knowledge of your Father, ought to giue the obedience to the holy Father the Romane Bishop: for therein shall yee doe that which God commandeth, and shall haue for your Friends and Brethren, and helpers in your necessities, the King of Portugall, and all other Kings his Brethren and Friends.

To the which hee not regarding what hee said, like a youth of little age, answered thus. You are not our Father, nor Prelate, but you are Patriarch of the Frankes, and are an Arrian which haue foure Gods: and hence forward we will call you no more Father. I said unto him againe, that hee lyed, for as much as I was no Arrian, neither had foure Gods: but seeing he would not obey the holy Father, that I held him for excommunicate and accursed, and that I would stay no longer nor speake with him, and with this I rose to goe away: and hee answered me, that I was the excommunicate and not hee.

From thence without any more speaking to him, I went to the Portugals, which stood without the Tent, and told them what passed, and how the King would not obey the Romane Church, but that hee was an Hereticke like Nestorius and Dioscorus: therefore, I commanded them in vertue of obedience, and under paine of Excommunication of my part, and in behalfe of the King of Portugall (whose authoritie I had for it) under paine of capitall crime, in no wise they should obey that King, nor follow him, nor doe any thing in his fauour. Alonsus Caldeyra, and all the rest said, that their Fathers and Grand-fathers were neuer Rebels to the Church of Rome, nor to their King, neither would they be: therefore, that I had no need to lay an Excommunication upon them, but that I should suspend it, for they without it would doe all that I should command, as obedient children. And from thence they all accompanied me to my Tent, and they went to their Lodgings.

Within a little while the King sent a Captaine of his, to carrie three thousand ounces of Gold to the Portugals, to diuide among themselves and a rich of aduantage for the Captaine, and desired them not to leaue him, but to helpe him against his Enemies, as they had done thitherto. They answered him, that as for that time they would not receiue the fauour that hee sent them for the difference betweene him and mee, nor to therest, that hee said they could answere no other thing, but that in all things they would doe that which I should command them.

With this answere they tooke counsell, and agreed that the Queene should come with an Arch-bishop, which I had made, and all his Captaines to my Tent, to aske me pardon, I would command, and giue the obedience to the Pope. The Queene came and desired me in honour of the Virginitie of our blessed Ladie Virgin, before, in, and after the Conception, that I would goe with her to the Tent of her Sonne, which was very faire, for that which hee had done, and said to me, that he would aske mee pardon and obey mee in all things. I answered her, that I would not remoue from thence, but the way to Portugall with the Portugals my children, and companions. At this Answere, she kneeled on her knees before me, weeping, and said vnto me, that shee charged me on Gods behalfe, that I should not doe such a thing: but that I should goe with her, for all should be done as I would. I, moued with pitie and compassion, went with her: and comming to the Kings Tent, he came forth to receiue vs, and with great humilitie hee tooke my hand and kissed it, demanding me pardon for that which hee had said to me. And wee three sitting downe, he said, that he was contented to obey the chiefe Bishop: and that the obedience which his Father had giuen by me was sufficient. But I answered him, that it was not sufficient: but that he particularly should giue for himselfe the like obedience, for so was the custome of our Countries, that euery King when he newly reigned did send his Messengers to giue particularly for himselfe the obedience to the Pope wheresoeuer he was: and that seeing he sent not to Rome, as his Father did, that he should giue it to mee in the Popes name, for I had commission from his Holinesse, to receiue it of him. And besides, he should giue a publike Testimonie signed by him, and sealed in his name, and of all his Kingdomes and Prouinces, confessing in it, that the Truth of the Faith is this: that the Church of God is only one, and his Prelate the Vicar of Iesus Christ is also one alone, through all the Earth: by whom the Power and Iurisdiction of Ie-

us Christ extendeth to the other Prelates, and Christian Princes. The which Writing, one of the principallest men of his Kingdome standing in a high Place or Chaire, should reade with a high and cleere voice, before all the people that were there with him. He did so, and commanded it to be done with solempne Pompe and sound of Trumpets.

This being done, within a few dayes, the Captaine *Alfonso Caldeyra* running a Horse, had a fall; of the which within a few dayes he dyed. *Alfonso Caldeyra* being dead, I tooke counsell with some principall men of the *Portugals*, and we thought it good, to make *Arias Diz* chiefe Captaine, because he was a discreet and a good Gentleman: which had discharged himselfe well in some important matters, which had beene committed to his charge. Especially, because the King *Gradens* desired it of me, I sent to call him, and desired him that he would take that charge vpon him. Hee tooke it, and promised to doe in it to the vttermost of his power.

The truth of Popish faith: or a new Article added to the Creed, to beleue the Papacie. *Arias Diz*, or *Diaz*, made Captaine or Generall of *Portugals*.

The Kings flight. * A proper name of a Ruler.

Within a few dayes the King sent me word, that hee would goe through his Countrey with his men, because we could not be there altogether, wherefore hee desired mee to remaine there with his Mother: and I answered him not, because I vnderstood that he would flye away. The King sent presently after me the * *Azaige of Gallan*, that with all reuerence and courtesie should say to me, that the King my Sonne did send to request me, that I should send him thither the Captaine *Arias Diz* with all the *Portugals*, for so it behooued for the seruice of God: I answered him, I would doe it with a good will. There remayned with mee fixe Captaines of the Countrey, with two hundred Horse, one thousand Targeters, and five hundred Archers, and fiftie Harping Irons, with their Hookes all very cunning in Armes. Euery Horseman carryed three sorts of weapons. With all this people I came to the skirt of the Mountain, where *Goranya* was, & caused to pitch my Tent very neer to the hill, and neer vnto it, all the Campe with Feasts and showtings, and sounding of Trumpets, as they are wont to do in Camps. The horsemen skirmished, and the Footmen reioyced, and said, We will all dye for the Faith of the Sonne of God. Our men entring into the Mountaine, went presently to a Towne neere from thence: in the which they found no people, but found some prouision, especially, Wine made of Honey in many pots of Earth, of the which two heedlesse men did drinke and dyed suddenly, for the *Moore*s had poysoned and left it, for to kill our men. Our people seeing the two men dead, would not drinke of the Wine, but broke the Vessels and spilt the Wine: and returned from thence.

Poysoned Wine.

With these newes, I sent presently two Horsemen to the King, that hee should come in all haste to possesse himselfe of that Countrey, before the *Moore* came; for I was alreadie going to hinder the comming of the *Moore*, and to take the passages whereby he was to come. And I sent to the Captaine *Arias Diz*, by a *Portugall*, to tell him that I stood in danger of encountering with the *Moore*, that he should presently come to me. The King doubted the Iourney, and would not come: but *Arias Diz* said vnto him, that it neither was nor seemed good, the *Portugals* to bee slaine in his defence, and for to restore him his Kingdome, and hee to runne away and leaue them. *Arias Diz* being departed with the *Portugals*, the King tooke counsell to goe after him: and set forward in such haste that he ouer-tooke them before night. And altogether travelled so much that night, that they came to our Campe before it was day-broke.

As soone as it was day, I left them which came wearie, and with the people that I had before began to ascend the Mountain before the *Moore* came, because they hauing that Mountaine, was a great part of the Victorie. We went by such narrow wayes, that wee could goe but two and two, and by Rockes and rough places, that had any bodie fallen from thence, had beene crused in a thousand pieces. We came to the top, by Gods assistance, and came to a Monasterie of Friers, which was on the Mountaine, which was of the Inuocation of Saint *Paul*. The Friers came out to receiue vs in Procession, with the Crosse on high, and censing with Censers, and leade vs to the Church to make our Prayers, and giue Thankes to God for the succour hee had sent them. Prayers being ended, the Captaines pitched their Campe, and rested. When the King knew that we were aboue, hee commanded his people to tarrie behind, and hee came with the *Portugals*, neere to the Ancient of the King of *Portugall*, leauing his owne. It might bee an houre before Sun-setting when he came vp, and his men came within night, for all the day was spent in comming vp to the Mountaine. So troublesome it is to ascend.

Monastery.

All the Armie prayed, and did sing Letanies, praying to God that hee would giue vs the victorie, and to our Ladie, and to all the Saints that they would pray to God for vs. The Religious men did the same in their Monasteries, and the people in their Townes. At this time there came innumerable people to ioyne themselves with vs, from the Prouinces and Countries round about. We saw from the top of the Mountaine, the *Moore*s of *Goranya* his Campe goe skirmishing in the fields that were beyond the Mountaine, and heard them say: *Before foure dayes be past, yee shall all be slaine, and your King shall be gelt, and shall be Keeper of the King of Zeila his Wines: and the Patriarch that brought you hither, shall haue a roasted stake thrust through his fundament, that may passe through his necke, and come out at his head.* The Generall of the *Abexines* asked leaue of the King to goe with some people to skirmish with those *Moore*s, and hauing gotten leaue he was shruen, and went downe with foure hundred Horsemen, with the which af-

The Abbassins Generall slain.

ter hauing killed many *Moores*, he went so farre from his men that the Enemies compassed him round, and beeing very wearie, and wounded sore, they tooke him, and before they killed him, they cut off his priuie Members, for so doe that people vse, and afterward they killed him.

The death of this Captaine grieved the King so much, that hee wept publikely, and rent his haire: to the pulling off his Crowne, and hurling it on the ground. In the meane season, they came to tell him, that the King of *Zeila* was come, and pitched his Campe at the foot of the Mountaine, as one that determined to come vp. King *Gradenus* hearing the great noyse of the Ordnance, which resounded through the Mountaines, tooke so great a feare, that hee determined to flie.

The *Bernagaix* vnderstanding what the King determined, came in haste to call me at the Monasterie where I was, and shewed mee on the tops of the Mountaine, much people of the *Abexines* in armes, saying to me, that all those were doubtfull, and if they saw that wee suffered any detriment, or knew that the King did leaue vs, that they all would bee against vs, and would ouerthrow vs. Therefore it behooued me to be present, for to stay the King, and encourage the people: and that might not seeme, that I absented my selfe with distrust. I left presently the Monasterie, and went with him to the Campe: and the people that were on the Mountaines, when they saw me, made a great showt, and said; Seeing the *Abuna* goeth, the Victorie is ours. Comming where the King was, I saluted, and said vnto him. *Hope in the mercy of God, which redeemed vs by his precious blood, that hee will giue vs the Victorie.* And staying no longer, I went presently where the *Portugals* were, to whom I said. Sonnes, commend your selues to the Lord, and doe like your selues. And I commanded them to kneele downe there, and *Enery one to say the Lords Prayer five times, and I did the same, in praise of the five principall wounds of our God and Redeemer Iesus Christ, and I granted them all a plenarie Indulgence, gining the blessing of God and mine.*

The King and his people, when they saw vs set forward, were amazed at our great and determinate resolution, and stood on a high place, where they discouered all the Campe, for to see what we did. The *Moores* seeing vs come forwards, resolved to come and meete vs: We going downe the Hill, *Goranya* the King of *Zeila* came before his men, mounted on a white Horse, all in a complete Armour, and two *Turkes* with him on each side one: and comming neere vnto vs, within Caliuier shot, all three stood aside as they came, to giue place for his men to fight. In this space, one *Peter* of *Lyon*, which had beene Seruant to *Don Christopher*, a very low man of stature, but a very good Marke-man, and desirous to reuenge his Masters death, shot at him, and stricke him dead from off his Horse. The same day did others to the other two which came with him, and killed them likewise, shooting at them. The *Moores*, when they saw their King dead, some turned their faces, and some stayed them, in such sort, that they were troubled, and hindered one another, that they neither fought nor fled: our men seeing their disorder and confusion, set vpon them and slue many.

At this time came in King *Gradenus* his men, and the *Moores* and *Turkes* forlooke the Campe and the field: In the which our men found great Riches, Prouision, and Ordnance, and other weapons and furniture. They found the *Turkes* which then came by the way, with Wallets full of Bread and sodden Hennes, and others dead with the bit in their mouthes, and found their purses full of Money of their pay, which they a little before had receiued. They tooke here the King of *Zeila* his Sonne; the Queene fled to the Prouince of *Dagna*. They entred a good way into the Countrey of *Dembia*, whence they brought also many Silkes and *Bedens*, and *Fotas* of *Ormuz*, and rich Couerlets. The King *Gradenus* seeing the great and miraculous victorie which God had giuen him, commanded a Monasterie to bee built very richly, in the place where the battaile was fought, in praise of the secret of our Lord *Iesus Christ*.

And because it is not well that the base Spirit of an *Abexine* do passe without noting, which would haue gloried of that which he did not, and enioyed the labour of another; I will tell what he did. A Captaine of King *Gradenus*, which saw the King of *Zeila* slaine, went vnto him and cut off his head, and went to present it to his King; saying, That he had killed him, because hee should giue him the reward that therefore hee deserued, which was very great: for that death, was the principall cause of the victorie vnder God, and of the restoring of those Kingdomes. The King was very glad to know who had slaine his enemy, and thanked him heartily, and made him besides Captaine Generall of all his Kingdomes. But the Captaine *Arias Diz*, which knew the truth, and was present when the *Abexine* brought the head, and knew besides, that *Peter* of *Lyon* had kept the left eare of the *Moorish* King (which he cut off when he slue him) said to the King: I beseech your Highnesse, command to search the head how many eares it hath: they looked and found but one alone. *Arias Diz* said, A better Gentleman then that, hath kept the other which wanteth, which killed him, and cut it off, when you all looked from the Mountaine what we did, and that other did counsell you to runne away; and sent presently to call *Peter* of *Lyon*, that he should bring the eare of the *Moorish* King: Hee came and shewed the eare, which appeared well to be the fellow of the other. And moreouer, *Peter* of *Lyon* said, That

That the *Abexine* should shew the weapon wherewith he slue him; and what wounds he gaue him, to the which he answered nothing: Then said *Peter of Lyon*; Let them goe seeke the dead bodie, and they shall find that he was slaine with a shot, with which the *Abexine* cannot shoote: they went to see, and found it to be true, whereof the King and all his men were much ashamed, and that his Captaine in great disgrace.

We rested there neere two moneths: while we were there, the King sent the newes of the victorie to his mother, which was a daies iourney from the place where we left her: and he sent her word, that she should come where we were, that we might all reioyce and giue God thanks together, and to congratulate mee, because I gaue order to that which was done, and was the cause of that victorie. The Queene comming within a league where we were, the King knew it, and without telling me any thing, went with his Horsemen to meet her. The way where- by she was to come into the Campe, for the space of a Bow shot, was hanged with Curtaines of Silke, and Testers of the same, and on the ground rich Couerlets. They gaue meate in abundance to all that would haue it; and this lasted one whole weeke. The Queene comming by the way, she came to see me to my Tent, and asked me, What euill was it she had done to mee, that I being her Father, went not to meet her with her Sonne: I answered, That the fault was not mine, but her Sonnes, which would not take me with him, neither told me any thing.

A dissention amongst the Portugals about their Captaine, is here omitted.

The Queenes comming and entertainments

Hauiing past some daies, the King determined to goe and recouer the Prouinces of *Maro*, *Ioia*, *Guidime* and *Goiamie*, which the King of *Zeila* had in his power, and gaue order to beginne the

Countries reduced.

Warre in the Confinnes of *Ioia*, which is a great and rich Kingdome; and said, that I and his Mother should remaine, taking our rest in his Countries. The King departed with all the Armie, as well of Portugals as of his owne men, to a Countrey called the Monasterie of *Sion*: where there are very tall men of stature, which seeme Giants. These as they were yet vnder subiection of the *Moors* of *Zeila*, would not obey King *Gradens*, although they were his, neither would they giue him prouision for his men. *Alonsus* of *France* seeing their disloyaltie, said to the Captaine *Arias Dix*: What doe you Sir? Wherefore do we stay longer on these, but enter them perforce. They sent for the two Fauconets, with the which, and with the small shot they assaulted them, and peppered them in such sort, that they said, the Portugals were no humane men, for they fought not like men. Finally, they chose for their best Market to yeeld themselves, and sent to tell the King, that they deliuered themselves into his power. And they also requested him, he would command the Portugals, not to take from them their Wiues, and their Daughters, nor steale their Goods, for they had heard that they vsed so to doe.

Tall men like Giants.

They yeeld.

Being there, the King of *Aden* sent word to the King *Gradens*, That hee should not thinke that the King of *Zeila* was dead, for he remained in his stead, and because he should not thinke that those were words of a Cow-heard, which threatneth and doth nothing, he would presently come to seeke him.

This was the King of Adelsaine.

Departing from thence, they marched so long, till they came to a very great Riuer, where they marched to meete the enemy, and to passe the Riuer, they inuented a good inuention of Leather Boats, which they made in this sort. They killed many Beeces, and with the skinnies lined the Boats of Wood, in which they passed the men: the Horses did swim ouer, for it was not so deepe to hinder the passage. This being done, men went ouer to fasten some Cords on the other side, for to passe ouer by them: This they did halfe a league distant from the Campe of the enemies, and by night that they might not be seene. Hauiing passed ouer the Riuer, they set vpon the Campe of the enemies, of the which they killed many, and among them the King of *Aden*. But there dyed also many Christians, and King *Gradens* was also hurt, and like to haue beene slaine, with the great disorder that hee and his had, because they knew not how to fight by night: for they disperle themselves through the Campe, and could not keepe together, nor helpe themselves, and therefore many of them were slaine. The *Moors* seeing that their King was slaine, set themselves to flight; The Portugals followed the chase of the *Moors*, till they slue the most part of them, and brough backe againe the Kings wife of *Aden*: and the

Leather Boats,

King of Adelsaine.

King gaue them great thankes, and praised God highly, for that so great and assigned victorie; and said, that he would haue of all, no more but the Sword and the Horse of the King of *Aden*, and that all the rest should bee the Portugals, as well that which they tooke in the pursute, as that which they found in the Campe, which was wonderfully rich, that all the Portugals should diuide it among themselves brother-like, seeing they had got it; and for himselfe and his, he would haue no more, then the peace and restauration of his Kingdomes, which by the vertue and Armes of Portugall he had recouered. But as touching the Queene of *Aden*, called *Dinia Ambara*, because it were not decent that she should be captiue of any man lesse then a King, that he thought good if she would become a Christian, that she should bee the Wife of *Arias Dix*, and that he gaue them for them, both the Kingdomes of *Doror* and *Bale*, which had beene hers, and tooke for himselfe onely *Oygere*.

Daror and *Bale* giuen *Arias Dix*.

§. IIII.

*Disgusts betwixt the Negus and the Portugals: ARIAS DIZ his treacherie.
Battell betwixt the Abassines and Portugals. Their exile;
ARIAS his death.*

After the King Gradeus had recovered his Kingdomes, and was in peace, I tarried that he should solemnize and approue more the obedience which he had promised to the chiefe Bishop, and the conformitie of faithfull Christians, celebrating the Sacraments, and vsing the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Romane Church*. But hee as he promised it with an euill will, so he let it be forgotten, and did the contrarie. I sent him word, that the next day I would come and visite him: but he made no account of me, nor of my message, nor of my comming. I sent also to the Captaine *Arias Diz*, that I was come thither, that he should come to receiue me with his men, as it was fit, and they had for a custome. Hee came the next day in the morning with one hundred and fiftie *Portugals*: which came to take my blessing, entertaining and making great offers vnto me: and especially *Arias Diz*. 10

The King comming neere where I was, neither hee nor his did make any motion, but were looking out at their Tents and Standings at vs, as in mockage of vs. *Arias Diz* came to mee, and said: The euill will, Sir, which the King beareth you is well seene. And with this began to put forth his Horse, and to skirmish. Some other of the companie, when they saw him feast, did euen the same. But *Manuel of Accunia*, *Gasspar of Sofa*, and *Deniz of Lima*, which came neere me, said vnto me: Sir, dissemble with this tawnic *Moore*; for know yee, that all this which he doth, and sheweth outwardly, is malice and deceit: for his heart is as the Kings heart; and he will not stay long without shewing the signe of it in the Colours of our Lord and King; therefore trust him not, but redouble still vpon him; for all that he doth and sayth, is also feigned and false. The same did *Lope of Almanfa*, *James of Abrew*, and other honest men. Whereof I remayned much amazed: for I held him for no such man: but Gentlemen, and good men telling it me, made some impression in me to beleue it. At this time, wee drew neere where the King was, and dismounted, and I went to the Courtains where he was, and I heard him say, speaking to *Arias Diz*. Marke my Captaine generall, doe not carrie any more in my Kingdomes that Ancient of the King of *Portugall*: but carrie mine, and leaue that. *Arias Diz* answered him: I will not leaue the Colours of the King of *Portugall*. Then the King commanded a Page of his to take them, and carrie them away from thence, and *Arias Diz* consented, and suffered him to carrie them away. But a *Portugall* Gentleman, called *James of Brito*, tooke the Colours from the Pages hand: and because he would not let him goe, strooke him with his sword ouer the head, and made him leaue them perforce. 20

When I saw that, I returned to my lodging, and all the *Portugals* with me, and the Traitor *Arias Diz* also. Sending him away with this answer, *Arias Diz* remayned telling mee by way of counsell. Sir, I know not how well it is to speake hardly, and anger the King Gradeus, for wee are in his Kingdomes, farre from our Countries. At this, many *Portugals* arose, and said vnto him, that certainly it appeared, that he was a Traitor to the Crowne of *Portugall*, and his King; for his words and deeds declared it: therefore that hee was not to bee Captaine of the *Portugals*. 30

Hee answered, that he was Captaine of the Emperour of *Ethiopia*, and not of the King of *Portugall*: therefore that they could not call him a Traitor for speaking in fauour of the seruice of the said Emperour, to whom he did owe that and much more, for fauours which he had done to him, and marrying him with *Dinia Ambar* late wife of King *Mahomet*, and giuing the title of his Countries. Whereunto I answered, saying: *Arias Diz*, I haue notice, that you haue forsaken the Faith of the Baptisme, which you receiued among the *Christians* Catholicke, according to the vse of the *Romane Church*; and were baptised againe with the Baptisme of the Heretikes and Scismatikes of *Alexandria*, and haue changed the name of *Arias* into *Marke*. When he heard me say thus, without any tarrying he rose vp melancholie, and went to his lodging, with some few *Portugals* that accompanied him. 40

By this time the King sent me word, that he requested mee that wee would come the next day, because that day it was already late, and there was no time for it. Entering into his Tent, the King did not arise, neither tooke my blessing, as he was wont, neither gaue mee my seat in my accustomed place, but onely bowed his head a little, and let me stand. I seeing his new and vnaccustomed discourtesie, said vnto him. Not onely, King Gradeus, to the King of *Portugall* art thou vnthankfull; whose Colours thou didst despise, with the which, thou restoredst thy estate: but also to *Iesus Christ* art thou vnreuerent in my person, which doe represent him, thou also wilt bee cast away, and bee accursed and excommunicate, if thou dost returne to the Heresies of the *Iacobites* and *Dioscorians* of *Egypt*: the which for their sinnes and disobedience which they committed, rebelling against the holy and right Apostolike Sea 50

Sea of *Rome* were lost, and are Captiues to the *Turkes*, and Infidels: and so shalt thou bee, if thou wilt not amend. Hee answered me, that they of *Egypt*, and of the Sect of *Dioscorus* were not Heretikes, but that we were Heretikes that worshipped foure Gods, as the *Arrians*: and that if I had not beene his God-father, as I was, he would command me to be quartered. And hauing passed other talke of this qualitie, I returned to my Lodging, where I found many *Portugals* that tarried for me, to whom I gaue account of what had passed with the King.

Being in the Campe with the *Portugals*, the King sent me word, that I should not meddle in commanding in the Campe of the *Portugals*, nor make any alteration in them, for as much as they were deliuered to *Marke*, his Captaine generall; and that by him hee would they should
10 be gouerned, and by no other. I sent him word, that the *Portugals* were subiect to the King of *Portugall*, who had deliuered them vnto mee; and I, at the request of King *Gradeus*, deliuered them to a *Portugall*, called *Arias Diz*. But the *Portugals* said they would not, neither was it their honour to haue for their Captaine an Heretike and a Traitor; neither would they fight vnder any other Colours but of *Portugall*: and besides, seeing that King *Gradeus* did not maintaine that which he had promised, which was the obedience to the chiefe Bishop of *Rome*, Successor of Saint *Peter*, that they would not serue him, but would returne with mee to *Portugall*.

Peter Straw went with this answer to the King; and said moreouer, that if hee would not obey the Church of *Rome*, and publikely so proclaime, that we all would leaue him, and returne to *Portugall*, as we said. Whereunto he answered, that he was King, and Lord of that Coun-
20 trey, and that we should not goe out of it, except he were willing; for he would that *Marco* his Captaine generall should haue the command and iurisdiction ouer the *Portugals*.

The *Portugals* determined to die, or defend themselues from the tyrannie of the ingratefull man, and of a Traitor: and they asked me, what meane we should haue for to giue the battell to so great a number of people. When I saw their determination, I said vnto them; Sonnes, doe not dismay, for in the greatest tribulations is God, and so will he be with vs in this. And because our Campe had three entries whereby they might assault vs, wee tooke order to fortifie them with some Munition, because when it were so necessarie, wee would fortifie our selues within, and defend our selues as well as we might. The munition that we laid in those entries
30 as in effect it was done with their great hurt, as presently I will say: but before they assaulted vs, between eleuen and twelue at night, our Hors-men went out, and set vpon the Kings Camp: which sudden feare, and the noise of Trumpets, and Shot, did such effect, that all of them set themselues to flight, and had altogether beene overcome, if the number of our men had beene sufficient to haue followed them: but because they were but few, they retyred themselues presently.

The King in this hurliburly was seeking for a Horse to flee with the rest: but seeing that our men were retyred, quieted himselfe: and when it was day, hee commanded we should bee assaulted. Every one set in a readinesse, both his and ours, his Targettiers came, before which were the most and the best men that they had, and assaulted vs by the three places which gaue
40 entrance where the Powder was, where our men tarried for them; and comming with great furie, and cries, our men fayning weaknesse retyred inward, and gaue them leaue to come where the Powder was: comming vnto it they gaue fire, wherewith many were burnt and slaine, the rest fled away scalded and findged. When the King saw the losse of his people, and the deceit of the hope which he had, he tare his rich garments that he ware, which among them is a signe of great sorrow, and sent presently to call *Marke*. He came, and hauing taken counsell between both, they agreed that they could not overcome the *Portugals* by warre, without comming into great danger, and want: therefore, they determined to take them by sleight and deceit, in this manner. They sent to tell vs, that he repented him much of his errour, because God had manifestly shewed him, how much he had erred in not accomplishing that which he had promi-
50 sed and sworne vnto me, but that now he would accomplish it, and doe all that I would: and therefore he desired vs we would doe no more harme to his people: to the which we answered, that the euill we did was not by our wills; but that they had giuen a cause thereunto, whereof it grieved vs very much: therefore if hee did vs reason of himselfe, and did accomplish that which he had promised to God and to vs, that we would doe that which alwaies we had done, which was to serue and loue him as a Father and Lord: but if hee would haue any other thing, that we hoped in *Iesu Christ*, that he seeing our iustice, would defend vs from his tyrannie, and from the malices of *Marke* the Traitor. This answer the King imparted to *Marke*, to the which he replied, that to come the sooner to an agreement with them, hee should vse two poli-
60 cies: one was, to command all his Subiects, that none should serue vs, nor prouide vs of any thing necessarie, vnder paine of hauing his eyes pulled out for a Traitor: the other, to offer and giue vs much money and rewards, not onely promised for hereafter, but presently, for on the one side, the necessitie; and on the other, the couetousnesse would overcome vs.

The King did so, and sent vs presently an assurance with much money for the men, and for mee a great Present of Beeues and Muttons, and other things for prouision, promising mee that
all

The *Portugals*
assault the
Kings Campe.

Powder plot.

Two sleights.

all should bee done at my will, and that against Christ-masse next, which was within foure moneths, I should celebrate generall Orders, as before wee had agreed. Besides the assurance of the King. The *Bernagaz Isaac*, did promise that he would be on our side, and fauour vs by himselfe, and with all his power: and more he said, and sware that he perceiued the King to be very repentant for the wrongs he had done vs. We being about to goe where the King was, *Marke* came with the *Portugals* that were on his side, and were with him, to accompanie vs, and so we departed altogether, and going by the way, I desired *Marke* that there might be no discord betweene him and the *Portugals*, he promised so to doe. The King shewed so great contentment of our friendship, that he came out to receiue vs out of the Campe, with all the great men of his Court: and all his men both high and low were very ioyfull.

Treacherous dealing.

Within a few houres, there came to me *Baltasar Montera*, *Antonie Ferrera*, *Simon of Andrade*, *James of Brito*, *Antonie Vaz*, and said to mee, that the treason which they had inuented for vs was discovered: for they had bidden them make them readie to goe banished euery one to his Countrey, farre distant one from another, charging the Lords of those Countries, to keepe them in good safeguard; all by counsell of the Traitor *Marke*. I went to the Lords of the Countries which carried them, and desired them to intreate them well, the which said to mee, Father, know you that *Marke* commanded vs to carrie these men in Irons, and giue them other apparell of Slaues, and vse them like Slaues; but for your sake, which are our Father, we will deale better with them. And I went presently to the King, and said vnto him: Now Sir, what shall I doe? I see you doe not fulfill your word, and you send my Brethren prisoners. The King answered me with a good countenance. Father, there shall no wrong be done to you; but because it is necessarie for vs to prepare to the Warres, which the *Gallas* make vpon mee, as you know, in the meane while you shall remayne in the Countrey of the *Gaffates*, praying to God for mee, and you shall eate the Rent of that Countrey, which will suffice well for you and yours, for the last dayes I being retyred there it sufficed mee and all mine: and I will command to doe you much honor, and to obey you as mine owne Person: and against Christ-masse, if it please God, I coming with health, as I hope, you shall celebrate your Orders, as we haue agreed. And as touching these men, which I command to depart from hence, let it not grieue you, for I doe it to haue no mutinie among the rest. In the meane while came *Marcos* in, and said to the King, I beseech your Highnesse to send to *Alexandria* for to seeke the Patriarch; he answered him: Blessed be thou of God, *Marke* my friend. That is done already.

The Patriarch sent to the Countrey of the *Gaffates*.

The King commanded a Captaine of his to carrie mee to the Countrey of the *Gaffates*, and should giue me the possession of it, and command the Inhabiters of it that they should acknowledge me for their Lord, and resort to me with the Rents which they accustomed to pay to the King, for so his Highnesse commanded it. I carried with me all my seruants, free and bond; and I carried besides a man of that Countrey, called *Franciscus Matthaus*, which had beene a seruant of the Ambassadour *Matthaus*, which Queene *Helena* sent to *Portugall*, in the time of the King *Don Manuel*, your great Grand-father of glorious memorie, and had beene with the same Ambassadour in *Portugall*. I gaue him the charge of all my house, because he was discreet, and had good knowledge. Taking leaue of the King, I trauelled eight dayes iourney, for it is so much whence the King remayned, to the Countrey of the *Gaffates*, which lyeth betweene many high and rough Hills, and is inhabited with a very barbarous people. After we had passed the Mountaines, we descended to a great Valley, so deepe, that it seemed we descended into Hell, and the Hills remayned so high that they seemed to reach to Heauen. The Captaine, which carried me, commanded all the principall men of that Countrey to meet, and said before me, that the King commanded that they should take mee for their Lord, and to pay mee his Rents, but that they should keepe me well that I went not away from thence, nor returne to the Kings Court, and they promised so to doe.

A rough countrey and barbarous people.

Arias or *Marke* the Traitor dyeth.

I was in that Countrey seuen moneths, in the which the King went to make warre vpon the *Gallas*, as he had said to me, and came from thence wearied, and almost ouer-come without doing any thing to his profit. Within a little while *Marke* dyed, and hee commanded him to be buried in a Church, where the Kings of that Countrey were buried, with great pompe; he and his shewing so great sorrow for his death, as though he had beene their owne Brother, or Father, and so they said, that in him dyed all their refuge and defence of their Countries. Knowing of the death of *Marke*, I determined my returne to the Court. And on a day, I commanded to take a Captaine that kept vs, for some fault that I found against him, and commanded to pull him by the haire and to buffet him, and to binde him hand and foot, and commanded my Caliuermen to shoot off their Peeeces neere vnto him, which was so afraid that hee bepist and berayed himselfe, and desired me for Gods sake to loose him, and he promised me to goe so farre from the place where I was, that he would neuer see me, nor I him.

A plot by fearing the people, to escape.

I commanded to loose him, that hee might giue newes to the rest, as in effect he did. And I commanded the shot, which were ten or twelue, to shoot off many shots, which resounded among the Hills that they seemed thunder; and by mischance they killed two men of those with the bullets which they shot at randome. Wherewith we skared them in such manner, that they fled,

fled, and vnhabited the Countrey where we were : and the Captaines sent to desire me, that I would goe where I listed, for they promised me not to hinder my iourney. We made such haste on our iourney, that about euening Prayer wee had gone a dayes iourney, and made an end of comming out of the Mountaines. Two dayes before we came where the King was, we found a Portugall, called *Franciscus Magellanes*, who came from seeing certaine Lands which the King had giuen him : for he gaue Lands to all the *Portugals*. And after I told him how I came, he told me of the death of *Marke*, and how for his death the King had made one *James of Figueredo* Captaine of the *Portugals*, which within a few dayes died of a laske ; and before his death, hee had made two Captaines together, one for the right hand, another for the left ; for hee had ordained that the *Portugals* should guard him, and goe alwaies neere vnto him in two Squadrons : of the which he made Captaines, *Gaspar of Sofa*, and *Lope of Almanfa*. Which *Lope of Almanfa*, because he was a stranger, and of those that fauoured the partie of *Marke*, the *Portugals* would not that hee should bee their Captaine, and *Gaspar of Sofa* remayned ; wherewith I was very glad : for this *Gaspar of Sofa* was my Nephew, and my friend. Wee went all in companie till wee came neere where the King was, and there wee separated our selues. Hee went to tell the newes to the *Portugals* that were with the King.

The *Portugals*, as soone as they knew of my comming, came all to see mee with great ioy. The King also sent presently to visit me by his Page, and lent mee word, that hee was very glad with my safe arriuall, for he did greatly misse me. He commanded to giue me apparell, and besides, five hundred ounces of gold ; and I remayned more, because the *Portugals* desired me then by mine owne good will, because I perceiued that he did separate me from him, by reason of the other Patriarch, which was come from *Alexandria*, and was euery day to come to the Court, and he doubted that we should meete, and that we would make some tumult.

§. V.

The coming of another Patriarch. The Calide killed. Of the Gallas and other Prouinces, subiect and bordering on the Negus, and rarities there observed. The escape and returne of the Author.

After the King departed, the *Asmache Robel* came one day to mee, and said vnto mee : Father, I being so much yours, as you know, will discouer vnto you a secret that imports you very much ; but it shall be, you pleighting your faith vnto me neuer to bewray me, for if the King doe know it, he will command to cast me to his Lions. Sir, you are to know, that because you are of the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, the King will not that you be Patriarch of his Countrey, and sent to *Alexandria* to seeke another Patriarch of his obedience, the which is come already, and is in *Debarua* ; on the way toward the Kings Court, therefore the King will not carrie you with him, because hee will possesse the other with your charge ; and besides, because hee is much grieued at you, because you made him sweare to obey *Rome*, and publicly to proclaime that euery one should obey him. Now see what you will doe, for if you will be gone, I will absent my selfe from hence, that the King may not say, that I was consenting to your going. I thanked him heartily for the warning, and said vnto him, that hee saw, seeing it was so, how much it behoued me to goe to the Court ; therefore that hee should absent himselfe as he said, whilest I departed. Going on my iourney, I found a Portugall, called *Manuel Aluarez*, Groome of the Chamber of the King your Grand-father ; by whom I sent word to the Captaine *Gaspar of Sofa*, that I was going to the Court about a matter very important to them all, whereof I would tell him when I saw him ; for he was certaine, that the King would not be pleased with my comming, I requested him, that hee with all the *Portugals* should aide me when it were needfull.

The next day comming neere the Campe, I found another Portugall, called *Laurence Gonsales*, which told me that the King knew my comming already, and commanded they should take me, and carrie me to a Rocke where I might end my life, not being able to come out from thence. And because your Highnesse may know, what Rocke it was where he commanded me to be carried ; it is thus, That in the Countrey there be certaine high Hills, ouer-pearing the Countrey with great aduantage, and all about steepe like a broken Rocke, so that in no wise they may be ascended, but by very narrow wayes made of hand ; and on the top are great Plaines, some of a league and more, and some of seuen or eight leagues, with very good Fields, and Fountaines of good waters on the top, and other dispositions for people to liue in them, as in effect there doth. But the wayes are so dangerous, that none can come in or out from those Rocks, without the consent of them that keepe them. These Rocks serue for Fortresses, and therefore in that Countrey there are no walled Cities. To one of these, did King *Gradem* command mee to be carried by two of his Captaines, to make an end in it, without any hope of comming out. As soone as the *Portugals* knew that they carried mee prisoner, they came presently to rescue mee from the hands of those that carried me.

Another Patriarch.

The Author sentenced to a Rocke.

Within

Order for
both Patri-
archs.

This was he
which after
the first battell
recoyled from
the Moore to
the Portugals.

The Captaine
slaine.

Custome of
inheritance.
* *Aluarez* pla-
ceth it out of
this Prouince,
but perhaps in
a larger sense,
it included in
it.

* *Aluarez* hath
an instance to
the contrarie.
The *Gallas*.

* *Suimbas*, or
Zuimbas, a Ge-
neration of
Blacke-mooves,
so called, like,
or the same
with the *Jags*,
mentioned by
Battell and *Pi-
gafetta* in Congo

Within a little while, the King came also with his men, and pitched his Campe neere vnto vs, and sent word to *Gaspar of Sosa*, that he had not done well in taking me from his Captaines. And he sent him word againe, that hee knew no error in his action, seeing hee had deliuered his Prelate from the hands of Tyrants, the which for doing good to vnthankfull persons suffered troubles and iniuries. And that his Highnesse knew very well how much hee did owe the Patriarch, and how much fauour God had shewed him for his sake; and how, while he was in the Armie, and they did obey him, God gaue him alwayes the victorie against his enemies; and after we put him from vs, and dealt vncourteously with him, were ouer-come of the *Gallas*, which entred in his Campe, and came to slaughter his men neere to the Kings Tent, hauing no body to resist them; and his Highnesse saw himselfe in such a danger, that he fled from them with great dishonour. And finally, hee let him vnderstand, that hee and all the other *Portugals* would not forsake the Patriarch, which was their Father, and had brought them from *Portugall*, and prayed for them to God. The King seeing the *Portugals* resolution, he sent to desire mee to see my selfe with him: I said I would, and the *Portugals* said they would goe with me, and so they did. The King receiued me with so great curtesie that I misliked it. I gaue my hand to the King which asked it of me, and promised him not to goe from the *Portugals*, nor from his Kingdomes without his licence. Of the which hee was contented; and gaue mee for my maintenance so much Land, that the Rent of it was well worth twentie thousand Cruzados euery yeere, and ordayned that the Patriarch *Ioseph*, which hee had commanded to come from *Alexandria*, should bee his Patriarch, and I of the *Portugals* onely; and commanded that *Franciscus Matthaus*, which was my *Aduge* (as here an Archdeacon) and all the other Officers which I had, should serue *Ioseph*.

The King, to bring the Patriarch *Ioseph* to peaceable possession in his Countrey, thought it necessarie that I should be absent with all the *Portugals*, and therefore ordayned to place vs in some part of his Kingdome out of the Prouince, which he most frequented, which is called *Amara*, where then he was tarrying for the Patriarch *Ioseph*. And to busie the *Portugals* in something, he sent them to the Prouince of *Doaro*, which neighboureth vpon the *Gallas* his enemies, to lye there in Garrison in the frontier. The Prouince of *Doaro* is also neighbour to the Kingdome of *Zeila*. But the Captaine *Calide* was not contented that they were placed there, because he tooke away his liuing to giue it vnto them. And therefore determined to kill them, or driue them out of the Countrey. This Captaine was a great Lord, and mightie: for besides this Prouince of *Doaro*, being great and strong, he had also the Prouince of *Bale*, and the Captaine of *Hadia* for his neighbour and friend. From which Countries hee ioyned seuen hundred Horsemen, sixe hundred Archers, and sixe thousand Targetiers. He leuied these men so secretly, that almost hee came one morning before day to set vpon vs. But howsoeuer, wee alwayes kept a watch, and his men feared vs, and doubted the setting vpon vs, they were perceiued of our men, and could not giue the assault that they would. And because the *Calide* was knowne by the deuice he wore, our men ordayned that seuen Caliuier-men should haue an eye at him particularly, and shoot at him; for he being dead, his men were quickly ouer-come. So they did: and as he came in the fore-front, knowne among the rest, before the battell began he was slaine.

With his death some of his men made signes of peace, these were of those Lands which the King had giuen vs: which sent vs word that they were our subiects, and would obey vs, and pay vs our Rents as the King commanded, for that Rebellion was not moued by their will. The rest stood still without doing any thing, till we set vpon them, and made them flye, and we slue some of them. With the which newes the King was very glad, for he alwaies was doubtful of the *Calide*, for he was the neereft Heire to the Kingdome by his Mothers side. I say by his Mothers side, for by the Father he could not be according to the custome of that Countrey. The custome is, that all the male children of the Kings, except the Heires, as soone as they be brought vp, they send them presently to a very great Rocke, which stands in the Prouince of *Amara*, and there they passe all their life, and neuer come out from thence, except the King which reigneth departeth this life without Heires, for then they bring from the Rocke him that is neereft, to come and raigne. The which neither bringeth Wife nor Children from thence, if he hath any there, but they remayne vpon the Rocke, and hee marrieth in the Kingdome with another Wife.

By the death of the *Calide* of *Doaro*, wee rested foure monethes quiet, at the end of the which the King sent vs word, that we should stand vpon our guard, for he had intelligence, that the *Gallas* determined to come vpon vs on a sudden, for they desired to ouercome vs by whatsoever meanes they could: because they had not, nor all the Enemies of *Presbyter Iohn* any other grieffe or annoy, but that which we did vnto them. These *Gallas* inhabit in the Countries bordering to *Magadoxo*: they are a fierce Nation, they make warre with their Neighbours, and with all people; no more then onely to destroy them, and disinhabit the Countries: in the Countries where they ouercome, they kill all the men, they geld the young men, the old women they kill, the young they keepe for their vse and seruice. It seemeth, that from hence came the *Suimbas*, which came destroying all *Guinea*, for in their crueltie they are like. Hearing the

warning

warning which the King sent vs, we beganne to prepare our selues with things necessarie for the Warre, especially of Powder, for with fire principally did we our parts, and supplied the forces which we wanted. We had great store of prouision to prouide our selues with Powder, for in the Countrey there is great store of Salt-peeter, Brimstone, and many Others to make Coales, wherewith we made it very fine, we commanded also to rid the Countrey of the women, and youngmen, and all the people that could not fight: and the rich Inhabiters fled also with these great and small, with feare of the crueltie of the *Gallas*.

One day they appeared. They were many without number, and they came not disordered like barbarous people: but close in troupes like Squadrons, and assoone as they had sight of vs, they stayed tarrying for the rest, and from thence they came all in one bodie to pitch neere vnto vs, in a distance where our shot could doe them no hurt. We because they were many, and wee few, went not out to receiue them: but remayned in our Campe. We were at the most an hundred and fiftie (for the rest were already dead, almost all in the Warres, and some of sicknesses; which were not so many, as it seemed they might haue beene for our men, that Countrey being hot and situated vnder the Sunne) and so returned to *India* with *Manuel* of *Accunia*, assoone as the King of *Zeila* was slaine, for they thought that by his death all the contention was ended. Our Campe stood on a Hill, where we mastered the other grounds, and subdued those that did assault vs. There we defended our selues ten or twelue dayes tarrying for the King. In which time wee slue many of their men with shot and fire-workes: for they came neere vs without any feare, that we mist no assault of theirs, nor any stroke of ours that wee did not bestow it well.

By this time our Powder failed vs, and the King came not; wherefore we were faine to leaue the place and goe to seeke him. The *Gallas* did not follow vs, for peradventure, they desired also to goe from vs, and I doubt not, but that if we had had more forces, that wee had made them retyre in despite of them. By this time the King came, and hearing that the *Gallas* remayned Lords of the Countrey, he fell in a swoond, without any sence for a great space. And afterward wept like a child, and said. Great is my sinne, seeing it hath done me thus much hurt. Wonder how I lose not my wits, thinking on the great losse that I receiue. As in effect hee lost three great Kingdome: two of them, *Bale* and *Doaro*, as bigge as *Castile* and *Portugall*, and *Hadia*, alone as bigge as all *France*. This Kingdome of *Hadia* reacheth to the borders of *Melinde*. And in this Countrey is great store of Myrrhe, Incense, and Gumme Aunime. Some *Portugals* answered him. Let not your Highnesse grieue, for God can remedie it all, and will remedie it, if you will reconcile your selfe with the Patriarch *Don Iohn Bermudez*, which is the true Patriarch, and not regard the other Schismaticke. Whereunto he gaue no Answer, but set on forward, and said vnto me that we should follow him. And because he held at that time the warre with the *Gallas* to be vnfortunate; Hee determined to goe and see some Kingdomes of his Empire, which yet he had not seene, and at his returne to set vpon the *Gallas*, if yet they were not retyred to their Countries: for they came but to spoile and destroy, and so returne.

We trauelled toward the South-west from *Doaro* seuen or eight iournies, and came to a Kingdome of Christians, called *Oggy*, in the which reigned a good man named Frier *Michael*, Brother-in-law to King *Gradens*, and his Tributarie. Who made vs very welcome, and good entertainment to the people. This Kingdome hath five thousand Horsemen, of the which sixe hundred are great Horse and harnessed, and the rest are light Horsemen, and they ride on the bare Horse. It maketh also ten thousand Footmen: the which fight with Darts which they throw, and the Horsemen with long Speares like ours. The armings for their Horses are of Elkes skins quilted within, and garnished very richly on the out-side. He carryeth in his Armie sixe hundred Hand-mills, which women doe grind with. This Kingdome hath a Prouince of *Gentiles*, called *Gorague*, which bordereth with *Quiloa*, and *Mangalo*. These *Gentiles* of *Gorague* are great Witchers, and doe diuine in the Inwards, Guts, and Entrails of the Beasts that they sacrifice. They by their Witch-crafts make to appeare that the fire doth not burne in this manner. They kill an Oxe with certaine Ceremonies, and anoynted with the Tallow of that Oxe they command to make a great fire, and cause to seeme that they goe into it, and that they sit downe in a chaire, and so sitting at leisure in that fire they diuine, and answer to what is demanded of them without burning.

The *Goragues* doe pay to their King euery yeare for Tribute, two Lions of Gold, and three Whelpes of Gold and one Ounce of Gold, and certaine Hennes with their Chickens also of Gold: which all wayeth as much as eight men can carrie: and this Gold is fine and good. They pay him also sixe Buffes laden with base Silver. They also pay one thousand Bees alie; and many Lions, Ounces, and Elkes skinned. In this Countrey is great store of Ciuet, * Sandalos, * Or Dates, * Blacke Wood and Amber. The men of this Prouince say, that there come to traffique in it * Or Eben wood. *White men*: but they know not of what Nation, if *Portugals*, or *Turkes*, or any other Nation.

Westward from the Kingdome of *Oggy* lyeth the Kingdome of the *Gaffates* Tributaries also. The *Gaffates* are *Gentiles*, and vulgarly it is said that they were *Jewes*. They are a barbarous and euill

Eeeee

The *Gallas* approach.Losse of three great Kingdomes, *Bale*, *Doaro* and *Hadia*.*Oggy*, the force and armour thereof.*Goragus*. Great Sorcerers.

A beast so called.

* Or Dates.
* Or Eben wood.*Gaffates* said to haue beene *Jewes*.

Romish Catho-
likes, if they be
not as inuisible
as their wood.

euil people, rebellious & quarrellsom. There be many of them in other Prouinces of the Empire, but in euery place they are held for Strangers, & different from other people, and abhorred of them, as the *Iewes* are here. In this Kingdome they are Lords, and haue no other Nation among them, but some Christians which separated themselues from the *Abexines*, at the time they denyed the obedience to the Apostolike Sea: which Christians euen now doe say and protest to bee in the obedience of the same Sea. The *Gassates* doe possesse in these parts a great and rich Country, of much Gold, and of some good Commodities, especially of fine Cotton Clothes. Within the Countrey they haue spacious and plenteous fields. They say that in this Countrey there is an inuisible Wood, and it maketh men inuisible. The King when hee came to this Countrey, commanded to make warre vpon the people of the Countrey, and to enter with force of Armes into their Towne, because they had rebelled since the death of his Father, and would not pay him his Tributes, nor reknowledge him for their Superiour. The *Gassates* came at this, and a morning before day assaulted the Campe of the *Abexines*, and slue many of them. The *Portugals* were neere the Kings Tent, for they were his Guard: when they heard the cry and stirre, they came being alreadie almost day, and draue the *Gassates* out of the Campe killing many of them: and followed after them.

The *Portugals* here in their Townes found great riches, wherewith they returned ioyfull and rich. They found *Bezutos*, which are like fine Quilts: and they found Cotton-cloathes very fine like Lawnes: and they found Cypresses so fine, that a piece of thirtie or fortie yards would be containd within ones hands. They found also store of Gold in Pots, and Pans, and buried vnder their hearthes in the houses where they make their fire: for there they vse to keepe it hidden as most secret, and they themselues discovered it to our men, because they should not kill them. The King would make no long tarrying there, for his pretence was not to do them much hurt, but onely to threaten them: and because Winter came on wee left that barbarous people quickly, and went the way to *Damute*, which lyeth almost to the West from these *Gassates*.

Damute.

Gates or rock-
passages.

Gold and
Crystall.

Oxen almost
as bigge as E-
lephants, with
huge hornes.
An Vnicorne,
or *Asinus indi-*
cus not that
which the
Painters pre-
sent with a
horne in the
fore-head.

Amazons.

Another tale
of the Queene
of *Saba*.

Griffons.

* Monstrous
huge fowles, or
foule mon-
strous fooles &
lies, which
happly the
cunning and
bragging Na-
tiues reported
and we had
need of their
faith of *Mira-*
cles, to beleue.
For how did

On the West side bordereth presently with the *Gassates*, whereof I spake before, the Kingdome of *Damute*, which standeth vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*: that Riuer maketh there many turnings and very great. The entrance to this Kingdome is difficult, in respect of the rough and high Rockes that are by the Riuer of *Nilus*: in the which besides their beeing rough, there are also made in them at hand certaine passages, in the Rockes broken with the Pick-axe, and shut with gates and kept with men at Armes, in sort that with a little force they resist and defend the entry from their enemies, if against their will they will come in. These Gates, when the Emperour commeth thither, are broken and open freely to all that will passe through them. *Damute* is a great Kingdome, and hath many subiect Prouinces. The principall is of Christians, but some are of *Gentiles*. In all of them is found great store of Gold and Crystall stone. The Countries are very plenteous and fruitfull, especially those which are neere the Riuer *Nilus*, the which haue more Mountaines and Riuers then the others. They breed many wild and tame beasts, and strange Wormes and Serpents very venomous. They breed Oxen, Horses, Buffes, Mules, Asses, Sheepe and other Cattell: the Oxen are greater then ours, so much that some of them are almost as bigge as Elephants. They haue great hornes, that some of them doe hold a Tanker of Wine, and do serue to carrie in, and to keepe Wine and Water, and as the Tankers Barrells here. I was bold to speake this, because *Don Roderick* of *Lima*, brought one of these hornes of this bignesse to this Kingdome, in the time of the King your Grand-father, when the Embassadour *Tagazano*, and the Father *Franciscus Alvarez* came with him. There is found in these Countries a kind of Vnicorne, which is wild and fierce, fashioned like a Horse, and of the bignesse of an Asse. There be in them Elephants, Lions, Ounces, and other beasts, vnknowne here with vs.

There is neere to *Damute*, a Prouince of women without men: which doe liue after the manner of the ancient *Amazones* of *Scythia*, which in certaine time of the yeere permitted the companie of some men that were their Neighbours, and of the children which they bare, they sent the men-children to their Fathers, and the women they kept with themselues, and brought them vp in their customes and stile. In the same manner doe these of *Ethiopia*, and they burne also their left paps, as those did for to shoot more readily with their Bow, which they vse in their Warres, and in Hunting. The Queene of these Women knoweth no man, and for that act is worshipped among them for a Goddesse. They are permitted and preserued, because they say, that they were instituted by the Queene of *Saba*, which went to see King *Salomon*. In this Prouince of the Women there be Griffons, which are Fowles so bigge that they kill the Buffer, and carrie them in their clawes as an Eagle carryeth a Rabbet. They say, that here in certaine Mountaines very rough, and desert, there breedeth and liueth the Bird * *Phenix*, which is one alone in

God create first and after bring into the Arke all Creatures Male and Female, if this *Phenix* bee sole? *Qui Bauum non odit, amet tua carmina Mæui*. He which beleueth this *Phenix*, and these Griffons, &c. may beleue *Gambas* Miracles. Which I speake not to disgrace the whole storie (which is vsfull) but to make the Reader warie where things are told vpon report, or are aduanragious to Rome or Portugall. Much of this Chapter seemeth to mee *Apocrypha*, but I leaue libertie of Faith to the most licentious Credulitie, which shall thinke fitter to beleue then to goe and see. And yet may *Africa* haue a Prerogatiue in Rarities, and some seeming Incredibilities be true.

the World, and it is one of the wonders of nature. So doe the Inhabitants of those Countries affirme, that this Bird is there, and they do see it and know it, and that it is a great and faire Bird. There be other Fowles so bigge, that they make a shadow like a Cloud.

Vpward by *Nilus* towards the South there bordereth with *Damute*, a great Prouince, called *Conche*. This is subiect to *Damute*, and *Gentiles* doe inhabit it: the Prince of it is called by the name of his Title, *Axgagce*, that is to say, Lord of the Riches, as in effect it is so. The *Axgagce* maketh when he needeth ten thousand Horsemen, and more then twentie thousand Footmen. He carryeth in his Armie one thousand Hand-mills vsed by Women, which doe grind with them the flowre necessary for the people. At the time that wee came to *Damute*, this

10 Prince was in Armes with the King of *Damute*: wherefore, the King *Gradeus* said to me, that as a Prelate and Mediator of Peace, I should send him word, how his Maiestie was very angrie against him, by reason of his Rebellion and Disobedience, and that hee determined to destroy him by means of the inuincible and more then humane force of the *Portugals*, which he brought with him for that purpose. I did euen so, and sent him word, that he should obey his Emperour, and bring him his Tributes, and see him, for I did assure him that his Maiestie would vse clemencie with him. So he did, and came presently with a great summe of Gold, and great quantitie of Bees, and other prouision in abundance for all the Armie: and many Slaues, Mules and Asles, for the necessary seruice.

20 The *Axgagce* prouided the Emperours Campe with all things in abundance, without wanting any thing. And at the last he himselfe came, accompanied with many and proper men on Foot and Horse: and he was verie richly attyred. Assoone as hee came to the place where hee might be seene from the Emperours Tent, hee dismounted from his Horse, and put off the rich clothes he had on, and remayning in others of lesse value, he came to the Tent, and tarried till they commanded him to come in. After that he entred into the first receit of the Tent (for it was diuided with certaine Curtaines) and there he cast himselfe on the ground vntill the Emperour commanded him to arise, and receiued him with good words, and commanded him to apparel himselfe, and commanded to giue him some meate, and there hee spake with him behind the Curtaines, without admitting him to his pesence, till after foure dayes he commanded him to come in where he was.

30 For this honor and courtesie that *Gradeus* shewed to *Axgagce*, he said vnto him, my Lord, I will doe you one seruice, that neither I nor my Fore-fathers euer did to your Father, nor to the other Emperours your Predecessors, which is to shew you the riches and secrets of my Countries: for with this condition we doe obey you, that you shall not see them but with our will. Finally, he led vs through his Countries to a great Riuer of sixtie fathome breadth, or more, in whose borders there be many venomous Snakes, so much, that their biting is mortall: but by the goodness of God, Nature hath prouided a remedie against that hurt: and it is an Herbe, that groweth in some places of that Countrey, which is so contrary to the Snakes I spake of, that they flye from it as from an Enemy, and came not neere him that hath it about him, neither hath their Poyson any strength where it is, either stamped and laid in a Playster, or the iuyce of it.

Fat and venomous Snakes.

Strange herbe.

40 We saw one of these Snakes that made an end of eating a Buffe that it had killed, and the King commanded to kill it, which had leaues of grease like a great and fat Hogge, which was good for the cold, and other diseases. There be others also, which they call, *Of the shadow*, because it hath a skinned on the head, wherewith it couereth a very precious stone, which they say it hath in her head. On the other side this Riuer is a barren ground and vnhabited, the kind of it is browne, red and dry, as that which wee see in some parts of *Ribateio*. This Earth hath two parts of Gold, and one of Earth, for so it yeeldeth in the melting whereof there be as many workemen in that Countrey, as here there are Smiths, and more, for in that Countrey there is more Gold, then here we haue Iron. The Lords doe not permit that any Bridge or Boate bee in the Riuer, that there may no easie passage bee had, and because euery one that listeth may not

50 goe ouer to gather the Gold. The meanes to passe that Riuer is this. They haue Buffes accustomed to passe ouer, and when they will goe ouer to the other side they put them in before, and they goe swimming fast by their tailes, and they fill certaine Bellows which they carrie with that same Earth, and tie them about their neckes, and come againe fast by their tailes as they went. In this manner the passage is not common to all. And those that doe passe are bound to try the Gold they bring, in the melting houses of the *Axgagce*, for they all are his, for to pay him his duties.

Or Canopie

Incredible quantitie of Gold.

60 The King *Gradeus* to certifie himselfe better of the truth, commanded some of his men to go to the other side, which went ouer, and brought of the earth, which the others brought, the which being tried yeelded as much as the other, and the men of *Gradeus* said, that all the ground of that Prouince was of that qualitie, for they went a great way in it, and found it all to be so, and they said that the ground is so hot, that they could not lay them downe to sleepe vpon it, but that they sought Caues and Slates on which they lay, and also that there were in the Countrey certaine red and great Ants that did bite them, and were so many, that they did not let them sleepe. We thinking that we had reason to wonder at the great quantitie of Gold which

A golden gli-
stening Moun-
taine.

The *Axgagce*
baptized.

Goiame.

Gold stones.

Catadupa, by
the Ancients
placed neerer
Egypt.

The Fals, or
Catadhi.

Gassates.

Dembia.
Huge Lake.

Agaoa.

we saw, the *Axgagce* of the Countrey said to King *Gradeus*, that hee should not wonder, for he would shew him yet more: and lead vs downe the Riuer towards the South-west, traueilling ve-
ry easily two dayes, at the end of the which hee shewed vs on the other side the Riuer a Mountaine that in places glistered like the Sunne: and said vnto vs that all that was Gold.

With these and other entertainments that hee did vnto vs, King *Gradeus* was so contented, that he determined to make him a Christian: and he desired him he would be one, and that hee would be euer his very great friend. He answered, that with a good will he would be one. The King commanded presently to prepare his Baptisme, and a Bishop Prelate of the Monasterie, called *Debra Libanus* Christned him, which is the head of the Monasteries of *Amara*, and King *Gradeus* was his God-father; and they named him *Andrew*. There *Andrew* told King *Gradeus*, how he had in those parts certaine neighbours which did euill neighbour-hood to him, and did ouer-runne his Countries, robbing and killing his Subiects: and requesting him, that seeing God had brought him thither with that Noble people of *Portugall*, whose fame did feare the people of that Countrey, that he would reuenge him of his enemies which did him great annoy, and they would be warned not to offend his subiects any more. The King granted his request, and commanded his men and the *Portugals* to enter into the Countrey of the enemies, and ouer-runne it, warring against it with fire and sword, robbing and destroying their goods, taking the people captiue, and killing those which resisted. This they did for a great space of the Countrey, in the which they found great spoyle of rich Iewels, and much Gold which they brought. This being done, King *Gradeus* returned to *Damute*, where we heard the men of the Countrey say, that there were things to bee seene of great admiration; so much, that being told to them that saw them not, they seeme Fables, therefore they are not all to be put in writing. But beleue your Highnesse, that with reason is *Africa* called the Mother of Monsters; for so it is without doubt, especially in the Countrey within, neere to the Riuer of *Nilus*, where there are Mountaines, Riuers, and desert places, with great disposition of the Countrey and fauour of the ayre, and of the heauens to bring forth and produce what it listeth.

Returning from *Damute* by the Riuer *Nilus*, downeward toward the Red Sea, wee came to the Kingdome of *Goiame*, which bordereth presently vpon *Damute*. *Goiame* is also a great Kingdome, plentifull, and fruitfull, and rich. It is inhabited with Christians, subiect to *Presbyter Iohn*: It hath Gold, but not so much as *Damute*. In this Kingdome of *Goiame* there be certaine Riuers, in the which, vnder the Sand are found certaine spongie stones like our Pumice-stone, but that they are heauy and yellow; the which being tryed, are conuerted in Gold, the the most part of them, sauing some little drosse. In this Kingdome of *Goiame* is the *Catadupa* of *Nilus*, whereof *Tully* maketh mention in the dreame of *Scipio*, and I will declare to your Highnesse what it is, for it is a great thing, and worthy to be knowne, and it is not all a dreame, as in effect some things that some large tongued men doe speake of this, and of other things which they neuer saw, are but dreames.

This *Catadupa* is a great fall of the Riuer *Nilus*, from a high Rocke downe. The Rocke is almost halfe a league high, steepe downe, without any flant or hillocke, from thence falleth the Riuer *Nilus*, altogether in a deepe Lake, and close betweene great and high hills. The quantitie of water is great, for it commeth gathering from more then three hundred leagues to that fall, and it maketh so great a noyse, that it seemeth a great Thunder, and amazeth them that are not accustomed to it: it soundeth so, that three or foure Bow-shot round about, it stunneth the eares, in such sort, that in all that space there is no other noyse heard, be it neuer so big, but that: neither can the ayre receiue any other but that, which filleth all, so doth that sound drown all others, as the greater light doth darken the other smaller. That place is called in the Countrey language, *Catadhi*, which is to say, a noyse, or a great sound, whence it seemeth that *Latines* did make the name *Catadupa*. Westward from these two Kingdome, *Damute* and *Goiame*, towards *Guinea*, are barten grounds, and euill inhabited; and in them inhabite the *Gassates*, and other *Gentiles* very sauage. These are not well knowne, neither haue they dealings with the people of that Empire, to the which they neither giue their oath, nor owe any subiection, for almost all of it lyeth to the East of *Nilus*. There is Gold in those Westerne Countries towards *Guinea*, but that they say, that the Gold of the Land within hath sparkes of Sand, as some that commeth from the *Antillas*.

By the streame of *Nilus* below *Goiame*, neere neighbouring is another Kingdome of *Abexines* ancient Christians, great and good, called *Dembia*. In this *Nilus* maketh a great Lake, which hath in length thirtie leagues, and twentie in breadth, wherein are many small Ilands, all inhabited with Monasteries of religious men, of whom I made mention before. And this is not the spring whence *Nilus* proceedeth, for it commeth from farre aboue.

A little below there lyeth another Kingdome, called *Agaoa*, inhabited with *Moores* and *Gentiles* mingled together. This hath a King by it selfe, which neither obeyeth the *Presbyter Iohn*, nor the *Turke*. It extendeth to the Borders of *Egypt*: vnto *Dembia* the Riuer *Nilus* runneth, from the South-west to the North-east, and commeth within thirtie or fortie leagues of the Red Sea, almost opposite to *Suaquen*: and from thence windeth to the North-west, till he commeth

commeth into the Mediterranean Sea. In this Nooke determined the King Onadinguell to make a Trench, and turne the Riuer Nilus to the Red Sea, as his Predecessour Ale Belale began to do, and therefore sent to demand Pioners of the King your Grand-father.

Trench intended from Nilus to the Red Sea. Subia Nubia.

To the West from *Dembia* lyeth a Prouince, called *Subia Nubia* (which now is of the *Moors*; and they say, that sometime it was of Christians, and it seemeth to bee so, for in it are some Churches found, yet old and ruinated) and presently ioyning with *Subia Nubia*. More to the West lyeth a Kingdome of *Moors*, called *Amar*, and it is very great, where through the Merchants of *Cayro* doe passe that go to *Ialofa*, and to *Mandigna*, and other parts of *Guinea* to seeke Gold: and from *Amar* they carrie Salt, which groweth there in Mines, which is very deere in *Guinea*, for the great scarcitie there is of it. Before we doe depart from the Riuer Nilus, in those Countries whereby the Riuer Nilus runneth, in Iuly, August and September, is the force of Winter, and therefore doth that Riuer increase then, and not at other times, and bringeth great store of water, for it commeth very farre about *Damute*, more then two hundred leagues, and to his entring into *Egypt* eight hundred, with turnings and windings which it maketh, and passeth by great Hills, where it gathereth great store of water from many Riuers of great waters. All men doe not know the inward parts of *Africa*, especially about Nilus, the which, neither the Inhabitants of it doe know, nor haue any notice of it all, for it is very great and difficult to search out; and therefore I digressed a little from my Historie, to giue an accompt briefly to your Highnesse of these things I saw, because peradventure there is not another in this Countrey that knoweth them by sight but I, that dwelt in it thirtie yeares or more. And moreouer, if it had not bene that iourney that I went with the King *Gradeus*, although I had bene there as much more, I had knowne no part of the Countries which about I haue rehearsed. Now I will returne to giue an account of my selfe, and of my Companions.

King *Gradeus*, after he had spent in his visitation tenne or twelue moneths, determined to returne toward the Prouinces of *Simem* and *Amara*, where the Kings and Emperours of that Countrey do make their abode and continuance, because the Countrey is better then the other, and more secure, and because they are borne and naturall from thence. In *Amara* and *Uedremudro* are Mines of Copper, Tinne and Lead. Heere are certaine Churches cut out of the hard Rocks, which they say the Angels did make. And indeede, the worke seemeth more then humane. The Traffique of these Prouinces to *Damute*, where the *Abexines* chiefly doe prouide themselves of Gold, is for the most part by Iron, whereof there is great store in them, especially in the Prouince of *Tigremacan*, which is also a neighbour with these: which Iron is so much worth in *Damute*, that they giue for it Gold by weight, quantitie for quantitie. I touched this matter here, because I thinke, that the Kingdome of *Damute*, and the Prouince of *Couche* doe confine with *Sofalla*, and if from *Sofalla* they haue the Iron that they haue need of, they will giue their Gold also for it. These Prouinces lye to the East from *Goiame* and *Dembia*; and the Prouince of *Bethmariam* remaineth to the South-east, where the King satisfied vs our Rents, which by the comming of the *Gallas* we had lost in *Doaro*.

Simem and *Amara*.

Of these see *Aluarez*.

The Prouince of *Bethmariam* is great, and well inhabited, and of great Rent, all the which the King released to vs the *Portugals*, and the Lands diuided among vs according to the qualities of the persons. He that receiued least for Rent to his part, had more then one thousand crownes a yeare; the Captaine had more then tenne thousand, and I had as much. The King gaue vs this Prouince, because it was a Frontier to the Kingdome of the *Gafates* that were risen, because that from hence the *Portugals* might make in-roads in their Countries, and punish them, and bring them to obedience. Finally, our iourney being ended, and the King seated in the Prouince of *Simem*, the *Portugals* did aske him leaue to goe and see the Lands which he had giuen them in the Prouince of *Bethmariam*. And I demanded also licence to goe to my Countrey of *Portugall*, as I meant, and he gaue it mee, vnderstanding that of *Bethmariam*. I asked him this cloaked licence, because I would not breake the oath that I had made vnto him, and because I knew that if I had asked it plainly, he would not haue giuen it me, but rather would haue hindered my comming, or taken away my life, as he desired many daies before.

Bethmariam.

Riches of the *Portugals*.

I was in the Prouince of *Bethmariam* as long as Winter lasted, which beganne to come on when we retyred our selues; and for to win their fauours and loue of my subiects, I cherished them all that I could, and did ease the rents that they were bound to pay me, to make them beneuolent and affected, that they should not bewray me when I would go away: for the King had commanded them all, that they should looke to me that I went not out of the Countrey. The same had the King also commended to *Gaspar* of *Sofa*, Captaine of the *Portugals*, the which for that respect sent many times to visite me: and I for to assure him, made my selfe sicke of the Gout in one of my Legges, I tooke my bed, saying; That I could not go on foote. In the meane season, *Gaspar* of *Sofa* went to the Court, and I had opportunitie to doe what I desired. And also, because I would haue no hindrance of them of the Countrey, I sent to call some of the principallest of them, and said vnto them, that I was very sicke as they saw, and would goe in Pilgrimage to the Monasterie, called *Debra Libanus*, to commend my selfe to God, and to request the religious men there, to pray to God for me; therefore, that I desired them they would

Dissimulation.

Debra Libanus.

resort with my Rents to a Seruant of mine, with whom I left the charge of my house and people.

And because the way to *Debarua*, directly was by the Countries where the King was, I determined to goe by another Countrey distant from thence, and vnhabited, and therefore I commanded to carrie prouision sufficient for my selfe, and seuen or eight persons which I carried with me, whom I most trusted, which I commanded to say by the way, that I went verie sick, and that I went to cure my selfe to *Debarua*, where the Countrey and Ayres are more healthfull. By this way I crossed a Nooke of *Nilus*, where I passed it twice, with great trouble, because the Coasts of the Riuer were very craggy, and with great danger of not letting me passe through certaine gates that are in them, guarded with armed men. Here I commanded my men that they should say, that a Seruant of the King came behind which was knowne, that carried me to *Debarua* to be cured: and with this deceit they let vs passe. At last, with the helpe of God, by the intercession of our Ladie, to whom I commended my selfe, I came safe to *Debarua*, where certaine *Portugals* receiued me which were there, with great ioy and entertainment: the *Bernagaez* of that Countrey, as soone as he knew that I was there, came to see me, and asked me, saying; What good comming is this, Father, to this Countrey? I answered, that I went very sicke, and that I went to be cured. He said againe, that he thought I would passe to the Countries of *Franquia*, which are neere the Sea; therefore that hee desired me that I would not doe so, but that I should rest a few daies, and returne vnto the King: I answered, that in no wise would I returne to the King, for he knew very well, and all men did know, how great reason I had to flye from him: but my intention was to dwell in that Countrey, in an hermitage of our Ladie that was there, and end my life there. Seeing that is your will, said he, I will write to the King, and request him, that he will let you be here, and that I take you to my charge, for to giue account of you, that you shall not goe away from hence, and I will send him word that you are very sicke, therefore trouble not your selfe, for all shall bee done at your will. And said moreouer, Father, That which I aske you for Gods sake, is, that you will suspend the excommunications, and cease from the curses which you lay vpon the King, and vpon all this Countrey, because some euill may not come to vs; and besides, that you incense not the King against you. He sent an honest man of his house to the King, which returned in few daies with the answer: And it was, that the King was much mooued against me, especially, because I said that he was an Hereticke and excommunicate. And the King said, That if it were not for the *Portugals* sake, that he had commanded me to be slaine. And yet said more, that I was a Traytor and forsworne, because I had broken my Faith and my Oath that I had sworne to him, not to goe out of his Countries without his licence. To which I answered, that he had giuen me the same licence, as it is said in the former Chapter. Finally, hee commanded that I should abide in *Debarua*, and not to go from thence without his speciall commandement; and to the *Bernagaez*, that he should haue a speciall care of me.

I was in *Debarua* more then two yeeres, commending my selfe to God, and said Masse the most daies in a Church of our Ladie that was there, where about nine or tenne *Portugals* that were there accompanied me, which came flying thither with others, from the vnfortunate battaile in which the *Goranya* ouercame vs, and tooke *Dan Christopher*. About this time, there came a *Venetian*, called *Micer Suncar*, which came from *Gran Cayrus* with a message from certaine *Venetian* Merchants which were there, and had taken in charge fortie odde *Portugals*, which were taken captiues in the parts of *Ormuz*, and the *Turkes* demanded thirtie thousand crownes: and *Micer Suncar* came to know of *Presbyter Iohn* if hee would ransom them, who ransomed them, giuing the said price, and other two or three thousand crownes for their expenses. There came also to mee a religious man of the company of Iesus, called Master *Gonzaluo* with his companion, which came from *India* to enquire after me, and the other *Portugals*, and of the estate of that people of *Presbyter Iohn*, which after I informed him how it was, went to the Kings Court, and did informe himselfe in that Countrey what I had done and suffered, to reforme that people to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, and gaue a publike testimony and relation in the Cathedrall Church of *Goa*.

Being in *Debarua*, tarrying for passage to *India*, there arriued to the Port of *Maçua*, *Antonie Peixoto* a *Portugall*, with two Foyfts, whereof he was Captaine: Master *Gonzaluo* and I determined to goe and visite him, and goe with him for *India*, and that I might doe this without hinderance of the *Abexines*, I had a good excuse in this manner. The Church of our Ladie which we had in *Debarua*, was burnt a few daies before by a disaister, wherefore I desired the *Bernagaez* which had the charge of me, that he would let me goe to *Maçua* to aske some almes of the *Portugals* of the Foyfts to re-edifie the said Church, and that he would lend mee a Mule to ride on, and some men to accompany and guard me. He did it willingly, for hee thought I was already seated in the Countrey, and had no desire to returne to *Portugall*, and sent with me a Priest of his owne Sect and Nation, and sent besides other, fixe or seuen men to accompanie and guard me, charging vs to returne presently, and that we should not stay. And for more his assurance, there went in our company an Ambassadour of *Presbyter Iohn* to the Gouvernour of *India*,

Crossing Nilus.

Excommunications and Curses.

Barua, or Barua.

Ransome of Portugals.

Gonzaluo a Iesuiste: this is Gonzaluos Rodericke, whose Epistle followeth in the next Chapter.

De Barua, called elsewhere Barua.

dia, for whose respect he thought also that the Captaine of the Foysts would not carrie mee, if he desired him the contrary. But *Antonie Peixoto* the Captaine was very glad to carrie me, and when the Ambassadour saw me embarked, went backe and would not goe with vs, thinking that for my sake he should not be well entertained among the *Portugals*. There went with me, as I said, Master *Gonçaulso*, and those few *Portugals* that were in *Debarua*. We came to *Goa* after the passing great Tempest by Sea, and want of victuals, *Franciscus Barreto* being Gouvernor of *India*, who receiued vs with great ioy, and commanded me to bee lodged in *Saint Paul*, with the Fathers of the company of *Iesus*, which shewed me great loue and honour while I was there, which was about nine or ten moneths, tarrying for shipping for this Kingdome. The Gouvernor commanded the ouer-seer of your Highnesse goods, to prouide me of all things necessarie, and so I was alwaies well prouided for of all things necessarie in the Countrey, and for the Voyage. The Patriarch *Don Iohn Nunnez* came thither I being there, and the Bishop *Don Andrew* with their companions.

His escape to
Goa.

Nunex the Pa-
triarch the
Story of whom,
and of *Andrew*
Ouedo follo-
weh.

As soone as the time of shipping came, I went to *Cochin*, because the ships are wont to depart from thence, and the Gouvernor commanded to giue me a good lodging in one of them, and prouision in abundance. *Don Iohn Menesex* the sonne of the Nayler, came for Captaine of that Voyage, and also another *Don Iohn Menesex*, of whom I receiued great courtesie and entertainment vnto the Iland of *Saint Helen*, where I remained against his will, contending much about it: There I continued a yeere suffering some bodily trouble, of hunger and other necessities, because that Iland is so distant from humane communication, that there commeth no people, but some fugitiue Slaues which had runne away from some ships that came thither: and it was said, that they had killed another Chaplaine, with the which mine beganne to be corrupt, and would not serue me. Wherefore destitute of all humane helpe in mine old age and sicknesse, I came perforce the next yeere to *Portugall*, in the ship called *Saint Pablo*, wherein *Ruy of Melo* came for Captaine. I came to *Lisbon* in the moneth of *August*, the yeere 1559. Your Highnesse reigning, whom God giue long life, with Peace and Grace in this world, and the glory of his Kingdome in the world to come, Amen.

His returne
home.

They brought newes of vs hither, as of men cast away: and without doubt, that was a great and inhumane carelesnesse, and was the cause that there was no more good done in the Countrey. For your Highnesse may beleue, that the matters of that Empire were in such estate, that if that small number of *Portugals* had bene maintained with supplies of men, it might haue gotten such a possession and authoritie, that King *Gradem* either with his will or without it, would haue obeyed the holy Mother Church: and his people with the conuersation of ours, and the doctrine of our Preachers, which would haue taught freely, had taken the true Christian Religion, and had left the errors of the *Alexandrines*, which for their sinnes are destroyed, they and their false Doctrine, whereby it hath no vigour for to resist the truth if it were preached and fauoured: for among them there are no proud and stubborne learned men, but there are deuout religious men, and very humble, which in good simplicitie desire to serue God, and take very easily the doctrine of truth, and apply their vnderstandings to it.

In Temporall things had such profit bene gotten, that neither *Peru* with his Gold, nor *India* with his Traffike, had surpass them: for there is more Gold in *Damute* and her Prouinces, then in *Peru*, which might haue bene gotten without the expences which the *India* maketh, and without warre.

More profit in
this aduventure,
then in the
East or West
Indies.

Of my selfe I gaue also some account in this Treatise, though not much, not to trouble you, as I haue said: for I trauailed many yeares in those Countreies, and passed many troubles for the ser- uice of God and of your Highnesse, where with I should haue wearied your eares if I had told the, or the lesse part of them: For the first time I went to *India*, I went in company of *Lope Suarez*, *Alfonso* of *Alburkerke* being Gouvernour of it, and was there to the time of *James Lopez* of *Sequera*, by whose commandement I passe to the *Presbyter Iohn* of *Ethiopia*, in company of *Don Rodericke* of *Lyma*, and the Father *Franciscus Alvarez*, which returned from thence with an Ambassadour of that Emperour, called *Tagazano*, of whom I made mention in the beginning of this worke, in whose gage and hostage I remained in that Countrey: in the which they alwaies shewed me great honour and good vsage, to the Emperours taking me for God-father of his sonne and heire *Gradem*, and before the death of his Patriarch, called *Abuna Marcus*, he elected mee Patriarch of that Countrey and his Empire, according to his custome, and desired me on his be- halfe and mine to goe to *Rome*, to giue the obedience to the chiefe Bishop, and to desire him he would confirme to me that dignitie and Patriarch-ship, and from thence to *Portugall*, to doe that which I said in the beginning of this Booke. Which iourney I made by Land comming to *Cayro*, and to *Ierusalem*, and was taken by the *Turkes* and misused, and almost slaine, but by Gods assistance I came to *Rome*, in the time of the holy Father *Paul* the third, who not onely ap- prooued my election, but instituted me besides, and confirmed mee Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and gaue me personally the possession of that Seat. And in testimony of the truth of all this, he commanded to passe me his accustomed Letters and Authenticall Instruments, which were seene and approved in this kingdome, which I lost with many other things in the battaile where

He passed to
Ethiopia with
Alvarez.

An easie thing
to be liberall
of another
mans.

Don

Don Christopher was taken, and because I shew them not they mocke me : but it is no matter, seeing God knoweth the truth, and knoweth how much I laboured for the restoring of the Faith and Religion of that Countrey. He forgive my aduersaries, and to me he will giue himselfe in reward of my trauails, and to your Highnesse long life, peace and prosperitie in this life, and in the life to come eternall glorie, Amen.

CHAP. VIII.

Late Changes of State and Religion in Ethiopia, with other remarkable Observations.

§. I.

Relations of IOHN NVNNEZ (or NONIVS) BARETVS sent for Patriarke of Ethiopia, and ANDREA OVIEDO his Successor.

P. Far. The. Sax. ruer. Ind. l. 3. De Abassinorum reb. N. God. lib. tres.

* God. l. 2. c. 14. & seq.

* Graden.



ohn Bermudez * a Spanish Priest had been sent by the Romane Bishop into Abassia, which Patriarchall dignitie (before this mission of Nonius) and having beene taken by Turkish Pirats, yet after diuers Aduentures, perced into Ethiopia, where by Claudius * the Emperour he was well entertained in shew, to hold the Portugals the faster to his succours in the Warre against the King of Adel: who being slaine, he would acknowledge no other Patriarke to him nor his, but the Alexandrian. Hence arose great hatred of the Abassines vnto Bermudez, insomuch that it was vulgarly bruted that he had stolne a Vessell of Gold out of a Church: so that hee was forced to returne into Europe. Him haue I (being then a Boy) seene at Lisbon, where hee made an end of his life and labours.

Peter an Abassine.

Peter Faber.

About those times, one Peter an Abassine, a Monke of Saint Antonies Order, with some others of his profession came to Rome, who being of a forward and industrious disposition, learned the Latine and Italian Tongues, and easily insinuated himselfe into the fauours of many; dealt also with Pope Paul the Third, very earnestly to send another Patriarke into Ethiopia: as for Bermudez, their wanted not causes of that hatred which he had incurred; but for any other, hee should no sooner set foot in Ethiopia, but all men would adhere to him, forsaking the Alexandrian and his Abuna. The Pope by Letters commended the businesse to the King of Portugall, to choose a man fit for this businesse, who named thereunto Peter Faber, and writ to the Pope to confirme him; but death tooke him away. The Abassine continuing his importunate sute: in the yeare 1554. Julius the Third gaue eare hereto, whose Bulls were ratified by Paul the Fourth his Successor, in whose time Nonius was consecrated at Lisbon, and with him Ouiedo, the one Patriarke, the other entitled Bishop of Hierapolis. King Iohn gaue many holy Vestments of Silke and Damake richly and curiously wrought; Croffes, Chalice, Pyxes, and other Vessels of Gold and Siluer to commend the Romane Pietie by this sacred splendour to the Abassine Nation.

Iesuiticall humilitie vnknowne to Prophets and Apostles, Offices Ecclesiasticall are called Orders, holy Orders: God is a God of Order, Ordo, saith Saint Aug. est

parium impariumque rerum sua suiue loca tribuens dispositio. Saint Paul bids men walke in their calling, and forbids inordinatenesse. Babylon hath name of Confusion. And what inordinate Confusion, how confused Orders are a Patriarch-Scullion, a Bishoppe continuall Coqui adiutor? &c. Even as hee which stiles himselfe a Seruant of Seruants, and a Bishop, and makes himselfe King of Kings, yea Deposer and Translator. Christ once washed his Disciples feet, yet did not the Apostles ordinarily doe it, but had their Widowes for this seruice. Let Francis and Ignatius with their followers, be Examples of lowlie lowlinesse, and scullerie humilitie. To mee hee is humble, which beareth patiently what God sends and doth not send for phantasticke crosses; which breaks not his ranke to seeke Enemies, but valiantly holds and fights in his owne file and standing; which denies himselfe to obey God, and not neglects God to please himselfe, in men-dazzling will-worships, in Musters and Monsters of needlesse shewes, vnmortified mortifications, and perhaps proud humiliations.

ricke

rioke a Iesuit Priest. Who in the year 1555. arrived at *Ercoco*, which then belonged to the *Abassine*, to whom they went thence by Land: and having declared their message, and deliuered the Kings Letters, they find his mind altered (for he had written before to King *John* in that businesse.) But the whole Discourse will better appeare in *Rodericks* Letter in September, 1566. from *Ethiopia* to the Iesuites in *Goa*: which (so much as concerneth this purpose) I haue heere transcribed.

ON the fifteenth of May, we came to the King of Ethiopia. He was then in his Campe encompassed with many Pavilions. Being certified of our arrivall, hee commanded a Lodging to be provided where we might be entertained. The next day wee had access. Hee sate in his Tent spread with a faire Carpet, and adorned with silken Hangings on a Bed, the Curtaine opened. Iames approaching deliuered him the Kings Letters, which hee commanded to be read before all the Portugals in the Campe, with a loud voyce. In them the King signified amongst other things, that the next yeare hee would send thither one of his Household, and some Religious men besides, famous for life and learning. Claudius frowned at the hearing hereof, but answered nothing to the purpose: and thus dismissed, wee returned to our Lodgings. Two or three dayes after hee went to see his Grand-mother ten dayes journey thence: and we were left in the open field, not having one man in the Emperours name to provide vs any thing. Yet were we not forsaken of God, by whose providence and bountie it came to passe, that a Portugall tooke care of vs, and brought vs to a place whereof he was Lord, three leagues distant, entertained vs at his House, and commending to his the care of vs, followed after the Emperour. Heere wee spent almost a moneth, in which time I writ a Booke of the Errors of the Abassines, and the truth of the Romane Faith, to offer it to Claudius at his returne. For hee openly said, as I learned of a Portugall, neere about him, that hee neyther needed our Doctrine, nor intended to obey the Romane Church. It was also commonly reported, that some of the Chiefe men did openly affirme, that they would more easily subiect their neckes to the yoke of Saracens, then exchange their Customes with ours. Which did the more confirme mee, to deliuer my mind rather in writing then by word; so to learne his Answer and unmaske his opinion so long closely concealed. So soone therefore as hee returned to these parts, wee went to his Campe and were entertained of the Portugall Souldiers. For the Emperour had quite forgotten vs, nor cared to know how or where we lived. Now, because I had made my Booke in Portugall, and it was necessarie to turne it in Chaldee, I petitioned of him by Letters, to assigne me two of the best learned Monkes to turne some Doctrines of Christian Faith into the Chaldee Tongue: for I would in writing shew how undeservedly the Abassines reckoned the followers of the Romane Faith amongst Heretikes, and affirmed, that they were worse then Mahumetans: for so they openly said and reported.

And because I knew that they had a Booke which they called the *Adulterie* of the Frankes, made by the Alexandrine Schismatikes, wherein the Chalcedon Councell is reprooved, and many lyes are forged on vs; I desired of the Emperour that I might have the use thereof. The Booke hee denied, the Monkes he granted; which yet when they had begunne to translate the Booke, whether because they had beene so commanded, or else were afraid of any thing, or for some other unknowne cause, refused to proceed in the Enterprise: untill that by the Portugall Captaines intercession, they were commanded to finish it, assisted therein by a Portugall, an honest man, and well skilled in the Chaldee. When againe, I needed another to transcribe in right Characters that which was translated, he was also desired and obtayned of the Emperour. Yet had he scarcely begunne, when the Emperour in a rage sent to reuoke him, and in his name to tell me that I should not stay, but send him the Booke as it was, or surcease such busines. That the thing therefore might be no longer deferred, nor the Emperour have any excuse for his sinne, I thought it necessary to shew him the Booke ill written and blotted, appointing thereto a certaine day, which was the twentieth of August. When that day was come, with the Captaine and seven or eight other Portugals, I present my selfe before him, and having saluted him, shew the cause of my coming. He forbids me to proceed, and diuerting his speech to another matter, warily escheweth all the blowes made at him. Then I letting other things passe offered him the Booke, which beginning to reade, hee conceived so great fury, that he could not but utter his concealed Poyson. Thou askedst (said he) of me that thou mightest make a Booke wherein to declare the veritie of the Faith, and Monkes to translate it into Chaldee, both which I granted. And behold, thou hast done quite otherwise. For neither dost thou explaine the veritie of Faith, but dost ascribe Errors to them which are free from Errors. Thou shouldst also haue knowne how farre this thine Enterprise disagrees with thy condition, which art but a simple Priest. Knowest thou not that these things belong to Bishops, and pertaine only to great Prelates? Why hast thou thrust thy Sickle into anothers Haruest? I confessed my selfe a man of small worth, yet to haue done nothing discrepant with my condition, seeing I had writen those things which are plainly contained in the Booke of the Gospels, and in the Holy Councels, and which are to be beleued of a Christian man. Thou objectest, said he, many Errors to me and mine, wherewith we are not entangled, I determine not of your Faith, O Emperour, quoth I, but I am sure your Abassines are erroneous, nor doe I falsly ascribe any thing to them. If it please you to make tryall, you may command your Monkes and most learned men in your Empire to come hither, and I will make it appeare, that they are so ensnared in the Errors there mentioned, as none shall be able to denie. He replied, that he hated the Quirkes of Disputations, and that it was the custome of Ethnikes to commit their Superstitions to Questions, which Christians, especially the

Abassines blind zeale.

A Booke called the adulterie of the Frankes, that is, of the Westerne Church.

The discourse betwixt the Negus and the Iesuit.

Aniquitie
pleaded a-
gainst Rome,
for the Abassine
Errour and
long Peace.

* Where is it?

The Abuna can
better curse
then dispute.
Leo condem-
ned, Dioscorus
approved.
The Romanes
lost that which
they neuer
had. For that
Councell de-
creed the Pri-
uiledges to
Constantinople,
with Rome (ex-
cept Prioritie
of order) and
that (not vpon
promise by
Christ, or Suc-
cession from
Peter) because
that and this
were Imperiall
Cities: and
the Councell
of Nice ac-
knowledgeed
Alexandrias
Priuiledges in
Africa, equall
to the Romane
in Europe.

a Discourse of
the Queene &
the Iesuite.
b Would God
this were their
one and only,
for then their
errour would
bee found the
Ancient and
Catholike
Truth.

the ancient did altogether forbear. There had now passed aboue one thousand yeares since they pro-
fessed that Faith: if any part thereof were false, how chanced that in so many yeares none durst doe as I
had done? I answered, that God prouoked by bad workes of men often suffered them to fall into euill:
that he ought to giue great thanks to God that he sent in the time of his life and Reigne, one to shew the
way of the sincere Faith. Then He. The Church of Christ hath bene diuided into foure Seas, we are in-
grafted into one of these from the beginning; from it right and Lawes prohibit to be now separated. I as-
sent (quoth I) that there were foure Patriarchall Seas from the beginning, but the Romane by Diuine
Statute was preferred before the rest, as the Head Mother, and Mistris of all. When others haue
failed, whosoener obey them against the Romane, are Enemies, and miserably diuided from their Head.
Looke in my Booke, there shall you find the Solutions of all doubts which you propounded. But take
diligent heed that the speech of the Prophet, Noluit intelligere, vt bene ageret; be not applyed to you.
After many words on both sides, the Portugall Captaine being Interpreter, I added at last, that I wrote
my Booke to that purpose, that I might know whether his Errours laid aside, he would obey the Romane
Sea, and entertaine those Religious and Learned men which the King of Portugall sent him. For if hee
would not entertaine and heare them, there was no cause that they should come to Ethiopia, which
sought nothing but the saluation of the Abassines. He answered, that hee had Learned and Religious
men in his Kingdomes, and therefore needed not that any should be sent from any other place; neither was it
euer in his mind to subiect himselfe or his Countrey to the Romane Bishop. For that which Gaspar Ma-
galanes had done in his name with the King of Portugall, was done by the mistaking of an Arabian
Monke which translated his Letters and understood not his minde. Once; besides the Alexandrian
Patriarch, whom alway hee hath obeyed faithfully, he would acknowledge no Superiour in holy things at
all. Whereupon, being out of hope to mollifie his obstinate mind, hauing leane I departed. When I went
away, looking vpon the Portugall Captaine, he highly commended my Learning, saying, that hee much
maruelled how beeing so young, I could be so excellent in knowledge. I learned after that hee read my
Booke thorow, and often had it in his hand, and shewed it to his Mother, often to his Brethren, and o-
ther Princes of the Empire.

It was also told me that the Abuna knowing what was in it, forbade the reading thereof with a grie-
uous Curse. Therefore, the second day after a Messenger was sent to him from the Prete, which in his
name might aske leane to reade it, which the Abuna denying, the Emperour in a rage gaue him many
reproachfull and contumelious words, called him Heretike and Mahumetane, which read the Alcoran
of the false Prophet Mahumet, and forbade so holy a Booke, and made by such an Author to bee
read. He added further, that seeing he came into those Abassine parts to performe the Office of an A-
buna and Doctor, he should speedily answer to those things which a simple Priest opposed. The Abuna
denied that hee would enter into any Disputation against me: for he came into Abassia not to dispute, but
to giue Orders. Nothing was more common in mens mouthes, and some Countries fauoured our part,
others the contrarie: whereupon the Emperour sends for some Monkes in best reputation of Sanctitie
and Learning, and commanded them to transcribe my Booke very purely. I was much afraid, lest they
would haue left out some things which I knew the Emperour was disgusted eyther to heare or see, as those
things which I had written of Pope Leo, and Dioscorus the Patriarke of Alexandria. For the Abas-
sines thinke and say, that Dioscorus was a Saint, Leo a bad Man, whom they so much hate that they
cannot heare his name without horror. Also they reiect the Chalcedon Councell for Errour in Faith,
and say that it condemned Dioscorus vniustly. Therefore, euer since the time of that Councell (the
Decrees whereof they wholly reiect) they haue bene diuided from the Romane Church.

They follow also the Heresie of Sergius Paulus and Pyrrhus, condemned by the sixth Synode at Con-
stantinople, and many other Errours. When the time was come that the Emperour should answer me,
as he had promised, I went to the Court, and sent one to signifie to him that I expected an Answer.
Whereto he said that his Fathers Ambassadour had bene tenne yeares in Portugall, neither could hee
dispatch his Affaires in all that space: it is therefore meete that the Ambassadour of the King of Por-
tugall should patiently waite my Answer. I perceiued whither these things tended, nor did I thinke it
fit to stay any longer, but desired leane to depart into India. He cunningly deferred, as a thing vnmeete,
that I so great a man should so soone be gone, specially hauing come to treat of Matters so weightie;
nor could I spend my time better then in hearing there the Portugals Confessions. But if I were fully
resolved to depart, I should yet giue him one monethes space to answer: that being past, if I had
no Answer, I should dissemble an Answer, and might goe whither I would.

After this, on the fourth day of October, the Emperours Mother sent a Seruant to mee, de-
siring to speake with mee, and to see the Chalice which I had brought from Goa, a thing much
magnified amongst them. I went presently with some Portugals, all which shee was willing should
enter with me. After a few words, comming to talke of Religion, shee said, Seeing your Faith
and ours differ nothing but are one and the same, What needed it I pray, to write any thing thereof, and
make a causelesse broyle? Whereto I briefly, Whether your Abassines hold the right Truth you
may perceiue by my Writings. This I affirme to thee, O Empreffe, although you had no other Errour,
this one, that you are separated from the Romane Bishop, the Vicar of Christ on Earth, it would bee
enough and more, vnto eternall destruction. She answered, that she and her people were subiect to Pe-
ter and Paul, the Apostles, and especially to Christ himselfe. I denied, that he is subiect to Christ which

is not subiect to his Vicar; when Christ himselfe saith, He which heareth you * heareth me, and he which despiseth you, despiseth me. And if it be true which the Euangelist Iohn from the same Lord relateth, that there shall be One Shepherd, and one Sheepefold, whom did she thinke to be that Shepherd? She answered, Saint Peter *. If said I, Peter be that one Shepherd, the same Office must needs agree to them which in order succeed Peter. She answered, neither I nor mine deny obedience to Saint Peter: We are now in the same Faith wherein we haue beene from the beginning: if that bee not right, why did none admonish vs in so many Ages? Heere I, the Romane Bishop, which is Pastor of the whole Church of Christ, could not in the yeares passed send into Abassia, by reason of the Mahumetans stopping vp the passage. But the way by Sea being now open, he is able to doe it. Shee should take knowledge that the Common-wealth of Christ wherefoeuer it is, is one mysticall body, which in Heauen hath Christ the Head, in Earth the Vicar of Christ, which is the Head of all Christians. It may not bee doubted, but that members must be subiect to their Head, and to be directed thereby. From the time the Church began till the yeare 488. it was well in Abassia, and all the Patriarchs of Alexandria, but thenceforth they fell to ruine. If they would attaine saluation, they ought againe to conioyne with their lawfull Head, and become one bodie with him: for Christ himselfe had said, That there should be but one Sheepefold in the Church, and one Shepherd: but one body except it were monstrous, could haue but one Head; whereas the body of Christ is most perfect, and free from all filthinesse. So great a worke said she, as that is, to wit, that the rest of the members be ioyned with the Romane Head, belongs nothing to me, nor to thee. It is meete, that other Patriarchs congregated with the Romane, should deliberate of so weightie a matter, and decree by their authoritie what is to bee done: For to forsake old Customs and Rites by priuate counsell, and to undertake new, is a thing full of danger and offence. I on the other side said, That they were very ancient which the true Faith teacheth, nor haue any noueltie in them, and therefore it did rather take away then giue offence, whatsoeuer is done according to the rule of Faith.

After some other such like things, followeth in the same Epistle of Gonzalus. A few daies after, the Emperour remoued this Camp to a place a daies iourney distant, and we followed him. When we were in a certaine field, three Monkes came to me; one of which was accounted learned, and was very desirous to see and speake with me about Religion. In the beginning of his speech he confessed, that all our things pleased him, but yet he could not approue that we neither obserued the (Saturday) Sabbath, nor abstained from Swines and Hares flesh, vomiting out other venome. For he affirmed, that the soules of the iust departing out of this life, although nothing remaine in them to be purged, are not yet presently receiued in Heauen to see God, but are conueyed to earthly Paradise, there to expect the end of the world. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father. That the Sonne is equall to the Father in regard of his humane Nature. That onely Mahumetans and Ethnicks after their death, are cast into Hell, to abide there euerlastingly: but Christians which liue badly are there to be tormented in the fire of Hell, till they purge their sinnes: for all which are signed with the Character of Baptisme, shall at last be saued, and so he construed Christs words, He which shall be beleue and be baptized, shall be saued. But I so conuincd his errors by reasons and Scriptures, that coming neerer, he acknowledged himselfe satisfied. But lest his Fellowes which were vnllearned should heare, he whispered thus to mee. The things which thou teachest are true, and I will keepe them all in my mind, and so went away. The moneth being past, I went to the Emperour, and desired an answer and leaue to depart. Hee answered, I might be gone at my pleasure.

As touching the religious men which King Iohn sends me, when they shall come to Mazua, there shall be some to receiue and conduct them to me, I shall willingly heare them discoursing of the Faith. Then departed I from him and betooke me to my iourney. By the way, I visited some Townes of the Portugals, heard many of their confessions, brought some of them from Concubines to lawfull Wedlocke, their Concubines first (being Abassines in Sect and Nation) instructed in the Romane Doctrine, and reuoked to the Faith. Because the Churches of this Region are consecrated to the holies of Schismatickes, neither haue Altars accommodated to our uses, wee carried an Altar with vs. When I was in one of these Townes, one came thither to salute me, sent from a principall Abbat, which fixe miles off ruled two great Monasteries; one of Monkes, the other of Nuns. The name is Beluanos, or Plurimanes, famous in those parts. For from thence proceeds whatsoeuer is to bee beleued in all Abassia, because there is thought to bee the rule of Faith, and for that cause the Abbot himselfe is in great honour amongst all. I thought it meete to visite these Monasteries, and went together with the Portug I. my Companions. The Abbot was absent, I briefly viewed the Monasteries. Both they and the Monkes much differ from ours. Each of them hath his owne little house separated from others: hee hath his owne part of ground which he tilleth for himselfe. So are they all diuided in habitation and occupation, that you would thinke you saw not a Monasterie, but a small Village. And although the Monkes dwell on one side, and the Nuns on the other, yet are they not so separated, but that many Children are said to be begotten betwixt them. Their Order or Family is neither Franciscan nor Dominican, but is called Teclay Manot. This was the name of the Founder, which with them signifieth, The Pillar of the Faith. He hath great opinion of sanctitie among the Abassines, and is said to haue wrought many Miracles. That is the most famous, that hee slue a Serpent, esteemed by the Ethnicks for a God, and conuerted the Ethnicks: first to the Faith of Christ, and after that, many of them to this forme of life. Thus much Gonzalus.

* The Apostles were no body with this Iesuite; or all are swallowed into the Romish Whirlepooles: and no maruel, for Christs owne prerogative, Of one Pastor, is next arrogated: as if the Church had no Christ to be Pastor, nor no Apostles to heare, but the Roman: called to that headship by Phocas, and since this dispute, publishing a new Creed added to the Trent Councell. The Abassine and Iesuite haue diuided the truth betwixt them in some things, which in some other both want.

Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.

* Christ saith, I am that good Shepherd, &c. Iohn 10. and by Peter, is still so acknowledged, and other ministeriall Pastors of their flocks to feed them, not to domineere, &c.

1. p. 5. Grosse errors of the Abassines about the Sabbath & meats, &c. Diuers others most abominable.

Plurimanos Monastery very famous.

Abassine Monkes.

The Nuns.

Alfonso

Letter of *Alfonfus* of France a Portugall, to *Gonzalus*.

* Therefore *Claudius* had objected foure Godsto *Bermudez*.

Exorcising the Seas & Winds. Let this be a generall rule to the Reader, to beleue a Iesuite left in things neereft Rome, in other things to giue him Faith, where this *Romish* Faith is not a brewing. For I disclaime not their humanity, though I trust not their diuinitie in all points. Yet euen *Iannes* and *Iambres* against *Moses*, did as great miracles as this, or as any which I beleue of their relation done by theirs. False Prophets haue, *Deut. 13.* and false religions, pretend miracles, 2. *Re. 1.* which *Iohn Baptist*, an extraordinary and true Prophet had not. * I rehearse these things in the Story of Iesuites, that the world may see by what art they attained to that reputation in the Papacy: dazeling mens eyes with a seeming splendour of humilitie, such as is reiected, *Col. 2. ult.* laying this low foundation to their haughtie aspiring, creeping to the lowest, and terrifying the highest. *Phil. 1.*

Alfonfus of France a Portugall, which had bene Interpreter betwixt the Emperour and this *Gonzalus*, did write to Goa to him, touching a discourse twixt the said Emperour and him, touching the said heresie of *Dioscorus*, which he had said might bee euinced by holy Scripture, and authoritie of Saints and Councils. If your Scripture, said the Emperour so deemeth of vs, God knowes what ours deemeth of you. I know, quoth I, That the followers of the *Romane* Faith are esteemed Heretikes of the *Abassines*, and accounted *Nestorians*, as if we admitted two persons in Christ, as well as two Natures; for so they had often objected to me with contumely: and after mention of his yearely re-baptizing, contrary to *Saint Pauls* saying; *One Faith, one Baptisme*, he grew very angry, and threatned me with his Sword, but seeing my constancie he departed. He concludes, *I thus thinke Gonzales, that this Emperour will more easily endure the yoke of Saracens, then of the Romane Bishop.*

On the thirtieth of March, 1556. *Iohn Nonius Barret*, Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Andrew Oniedo*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and other Iesuites sayled from *Lisbon* to the East. In the way a great Tempest happened, which (saith our Author) by the Patriarchs Prayers was appeased. For taking water in a vessell, and (attired in his holy Vestments) blessing the same, he sprinkling part of it in the Sea, part on the Sailes, Tackling, and other part of the Ship, with a certaine forme of Prayer brought to passe, that the Seas and Winds were quiet. Well; if hee could also haue giuen sound lims to *Francis Rodericke*, his fellow *Ignatian*, whose helpe he vsed in hearing the confessions of the Passengers, being a man lame and going on Crouches. So should hee haue freed him from that scoffe of the *Moors* at *Mosambique*, that his Arguments could not stand against *Mahomet*, himselfe being so lame; nor could they bee right, himselfe being so crooked. He answered well, That their Sect was more deformed then he, and wanted both feete and head too. But the Miracle might haue cured his bodie and their soules, or done good in *Abassia*, if their miracles were as readie before Infidels, or those whom they call Heretikes, whose curious eyes may examine them, as before Catholikes, whose credulitie rather makes then findes them. Once, miracles are not for Beleeuers (which must walke by Faith, not by sight) but for Infidels. But let vs leaue their mysticall tales, and come to the Historicall Relation. Hauing stayed a moneth at *Mosambique*, they proceeded to *Goa*, where discouraged by *Gonzalus* his Letters, he aduised with others, which thought it meetest that he should stay at *Goa* till King *Iohn* might haue knowledge, and that *Oniedo* with some others of the societie, meane while should be employed in that *Ethiopian* businesse. This was put in execution: and *Nonius* abode at *Goa* six years space, which he spent in his daily Massings, Contemplations, hearing Confessions: sometimes visiting the Kitchen (as before) alway mending his owne cloaths when they were torne; sweeping also his Chamber, and the rest of the house, carrying forth the Dust to the place appointed: often washing Pilgrims feete, and on set daies of Nouices; most obseruant of all the Lawes of the societie, how free soeuer from any Superiour, but the Pope onely. Hee dyed in December, 1562.

Andrew Oniedo a *Castilian*, was appointed by *Ignatius*, according to the Popes Order, an Adiutor to the former Patriarch whilst hee liued, and his Successour after his death: and was with him consecrated Bishop of *Hierapolis*, as before is said. His Kitchen and Chamber labours, and domesticall other seruices, fetching Water in Earthen Vessels on his shoulder, lying on the ground among Beggars and famous humilities, I omit (not enuying those new-coyned vertues to that new Societie; I hold it much better, they were all busied in the *Indian* Skulleries and drudgeries, then in European State-affaires. I know *bodily exercise* is easie to them which loue not their ease, and light to such as delight to be magnified, as hath appeared in Pharisees, *Essees*, in *Baals* Priests, *Molochs* Votaries, Turkish and Ethnicks Regulars; I had not mentioned these things, but that the Iesuits vse to insult and insult so much hereon) I magnifie more both *Oniedo* and others, for whatsoeuer labours vndertaken by the Kings Mission (I quarrell not altogether the Popes Commission) to reduce strayed soules, as were these of *Abassia*, whither we now follow him. I am not angry with vertuous designes, neither in Pope nor Iesuite; yea, in such things I honour them: neither will I for their sakes thinke worse of that which is a good deede, if not altogether well done, materially commendable, if any way formally defectiue. When they seeke knots in Rushes, and would deforme reformed Christians, let them haue *Peters*, *Get thee behind me Sathan*: but in conuerting the *Gentiles* from peruerse errors, or this *Abassia* from *Iewish*, *Iacobite*, *Monothelite* heresies, I will assst them with my Prayers, and applaud their endeouours: and say, *Flesh and blood hath not taught them this, but the heauenly Father*; and if *Christ* be truly preached, whether vnder a pretence or sincerely, I therein ioy, and will ioy. Let them still compass the world to win Profelites, if it be not to compass the world, and circumuent their conuerts; yea, as *Moses* learned of *Iethro* to rule Gods people, so I would some of ours in *Virginia* or else-where, would follow the Iesuites so farre as they follow Christ.

In the yeare 1557. on the Ides of Februarie, *Oniedo* with five other Iesuites, passed from *Goa* into *Ethiopia*: Their names were *Antonie Fernandes*, *Andrew Galdanes*, *Gonzalus Cardoso*, *Francis Lopez*, *Emanuel Fernandes*. There were besides some twentie Portugals: they arriued safe at *Arceco*. Had they stayed five daies longer, they had lost their Voyage, if not themselves.

For

For on the second of Aprill, the *Turkish* Admirall with a great Fleete tooke *Mazua*, (being then in the ayd of the King of Zeila) and *Ercoco*, also the only Port Towne then left to the *Prete*, fortifying them in such sort, that all passage to Christians was prevented. Let vs here insert the Letter of *Emanuel Fernandez*.

Mazua and Ercoco taken by the *Turkes*.

ON our Ladie day in March, 1557. we came to Baroa, and the Barnagallo being certified of our comming, came to meet vs, and received vs, especially the Bishop, with signification of honour and good will. There was great reioycing of the people to see him, which came with great alacritie to kisse his hand. In that Citie we stayed twentie daies, in which happened the commemoration of our Lords Passion; and the mysteries of that holy weeke, we performed in the most pious manner wee could. On Good-Friday we made a pompous Procession (respecting that place) from our Church to theirs. Great was the concourse of people to vs, approving and applauding the Romane Rites. Wee spent a good deale of time in hearing the Portugals confessions, and other holies. Many of their Servants and Children were annointed with Chrisme, and confirmed by the Bishop. The Barnagallo came often to visite him, and he often, but in vaine, exhorted them to the obedience of the Romane Church. The spring comming on, when those parts were in feare of the Turke, we went from Baroa to the Emperour, in which wee spent fiftie daies, euery where meeting some of Portugall race which needed Sacraments. Eight daies before our arriuall at the Emperours Tent, one of his chiefe men was sent to us to salute the Bishop in his name, and many Mules were brought for carriages. At last came one in the Emperours Name, to charge us that we should proceed no further without his command, which happened two daies after. When we were a little off from the Camp, the Emperour sent word, and we pitched our Tents, and therein abode that night. The day following about noone, many of the Royall blood, and others of the chiefe Nobilitie, not a few, preciously attired and well mounted, came to us in our Tents. Two of these were of principall place, to whom was the office committed of conueying the Bishop to the Emperour. Meane while the Emperour with his Mother and Brethren ascended into a high place, whence he might behold vs comming. When we were come, the Prete appointed that we should passe on Horse-backe into the first Court (an honorable courtesie, and differing from the Court custome) and before the entrance of the second Court, wherein was the Tent Royall, we alighted. At the doore of the Tent on both sides were many men, venerable by Nobilitie or age, ranked in goodly order, and leaning on stauies. Heere we stayed a while. Then came forth two (Haac the Barnagallo was one) which with lowly bowing of the whole body, saluted the Bishop, and (we attending) led him in to the Emperour. He also shewed no small signes of honour and loue to him at his comming. After that a few words had passed, Ouiedo produced his Letters from the Viceroy, the Patriarch, and others in India, which were presently read in the presence of all. The Emperour was not a little disturbed therewith, nor was able to conceale his backwardnesse to the Romane Church: but warily, and being well affected to the Portugals, he indenured as well as he could to hide it, and to seeme well apayed: not so yet, but some euident signes of perfidiousnesse appeared. And although he neuer purposed to relinquish his errors, yet at the first he well entertained the Bishop, and allowed him and his company large maintenance. Nor was there any which in word or deed durst wrong us, in respect of the Princes fauour. Set aside his prosodie, in the whole Abassine Empire, was not a man, whom the Emperour Claudius did not excede in prudence, magnanimitie, and other royall vertues. He was very gentle and affable to the Bishop, and alway gaue him some hope of reclaiming him. When they began to treat of Religion, Ouiedo desired him that he would be present at their disputations with them, which amongst the Abassines were esteemed most learned. He consented and often heard the Bishop arguing matters of Faith with a great troupe of men learned: but in regard of Claudius, all the rest of that faction were mute. He alone both in heat of speaking and eagernesse of victory, surpassed all which he brought into that contention with him, and with such dexteritie of wit did often defend his errors, that he wrought vs some trouble. And although Ouiedo alway got the victorie in dispute, the aduersaries yet (such is the custome of obstinate minds) with laughers and immodest clamors, boasted themselves to haue gotten the better. When therefore the Bishop saw that he preuailed nothing by this course of disputing, he gathered in writing the erroneous opinions of the Abassines, and offered the same confuted by reasons and authorities to the Emperours reading. He tooke the same and read it, and as he could, answered in writing to euery thing, stiffly auerring, that he would neuer yeeld obedience to the Romane Bishop, nor decline from his Predecessors steps in things of Religion, but would hold that Faith which they held; and therefore in vaine did any mortall man indenure to make him in any sort to relinquish it. Herewithall he began also to shew some tokens of indignation against the Bishop, and openly to affirme that his presence was distastfull to him. Whereupon lest he might prouoke against him and his the fury of an impotent man, hee thought best to yeeld to the time, and leaving the Emperour, sought to draw others to the truth. Thus farre Emanuel.

Letter of Emanuel Fernandez.

Baroa, or Barua.

Commendation of Claudius.

But when Claudius heard that many of the Nobles and others, both Plebeians and Monks were by the Bishop and his Companions brought out of their darknesse to light, he was much moued, the Abbots especially with complaints incensing him. Whereupon he sent for him, and sharply reprobued him, commanding him to treat of the mysteries of Faith with the Portugals, and their Posteritie, but with none of his Abassines. He answering, that he was therefore sent thither, and must obey God rather then Man, what danger soeuer he incurred; so prouoked the Emperour, that

Ffffff

he

Malachales: the Author doubteth whether they were of the *Amalekites* posteritie. Modesty of a *Moore*. Adamas Emperour.

Ouiedo banished three times.

Miracles like a bad herb, make the *Iesuits* Stories often distastfull and doubtfull. You cannot haue their Rose without such prickles: or any remote religious Storie without such vanitie. Other miracles they tell which I haue omitted, as enquiring more after the *Abassine* state and Church, then Popish miracles. *Malasequetus* Emperour. The Gale.

Ouiedos Letter to the Pope.

Haruest lost for want of labourers. *Sinari*.

he reuiled him, and forbad him to come any more in his sight: telling him further, that his labour was vaine to impose on him or his the Popes yoake. This was in the yeare 1559. in Ianuarie. In Februarie following, the *Saracens* called *Malachales* inuaded those parts. On Maunday-Thursdai was a battell betwixt them and the *Abassines*, in which these were put to flight, and the Emperour flaine, his head cut off and sent with ludibrious triumph to the King of *Adel*. The Captaine of the *Saracens*, in acknowledgement that this victorie came from God, alighted off his Horse, and triumphed on an Asse. To *Claudius* hauing no issue, his brother *Adamas Segnedus* succeeded, a man of euill qualities, and a cruell enemy to the *Romane* Faith. He had beene before taken in warre by the *Saracens*, and carried into *Arabia*, where denying Christ hee turned *Mahometan*, but being redeemed by *Claudius*, he returned to the *Abassine* Faith. The Bishop went to gratulate his succession, and receiued honourable entertainment. But after that, vpon occasion of Conuerts to the *Romane* Church, he commanded him to bee brought before him, and sware, that if he proceeded in that kind, it should cost him his life: and then also rent his garment, and laid violent hands on him, at last condemning him to exile with *Francis Lopez*, in a barren high Mountaine, taking away his Chalice also, to hinder him from saying Masse. There they continued eight moneths, in Caves, lying on the ground, liuing on wilde herbs: this place also being a receptacle of Robbers, whence they set vpon Passengers. Hence at length he was deliuered by intercession of a Noble woman, which comming thither, saw (they say) a glorious light shining about his person and Mansion. He persecuted also the *Abassine* Conuerts with death and banishment: five of which being cast to the Lions, found the beasts more mild then the Emperour, who againe sent *Andrew* and them into exile: where being in danger of staruing, at *Ouiedos* prayer (I will not vrge your credit) a Riuer (like *Jordan*) opened her bowels, and yeelded them a hidden treasure of Fishes. Againe, he was reuoked, and againe for like reconcilements to *Rome* exiled, hauing before offered with his own hands to take away his life, his sword (by I know not what miracle) falling out of his hand. In this third exile, he adioyned all the *Portugals*, and that without their wiues and children. But a conspiracie being set on foot by *Isaac Barnagasso*, and others, which exalted *Betanc Zarcar*, illegitimate sonne of the Emperours elder Brother, this made him send for the *Portugals* from their exile. In the first battell *Adamas* was ouerthrowne: in the next, he tooke and slue his Corriuall. In the third, another legitimate Brother of *Zarcar* was set vp, and the *Turkes* called to help with their Ordnance, which put *Adamas* to flight. This was in the yeare 1562. in the next yeare he died.

The Empire was now rent into diuers factions, some creating the sonne of *Adamas* Emperour, others that brother of *Zarcar*, and some looking to other parts. *Andrew*, which was now Patriarch (*Nonius* being dead) got him into *Tigrai*, neere that famous Abbey, called *Abba Guarima*, and dwelt in *Fremona*, a small Village, sixteene yeares together, in which he neuer saw *Abassine* Emperour. For warre had set all things in such combustion, that although he might reduce some *Abassines*, yet for reconciling that whole State was no opportunitie. *Malasequetus* the sonne of *Adamas* reigned but seuentene yeares (*Barnagasso* being dead) the Gale in the meane time, inuading, waiting, ouerthrowing and spoiling all in their way, possessing with victorious armes, aboue one hundred Regions or Shires, the greatest part of the Empire in a short space. The *Turks* also from the Sea shoare which they held, made often inroads, slaying and captiuing many. *Ouiedo* meane while, was preserued at *Fremona*.

Sebastian King of *Portugall* vnderstanding how things were desperate in *Abassia*, dealt with the Pope to send this Bishop to *Iapon*, which by *Pius* the fifth was granted, in the yeare 1556. The Copie hereof he receiued the next yeare from the *Iesuites* of *Goa*, but excused himselfe in a Letter to the Pope, alledging the *Impossibilitie* of getting thence by shipping, the *Saracens* infesting those Seas. But if five hundred *Portugall* Souldiers were sent thither from *India*, which wee long (saith he) expect, and earnestly desire and hope in God to obtaine; there will be no doubt, but not onely the *Abassine* Rebels will come to the obedience of the *Romane* Church, but many *Ethnicke* people also to the Faith of Christ. For here are in *Ethiopia* innumerable idolatrous Nations, whom we may goe to without crossing any Sea, and easily draw to the Faith. We know for certaine, that many of the Kingdome of *Damute* (which they say, extendeth from *Mosambike* to *Sofala*) haue come to the Emperour, and desired to become Christians, reiecting notwithstanding for priuate respects, he desiring rather to haue them Slaves in condition, then in Religion Brethren. There were also three yeares since some of the Countrey called *Sinari*, which sought to make peace with a certaine Prince, the Emperours Kinsman, with whom they had warres, and offered themselues both to Tribute and Religion, but repelled by hatred and auarice, exceeding Charitie. There are almost innumerable of the neighbouring *Ethnicks*, whom the *Saracen* Merchants buy and sell to the *Turkes*, which all would giue their names to Christ, if Couetousnesse did not peruert their Princes. Those five hundred *Portugall* Souldiers, before mentioned, might preuent these euils, both with great commoditie to the *Portugall* affaires, and strengthening the *Indian* power. For if the *Turkes* (which easily they may) doe first possesse *Ethiopia*, it is hard to say, how much they may thence endanger the *Indian* businesse, being furnished in those places with necessaries for shipping, Iron for Armes, prouision for Armies, Slaves for seruice, and the like. That Emperour which persecuted the *Romane* Faith is dead. His

Sonne

Sonne which succeeded him is young, in iudgement weake, and in name rather then in power an Emperour. For hee hath the same Aduersaries which conspired against his Father, being both Principall in Nobilitie and the most in number. Whereby all things are so confused, and embroyled with Ciuill Dissensions and Forreigne Warres, that nothing were more to bee wished then some refuge of Peace, which the most know to consist in the Romane Faith. And although the Monkes and many Nobles doe oppugne our Faith, and persecute the Catholikes; yet the Communitie, so much prompter to truth, as it is lesse tyed with humane respects, doth appooue the Romane Decrees, as doe also of the chiefe men not a few.

We indeanour the Saluation of both by publike and priuate Preachings and Disputations, with Writings also refelling Writings, not altogether in vaine. For some are conuerted and more would be, but for feare of punishments, an eagre Enemy of the Truth in base minds. This is the cause that in these places especially, Religion desireth an armed hand, that they which will may come without feare to the Catholike Tents, and those which haue comne may abide constant. I am of opinion, holy Father, that this Ethiopian businesse is very conducent to the enlarging and splendor of the Catholike Religion, although it be, as other things of weight, intangled with many difficulties. Yea, if I bee not much deceived, no Expedition can now be offered, which can bring greater ornament to the Romane Church, or greater accesse to the Catholike Affaires. Here where now I am, about two hundred and thirtie Catholikes dwell, diuided in two little Townes, which therefore we haue lately built, that they which before with losse of their goods and greater danger of their soules, wandered like Pilgrimes thorow diuers parts of Ethiopia, might haue a fixed Seat, for instruction and Christian Sacraments. Others not a few else-where, waite the oportunitie to come hither, &c.

An armed hand and band required to further the Iesuits preaching in Abassia.

Thus did Oniedo moue the Pope and the King to suffer him there to abide whiles he liued, still vrging that band of five or sixe hundred Portugall Souldiers to be sent thither. In the yeare 1576. when the Abassine Emperour sent a Messenger into India for that purpose, the Patriarch againe writ to the Pope about it, reckoning many Commodities which thence might redound to stablish there the true Faith. His Miracles, in iudgements inflicted on such as tooke away his goods in procuring life and death by his Prayers, in chasing away Grasshoppers, &c. I omit. He dyed of the Stone in September, 1577. and was buried at Fremona, where the Abassines, as they vse to Saints, often made recourse to his Graue, and offered Wheate, Frankincense, and other Odours.

And there our Author relates many Miracles to be done, which yet in Iesuiticall Relations of remote parts are now no Miracles, nor rarities, they are so common. His five Companions Iesuites, are by the Iesuite our Authour also much commended for their Apostolicall life. *Anthony Fernandez* was set ouer the rest, and was the first which passed out of this life: *Cardosus* the next, slaine by Theeues. *Gualdarius* was slaine by the Turkes. *Lopez* liued longest, and dyed in May, 1597. before whose death *Melchior Syluius* was sent into Abassia, by the Arch-bishoppe of Goa. As for *Melchior Carnerus* made Bishop at Goa, to succeed Oniedo in the Patriarchate of Ethiopia, because he came not there, we haue also excluded him from hence. Anno, 1560. *Fulgentius Frerius* a Iesuite sent out of India to visit Oniedo, was taken by the Turkes in the Red Sea, and carried to Cairo: twentie yeares after the same happened to *Anthony Monferrate* and *Peter Paex* Iesuites, which were seuen yeares in Captiuitie. *Abraham Georges* 1595. sped better, being taken and martyred for confessing Iesus in Mazna. But hauing a Colledge erected at Din, P. Paex, Anno 1603. *Anthony Fernandez* two yeares after with *Fran. Anthony de Angelis*; *Azenedus* and *Mangoni* 1606. were shipped by Moores at Din, and carried to Abassia.

Iesuits which passed to Abassia.

§. II.

Description of the Countries, and the seuerall Regions, Religions, and Abassine Opinions.

That part of Ethiopia, which is vnder or neere to Egypt, is called Abassia, namely, so much as is, or in more flourishing Estate of that Empire, hath beene subiect to the Negus; called Priest Iohn, by error of Conilanus, followed by other Portugals in the first discouerie, applying by mis-conceit through some like occurrents the Relations in M. Polo and others touching Presbyter Iohn, in the North-east parts of Asia, (therefore called a Priest because he had the Crosse, as the Western Archbishops vsed, carryed before him) vnto this King; the Abassines also in Europe, willing by names of neerer sound to confirme that fancie, tending as they supposed, to the credit of their Prince. On the East it is bounded with the Red Sea from ten to twentie degrees of North Latitude, ending in Suachen, anciently called Aspix. On the West with high Mountaines rising along, or neerer the Bankes of Nilus: the North parts extend as farre as Meroe, the South to Ania, thence reaching to Adel, a Kingdome of Moores, whose chiefe Citie is Ara in nine degrees of North Latitude. The whole circuit is sixe hundred, or after others betwixt seuen and eight hundred leagues. The Name Abassia

P. Jar. Thes. 1.3. c. 31. N. God. de Abasrebys 1.3. c. 30.

seemes deriued from *Abases*, which *Strabo* saith is giuen to inhabited places enuironed with Desarts.

John Gabriel a
Portugall.

Tigrai the first
Kingdome.

Dancali.

Angote and the
other five.

Aucagnerle.

Dahali.
Oecie.

Roxanagum.

Nerea.

Goroma, large
and fertile.

John Gabriel, sometimes Generall of the *Portugals* in *Abassia*, a man expert in many Languages, hath written, that the *Abassine* Empire containeth by ancient right, fixe and twentie Kingdomes, distributed into fourteene Regions: The first eight lye from *Suachen* Westward. *Tigrai* containeth seuentene Tracts or large Shires, each hauing a Lieutenant: the *Turkes* now possesse the Sea Ports hereof, and the *Moores* the adioyning Continent, the in-land parts are inhabited promiscuously by Christians and Heathens, blacke, miserable and deformed within and without, in soule, bodie and state. The next to *Tigrai* is *Dancali*, washed on the East by the Red Sea, thence extended Westward in a short and barren Tract of Land, inhabited by *Moores*, 10 tributarie to the *Abassine*. *Angote* followeth, the fourth *Boa*, the fifth *Amara*, the sixth *Leca*, all inhabited by *Christians*. The seuenth, is *Abagamedri*, very large, containyng seuentene Tracts, inhabited partly with *Christians*, partly with *Ethnikes*, as is also *Dambea*, hauing only two Tracts. On the other side of *Dancali*, along the Sea Coast runneth *Aucagnerle*, inhabited by *Moores* which acknowledge not the *Abassine*, abutting on *Adel*, the chiete Citie *Zeila*, sometimes *Analites*. Next to it is *Dahali*, extending towards *Mombaza*, the Inhabitants partly *Christians*, partly *Mahumetans*, tributary to the *Negus*. *Oecie* is within Land, partly *Mahumetane*, partly *Ethnike*, subiect to the *Abassine*: after which follow *Arium*, *Fatigar*, (both *Christians*) and *Zinger*, *Ethnike*. The sixteenth, is *Roxanagum* inhabited by *Christians*, not subiect to the *Prete*. Hence to the North is *Roxa* an *Ethnike* Kingdome, *Goma* inhabited by *Christians* and *Ethnikes* obeying the *Abassine*: towards *Monomotapa* is *Nerea*, both *Christian* and *Ethnike*, a 20 large Kingdome: *Zethe* only *Ethnike*, but subiect to the Emperour: after which are *Conche*, *Mahola*, only *Ethnike*, and *Goroma* which hath twentie Tracts of *Christians* and *Gentiles*, almost made an Iland by *Nilus* encompassing, able by the fertilitie to nourish diuers Armies (which almost continually infest it for that cause) the Sowers following the Reapers without other Tillage. The three last Kingdomes lye towards *Egypt*, to wit, *Damote*, *Sua*, *Iasculum*: *Sua*, the heart and sometime Chiefe Seat of the Empire: *Iasculum* extends to *Cairo*, inhabited by *Mahumetanes*, yearely euery Lent trauelled by Pilgrims to *Ierusalem*, going in Companies out of *Dambea*.

The names of the Prouinces are *Dubane*, *Xuncho*: *Daraita*, *Bora*, *Calaoa*, *Aga*; (these three are 30 inhabited by *Christians* in name, otherwise *Ethnikes*, the first of the former by *Ethnikes*, the next *Saracens*; the third *Christians*) *Arima*, *Arbum*, *Xancala*, *Xancora*, *Suggamo*, *Bergamo*, *Aris* (which is on the other side of *Nilus*) *Euara*. Of all these Kingdomes, besides *Tigrai*, *Abagamedri*, *Goroma*, and *Dambea*, scarcely any is subiect to the *Abassine*.

But foure
Kingdomes
now subiect to
the *Negus*.
Riuers and
Lakes.
Iewes.
Oara.

The same *Gabriel* recordeth foure principall Riuers in this *Abassine Ethiopia*, and as many huge Lakes. The first Riuier is *Taucea*, running from the South to the North, but intrapped and drunke vp of the thirstie sands before it can pay Tribute to the Sea. It hath neighbouring Mountaines of admirable height, almost inaccessible passage, and fortified scite, inhabited by *Iewes*, still obseruing the *Mosaicall* Ceremonies, dreadfull to the adioyning people. The second Riuier is *Oara*, running into the Sea of *Zeila*, richer in waterie treasures then *Nilus*: but such is the 40 *Abassine* Superstition, that they refuse to drinke of his pleasant waters, because it watereth in the passage the Regions of *Mahumetans*. (And is not some mens fancie of like phrenzie with vs, which refuse our Churches for the living, Church-yards for their dead; and others not so sicke, our Ceremonies and Rites, for a Popish passage, bee their Antiquitie, Innocencie, and seeming profitableness neuer so plausible, and nothing lesse then Popish?) The third Riuier is *Gabea*, which runnes towards *Mombaza*, and the fourth *Nilus*. The first Lake, is *Aicha* in *Angote*: the second is *Dambeababar*, that is, the Sea of *Dambea*, not farre from *Gubbai*, where now is the Emperours Court, if at any time he leaues his Tents for the Citie: it is about threescore miles long, and five and twentie broad, admitting *Nilus* on one side. It hath many Fishes, Riuier-hor- 50 ses, which endanger Sailers; and hath many small Ilands therein to which Traytors are confined. The third Lake is *Zella*, in *Oecie*, the fourth not farre thence *Xacala*. *Antanio Fernandez* a Iesuite, in a Letter dated 1610. attributes fortie Prouinces to *Abassia*, but in substance agreeth with *Gabriel*, whose Tracts are as huge as the others Prouinces.

Gabea.
Lakes.

A. Fernandez
his Letter.

Nature of the
Abassine soile.

Wormes in the
belly by vse of
raw flesh.

The same *Fernandez* addeth, that the *Abassine* soile is for the most part hollow and full of deepe openings. In the midst of the Champaigne Plaines, in many places out of the hard Rocks arise Rockie Hills, which in times of warre serue them for Fortresses. The whole Countrey abounds with veines of Metall and Metall-medicines: but the Inhabitants partly by ignorance, and partly for feare of the *Turkes* Inuasion, if such things should bee knowne, suffer them to lye hidden in the Earth. Only they make vse of so much Iron as they find vpon the face of 60 the Earth without digging. Of Plants and Trees is great varietie: but fruits not so pleasant as in *Europe*. One yet there is very vsfull for the Wormes which breed in them by eating raw flesh, which would gnaw thorow their entrailes, if they did not preuent that euill with monethly purgations by this Fruit, which both kils the Wormes and emptieth the belly. Peaches,

ches, Pomegranates, *Indian Figs*, Oranges, and Vines are there seene, but rare and few. Hares, Goats, Harts, Bores, Elephants, Camels, Buffals, Lions, Panthers, Tigres, Rhinocerotes, and other Creatures are there seene, and one so huge that a man sitting on Horse-backe, may passe vpright vnder his belly: his shape is like a Camell, but his nature diuers, feeding on leaues which he reacheth from the tops of Trees with his necke stretched forth. There are many Rivers and Lakes, in all which are Riuer-horses innumerable very hurtfull to their Corne: of great bodies, and a mouth so wide that they can gape a Cubit and halfe. By night they goe out of the waters into the fields to feed; for they liue on Herbs: and if the Husbandmen watch not well, in one night they will destroy their Corne. In the water they are very bold, and assaile men like fierce

This seemeth to be the *Camelopardalis*.

Riuer-horses, and their nature.

10 Dogges, and cruelly teare those which they get. They are so afraid of fire that a little Boy holding a lighted Torch, may scarre away many thousands of them. There are some which hunt and kill them for their flesh, which differeth little from Beefe. In these Rivers and Lakes is also found the *Torpedo*, which if any man hold in his hand, if it stirre not, it doth produce no effect: but if it moue it selfe neuer so little, it so tormenteth the bodie of him which holds it, that his Arteries, Ioints, Sinewes, & all his Members feelee exceeding paine with a certaine numnesse: and as soone as it is let go out of the hand, all that paine and numnesse is also gone. The Superstitious *Abassines* beleue that it is good to expell Deuils out of humane bodies, as if it did torment Spirits no lesse then men. They say, if one of these alieue bee laid amongst dead Fishes, if it there stirre it selfe, it makes those which it toucheth to stirre as if they were alieue.

The *Torpedo*, a strange kind of fish.

a *Palus* a bottomlesse poole

Strange Springs and

Courte of *Nilus*, which some fetch much further from beyond the

Line, perhaps, not so truly.

I. Baptista Scottia a Iesuite hath published two Bookes of this one Riuer ascribing to it two originals, one a Lake in

twelue degr. of South latitude, fiftie five of longitude,

whence *Chama* floweth, *Spirito Sancto*, and *Coanza*: the other vnder the

Line in fiftie five of longitude, being a Lake of 1700:

furlongs ouer, here mentioned by *Fernandez*. The *Abassine* opinion by the Kings Letters appeare,

that *Nilus* arise hence.

Seasons in *Abassia*, the Red Seas course.

Power of the Moone.

Abassine good fellowship.

Scarcitie of Wine.

Peter Paez, Succession of Emperours.

* Before him was *Nabu*, whose Predecessor was *Alexander*; to him *Ciriacks*, &c.

Abassines apparell.

20 There is great store of this kind in *Nilus*, in the furthest parts of *Goyama*, where there is a Meere or Fenne without bottom, welling and admirably boyling forth waters continually, whence *Nilus* springeth. It ariseth small and first for a dayes iourney and halfe trendeth Eastward: Then it enters into a Lake as great as any imagined to bee in the World, running thorow the midst thereof with a swift course, flying all mixture of waters, and throwes it selfe from very high Rockes, whence hauing gotten freer scope, it expatiates it selfe a while, and shortly is as it were swallowed vp in deepe yauning Gulfes of the Earth, and so straitned, that in some places a man may stride ouer it. But after it hath passed five dayes to the East, it bends backe its course to the West, and sometimes greater, sometimes lesse, according to the Season, passeth towards *Egypt*. The *Abassines* report, that it is no hard thing to turne the Rivers course some other way, and to sterre *Egypt*, which I scarcely beleue.

30 The *Abassine* Aire is most part warme and temperate, but in low Land is exceeding hote, and somewhat vnwholsome. Their Winter is from the end of May to the beginning of September, and then it beginneth in the Red Sea. I haue found by experience, that this Sea from the change of the Moone to the Full, fourteene dayes together flowes in, and as many through the whole Wane ebbeth or runneth out. In Winter it raineth almost euery day in these parts, alway afternoone, and not without Thunder. From this Kingdome of *Dambea* where we liue, both Poles are seene, but *Antarctike* the higher. Neere it are many Stars in forme of a Crosse, whence it hath that name. In this Tract of Heauen appeareth a certaine spot like a Cloud: we suppose it a part more thinne then others not starred: let Philosophers examine. About this spot many Starres shine lesse then those which adorne the other Pole. The yeare beginneth heere with the Spring on the first of September. Their yeare hath twelue monethes, each of them thirtie dayes, and those which remayne from August to September, are reckoned by themselves. The *Abassines* no way more expresse their ioy and iollitie then by eating and drinking: and easily on Holy dayes they come to the Churches, which vsually are compassed with Trees for shade, where are many Vessels set full of their Wine, which after Seruice ended, they lucke in so vnmeasurably, that first Drunkenesse and then Brabbles, and lastly Frayes vsually follow. They make Wine of Honey tempered with *Opium*, both pleasant and profitable taken moderately.

Wine of Vines is rare, and for their Masse in Vintage time they vse Must, at other times Wine of Raynsins. *Peter Paez* a Iesuite writ, that Anno 1604. hee was with the Emperour who desired him to say Masse, which hee could not for want of Wine, which no where could be gotten.

40 At what time *Rodericke Lima* entred *Abassia*, *Dauid* reigned, and after hee had held the Empire thirtie sixe yeares, his Sonne *Claudius* succeeded: who in the yeare 1559. was slaine, hauing ruled almost twentie yeares. His Brother *Adamas* succeeded called also *Mena*, and reigned foure yeares dying in the yeare 1563. *Sarsa Dengel* succeeded, who leauing his former name, would be called *Malac Seguetus*, and died, Anno 1596. His Sonne *Iames* succeeded, a childe, which after seuen yeares was taken by his Subjects, depriued and sent into the Kingdome of *Nerea*, a certaine Cousin German of his vsurping the Scepter, which he scarcely held a yeare, being slaine by his Subjects, Anno 1604. *Iames* was restored, and in the second yeare after expelled and slaine in battell by another of his Vncles Sonnes, called *Sacimus*: *Paez* calls him *Sasinozins*.

60 *Antonius Fernandez* thus writeth of their apparell. The richer sort buy Garments of the *Saracens*, and clothe themselves in their fashions. The rest both men and women couer their bodies

Foolish brauerie.

Dull Ignorance and Idleness.

Their Arts.

Townes and Houses.
Little or no writing.See of these
Fasts, Aluarez
Churches.

Ant. Fernandez.

either with a Skinne or Pelt, or with a course Hempen cloth without other arte then the Weaners. When they doe reuerence to any, they put off this Cloth from the shoulders to the nauill, remayning halfe naked. They let their haire grow, and that serues them for a Hat and Head-tyre. For finer brauerie they curl and anoint their haire with Butter, which shewes in the Sun like Grasse in the morning dew. Lest their locks and curles should be disordered, when they goe to bed, each one pitcheth a Forke or Cratch a foote high in the ground, betwixt the hornes whereof hee reposes his necke, and sleepeth with his head hanging. They vse to brand markes in their bodies, especially in the face. And on their little fingers they suffer the nailes to grow as long as they will, like Cockes spurres, which also they sometimes cut from Cockes, and fit to their fingers. They colour their hands and feet (which are bare) with the iuyce of a reddish barke. They vsually are artlesse and lazie, neglecting hunting and fishing, and whereas Wooll, Hempe and Cotton might easily be had, yet the vulgar are clothed with vndressed Pelts, each wearing a Rammes Skinne tyed to his hands and feet. They lye on Oxe-hides without Quilts or Mattresses: for Tables they vse great bowles of wood, rudely hollowed, without any Naperie. Vessels they haue of blacke Chalke. Few but Saracens vse Merchandize and in few places: most exercise Husbandrie, the Gentry follow Armes and the Court. They haue no great Cities, but Villages unwallled and unfortified. Their greatest Towne hath scarcely one thousand sixe hundred Houses. Their Houses are small, without elegance, without storie, almost without arte, round and couered with Earth and Straw. They write no Letters, nor vse Records in Iudgements, or other Writings, but in their holy things, and Officers of Accounts for the King.

They vse no Dirges or Deuotions for the dead. They vse Pictures, but not carued nor grauen Images. They paint Christ, the Blessed Virgin and other Saints in blacke forme, as Devils and wicked men in white: so they paint Christ and his Apostles at the Maundie blacke, and Iudas white; Christ in his Passion blacke, Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, Herod, and the Jewes white: Michael blacke and the Deuill white. Their fasting is rigorous not freeing the Sicke. Some Religious men abstaine wholly from flesh, which is no easie thing farre from the Sea, where they haue few fishes. They fast Wednesdaies and Fridaies, not tasting ought till night, then eating Herbes without Oyle (which they haue not) or Butter, and Bread with Apples.

Their Temples are round and encompassed with a double porch, they neither walke, nor talk, nor spit, nor sit, nor laugh in the Church: nor admit Dogges or other Domesticke creatures into the Church-yard. Horsemen alight and walke on foot before the Church as they passe. The great Altar is in the midst, Curtaines being drawne betwixt the doore and it from one side of the Church to the other, wherein none not in Orders may enter: without may Lay-men stand, which haue Crutches to support them if they be sicke or old. Some Churches are only for men, others only for women: in small Villages they are common to both, but with severall Diuisions that they may not see each other.

Ludouicus Azenedius in his Letter 1607. saith, that they confesse not the number and kinds of their sinnes, but only say in generall, *I haue sinned, I haue sinned.* They vse not Confirmation, nor Extreme Vnction, nor the Communion-Viaticum.

Ant. Fernandez, 1606. writeth, that in Dembea where hee then was in the Citie of Gorgorra, some receiued the *Romane* Faith, others refused: that the Emperour that yeare writ to the Pope to send thither some Patriarch, and to the King of Spaine for Portugall Forces, to reduce his Empire to the Faith, to which the Princes and Grandes opposed, and must by Armes be forced; but hee feared notwithstanding the mutable inconstancie of the Abassines, which care little to hold promise. God open their eyes: of twentie parts of the Empire, seuentene are almost gone. The next yeare he writeth; we are here five Priests of the Societie, some of vs attend the Emperours Campe, to conserue and encrease our Catholike number. Many commend our Doctrine, but are afraid to professe it. They obserue *Jewish* Circumcision, Sabbath, abstinence from the flesh which is to the Jewes vnclane, and from Fish without Finnes, and though they confesse them forbidden by Gods word, yet will they not forsake them. Following the Emperour, I take view of a great part of the *Ethiopian* Continent. Touching their Rebaptisations, and tradition of Soules from humane seed, and equalitie of Christs humane Nature with the Diuine, with other Abassine errors, I haue had often conflicts with their learned men, which yeilded to other things easily: but in the two last opinions were obstinate. They call *Dioscorus*, Blessed, condemne *Leo* with the *Chalcedon* Councell, with many reproches, and Father on him many lies touching the Natures and operations of Christ. They hold also, that God doth effect nothing besides the Consecration of things and Miracles when they are done, and thence gather that the Soule is produced of Seed. They circumcise not onely Males, but with a peculiar Rite Females also. Yearely on Twelfth day they renew Baptisme: Apostates returning from *Mahometanisme*, are also rebaptized, and likewise they which haue committed some erroneous crime, or haue married, or haue entred into any Religious Family. On the otherside, they are so rigorous to Infants, that before their appointed day they die without Baptisme. They come to the Eucharist without Contrition or Confession, euen the most wicked amongst them. They dissolue Marriages when they list: before the day of Iudgement they say

say, that neither the Soules of the Blessed are in Heauen, nor of the wicked in Hell: Purgatorie they deny, and the Spirits proceeding from the Sonne. These errors are common to all; some are peculiar to some of them, new Heresies daily springing vp without danger as euery man listeth.

In his Letters, 1609. In this *Ethiopian* Empire, euery man liueth in manner in Armes, nor is the Emperours life more quiet then of other men. For euery yeare, Winter being scarcely past, himsele in person and his Captaines, renew the Warres, sometimes against Rebels, sometimes against neighbouring enemies. It cannot be vttered what confusions haue happened these two last yeares. As soone as the present Emperour began his reigne, three or foure chiefe men vsur-
 10 ping the Royall name, rebelled against him, but were vanquished in battaile. This very yeare, the second of his reigne, as many as haue attempted the same and comne into the field. Neither of long time haue things bin quieter. We are also constrained to waue vp and downe with these stormes; sometimes flying to the Mountaines, sometimes hiding our selues in secret Caues, sometimes we pierce thicke Woods, and vnpassable places, and suffer innumerable euils, which wee could more patiently endure, if we could gather any harvest to offer to God. This very yeare, when the Emperour was gone against a Rebell, suddaine newes came to the Campe, that the *Gala* (a sauage Nation of *Cafres*, begotten of Deuils, as the vulgar report) were at hand. It is a
 hundred yeares since these passed from the fields and woods, where they liued by keeping Cat-
 tell, and shaking off the *Ethiopian* yoake, haue attained such power, that they possesse about the
 20 twelfth part of *Ethiopia*, and are a terrout to all. The Emperour went against them, but was ouerthrowne, to the ruine well-neere of the whole Empire. I sought to comfort him as well as I could, but he gathering his forces, suddainely rushed on the Conquerours, and reconered his losse.

*Ethiopia ciuill
Combustions,*

The Gala,

One *Iuan de Baltasar*, a pretended *Abassine*, and Knight of the Militarie Order of Saint *Antonie*, hath written a Booke in *Spanish* of that Order, founded (as he saith) by the *Prete Iohn*, in the daies of Saint *Basil*, with rules receiued from him, aboue seuen hundred yeares before any Militarie Order was in the world. I know not whether his Booke (which I haue by me) hath more lies or lines, a man of a leaden braine and brazen face; seconded, if not exceeded by the *Morall*, *Naturall*, and *Politickall* Historie of *Ethiopia*, the worke of his Scholler *Luis d'Ur-
 30 reta*, a *Spanish* Frier and lyer; The said *Godignus* euery where through his first Booke confutes him, it is more then enough that wee haue named such more then *Vroptian*, such Legendarie fore-heads: and though we will not blot Paper with mention of their assertions, yet haue their ouerflowing commendations of the *Ethiopian* Faith, and admiration of their State, made thus many Witnesses to be mustered, sometimes repeating the same things, by more abundant allegations to signifie and prooue the truth. We will further trouble the Reader with some extracts of *Peter Paex*, chiefe of the Iesuites in those parts. For *Melchior Syluius* a Priest of *Goa*, sent into *Abassia*, consulting with the *Abassine Portugals*, which way any Iesuite might be sent thither, was answered, that the Port of *Bailur* ouer against *Moha*, was freest of danger, which
 40 *Paex* seeking to doe, by the Monson was preuented, and the next yeare by a *Turke*, Seruant of the Captaine of *Suachen*, trading at *Diu*, named *Rezoam Aga*, was in *Armenian* habite thither conueyed. His iourney himsele hath written in a Letter to the Iesuites at *Goa*, the foure and twentieth of Iuly, 1603.

*Bailur twelue
leagues within
the streights on
the Abassine
shoare.*

THE two and twentieth of March we set Sails, *Rezoam Aga* sent me of his prouision twice a day, and landing at *Mazua*, procured me fauour of the *Gouernour*, with licence to goe whether I would
 into *Ethiopia* or *Cairo*. I thanked him, and said, That I would goe to a certaine Towne to see whether my Kinsman being dead, I might succeed in the Inheritance. The *Banean Saranga* or Captaine of the
 ship had receiued charge of the owner touching me, and sent two *Saracens* with mee, with whom, and
 five *Christians* of *Abassia*, I departed on the first of May. I went in a vile ragged habite for feare of
 50 Theeues, which there vse to rob and kill, which so freed our Company, that as wee went by night none spake but whisperingly. Neere morning wee thought to haue slept, but a *Lyon* terrified vs, within eight paces of me, but with our shawting he departed. The next day we passed high and cragged Hills, for feare of Theeues, and came at night to a Village of *Saracens*. On Holy-Thursdai, we came to certaine *Chri-
 stian* Herd-men, which supposing mee a *Turke*, fled, but learning that I was a Priest, kissed my hands with ioy, and refreshed us with store of Milke in vessels of Straw, which they set on burning stones to beate. Bread they had none, and was, they said, a rare thing to them, and farre brought. Their wines
 which had hid themselves, came the next day to intreat my blessing, some kissing my hands, others fal-
 ling at my feete. We went thence ouer rough Mountaines, troubled also with raine, the way not aboue
 three foote broad, on both sides so steepe, that I durst not looke downe for feare of giddinesse. Blind al-
 6 most and wearie, we came at last to the top, and found a plainer path, (for I had not beene able to haue descended the like) and a Towne of *Christians* which brought vs their Bookes and Crosses. Herewe were inuited to a poore Cottage, which yet was in good season for vs, a violent raine following, which else had oppressed vs. On the tenth of May we came to *Barua*, where all my Company left me, but one *Sa-
 racen* and a *Christian*. Another *Saracen* which dwelt here sent mee a Hen, but the *Christian* which

*Letters of P.
Paex.*

Strange paths.

Vaine superstition.

Raw flesh.
Wet, heat, cold,
and ill way.

Their houses.

*Sic cum sacrifici-
um.*

The King Supreme Gouver-
nor in causes
Ciuill and Ec-
clesiasticall.

* This seemeth
falsly written: for
James Malac
Sequends both
Predecessour
and Successor.
Relikes.

Grasse-hoppers
scarred
with Holy-water.

* *Mat. Paris*
tells of *Tufsted*
(I thinke hee
meaneth *Thax-*
ted) in *Essex*,
where the De-
uill comming
into the

Church at the
Priests aspersi-
on, shrieked
and leaped in-
to a Meadow
two furlongs
off. Sure I am,
such a Meadow
is there still,
called *Lopers*,
in that Parish
of my natiui-
tie.

Portugall goods
in Indian ships.
Obeliskes.

King of *Naria*
slaine.

was with me, gat him away, because the *Abassines* (forsooth) eate not any thing killed by a Turke: and I for feare of offence, sent it backe with thanks to the sender, eating dry Bisket brought from *Diu*, without any other things, though faint. Neither would the Gold I had doe me any seruice heere to buy provision, their currant Money being stones of Salt. The Bread of my Companions was halfe baked Dough, of round forme, which they bake with putting a hot stone into the Dough, and rolling it, cast it into the fire, so that the out-side is scorched, the in-side unbaked. This they carried in their Budgets, but my stomacke could not beare it. Hither on the eleventh of May, came Iohn Gabriel, the Captaine of the Portugals, hauing receiued my Letters from *Mazua*, with other Portugals. To giue mee better entertainment, they killed a Sheepe, which I tasted not, they eating it a little scorched and halfe raw, after the Countrey custome. Here I had a Mule, and we travelled twentie together, yet not without feare of Theeues, the raine also towards euening daily molesting vs (and we were forced to lye in the open fields) heat also exceeding in the ascent of an exceeding Mountaine, and as exceeding cold on the top. On the fifteenth of May, we came to *Fremona*, where *Ouiedo* and others of our Fathers were buried in the chiefe Church of the Portugals. We were receiued with great deuotion of the people. I went to the Patriarchs house, which is round as an Apple and couered with straw, as are all which we haue yet seene in *Ethiopia*, (all of Earth, and round, little, without distinct roomes; except those of the King and great men which haue severall roomes, but yet of Earth and Thatched.) The Patriarchs house was twentie palmes or spans ouer. Heere were *Melchior Syluius* his things, which had carried with him the holy Vestments. Sunday following being Whitsunday, I celebrated a dry Masse and preached. Many came to Confession. The Portugall Captaine was sent for to the Court by the new Emperour, to whom I writ, who by writing welcomed me, and licensed me to goe to him, which I purpose at the end of September, which is the end of Winter: for of him depend all the Priests, and all will be Catholikes if he command, as well Clergie as Laity. The Emperours name is *Malac Sequed*, aged fiftene yeares. On the last of Iune, *Syluius* returned from a worse iourney then that of ours, more craggie and rough, of twentie daies, which hee goeth twise in the yeare to *Nanina*, to the Catholikes there. I send your Worshipps the head of the holy Patriarch, although not whole, hauing bene often digged up: I adde three pieces of the skull, and the iaw with eight teeth. On the other side, send you me, I pray, some Image of the blessed *Virgines Conception*, of fine or sixe spannes, for the seruice of this Temple wanting an Image. I haue placed the head of *Father Francis Lopes* in my Bolster, being yet hairy, for my more viue memorie of his life, which what it was you shall receiue by our informations, as also of *Father Abraham*, of whom you haue heard no fame, &c.

While *Paez* remained at *Fremona*, hee translated the Catechisme into the *Amaran* tongue (which is there counted the most elegant) and made the Children learne it by heart. In this yeere 1603. great misery happened by Grasse-hoppers, from which, *Paez* freed the Catholikes, by Letanies and sprinkling the Fields with Holy-water; when as the Fields of Heretikes, seuered onely by a Ditch, were spoyled by them. Yea, a Heretike vsing this sacred sprinkling, preserved his Corne, which to a Catholike neglecting in one Field, was lost, and preserved in another by that coniured aspersiion (so neere of kinne are these Locusts to the Deuill, which is said * to hate Holy-water, or else make a quere for other Locusts, worse then the *Egyptian* mentioned *Apoc. 9.*) About the end of September, when hee had thought to haue gone to the Court, newes came, that the Emperours Sisters Husband conspired against him, and imprisoned him, alleading that he was no Christian, because one of his Guard was an Ethnick, and that his Father was not the King, but one *Batius* a vulgar person. He being produced and thus accused, stood mute; because (said hee) his Subiects presumed to iudge their Soueraigne: Hee was sent into close keeping to *Damijeta*.

The Viceroy of *Tigrai* passing by, *Paez* went to salute him: who willed him to sit downe on his Carpet, when all the rest stood: and asked why the Portugals did not now as in time past, frequent the Red Sea; whether they were afraide of the Turkes. Hee answered, that Turkes rather feared the Portugals, and fled into the Countrey when they aproached the Coast: but this was the true reason that all the ships of *India* came thither out of Portugall Ports, and most of their goods appertained to the Portugals.

He went to the Monasterie *Conegorum*, where he saw their Church, the Altar inuironed with a threefold Curtaine, reaching to the wall on both sides, sometime couered with stone, now with straw, the *Saracens* hauing spoyled the former, and therefore darke: they shewed him a Crucifixe painted on a Linnen cloth, as a precious thing, yet artlesly wrought. They set him on a Carpet, themselves and the Portugals sitting on the ground. Ouer against the doore, were ten faire stones, in the midst whereof, they say, the Emperour is inaugurated. A little further are thirteene stones in Pyramide fashion, the greatest whereof is twelue spannes broad, and about sixtie high, with much workmanship, the matter admirable whence it could bee brought hither. The Viceroy forbade his Iudges to meddle with the Towne of Catholikes, and appointed *Paez* their Iudge. The *Galla* did much mischief at this time, and slew the King of *Narea*, tributary to the *Abassine*, whom also they assaulted, but were ouerthrowne. After this, the King sent for *Paez*, who was brought to the King, sitting on a high Throne, and kissed his hand, being bidden also to be couered, and to sit on the Carpet. After this, followed another day

day; a dispute about abolishing the legall Rites, two wills in Christ, and Purgatorie, all which, they denie. The King was desirous to see their Masse, but for want of Wine, he could performe onely a dry Office; for which, the King caused a great Tent to bee erected, and in it, another lesse for his Throne: the Iesuite preached with great applause; whom the Empresse also desiring to heare, when the Emperour saw him standing, hee arose from his Throne, and inuited him to make his Sermon out of it, himselfe sitting on the Foot-stoole. Another time, when in conference, *Paex* called himselfe the Emperours Subiect; no, said hee, *my Father and King*: and gaue great hopes of the conuersion of that Nation, which were dashed by his death, which *Paex* signified in his Letter, the thirtieth of Iuly, 1605. Namely, that *Zezelazeus*, whom the Emperour had deliuered from exile, and exalted, had conspired together with *Eras Athanatheus*, (the next to the Emperor) who yet made faire shew, and bound himselfe after the *Alasine* manner, in the bond of excommunication, to fidelitie and loyaltie, which yet he kept not: *Zezelazeus* gathered great forces, alleading against the Emperours, that he *forsooke his Religion, and imbraced the Portugall and Romane*; and therefore all that were zealous, ought to take armes against him. This made some sweare to kill all the *Portugals*, and the Iesuite especially. Before the battell, he wished him present to confesse himselfe to him. In the battell, *Anabel* which before had forsoken him, returned to his Part with his Sonne: but hee suspecting him; False Traitor thou wentest, said he, and so thou returnest, withall, killing him, which his sonne seeing ranne the Emperour thorow the necke, and thrust him off his Horse, whom *Zezelazeus* and the *Saracens* dispatched. Three daies hee lay dead in the field, naked and subiect to contumelies, and after that, meanelly buried.

Want of Wine of the Vine: that of Hony more common. Iesuites honors

The Emperour *Malac Segued*, called also *Sa-uenquil*, and *Athanas Saqued*.

Iames slaine or lost.

Paex was all this while in *Goyame*, whence he was sent for by the Empresse, and kindly entertained. *Sazinofius* by election succeeded in the Empire foure Moneths, then forsaken, and *Iames* restored out of his *Narean* imprisonment and exile, passing thorow the *Galle's* Countrey with great hazard. In the yeere 1607. *Sazinofius* ouercame him in battell, neither was *Iames* any more seene. This *Sazinofius* was a man of singular arts and parts for warre and peace, munificent and faithfull, aged fise and thirty yeeres, affected to the *Romane* faith. A yeere and halfe he had to doe with Rebels, same affecting Soueraignty, which hee brought to Subiection. Much adoe he had also with the *Galle* (which came to subdue the *Agai*, which are white Christians, to sell them to the *Saracens*) whom in foure battels he ouerthrew. After this, followed another rebellion, with successe like to the former. Hee sent *Zezelazeus* prisoner into the Kingdome of *Goroma*, whence he escaped and was slaine of the *Pesants*. He sought to vnite the *Abassine* Church with the *Romane*, and writ to the Pope and the King of *Spaine*. His Letters to the Pope are these.

Agai.

THE Letters of *Malasegued* the *Abassine* Emperour, let come to the holy Father Bishop of Rome, with the peace of Iesus Christ, which hath loued vs, and washed vs from our sinnes in his bloud, and made us a Kingdome and Priests to God and the Father. This peace bee with your Holinesse, and the whole Church of Christ, &c. Such is the spoile and ruine of our Empire by warres past, that although we haue subdued some Rebels, yet are there others more puissant abroad, the *Ethnick Galla*, which haue subiected no small part of the Kingdome, and daily molest vs with new incursions, miserably vexing old and young: which their rage cannot in seeming be repressed without the ayd of the King of Portugall. Wherefore we intreat him to send vs ayde as his Ancestors did to our Progenitors. And that my Petition may haue more weight, I thought good to write to your Holinesse, the Pastor and Father of all the faithfull, to signifie so much to our Brother, &c. October 14. 1607. The like he writ to the King of Spaine, Decemb. 10. as also did *Eras Athanatheus*.

The reason of this name, I thinke to be their custome of changing Name when they come to the Empire.

The Iesuites there giue their *Agnus Dei's*, Graines, &c. The *Abassines* weare Amulets of words of the Gospell, hanging about their necks. Amongst other Rebels which arose in Armes against *Sazinofius*, was not one farre from *Fremona*, which had beene an Anchorite, or Hermite in a Wildernesse twentie yeeres, not putting off yet his ambition of a Scepter. He had theeues to associate him, of which there are plentie. But I haue almost beene robbed of discretion, and seeme to haue robbed my Readers patience to wilder, and while him so long in this miserable *Abassia*.

Religious Rebell.

An Armenian his report of *Svssinus*, the Emperour of the *Abaxins*, by vs vulgarly called *Prestor Iohn*, who came from the said Emperours Court twelue daies since.

First, from *Dealeque* to the Kings Court, called *Dombia*, (a very great Citie) is fise and twentie daies iourney by Carrauan; heere goeth from thence yearly ten Carrauans, whereof eight are great. The Commodities they carrie, are all kind of *Indian* cloathing, and likewise of our English Commodities, (Broad-cloath, Kerseys, Lead, Tinne; likewise, Veluets, Damaskes,

A12A

masks, Sattens, Taffitae, and all other sorts of Silke Stuffs. Their measure is about halfe a yard; Cloath, which is worth in *Moha* foure Rials of eight, is there worth eight Rials. The price of Kerseyes, is halfe the price of Broad-cloath: The Colours they most desire, are Reds, Greens, Violets, Murreys, and other light Colours: Yellowes in no esteeme, nor Blacks.

Veluets of *China* of all sorts are worth ten Rials of eight the halfe yard. Veluets of *Italy* are much more worth: but not so profitable to the Merchants, because they are much dearer. Sattens of *Florence* are worth ten Rials; Damaskes of the better sort, worth eight or ten Rials. Taffitae three Rials; all colours well sold, excepting Yellowes and Blackes.

The Commodities of that Country, with their Prizes.

Ciuet, great quantitie is to be had, the price is three Wakias, (which is neere vpon foure ounces English, for five Rials of eight. Elephants teeth, the Bahar, worth thirtie Rials. The Bahar is three hundred and sixtie Rottollies of *Moha*. Waxe one hundred Rottollies, worth one Rial of eight. Gold the Rottolly, worth sixtie Rials, the Rottolly is neere vpon sixteen ounces and a halfe. Lead and Tinne in great request. Tinne worth the Rottolly, one Rial, Lead much more worth, because the *Turk* wil not suffer any to be carried into his Country.

Bezar-stones many are to be had, and little worth: here are many Beasts with one horne in their fore-head like a Vnicorne; which horne, they say, is good against poyson. There are of them which weigh eight pound, some seuen, foure, and three pound: the greatest and fairest, worth some foure Rials the piece, and those of a lesser sort worth lesse: among the *Turkes* and *Moors* in *Arabia*, euery pound is worth one Rial of eight.

From *Grancairo* there goeth in August a great Carrauan, and likewise another in Nouem-
ber. The Commodities they carrie from thence, are Broad-cloaths, Kerseyes, Veluets, Sattens, Damaskes, and all sorts of Silkes. From *Cayro* to *Dombia* is fiftie daies trauell by Carrauan.

The Kings State.

Firt, he sits on a gilt Bed-sted like those of *China*, and there commeth great troops of men daily to salute him; some daies two thousand, some daies more, some daies lesse; but Friday being their day of Fast, there commeth a farre greater quantitie.

HONDIVS his Map of Asia.





10 PEREGRINATIONS,
AND TRAVELS BY LAND IN-
TO PALESTINA, NATOLIA, SYRIA,
ARABIA, PERSIA, AND OTHER
PARTS OF ASIA.

20 THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The Historie of the first Expedition to Ierusalem, by GODFREY of Bullen, ROBERT of Normandie, and other Christian Princes: Written

30 *by ROBERT, whom some call the Englishman, a Monke of Saint REMIGIVS, which was present both at the Councell of Claremont, and in the said Expedition: translated and abbreuiated.*



40 **I**N the yeare of our Lord 1095. a great Councell was celebrated at Claremont, in Auvergne on the Confines of France, wherein Pope Urban the Second was present and President with the Bishops and Cardinals: where many French and Germane Bishops and Princes were assembled. Ecclesiasticall Affaires being there set in order, the Lord Pope went forth into a broad street (for no House was able to containe the multitude) and spake thus with perswasive pleasant Rhetoricke vnto them.

O yee Nation of the French, O Nation, (as appeareth by many of your workes) beloued and chosen of God, separated from all Nations, as well in situation of your Region, as in Catholike Religion and Honour of holy Church; to you is our Speech directed, and

our Exhortation intended, willing to let you know what lamentable cause hath brought vs to your Borders.

50 From the Confines of Ierusalem and Constantinople a grieuous report hath spread and often come to our eares, that the Persians * a cursed Nation estranged quite and alienate from God, hath invaded the Countries of those Christians, and with sword, spoile and fire hath partly captined, partly slaine them; either subuerting, or else peruerting to their wicked Rites the Churches of God, polluting his Altars, circumcising Christians and shedding that bloud of Circumcision on the Altars, or in the Christning Fonts. Whom they please to kill with shamefull death, they open at the nauill, and taking out the entrailles tye them to a stake and whip them about the same, till being exenterated they fall on the ground: others they bind to a stake and shoot at; of others they make tryall whether with one blow they can strike off the head. What shall I say of that which may not, cannot, by saying be expressed, the rauishment of women? The Greeke Empire for the space of two monethes tourney, they haue ouer-runne and subdued. To whom then doth the reuenge and deliuerance belong but to you, whom God hath preferred aboue other Nations in honour of

60 Armes, courage of hearts, agilitie of bodies, and abilitie to abase euery Enemy. Let the Exploits of your Predecessors incite your manly spirits, the goodnesse and greatnesse of Carolus Magnus, and Lewis his Sonne, with other your Kings, which haue destroyed the Kingdome of Turkes, and in them enlarged the borders of the Church. And aboue all, let the holy Sepulchre of our Lord and Sauour mooue you, which is possessed of impure Nations; and those holy places which are shamefully abused and vnreuerently

Peter the Heremite having visited Ierusalem, by relation of the Patriark and pretended reuelation moued, stirred vp the Pope to this counsaile and Councell.

* Turkes which had come out of Persia, and began to shake the Easterne parts of the Greeke Empire in Cilicia, and the adioyning Regions of Natolia, Syria, &c. See Knols Turkish History

uerently defiled by their filthinesse. O most valiant Souldiers, and the Progeny of invincible Progenitors, doe not you degenerate, but call to mind the vertues of your Ancestors. And if the deare affection of Wives and Children stay you, remember what our Lord sayth in the Gospell, Hee that loueth Father or Mother more then mee, is not worthy of mee. Euery one which shall forsake House, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands for my Name, shall receiue a hundred fold, and shall possesse eternall life. Take no care for your Lands and Goods, for this your Land is enclosed with Mountaines and Seas, is to strait for your multitude, and scarcely yeelds sustenance to her Inhabitants. Hence it is that you bite and deuoure one another, make warres and slay each other. Let hatred cease, braules be silenced, Warres be husht, and Dissentions be lulled asleepe. Enter the way of the holy Sepulchre, take away the Land from that wicked people and subdue it vnto you. That Land was giuen to the children of Israel, flowing, as sayth the Scripture, with Milke and Honey. Ierusalem is the Nauill of the Earth, a Land fertile aboue others, as it were another Paradise. This bath the Redeemer of Mankind made glorious with his comming, adorned with his conuersation, consecrated with his Passion, redeemed with his Bloud, sealed with his Sepulchre. This Royall Citie placed in the midst of the World, is now held captiue of her Enemies, and is by them which know not God, enthralled to the custome of the Gentiles. She seekes then and desireth to bee freed, not ceasing to pray for your succour: and that of you chiefly whom God hath best fitted for Armes, undertake yee this way then for remission of your sinnes, being assured of the immarcesible glory of the Heauenly Kingdome.

Arripite igitur
viam hanc in re-
missionem pec-
catorum vestro-
rum, Securi de
immarc. gl. reg.
Col.

These and many like words with much Vrbane did Pope Urban pronounce, and so moued the hearts of all present, that with one voice they cryed, *Deus vult, Deus vult*; which the Pope hearing with eies lifted to Heauen, he gaue thanks to God, and acknowledged it the worke of God which put it into their minds.

a God wils, or
it is Gods will,

Let therefore this voice (saith he) be your word in your Warres, and when you shall giue the on-set on the Enemie, on Gods behalfe this shall be your vniuersall out-crie, *Deus a vult, Deus vult*. Wee neither bid nor counsaile that men aged and feeble, unfit for Warre should undertake this iourney, nor women without their Husbonds, and Brethren, or lawfull testimonies: for these are more hinderance then helpe. Let the rich helpe the poore, and carrie with them at their charge men fit for Warre. Priests, or Clerkes of any order may not goe without their Bishops leaue, without which this way would bee vnprofitable for them. For neither is it expedient for Lay-men to trauell, but with the blessing of their Priest. Whosoener therefore shall haue a purpose of this holy Pilgrimage, and shall make a Vow thereof to God, that he will offer a lining Sacrifice holy, acceptable to God, let him weare the signe of our Lords Crosse on his fore-head or on his brest. And hee which hauing performed his Vow shall goe thence, let him put it behind betwixt his shoulders. Both wayes shall such accomplish our Lords Com-mandement in the Gospell, Hee which doth not beare his Crosse and come after mee, is not worthy of mee.

b This was the
deuotion of
that time. Our
Kings if they
went to Nor-
mandie, had the
Bishops bles-
sing at the
shoare, &c.

After this, one of the Cardinals named Gregorie, in the name of all that were prostrate on the ground, said his Confession, and so all knocking their breasts obtayned Absolution of those things which they had done amisse, and after their Absolution a Blessing, and after the Blessing licence to returne home. And that it may appeare that this worke was of God and not of Man (as after wee learned) on that very day in which these things were said and done, Fame preached it thorow the World; insomuch that in the Ilands of the Sea it was reported, that the Ierusalem Voyage was concluded in the Councell. All the Laitie returned home; and Pope Urbane caused the Bishops to assemble the next day, and consulted with them what course might bee taken for such a multitude of Pilgrimes, seeing there was not yet amongst them any Prince of Name. And they all chose the Bishop Podiensis, saying, that hee was a man fit for Affaires Diuine and Humane, well skilled both wayes and prouident in his actions. He therefore like another Moses, receiued the charge and conduct of the Lords people, with the Popes blessing and of the whole Councell. O how many of diuers age and condition receiued Crosses in that Councell, and vowed the way of the holy Sepulchre? Thence was it divulged abroad, and to the eares of Kings and Princes came this honourable Constitution of the Councell, It pleased all and more then three hundred thousand conceiue it in their purpose, and are now eager to fight with the Turkes.

Peter the He-
remite, and
Godfrey of
Bullen.

There was in those dayes one Peter, which had beene an Heremite, much esteemed among them which are skilled in the World, and preferred before Bishops and Abbots in Religious account, because he neither did eate bread nor flesh: yet did hee vse Wine and all other food, and sought the chiefest abstinence in Delicacies. He at that time gathered no small multitude of horse and foot, and made his way thorow Hungaria, being associated to a Dutch Commander, called Godfrey the Sonne of Eustace Earle of Bullen, but in Office of dignitie hee was a Dutch Leader. He was a man of goodly countenance, tall stature, pleasant speech, worthy behauiour, and so milde of disposition, that he seemed more like a Monke then a Souldier; but when the Enemie was at hand hee was a dreadlesse Lion. Hee with his Brethren Eustace and Baldwin, and a great Armie passed the way of Hungarie, the way which Charles the Great appointed to his Armie to Constantinople. First therefore, Peter the Heremite with his, and a great multitude of Almanes came to Constantinople, and found there a copious band of Lombards, and many others assem-

c These drones
I wis, had no
stings, except
you angred
them.

assembled from places farre distant. To whom the Emperour denyed entrance into the Citie, suspecting much the Christian valour, especially of the *French*. He granted them yet to buy and sell, but forbade them to passe ouer the Sea, called *Saint Georges Arme*, till the dreadfull Armie of the *French* was comne. For there was an infinite number of *Turkes* which brutishly thirsted for their approach, by whom they must needs be destroyed, if they passed sooner, as afterward it hapned. But euery company wanting a good Gouvernour, guided by an ill head, groweth feeble and is farre from safetie. Thus they wanting a prudent Prince to rule them, destroyed the Churches and Palaces of the Citie, spoyling them of their goods and leaden roofes, selling the same to the *Greekes*. Whereupon the Emperour *Alexius* being angry, commanded them to passe *Saint Georges Arme*, which going further, chose one *Rainald* for their Leader, not ceasing to commit the like out-rages, burning Houses, and robbing Churches. Thus came they to *Nicomedia*, and thence entred the Land of *Romania*: and hauing walked three dayes went beyond *Nice*, and found a Castle called *Exerogorgo* emptie of men, but plentifully store with Corne, Wine, Flesh and all kind of Prouisions. The *Turkes* for feare of the *French* had gone farre off, but sent their Spies, by whom they were informed, that these new Ghests were Wasters and Spoilers rather then Vlers and Possessors, whom therefore they begirt with a strait Siege, the besieged hauing exchanged their former Riots with such want of drinke, that they were faine to supply that want with letting their beasts bloud, to satisfie the Owners thirst, or else with their owne Vrine. This was about *Michaelmas*, when *Rainald* their Leader to saue his life made close composition with the *Turkes* and fled to them, leauing such as would not turne *Turkes* as he did, for loue of the World, to be by them turned out of the World by ludibrious and reprochfull deathes, or to hold a title of life with reall captiuitie and base seruitude.

Peter the Heremite was in the Castle *Ciuio* about *Nice*, against whom they remooued, and by the way encountred with *Walter* his Generall, whom valiantly fighting they oppressed with multitudes and slue: and after that, all the Christians they could meet with, they killed or captiued. *Peter* himselfe being gone to *Constantinople*, they forced his Castle. The Emperour and the *Greekes* playd the *Greekes*, and reioyced hereat, buying their Armes of the needie Souldiers, so to disarm them.

IN the meane-while, God stirred vp two Earles alike in Dignitie, Armes, Courage, Name, *The second* Bloud and Power, *Robert* and *Robert*, the Earles of *Normandie* and *Flanders*, and with them *Booke*. *Hugo Magnus* Brother to *Philip* the King of *France*, *Stephen* Earle *Carnotensis* and other inferiour Earles, many both of *France*, and of the Greater and Lesse *Britaine* from the North, and from the South the Bishop *Podiensis* and *Raimund* Earle of *Saint Giles* (or *Tholouse*) which being very rich sold all that he had and vndertooke the Enterprize. And now the West prepareth to enlighten the East, and with new raised starres to expell that darknesse, the brightnesse of their minds excelling that of their Armes, all resolving to die, or conquer. They passed the *Alpes* at diuers times and came to *Rome* (the Citie not being able to lodge them all) where hauing visited the holy places, and commended themselues to the Merits and Prayers of the Apostles and other Saints, and receiued the Popes blessing, they passed thorow *Apulia*; a Prince whereof named *Boamund* was then in the siege of *Malphi*, on the Sea-shoare, who hearing of their Leaders, Orders, honestie, their word *Deus vult*, their Weapons, Courage, Crosses on the fore-head or right shoulder, sent for two precious Garments and cut them into Crosses, and said, *If any be our Lords, let him now bee ioyned to me, and yee that now are my Souldiers, become Gods, and enter the way of the holy Sepulchre with me, and take my things as yours. Are not we also of French bloud, and did not our Parent come out of France, and subdue this Land by Armes? Shall our Kinsmen and Brethren goe to Martyrdome and Paradise without vs? In all Ages to come a back-sliding cowardise will bee imputed to vs, if this diuine Warfare bee performed without vs.* Presently all of them cryed, *Wee will goe out with thee and vow the way of the Sepulchre*; the Crosses not being sufficient. The Nobles of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicilia*, did also the like, insomuch that the Duke of *Apulia*, Brother to the said *Boamund* (both Sonnes of *Robert Wischard*) was afraid to abide in his Dukedome, being left alone with children and women.

Whiles *Boamund* provided necessities, *Hugo* tooke Sea at *Bari*, to *Dyrrachium*, others to *Brun-
dium*, or *Otranto*. The Emperour had commanded his Officers to take all these Pilgrimes and bring them to *Constantinople* to doe him fealtie, that what they tooke should be his. But when *Hugo* met there Duke *Godfrey*, he reioyced of his taking, both renewing their old friendship, and discovering the Emperours fraud: who before had laid ambushes to kill closely Duke *Godfrees* men as they went to provide necessities, which being perceiued by his Brother *Baldwine*, was with counter-ambush turned on the Imperials, and after another like assault on *Godfrees* Tents. The Emperour frustrated, sought to make peace, and permitted buying of prouision. The rest not long after arrived, and after them *Boamund* with *Tancred* his Nephew, and *Richard* the Son of *Marchis*, who passed by *Bulgaria*, and *Andrinople*, and being encountred by the Emperours Forces, in the way ouerthrew them, and after receiued faire semblance from him, but with no

lesse malice. Homage was in conclusion required by the Emperour, that is, securitie of peace, that he should conduct and provide for them, accompanying them with his presence, and the assistance of his people, swearing to supply their necessitie in Armes and Clothes, and not to hurt or consent to the hurt of any Pilgrime. This they sware vnto, so long to continue as the Emperour kept his Oath. But the Earle of Saint Giles refused, and would haue him and his Citie destroyed. But being perswaded by the rest, he took this Oath, *I sweare to Alexius the Emperour that neuer by me nor mine he shall loose life or honour or whatsoever hee now possesseth iustly or vniustly.* And the Emperour sware, *I Alexius Emperour sweare to Hugo Magnus, Duke Godfrey, and other the Princes of the French here present, neuer to hurt or suffer to bee hurt any Pilgrime of the Holy Sepulchre, and that I will proceed with them in Warlike Affaires, and according to my power will provide them sufficient Market.* This they did, forced by necessitie, but hee chose rather to incurre Perjurie then not to remooue the French from his Frontiers.

HONDIVS his Map of Asia Minor.



The third
Booke.

After this Confederacie the Emperour commanded ships to be brought for transportation of the Armie. Godfrey and Tancred were first transported, went to *Nicomedia*, and staid three dayes: and seeing no passage the Duke sent before foure thousand men with Axes and Ploughes and other Iron Instruments to make way, the way being waylesse, thorow Hills, Dales and Praecipices. These made way with much labour to *Nice*, and set wooden Crosses at euery turning. They came to *Nice* the sixth of May, and before any prouision was brought a Loafe of bread was sold for twentie or thirtie pence. But *Boamund* brought plentie, and on Holy Thursday they besieged the Citie and addressed thereto their Engines, Slings, Rammes and the like. The *Turkes* made valiant resistance, shooting poysoned Arrowes, which killed whom they but lightly wounded.

Ours

Ours erect high Engines about the Walls, by which they might ouer-see the men on the Wall, and opposed Turrets of Wood to those of Stone. The fight was hote, and the besieged ready, to yeeld when they saw threescore thousand comming in their Troupes from the Mountaines, two for fight, whiles the thrd might enter the Citie. No Hunger-bitten stomacke is readier to flye to a Feast then the Christians to the fight, where hauing slaine them and returned to the Citie, they with Slings cast their heads into the Citie, and the next day hauing ships prepared, entred the Lake on the South-side of the Citie, which so afrighted the *Turkes*, that by the *Turcopola* they sent to the Emperour, that they would yeeld the Citie to him on composition to depart with their goods. This was done, and the *Turkes* carryed to *Constantinople*, (with purpose to haue them in better readinesse against the *Frankes*) after seuen weekes and three dayes siege, no Citie being so defensible in all *Romania*.

They departed thence & two daies after came to a bridge, and refreshing themselves there two dayes, they parted themselves being to trauell in a barren Countrey, the greater band being committed to *Hugo Magnus*; and with him the Bishop, the Earles of *Flanders* and *Saint Giles*, and Duke *Godfrey*: the other to *Boamund*. After three dayes march, this later Armie is encountred with three hundred thousand *Turkes*, whereat some shrinking and thinking to flie, *Boamund* a man popular, and *Robert* of *Normandie* a stout Warriour, commanded to pitch their Tents; but before this was done, one hundred and fiftie *Turkes* with poysoned Arrowes, began a skirmish turning their backes (according to their custome in their flight to wound the pursuers) and were taken and slaine. There was now no place for flight, the Enemie hauing possessed the Hills, and the *Frankes* hauing broken their Launces in those wicked bodies, it came to handie strokes, with the Sword.

Some got to the Christians Tents, and slay the Mother and Childe, whose cry comming to *Boamunds* eares, he commits the battell to the *Norman* Earle, and speedily repaires thither, chased the *Turkes*, and leauing some to guard them, returnes to the battell. Here hee finds the Christians so tired with labour, thirst and heat, that had not the women brought them water out of the adioyning Riuer many had dyed. Now had ours once turned their backes, but presently the *Norman* Earle displaying his Golden Banner, turned his Horse, and redoubled the Military word, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, otherwise that had proued a dismall day. But seeing *Boamund* and the *Norman*, they recovered their spirits, chusing to dye rather then to flye. The *Turkes* had so beset ours with their multitude, that no way was open but to their Tents: many perished by *Turkish* Arrowes; none was idle, the Souldiers fighting, the Priests crying and praying, the women conueying the slaine to the Tents, the Aire ouer-shadowed with a thicke Cloud of shot; when *Hugo* and Duke *Godfrey* came flying like prouoked Eagles, to their distressed Airies with fortie thousand freshmen. And now the cries of some fighting, and others dying, the ratling of Armors and cracking of Launces, filled the Hills and Valleys with confused noyses of insulting voyces, and resulting ecchoes; and manifold deaths are represented to the life in miserable spectacles.

The *Turkes* now looking backe to the Hills, see the Bishoppe *Podiensis* and Earle *Raimund*, with the rest of the Armie, descending to the on-set as a terrible storme, showing Souldiers, and powring Weapons, and not able further to hold vp head or heart, betooke them to their heeles: which put life into our wounded, to pursue and reuenge their hurts; insomuch, that the Hill is coloured red, the thirstie earth is drunken, & increaseth the Neighbour Riuer with new streames of *Persian*, *Median*, *Syrian*, *Saracen*, and *Turkish* blood, leauing their carkasses like Grasse-hoppers without number on the ground; the Night at last deliuering the remnant of these children of darknesse, from the Christian Zeale which now conuerted it selfe into Hymnes and Prayses of the Great Lord of Hosts.

The next day they buried their dead, distinguished by Crosses, the wiser sort giuing them the veneration of Martyrs, and the most Honourable Sepulture. The spoyle of the *Turkes* clothed with Silke, the halfe naked Christians, furnished them with Armes, and of beggers suddenly made them rich. The day after, which was the third of Iuly, they pursued the *Turkes* which fled as Birds before the Hawke.

Soliman their Leader (Sonne of that *Soliman* which had taken all *Romania* from the Emperour) had after his flight from *Nice*, procured tenne thousand *Arabians* to come to his aide: which being comne, hee told them that the vertue of the *Frankes* was either *Diuine* or *Diaboli-call*, whom wee, saith hee, had so conquered (in conceit) that wee had provided Withes and Halters to put about their neckes, when suddenly a people which feares not death came downe the Mountaines, and entred our Troupes. Alas, wee were three hundred and threescore thousand, and are all slaine or fled. This is the fourth day since, and still we tremble. And therefore if you will be aduised, get yee out of *Romania*. Thus they fled with him, in all Christian Townes as they passed, making a cheerefull countenance and semblance of Victorie; and spoyling all that opened to them, so to impouerish the pursuing *Frankes* by preuenting them of prouisions, leauing a Desert Countrey vnto them.

Veneration of Martyrs to their slaine friends, by zeale or superstition.

Compare this with eightie eight prouision Three hundred and sixtie thousand *Turkes*.

Great Rams
and Dogges.

Iconium.

Tarsus.

Armenia.

Cesarea.

Cofor.

Antiochia.

* Milites, a
common name
to Souldiers or
Knights: here
in this Author
giuen com-
monly to
Horse-men.
Castellum Publi-
canorum.
Rugia.

* Knights then
differed from
the present,
were created
by Abbots, &c.

and therefore
were many in
number, as
these Ierosoly-
mitan and o-
ther Stories of
that time
mention: Mi-
litibus, may al-
so be interpre-
ted men at
Armes, and is
in this story al-
way vnder-
stood of Horse
men.

* Leauē not
the Historie
for the Mistē-
rie. 1. The 5. 21.
The Monke
hath forgotten
that an Apo-
stle is not of
man, nor by
man, nor hath
a City but the
World for his
Diocese. Saint
Paul speaketh
otherwise, Gal.
1. & 2. & Luke.
Acts 9. 11. & 13.
Mat. 23. 10b. 21.
The fourth
Booke.

Thus were they forced to kill most of their Horses, and many to goe on foote; others, to ride on Oxen, Kine, and the great and strong Rams and Dogs of that Countrey. They passed thence therefore as fast as they could, and entred *Lycaonia*, a plentifull Countrey, and came to *Iconium* a rich Citie. When they went thence, they by counsell of the Citizens carried vessels of water with them, which serued till the second day after, that they came to a Riuer: where hauing stayed two daies, they went forward to *Heraclea*. Heere were a great multitude of *Turkes*, which seeing the *Frankes* approach, fled amaine, and left the Citie to ours, which stayed there foure daies. Then did *Baldwin* Brother of *Godfrey*, and *Tancred*, separate themselves with their troups, and went to *Tarsus*. Many *Turkes* were there which went to meete them, but were disperfed, and the next day the Citizens receiued them into the Citie. Here arose a contention betwixt *Baldwin* and *Tancred*, whether should haue rule of the Citie, which *Tancred* at last yeelded to *Baldwin*, whose Armie was the greater. In short time two Cities, *Athena* and *Mannistra*, were yeelded to them, and many Castles. The *Turkes* were now hidden in their strongest holds.

The greatest part of the *French*, entred into the Land of the *Armenians*, eagerly thirsting to make the Land drunken with bloud of *Turkes*; the whole Land was quiet before them, and the *Armenians* receiued them into their Cities. They came to a Castle which feared neither armes nor engines. A Souldier in the Campe, an *Armenian*, desired to hold that Land of the Princes, in the tealtie of God and the holy Sepulchre; whereto they yeelded, because they knew him to be a valiant man. After this, they came to *Cesarea* of *Cappadocia*, which voluntarily yeelded it selfe. Thence they went to a faire City which the *Turkes* had assieged a little before, three weekes, the Citizens whereof came forth to meete them. Another Knight in the Campe, named *Peter de Alpibus*, desired this, and obtayned it of the Princes. After this, they came to *Cofor*, a commodious and plentifull City; where they were gently receiued of the Christian Inhabitants, and stayed thee dayes, furnishing themselves with necessaries, and receiuing abundant refreshing.

Meane while, *Ramiundus* had intelligence that the *Turkes* were fled from *Antiochia*, and had left it weakely manned; who deuised thereupon, to conuey thither five hundred Knights*, to take the Towre before the rest knew of it. But when they were come into the Valley neere *Antiochia*, they then perceiued that the *Turkes* were not gone, but fortified the City all they could. They went therefore to the Castle of the *Publicans*, subdued it, and turned thence to the Valley of *Rugia*, where they slew many *Turkes* and *Saracens*: whereupon, the *Armenians* reioycing, yeelded themselves. They possessed themselves of *Rusa* and many Castles. The rest of the Armie with miserable disaster passed mountainous wayes, passable onely for Beasts and creeping things, yeelding a *Foot-path* indeed, a way of no wider space, Rocks, Shrubs, Thornes, proud Hills aspiring to the Stars, and Hells of deepe Valleyes affrighting the very eyes, where the Knights* and Esquires carried their Armes hanging on their necks, some throwing them away, to auoide the carriage, all enforced to goe on foote; yea, often bearing the burthens of their Beasts, which could not passe laden: neither might any stand or sit, by reason of the followers, or turne himselfe in those straits, to helpe him which followed. By this vnpassable passage (the embleme of the true and heavenly Pilgrimage) they came at last to *Marasis*, where they were receiued cheerefully with plentifull refection. Hauing staid one day, they came the next day into the Valley in which *Antiochia* is seated, chiefe City of *Syria*; whilome famous by Saint *Peter* Prince of the Apostles: in it, he placed his Episcopall Chaire, and* ordered *Barnabas* and *Paul* Apostles. But as first our Lord would conquer it with humilitie and preaching, so now with sublimitie of Armes. Ours came to the Iron Bridge, where they encountred many *Turkes*, which prohibited their passage, and made their way by force, and there found rich spoyles. They pitched their Tents on the Riuer's banke, not farre from the City; and the next day prepare to goe to the City, and lay siege to it in three place. For on one side the Mountaines prohibit acceffe and all militarie Art. On Wednesday, the twelfth Kal. of December, was this siege begunne, and because the City was not onely the minion of Nature, but Paragon of Art, the Princes consulted to vse more their Arts then Armes.

First therefore, they made a Bridge for commodious passage ouer the Riuer, for they found a copious Vintage, Caves full of Corne and prouisions, Trees laden with varietie of fruits, which the *Armenians* within the City made knowne to them. Engines were erected, Turrets of wood, Slings, Hookes, Rammes, Moles, and other deuises. There were within so many defenders, as might haue tryed it in the field with ours. They builded a Castle, if haply the *Turkes* preuailed, for better securitie. The Garison of *Arech* hauing cut off diuers of our Victualers, an ambush was laide, and many *Turkes* slaine, their heads cast (by Engines) into the City: and thence forwards, our men had freer passage to the *Armenians* for prouisions, which readily brought also to sell. Christmas Festiuitie was celebrated with ioyfull solemnity: after which, the Winter with Elementary forces, helped the Enemie to assault vs, and made prouision difficult: famine within; without, Haile, Snow, Ice, Windes, Armies without Armes, but not without harmes

harmes, to them which were without shelter, exposed to their fury, euery way pinched, but in resolution, and therefore quickned by these spurres: they agreed that *Boamund* and the Earle of *Flanders*, with thirtie thousand choice Horse and Foot, should enter into the *Saracens* Land. From *Ierusalem*, *Damasco* and *Aleppo*, and other Countries, *Persians*, *Arabians* and *Medes*, had assembled to come to *Antiochia*, to raise that siege; but hearing that some of the Christians were entered their Countrey, they reioyced, securing themselves of victory, and diuided their Armie into two, to keepe ours from fleeing any way. The Armies met, these trusting in their multitudes, those in Gods Omnipotence, which gaue them a shamefull ouerthrow, and put them to flight; wherein our Foot mounted their Horses to pursue them. Once; they had beene
 10 good Purueyors, to bring thus from farre vnto them so many Asles, Camels, and other Beasts, laden with Wine, Corne and other prouision, and *the hungry he filled with good things*: his Name be blessed for euer.

Famine and
Plentie, and
Famine.

The meane while the enemie had assaulted ours out of the City in their Tents, and slew many, and but for the Riuer had done more hurt; which disasters together with famine, made some of ours bethinke themselves of flying. An Asse-loade of Corne was now sold for seuen pound, an Egge for twelue pence, a Nut for a peny, and many died of hunger. Yea, the Pillars were shaken; *Peter* the Hermite and *William* Carpenter, fled away by night. This *William* was of royall descent, Vicount of a Castle, called *Milidune*: no shield, breast-plate or helmet, could endure the strong pushes of his Lance. *Tancred* hearing of their flight, pursued them, tooke
 20 them, and caused them to returne with shame. For *Hugo Magnus* his lake, (whose Kinsman he was) and his former exploits, *William* was pardoned, swearing to doe so no more, which yet he soone transgressed, and closely fled. In the whole Armie were not found one thousand Horses fit for seruice. To adde to their sorrowes, one *Tetigius*, a *Romanian*, vndertooke to bring plentie of prouision from the Emperour by shipping, and left his Oath and Tents in pawne, which he neuer redeemed. The greatest part of the Armie compelled by famine, sued for leaue to depart, which the Princes with teares granted.

In this miserie, a Messenger brought them word of a great Armie of *Turkes*, which that night would bee at *Arech* the Castle aforesaid, purposing to set vpon their Tents vnprepared. This made them dance, which before could not goe, as if they had already conquered, chusing
 30 rather to dye by the Sword then hunger. They sent Spies the next day, which returned word, that they neuer before had seen so many thousands of them together. Their huge multitude made ours beginne to flee, which *Boamund* seeing, he brake forth with such furie, that the enemy fled towards the Iron bridge; the *Pranks* lay frankly about them, and now the earth is couered with carkasses, the Ayre is filled with clamors, the Riuer is swollen with precipitated bodies, and more were slaine then escaped, which also returned to their Castle, rifled it, and then forsooke it, leauing it to Ours, which there placed a Garrison, returning to the Tents with great ioy and great spoiles. Their fellowes which that day had fought, and got the better of the Citizens, were now filled with double ioy. The *Armenians* and *Syrians* also now brought prouision to the Campe, and reioyced with vs. The *Turkes* after hauing ours at aduantage, put the horse-
 40 men to flight, and slue about one thousand foote-men: which they scarcely had done, when the rest of the Armie out of the Campe, reuenged the same with exceeding Vsurie. Duke *Godfrey* gloriously behaued himselfe with the death of many, whom a *Goliath* of theirs, a big and mightie man, had wel-nigh slaine, had not God and his valour protected him, whom he repaid with such furie, that lifting vp his sword, he claue his breast in the midst, diuiding his backebone and entrails passing thorow to his right thigh, his whole head with the right side of his body falling into the Riuer, the left halfe he sent backe to the Citie. This sight bred in them horror and amazement, for he was one of their Admirals (*Amira's*.) Euen the Riuer selfe with another Armie of carkasses, stood still to wonder at such a spectacle, nor could the vpper Waters enforce the lower (stayed with a new world of Inhabitants) to giue them leaue to see it, till their swelling indignation by force obtained it. In that conflict was slaine the Sonne of *Cassianus*, the
 50 great King of *Antiochia*, and twelue Admirals of the King of *Babylon*, whom he had sent with their bands to ayde the King of *Antioche*. For that Prouince hath one Metropolitane, twelue Consuls, and one King; and they were gathered out of so many Proninces as there were Admirals. There were also seuen thousand taken Prisoners: the baggage was without number. And now the *Turkes* not onely ceased their clamors and scornes, but many fled closely out of the Citie. The next day the *Turkes* buried their dead beyond the bridge, which the Christians digged vp againe with disgrace, (for their fashion is to burie with Pals, Bowes and Arrows, Golden Byzantines,* and other things good for bootie) leauing another bootie to the Fowles. *A Coine.

A mightie
stroke.

Amira's, that is,
Lords or Com-
manders.

60 IN these vicissitudes and entercouise of diuertified Fortunes, came Messengers from the King of *Babylon*, vpon safe conduct granted by the Princes. Against their comming the Campe was set forth, in goodliest shew of brauery, Shields hung vp vpon poles for the youth to runne at Quintane, (an exercise on horse-backe) Dice, Chesse, Militarie skirmishes of horse and foote, Running at to expresse their carelesse and fearelesse resolutions, whiles the elder and grauer sort assembled Quinsan.

with mature aduise and graue counsailes, to secure that securitie. The *Babylonians* approaching, marvelled at this sight, hauing heard before that they were both famished and heartlesse, and being brought before the Princes, thus spake; *The Admirallus of Babylon our Lords sends greeting and friendship to you the Princes of the Frankes, if you will obey his will. In the Court of the King of Persia our Lord, is a great assembly for your sake, and seuen daies the Counsell hath bene prolonged. They marvel why you come armed to your Lords Sepulchre, dispossessing their people of their ancient possessions, and (which is unlawfull for Pilgrims) slaying with the Sword. And if you will come hereafter with Scrip and Staffe, they will cause you to passe with honour and plentie, they will make the foot horsemen, and the poore to want nothing going or comming. And if you shall please to stay a moneth at the Sepulchre, you shall want nothing, and walke thorow Ierusalem, and haue leaue to performe what veneration you will to the Temple and Sepulchre. But if you contemne this indulgence, and trust in your courage and weapons, we are confident that no humane power is able to force the Babylonians and King of Persia. Speake now your minds what you like or dislike herein.* The Princes with common aduice answered. *It is no maruell if wee come armed to our Lords Sepulchre, and exterminate your people from those Confines, seeing that they which haue before comne with Staffe and Scrip, haue bene shamefully both scoffed at and slaine. The Land is not theirs, though they haue long possessed it, because it was anciently ours, who for their malice and in-justice by ours were dispossessed. But now it is decreed in Heauen, that it shall be rendred to the children which was taken from the Fathers. And let not your Nation glorie that they haue conquered the effeminate Greekes, which by Diuine dispensation, the sword of the Frankes shall repay you. It is not of man to ouerthrow Kingdomes, but of him by whom Kings reigne. They say they will shew kindnesse, if we come with Scrip and Staffe: let their mercy returne vpon themselves; will they, nill they, our pouertie shall bee enriched by their store. Nor can any humane power affright us: for when wee dye, we are borne, and loosing a Temp'ral life, wee recover an Eternall. Therefore tell those which sent you, that the Armes which we haue taken in our Countrey, we will not lay by when we haue conquered Ierusalem. For we trust in him which teacheth our hands to fight, and maketh our armes as a bow of Steele, that all offences shall be remoued and Ierusalem taken.*

The Embassadours herewith displeased, by leaue entred the Citie. Ours beganne to build a Castle at *Machumar*, before the gate of the Citie in their buriall place, destroyed their Sepulchres of Stone, which they vsed to their structure; being finished, it was committed to Earle *Raimund*: This straitned their issues, and strengthened ours, which hereby had libertie to forage, and brought in great booties, from a place where was an old ruined Castle, which also they fortified and commended to *Tancred*, who intercepted prouisions that were brought to the Citie. The Citie therefore desired truce, to treat in that time of conditions of yeelding. The last day of which, a famous *Wallon* Knight, was by them taken and cruelly murthered, whose Wife, by her teares, cries and complaints, exceeded teares, cries and complaints, hauing spent that store in prodigalitie of her sorrowes, and now by her miserie varnished with bright lustre of her exceeding beautie, and the deepe impression of Noble blood, which her impotent nailes scratched from that goodly countenance, and her impacience other whiles so seuerely recalled to the attendance on her great heart, that she abode as a Marble statue, spake more to commiseration and indignation with not speaking, then the best speaking Oratorie could haue pronounced.

Reuenge slept not long. For one *Pyrrhus* which had three Turrets in his command, sent secretly to *Boamund*, (with whom he had treated in the truce) to deliuer them all into his hands, and his Sonne for pledge of his fidelitie. Whereupon by night *Boamund* and the Princes (as had bene agreed with *Pyrrhus*) closely conueyed the Armie thither, which by day (to deceiue the *Turkes*) they had sent forth to forage. Thus scaled they the wals, (*Fulcherius Carnotensis* being the first which entred) and after set open the gates to the whole Armie: a Comet that night appearing, the heavenly Messenger of earthly mutations. The Citie was promised to *Boamund*, if he could make meanes to obtaine it, vpon occasion of *Pyrrhus* first sending to him.

ON the fift of Iune, the Christians entred *Antioche*, *Fulcherius* and his fellow Scalers inuaded the Towers, and killed the sleeping Watches, awaking them to a neuer waking sleep. They which were awaked out of sleepe by this noyse in their houses, ran forth of their doores to see the cause, and presently forth of themselves and seeing together. Death now filleth euery street and corner, confoundeth all ages, sexes, conditions. Some running out of the gates, were encountered by others comming from the Campe, and *Cassian* the King escaping into *Tancred's* iurisdiction in poore disguise, was there discovered by the *Armenians*, and his head brought to the Princes, together with his Girdle, which was valued at one hundred and sixtie Byzantines. Many fled to the Castle, which seemed impregnable, the Mountaine and the Building conspiring to deride affronts. Heereto from a neere Tower *Boamund* gaue assault, and (wounded) was forced to retire to another Turret, and the rest followed him. Onely one abode in the top, and seeing himselfe alone, mustered out of himselfe an Armie of resolute thoughts, out of the wals an Armorie of stones and mortar against his vnderminers, and laden with one thousand Arrowes, seeing Death importunate, he went forth to meete him, leaping in the midst of his aduerser squadrons with his Sword and Shield, to take vp company to attend him into the other world.

Truee broken.

Pyrrhus.

Fulcherius.

The sixt Booke.
Antiochia taken

world. The night followed that bloody day, but forbad sleepe to both sides, feare and wearinesse executing that summons.

The next day, being Friday, whiles some were carrying out the dead, others assaulting the Castle, there was espied from the Turrets and Walls a Cloud of dust, which some suspected to be the Constantinopolitan Emperor, but proued Corbanan the General of the King of Persia, with a long and farre gathered Armie of Persians, Medes, Arabs, Turkes, Azimites, Saracens, Courds, Publicans and diuers other Nations. There were three thousand Agulans, which vse none other Armes but Swords, armed to point with Iron. Ours being wearied, gaue them leaue to prouoke, insult, & run vp and downe casting vp their Lances and Swords, and againe catching them. Sensadol, Sonne to King Cassian, had gone to Corbanan, promising (before in his Fathers name, now in his owne) to reigne vnder him, to deliuer him the Castle of Antiochia, and to doe him homage. The Castle was now deliuered. Soone after a rustie Sword and worle Lance, taken from a poore Franke, were presented to him, with insultation on all hands ouer that beggerly Nation which thought by such Armes to spoile Asia and subdue Persia. And presently sent for his Secretarie to write to the Chalife and to the Soldan, that he now held the French Armie inclosed in the walls of Antiochia, the Castle in his owne possession; and that the cry was more terrible then the Wolfe. And whereas you writ to me utterly to destroy them, be not offended if I send some of the chiefe bound to you. Their seruice will be usefull, and the French Kings Brother an honourable Captiue to Persia. Ply you your pleasures and get children to resist other Franks, if need be. As for me, I will not see your face till I haue subiected all Romania, Syria, and Bulgaria to your seruice. Thus did he sell the skinne of the Beare yet liuing. His Mother sought to disswade him by Prophecies, Starre-gazings, and other Wisardly Diuinations, which all (shee said) portended prosperitie and victorie to the Christians. But hee remayned deafe, and resolved to try it out from the Castle, the Turkes still annoyed Ours, and with successions of supplies had great aduantage; the streets were still couered, and Houses as it were roofed anew with Arrowes. But a worle Enemy, Famine did more harme; the legge of an Asse was sold for sixtie shillings, and the buyer esteemed frugall, the Hides of beasts were dressed for food, the children starued at the breasts of their Mothers. Many fled away and raised reports that the Citie was lost, or could not long hold out, Earle Stephannus Carnotensis by this newes caused the Emperour comming to their assistance to turne backe.

Corbanan.

The seueneth Booke.

The Stories of these times are full of Visions: hence neglecting the Scriptures, they were fed with Legends. And would God the prodigall Sonne would yet leaue his Huskes, and returne to his Fathers house, where the poorest seruant hath better food. Of this Lance, see Fulcherius. The finder was found a deceiver.

30 **B**Vt a certaine Priest comforted them with Relation of a Vision of Christ, the Virgine and Peter appearing to him and promising reliefe after fve dayes, which one Peter seconded with a second Vision of Saint Andrew, shewing him in Saint Peters Church in the Citie, the Launce which pierced the side of our Sauour, with promise of victory to the Bearers; which they went, digged and found it with great ioy, singing a Te Deum, & Gloria in Excelsis. All presently sware not to flie, nor desist from the Iourney of the holy Sepulchre. By night fire from the West fell from Heauen vpon the Turkes Campe, which cheered Ours and terrified them, as an Ensigne of Diuine vengeance by the Franks. Soone after the Turkes hauing assailed and slaine three of ours in a Towre, whiles none of our starued number could be brought out of their Houses to assist them; Boamund displayning, caused fire to be set on those Houses to bring them out by force, and such a wind arose with the fire that it burned two thousand Houses and Churches.

40 Peter the Heremite and Heluinus were sent to Corbanan, in Ambassage, which they performed stoutly in confidence of the former presages. The Bishop Podiensis (the Popes Legate) enioyned three dayes fast, and they all confessed themselves, obserued Processions, and on the third day receiued the Sacrament. After which by common counsell the Armie was diuided in sixe parts, the first Band committed to Hugo and the Earle of Flanders, the second to Duke Godfrey, the third to Robert the Norman, the fourth to the Podian Bishop, which carryed with him the Launce afore said, and a great part of Earle Raimunds forces, the fifth to Tancred, the sixth to Boamund. The Bishops, Priests, Clerkes and Monkes in their holy Vestments went out with the Souldiers without the gate, carrying Crosses in their hands, signing the people, and crying, Lord saue thy people, and blesse thine Inheritance: Bee thou to them a Tower of strength from the face of their Enemy, with other Psalmes. The like was performed by those which were on the Walls and Towers. Corbanan saw them comming forth, and said, let them all come out that we may the better take them. By him stood an Aquitaine Renegado, which for his belly had denied his Redeemer, and had told disgracefull reports of the Christian forcelesse famished Forces; by whom he now learned to whom euery Band pertayned. And seeing their Armes and Order, hee cut off the head that had brought him those Tales. Hee gaue also a signe to the Amira of his Treasures, that if hee saw a fire kindled in the head of his Armie, hee should flye with all speed.

60

When Ours were come into a certaine Valley, the Bishop of Podium armed, and holding the Launce of our Sauour erected in his hand, made a Sermon or Speech vnto them, exhorting to courage and charitie, promising Victorie to the Suruiuer, Heauen to the Dier, and blessed them. Then marched they on moderately, the length of their Armie from the Riuer to the Hill extending

Fight and vic-
torie.

If I follow my
Author into
Thickets (pie
fraudes) yet
your discretion
may chuse
your way.

The Castle
yeelded.

* Fulch. saith
he went to
France, and
after returned.

The eighth
Booke.

The Christian
Army increa-
sed.

Description of
Antiochia.

Marrabesieged
*Tefudo, was an

Engine made
of boards co-

uered with
Hides to pre-

uen fire, with-

in which the
Assailants

might approach
to the walls: &

in which also
they might

hang with
ropes, that I-

ron Engine,
which if it had

one hooked
beake, was cal-

led *salx*, if two
it was called

Aries or a Ram
wherewith the

walls were sha-
ken, & stones

loosed and
pulled out.

ding two miles. The *Turkes* diuided themselves in two Bands thinking to inclose Ours: but a seventh Band was appointed to encounter that diuided Armie out of the Souldiers of *Godfrey*, and the *Norman* vnder one *Raimald*. These met and fought, many beeing slaine on both sides. When the other fixe Bands were come within Arrow shot, the *Turkes* shot and the wind retorted their Arrowes on themselves, so that Ours could not find an Enemie, the *Turkes* flying from the first Band, which presently went to helpe *Boamund*, which bare the burthen of the fight, and *Godfrey* followed him. Whiles Ours are in the heat of fight a white Armie appeared from the Mountaines, whose Captaines are said to be *George*, *Mauritius*, *Demetrius*, and the Bishop presently cryed, that their promised helpe was comne. Fire was set to the Grasse when the *Turkes* fled, for a token of flight to the Campe, which yet were set vpon by the *Surians* and *Ar-* 10
menians. There dyed that day one hundred thousand Horsemen, for they would not take paines to number the Footmen which were slaine. The next day fiteene thousand Camels were found, Horses, Asses, Mules, Oxen, Sheepe, innumerable, with Gold, Siluer, Vestments and other things of price: with which they returned to the Citie, where they were receiued by the Priests in Procession. The *Amra* of the Castle seeing his fellowes runne away, asked for one of our Colours, and the Earle of Saint *Giles* (left to guard the Citie) gaue him his, which hee set vp, but hearing that the Citie was granted to *Boamund*, he sent for his Ancient, and couenanted with him to suffer the *Castellans* to depart with freedome, so as they which would might be- come Christians, the rest should haue a Conuoy to the *Saracens*. Himselfe became a Conuert: and after three dayes fast, the *Gentiles* were baptized. The battell was fought on the eight and 20
twentieth of Iune, on Saint *Peter* and Saint *Pauls* Euen. *Hugo Magnus* was sent in Ambassage to the Emperour to come to take his Citie, which hauing done, * he died. The other guiltie of breaking his Oath would not come.

They now consulted of going to the Sepulchre, but were forced to wait till October, by the drought and heate. One *Pilet* a Knight of Earle *Raimunds*, procured many to ioine with him, and went into the *Saracens* Land. The *Saracens* receiued him at *Talaman*: not farre thence hee wonne a Castle of the *Saracens*. They went to *Marra*, where many were gathered from *Aleph* (*Aleppo*) and other places: they discomfited the *Turkes*, but were not able to lay siege till October. The Bishop *Podiensis* dyed on the first of August, to the Armies great grieve, and was buried in Saint *Peters* Church. The Earle of Saint *Giles* went to *Albaria*, and forced the Citie, 30
commanding to kill all such as would not turne Christians, which cost many their liues, because they had taken it from the Christians, and vsed the same condition. A Bishop was also elected to gouerne it.

Sommer being past, the Christian Souldiers returned from their leuerall abodes to *Antioch*, and there met together on All-Saints day, beeing now farre more then when they had gone from thence. For from all parts of the World many worthy Knights and Footmen had followed the steps of the former, the Christian Armie daily increasing. And when they consulted of the way of the Sepulchre. *Boamund* demanded their couenant touching the Citie. Earle *Raimund* said it could not be done by reason of their Oath to *Alexius*. Hence grew many meetings and ill 04
greetings. At last the Bishops, Abbots, and more moderate Princes consulted how both might be kept: and it was agreed that both *Boamund* and *Raimund* should goe the way of the Sepulchre with the rest, the former fortifying the Castle, the other the Palace of *Cassian*, and the Tower on Saint *Simeons* gate.

And because *Antioch* hath long detayned vs in the narration, and in the siege, we will speake somewhat of it for their sakes which haue not seene it. Threescore and fise Kings are said to haue ruled there. It is enuironed with two Walls, the former of great square stones artificially wrought, and therein are distinguished in order foure hundred and sixtie Towers. It is goodly and spacious contrayning foure Hills great and high, on the highest a Castle, neither fearing forcible batterie, or suttile engining. There are three hundred and sixtie Churches in her Territorie, 50
and the Patriarch hath vnder his Iurisdiction, one hundred fiftie three Bishops. Foure Hills fortifie it on the East. *Farfar* runneth on the West. Ours besieged it eight monethes and one day, and were in it besieged three weekes of the *Parthians*, after which they rested there in quiet foure monethes and eight dayes, which ended, *Raimund* went to *Rugia*, and the next day to *Albaria*, which two Cities he had subdued: the fourth day to *Marra*.

The Citizens scorning the paucitie of his Souldiers, came forth to encounter him, but were soone repelled. The next day *Boamund* adioyned himselfe to his helpe. Iron Rammes were made, which being hanged with Ropes, and by the Souldiers hands drawn back might be forced on the Walls, with often pushes to shake downe the Wall. A Tower of wood was erected 60
higher then theirs of stone, with three lofts furnished with Militarie Engines, hauing in the two higher armed men with Pikes, Arrowes, Stone, Balls, and Fires: in the lowest were those which forced the wheelles on which the Tower was built. Others filled the Ditch, hauing applyed a *Tortoise* to the Wall so to bring thither their Machination. The Citizens had prouided wild-fire, and another Instrument to throw great stones, but in vaine. For *William* of Mount *Pessul*,

- Pessul*, with his Company in the highest storie, threw downe Mill-stones which brake the roofes of houses, whiles the others digged thorow the Wall. Others set a Ladder to the Wall, which *Gulferius dela Torre* first ascended, and many other followed him: whom the Citizens no lesse furiously assaulted, and forced some of them downe with deadly præcipice: whom others yet followed: the Priests also stood by the wooden Tower, calling on the Lord Iesus, to powre his wrath on the Gentiles which knew him not, and the Kingdomes which inuoked not his Name: and to bee our helpe in the nedfull time of trouble. The narrownesse of the Wall did not admit assistants to *Gulferie*, who laid about like a Lion, and was most laid at, his shield beeing operated with Arrowes, Darts and Weapons, that a man could not lift it, and hee was now spent and wearie when the
- 10 other had digged thorow, and soone chased away the Enemies: which so terrified those on the Wall, that *Gulferie* now without a shield full of heart and resumed life, made way with his Sword and killed more yet with feare (throwing downe themselves) then with his Weapon. *Boamund* signified to the richer Citizens to flye to a Tower, and there they might redeeme their liues, which vpon his word they did. Much crueltie was shewed by ours, ransacking not only their houses but their very entrails for Treasure: neither yet was there any of so great a multitude which would confesse the name of Christ. Every man had what hee could get. And *Boamund* of those in the Tower slue the old vnseruiceable, the rest he sent to *Antiochia* to be sold: but when hee could not perswade *Raimund* to deliuer *Antiochia* to him, hee left him and returned thither.
- 20 The Armie which stayed all this while there was so pinched with Famine, that (horrible to speake) they cut and eate vp the bodies of the *Gentiles*. The discord yet continued betwixt the Earle and *Boamund*, to the great displeasure of the Armie, *Raimund* pretending the Oath to the Emperour, and hauing pure Iustice on his part. This being discourted at *Rugia* and *Capharda* in diuers meetings, every one wishing, but not shewing how to effect, concord, they returned to *Antioch*. But the *Norman* Earle with all his abode with *Raimund*, knowing that hee was in the right. These two Earles order their Bands for *Cesaria*, the King whereof had sent to become *Raimunds* Vassall. But when he saw the Armie approaching, hee was troubled and forbade to sell them any thing. The next day he sent to shew them a Foord, whereby they might passe thorow *Farfara* a Valley, in which were twentie thousand head of beasts which they tooke:
- 30 and going to besiege a Castle therein, it presently yeelded to them, which Example another Castle followed. Thence they came to *Caphalia* a plentiful Citie in a specious and spacious Valley, whose Citizens were all fled, leauing their Garners and Gardens, and Houses plentifully prepared for those which at first were filled with wonder and doubt, and after with Iubilee. The like also was done by a Castle adioyning to that Valley, where they kept their Candlemas. The King of *Camel* sent thither to desire conditions of Peace, or rather to buy the same with goodly Presents. The King of *Tripoli* imitated his Example. Both their Gifts were receiued, but no peace giuen, except they would become Christians.
- A fortnight after they went to an old Castle called *Archas*, comparable to famous Cities, in Scite, Walls, Towers. Whiles they continued heere a doubtfull siege, fourteene Souldiers of
- 40 Ours, desiring Exploits went towards *Tripoli*, where they encountred threescore *Turkes* with a great bootie of Captiues and Cattell, and returned with the spoile to the Campe. *Raimund Pilet*, and *Raimund* Vicount of *Tentoria*, with their companies hereby instigated went to *Tortosa*, and making great fires by night, as if the whole Armie were there, so terrified the Inhabitants that they left their Citie in haste, stored as it was, to seeke a new Habitation, this beeing indeed a good Hauen for ours. *Maraclea* a Neighbor Citie also receiued them. Duke *Godfrey* hearing of this glorious successe, set forth from *Antiochia* with *Boamund* and the Earle of *Flanders*, and came to the Citie *Licia*, where *Boamund* parted from them. The Duke and the Earle came to *Gibellum*, and besieged it: but hearing from Earle *Raimund* of his difficulties, and of a battell approaching, they agreed on conditions before required with the Prince of that Citie, and hasted thither to the besieged Castle. Where the Duke seeing their small proficiencie, went to *Tripoli*, where followed so bloudie a battell that the water which runneth into their Citie stained their Cisternes; and then turning aside to the Valley of *Defen* (where ours had staid before a fortnight) there got three thousand Camels and innumerable Sheepe, Kine and Asses, to their great wonder whence they should come in that space. Thus richly laden they returned to the siege, and there kept their Easter (then the second day of Aprill.) This siege continued three monethes and one day, and then (preuailing nothing) they arose and went to *Tripoli*, and there established the peace which the King and Citizens had desired. The King deliuered three hundred Pilgrims of ours, and gaue fifteene thousand *Bizantines* and open Market to buy prouision.
- He couenanted also to become Christian if they could winne *Ierusalem*, and ouercome the *Babylonian* Warre, and be subiect to the King of *Ierusalem*. Here they staid three dayes, and seeing that Haruest was neere they agreed to take the next way to *Ierusalem*. On the fourth of May they set out, and passing certaine steepe Hills, they came to the Castle *Betelon*: the next day to the Citie *Zabaris*, where they could find no water for themselves and their Horses. The next day they came to the Riuer *Braim* where they refreshed themselves that night. The next night was

Tyne.

S. Georges
Tithe.The ninth
Booke.Ierusalem be-
sieged.

Great thirst.

Letoldus and
Guicherus en-
ter the Citie.Cruell execu-
tion.
Dodechinus in
his Appendixe
to Mar. Scotus,
reciteth out of
a letter to Pope
Paschal, written
by D. Godfrey,
that the bloud
reached usque
ad equorum ge-
nna.Godfrey chosen
King.Arnulphus cho-
sen Patriarch.

was of our Lords Ascension, and they ascended a hill by a narrow way, where they feared, but found no enemy. Then came they to *Baruth*, a Citie seated on the Sea; thence to *Sagitta*, and after that to *Sur*, from that to *Aora*, thence to the Castle called *Caiphas*, and so to *Casarea*. In *Casarea* is *Philips* house still shewed, and the Chamber of his Daughters which were Prophetesses. Here they kept their Whitsontide, pitching their Tents neere the Citie. Thence they passed to *Ramola*, which the *Saracens* for feare had forsaken, neere which is the Church of Saint *George*, where hee lieth buried, for veneration of whom they elected a Bishop, and gaue him Tithe of all their Riches. It was meete that inuincible *George*, the Standard-bearer of their war should receiue that honour. Thence they turned to *Ierusalem*.

AS soone as they saw *Ierusalem*, they wept for ioy, fell downe and worshipped the Sepulchre. On the North side, the Earles of *Normandie* and *Flanders* encamped, neere Saint *Stephens* Church, in the place where he was stoned. On the West Duke *Godfrey* and *Tancred*. On the South (on Mount *Sion*) the Earle of Saint *Giles*. Whiles they rested in their Tents being wearie, some went to scoure and secure the Countrey. On Munday the fourth of Iune, they beganne the assault, and had that day ended the siege if they had not wanted Ladders. Another want of Bread succeeded for ten daies space, and then their ships of prouision arrived at *Ioppe*. The Water of *Siloe* could scarcely suffice the men. The Beasts were driuen sixe miles to water, with a great conuoy of fixe thousand Souldiers. *Pilet* and one hundred others, were sent to *Iaphia* or *Ioppe*, and some that went before to search the way, were set vpon by feuen hundred *Turkes* and *Arabs*, where *Achardus* a good Souldier sold his life deerely; but when the rest came in, the enemies fled. They were now prouided of victuall from the ships, but their thirst was so extreame, that they digged holes in the earth, and put the moist Turffes to their mouthes to moisten them; they licked the dewie Marbles, and sewed beasts skins new killed to fetch Water in: and some rather fasted, so to moderate thirst, then to drinke of that greasie Water. To the siege they addressed wooden Towers and Engines.

Duke *Godfrey* caused his to be applied on the East side, and the Earle of Saint *Giles* another, on the South. On Thursday they fasted, and gaue Almes to the poore; and on Friday the twelfth of Iuly, they ascended those Towers, and applyed scales to the Walls. Duke *Godfrey* with his Brethren *Eustace* and *Baldwine*, played the Lions. Procession was made about the wals with Crosses and Reliques, and Altars, whiles they fought on the wals. When the houre approached, in which the Sauour of men dyed for men, then did one *Letoldus* first from the Dukes Castle leap forth, and after him *Guicherus*, (which had slain a Lion by his strength.) The Duke followed his Souldiers, and his other Souldiers him, who chased the enemy from the wals, and pursue them into the Citie with a great shout. Which when Earle *Raimund* heard, which was labouring to bring his Tower to the Wall, hee called to his men to follow him to the gate neere the Tower of *Dauid*, and spake to them in the Tower to open; which presently the *Admiravis* which kept the Tower, hearing who hee was, did, and committed himselfe and all his vnto him, together with the Tower.

But Duke *Godfrey* sought neither Tower nor Gold, nor spoile, but reuenge for the bloud and wrongs of Pilgrims, whereto he neuer had more opportunitie, not then when at *Antioche* hee claue in sunder that Gigantean *Gentile*. And now he and *Guicherus* (which cut a Lion in sunder) claue humane bodies from the head to the raines, and on the right and left hand thorow both sides: the throng hindred euery mans flight. They which remained, fled to the Temple of *Salomon*, where they defended themselves the most part of the day; but ours before night breaking in, shed so much bloud, that slaine carkasses were tumbled on the Pauement to and fro in a streame of bloud; armes and hands dismembred floted in bloud, and were ioyned to others bodies, none being able to discerne; and the slayers themselves were scarcely able to endure those hot mists of bloudie vapours. After this vnspcakable slaughter, they grew more indulgent, and many captiues of both Sexes were spared. Euery corner was searched for spoile, euery man possessing what he tooke; *Ierusalem* at that time being rich. After this they did goe ioyfully to the holy Sepulchre, and gaue thanks to him which had bene there buried: going did I say? Creeping on their knees and elbowes, watering the Pauement with their teares. This done, they went to their houses, and refreshed themselves with food and sleepe. The next day they went armed to the Temple of *Salomon*, to make an end of them which had ascended the rooves, where onely Wings were wanting to flye from that which they could no way flee, present destruction. Some threw themselves downe headlong; others, offered themselves to seruitude. The liuing *Saracens* were enioyned to carry out the dead and burie them, and to cleanse the Citie.

The enemies destroyed, the Citie secured, victorie and glory atchieued, question was of a King, and Duke *Godfrey* was chosen by generall consent, the eighth day after the taking, who more adorned that Royall Dignitie, then it him, and was an Honor to his Honor, by Knightly bountie, bodily elegance, and excellent manners. The next care was of a Prelate, and *Arnulphus* was chosen on Lammas-day. This ended, Messengers were sent by the *Neapolitans* to King *Godfrey*,

Godfrey, offering themselves to his subiection. (This *Neapolis* is a Citie of *Caria*, an *Asian* Province) to whom the King sent *Eustace* his Brother, and *Tancred*, to whom they deliuered their Citie. The Deuill bestir'd him, and enuying this rising Sunne of Christianitie after so long a night, raised vp *Clement* the *Admiralis* of *Babylon*, and all the East with him against them. He came with pompous preparation to *Ascalon*. *Eustace* and *Tancred* were sent for, and all goe towards *Ascalon*, a Citie of *Palestina*, fise and twentie miles from *Ierusalem*. Heere they had all first fortified their Spirits by the Eucharist, and proceeded from the Church towards *Ascalon*. The Patriarch left *Peter* the Hermite in his place, to ordaine Masses, Prayers, Processions. Neere *Ascalon* they tooke a great bootie of beasts. The next day, the Patriarch cursed all that should goe about to meddle with spoile before the victorie. This was on Friday, on which our Lord had dyed.

The King passed the Riuer, and pitched his Tents neere the Sea. Himselfe had the first Band or Vantguard, *Robert* of *Normandie* the second, *Earle Raimund* the third, the *Earle of Flanders* the fourth; *Eustace*, *Tancred*, and *Guafton de Bebert*, the fift. The Foot-men had set themselves with Arrowes and Darts before the Knights, Men at Armes *, and thus ordered, they marched towards the *Babylonians*. The King was in the left Wing, where was most danger, the *Earle of Saint Giles* in the right, the rest betwixt them. The *Babylonian* (whom none durst tell of the former bootie) being told that the *Frankes* were comne forth to fight, much disdained their paucitie, as a disgrace to haue so meane so confident enemies. The battell was begun by the *Earle of Normandie* and his Band, in that quarter where he espyed the *Admiralis* his Standard, and making way with his Sword thorow the midst of his enemies, by a bloudie passage arriued at him that held it, whom hee laid dead at the *Admiralis* his foote, and tooke the Standard, the *Admiralis* hardly escaping to *Ascalon* with his life, whence he might behold the slaughter of his people, which by noone were all put to rout and slaine in all places, euen to the gates of the Citie in incredible numbers. The spoile was exceeding rich. The Standard, which in the top of a Siluer Staffe had a golden Apple, was offered by *Earle Robert* of *Normandie* at the holy Sepulchre, the whole Armie hauing returned and entred into the Citie in triumph. This battell was fought the eighth of August. And thus *Ierusalem*, which is said to haue beene built by *Melchisedech*, (whom the *Iewes* say, was the Sonne of *Noe*) is now open to the Pilgrimes with praises, which before were receiued with contumelies. Of these Pilgrimes and Gates, it is said by *Esay*; And thy Gates shall be open continually, day and night they shall not be shut. And againe, of the *French Nation*, which he brought from the ends of the earth to deliuer it, I will bring thy Children from farre, their Siluer and their Gold with them, in the name of the Lord thy God, and the holy one of *Israel* which hath glorified thee. The Sonnes of thy Pilgrims shall build thy wals, and their Kings shall minister to them. These and many things else, we find in the Propheticall Books, which agree to this deliuerance made in our Age.

* Militibus.

Heroike Act of *Robert* of *Normandie*. *Dodechinus* saith, 100000, were slaine, besides 2000. in the gate, innumerable then perishing at sea: the whole Armie being 100000. horse, and 400000. Foot-men.

CHAP. II.

The Acts of the Pilgrimes in their Expedition to *Ierusalem*, before and after the taking thereof, extracted out of *FVLCHERIVS CARNOTENSIS*, which went thither with *ROBERT*, Earle of *Normandie*.

IN the yeare 1095. when manifold euils in all parts of *Europe* were encreased, the Faith languishing, *Urban* the second was Pope of *Rome*, a man excellent in life and manners, * which alway to the vtmost of his wit and strength, endeouored about all things to Exalt higher the State of holy Church. And seeing that the Faith of Christendome was decayed in all, both Clergie and Laitie, and the Secular Princes in continuall warres with each other, spoiling the goods, capturing the persons, (whom miserable prisons enforced to vnreasonable redemptions) violating holy places, burning of Townes and Monasteries, making a mockerie of things Diuine and humane, sparing no man: and hearing that the Prouinces of *Romania* * were possessed by the *Turks*; he called a Councell at *Claremont*. Herein he decreed the Churches freedome from all Secular Power, that Tithes of all which cometh by husbandrie, should bee proper to God, and neither sold nor detained; that he which should take a Bishop should be an Out-law, and the takers or spoilers of Clerkes, Monkes and Nuns, Pilgrimes or Merchants, should bee Anathema, as likewise Robbers and incendiaries. These and other like being ratified by the Councell, he exhorted them, (Not I, but the Lord) to exterminate the *Turkes* out of the Christian Confinnes. I speake to the present, I send to the absent, and Christ commands it. And all that goe thither, if they shall dye in the going by Land, passage ouer water, or in fight against the Pagans, shall haue present remission of their sinnes: which I grant to those which undertake the Voyage, hauing so great a gift from God. Those that haue formerly abused

* This the sanctitie of those times to aduance the Church, not to freedome from sin, but to fullnesse of power in exemption from Kings and Soueraigntie ouer them, (wherein *Vrb. bannus* was cald *Turbanus*.) This the state of the Church, that is, the Clergie, and more specially the Papacy. This the great article of Popish Faith.

warres

warres against Christians, let them goe against Infidels, and let them now bee Souldiers which before were Robbers, and let them fight iustly against the Barbarians, which they did before against their Brethren, and for an eternall reward, which were before mercenarie for a few shillings, and for a double honour, which wearied themselves for double detriment of body and soule. Here they are poore, there they shall be wealthy; here the Lords enemies, there his friends. Let them not delay, but make Money of that which they haue, and the next spring set forward.

Many present promised to goe, of which was *Ademarus*, Bishop of *Podium*, afterward the Popes Legat, which ruled the whole Armie. These things ordered in the Councell, and the blessing of Absolution being giuen, they departed home, and divulged what had passed. Truce was euery where confirmed by Oath, and many of euery profession vowed to goe, the remission of sinnes being purchased. O what a goodly fight, and worthy it was to vs all, to see the Crosses of Silke, or wrought in Gold, or of Cloath which they ware on their Iackets, Coates, and Garments on their shoulders. Such a worke did Pope *Vrbane* meditate, by which the world after flourished, and restored the Churches Rights. But the Deuill raised vp *Guibertus*, Bishop of *Rauenna*, an Aduersarie to him, whom the perverseness of the Emperour, whiles *Gregorie* (*Hildebrand*) held the Seate, supported in his vsurpation of the Apostleship. But the better sort acknowledged *Gregorie*, and after him *Vrbane*, whom by the Emperours ayde, *Guibertus* forced from *Rome*, till that year when the *Frankes* went to *Ierusalem* by *Rome*, *Guibertus* being in *Almaine*, *Vrbane* by help of *Matildis*, obtained the whole Apostolike power, she being then verie potent in the *Romane* Countrey.

This Authour speaks like one of *Vrbane*'s faction against *Guibertus* and the Emperour, ignorant of *Papal* sleights. This *Stephen*, Father of King *Stephen*, is called *Comes Carnotensis*, and is said to haue as many Castles as were daies in the year.

Anno 1096. some in March, others in Aprill, May, Iune, Iuly, August, September, and October, set forth, as they could make their provisions on this holy Voyage. *Peter* the Hermite went by the way of *Hungarie*. *Raymond* Earle of *Prouince*, with his *Goths* and *Gascoines*, and the Bishop of *Podium*, by *Sclauonia*, *Hugo Magnus* and *Buamund* by *Bulgaria*. In September, *Robert* Earle of *Normandie*, Sonne of *William* King of the *English*, with a great Armie of *Normans*, and *English-men* and *Britans* set forwards, and with him *Stephen* Earle of *Bloise*, and *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*. The Armies still increased as they passed, and were neuer vnited till they came to *Nice*. We *Westerne Frankes* passed thorow *Italy*, and found Pope *Vrbane* nere to *Luca*, with whom *Robert* the *Norman* had conference, and Earle *Stephen*, and wee also as many as would; and hauing his blessing, we went ioyfully to *Rome*. And when we had entered *Saint Peters*, we found before the Altar *Guiberts* men, which with their Swords in their hands tooke away the offerings: others ranne along the beames, and threw stones at those which were prostrate at their Prayers, seeking to slay those which were faithfull to *Vrbane*. *Vrbane*'s men held one Tower of the Monasterie, which kept it for him, and withstood the Aduersaries. Many which went thither with vs, returned home, but we passed thorow *Campania* and *Apulia*, and came to *Barrum*, a good Citie on the Sea. We had thought to haue taken ship, but the weather being vnseasonable, *Robert* Earle of *Normandie* was forced to turne aside into *Calabria*, and winter there. But *Robert* Earle of *Flanders* with his troups passed ouer. Then verie many of the poorer fearing want, sold their Bowes, and taking their Pilgrimes Staues returned home, to their disgrace before God and Men.

Seeing such sacrilege and smelling, perhaps the Popes plot.

In March, 1097. *Robert* Earle of *Normandie*, and *Stephen* of *Bloise* returned to the Sea, and on the fifth of Aprill, then Easter-day, set sayle at the Haven *Brundisium*. There wee saw one ship, (without any cause appearing) sinke almost foure hundred persons of both Sexes drowned: on the dead bodies of which were seene Crosses branded on their flesh, a miraculous token that they departed in Gods mercy. The Horses and Mules, and much Money was lost. This so appalled many, that they forsooke their Pilgrimage and returned. But we foure daies after arriued at *Duratum*, and passed the difficult passages of the *Bulgarians* by Hills and Deserts, till we came to the Riuer *Demon*, where the Diabolicall Torrent drowned many, and many more had done, but for the helpe of the Horse-men. Wee ascended next day the Hill *Bagular*, and came to the Riuer *Baldarins*, thorow which wee waded, and came the next day to *Thessalonica*: and traueiling thorow *Macedonia*, we came at last to *Constantinople*: where after much adoe, our men did homage to the Emperour. Then passing *Saint Georges* Arme, we came to *Nice*, which the *Turkes* (who had come out of *Persia*, about fiftie yeares before) did now possesse, and all *Romania* as farre as *Nicomedia*. The Princes *Buamund*, Duke *Godfrey*, and Earle *Raimond* then in the siege, came to meete the Earles, *Robert* and *Stephen*. Then were many Armies combined in one Armie, wherein were a hundreth thousand armed men, with Corslets and Head-peece: which they that had skill of the number, esteemed to haue fixe hundred thousand men apt for warre, besides those that were vnarmed; to wit, Clergie-men, Monkes, Women and Children. What shall I say more? If all they which had come out of their Houses and begun this vowed iourney, had bene here together, without doubt there would haue bene sixtie hundred thousand Warriors. But some had returned from *Rome*, others from *Apulia*, others from *Hungaria*, or *Sclauonia*, many thousands were slaine by the way, and many died, the waies, fields, woods, presenting many buriall places of Pilgrimes.

Nice taken.

Nice being rendred, on the nine and twentieth of Iune, wee departed into the inner Countreies

- tries of *Romania*. On the first of July, we had newes of *Turkes* approaching, and set downe our baggage by a Fenne or Reedy place, and beheld *Soliman* which had held *Romania* with his *Amira's* of the Countries, aboute thirtie daies journey, being three hundred and sixtie thousand Archers, on horseback. Duke *Godfrey*, Earle *Raimond* and *Hugo Magnus* were absent, to our irreco-
uerable losse, both of ours slaine, and of *Turkes* escaped. For it was late before our Messengers could bring them the newes, and therefore it was late ere they could come in to our succour. The *Turkes* gaue such an on-set with shouts and shots, that our hearts failed, and we fled, being ig-
norant of such kind of fight. Others had on the other side the Reeds, assailed our Tents, and slaine many. But the fore-runners of Duke *Godfrey*, and *Hugo*, and *Raimond* on one side; and
10 we which fled on the other (whom they thought to returne in respect of them) made them retire. But we were thronged as sheepe closed in a fold, trembling, encompassed of the enemy, and could go no way. The Conscience of Lecherie, Couetousnesse and Pride, did now trouble many, this seeming to haue hapned for our sinnes. The cry of Men, Women, Infants, and of the *Pagans* rushing on vs, filled the Ayre. We confessed our sinnes, and the *Podian* Bishop with many other Priests in white, besought God, crying, singing, praying. Then *Robert* of *Normandie*, Earle *Stephen*, *Buamund*, and the Earle of *Flanders*, made resistance what they could. God was ap-
peased, and wee seeing our fellowes which came last, resumed courage, and put the *Turkes* to flight. The battell and our straits, lasted from the first houre till the sixth. We marched to *Antiochia* in *Pisidia*, thence to *Iconium*, and could not tell whither to laugh or weepe, to see many
20 of ours wanting Horses, lading Rams, Goats, Swine, Dogs, with their carriages, the weight whereof galled their backes. A strange confusion was of so many tongues in one Armie, *Frankes*, *Flemmings*, *Frislanders*, *Galls*, *Britons*, *Sauoyards*, *Loraines*, *Almanes*, *Baioarians*, *Normans*, *Scots*, *English-men*, *Aquitans*, *Italians*, *Apulians*, *Spaniards*, *Danes*, *Greekes*, *Armenians*. *Baldwin* Brother of *Godfrey* possessed himselfe of *Tarsus*, and after of *Edeffa*, the Gouvernour whereof had sent to compound with him. In the way neere *Samosate* we were in danger, but gat safe to *E-
deffa*, and were receiued of the Gouvernour, whom his Citizens after fifteene daies flue, but *Bald-
win* kept the Citie, and thence made many roads vpon the *Turkes*. I *Fulcherius Carnotensis*, was the Chaplaine of the said *Baldwin*.
- In the moneth of October, the *Frankes* passed ouer the Riuer *Fernus*, or *Orontes*, to *Antio-
chia*. *Gratian* the *Amira*, of *Antiochia* sent his Sonne *Sansadoles* to the *Soldan* of *Persia* for aide. The *Turkes* within the Towne killed many Christian Inhabitants (for feare of conspiring with the *Frankes*) *Greekes*, *Syrians*, *Armenians*. The Christians wearied with so long a siege, ascri-
bed it to their Lecherie, Pride and Rapine, and by common consent put out all the Women, married and others, out of the Tents, which lodged in Tents neere. The Famine was great, and many were slaine daily; all were desolate, and many fled. The rest were pinched with cold, parched with heate, washed with raines, (their Tents being old and worne) lying in open
30 Ayre without any couert but heauen. Earle *Stephen* returned home. The next day after, was *Antiochia* taken, deliuered by a *Turke*, to whom Christ had thrice appeared, and bidden him deliuer the Towne. *Gratian* the *Amira* was slaine by an *Armenian* Peasant. It happened, that
40 after the Citie was taken, a Lance was found by a certaine man, which being found in the ground in Saint *Peters* Church, he affirmed to bee that wherewith *Longinus* pierced the side of our Sauour. He said, this was reuealed to him by Saint *Andrew* the Apostle, thrice appearing to him, and shewing the place where he digged and found it. The *Podian* Bishop would not be-
leeue him, but Earle *Raimond* (to these two, he declared his Vision) was credulous: and when it was found, all the people reioyced, and one hundred daies after it was holden in great vene-
ration, and gloriously handled by Earle *Raimond*, which also kept the Lance. But it hapned that the Bishop of *Bare* and many others doubted, that it was a counterfeit. Whereupon after
50 three daies supplication and fasting, a great fire of wood was made in the field neere the Castle *Archas*, then by them besieged, eight moneths after that *Antiochia* had beene taken, a iudiciall benediction being made on the fire by the Bishops. The finder of the Lance passed voluntarily and speedily thorow the fire, but was so burned, that in twelue daies after he died, and left the people sorrie for the worship they had done it. But Earle *Raimond* kept it, till by some acci-
dent it was lost.
- The *Soldan* of *Persia* sent *Corbagath* with a great Armie, which besieged *Edeffa* three daies, and not preuailing against *Baldwin*, they hasted to *Antiochia*: and sixtie thousand of them en-
tring the Citie by the Castle, much annoyed ours. The *Frankes* were sad: and a Clergie man flying, our Lord appeared to him, and told him, that At his Mothers request he would help them. To another appeared a Brother of his before dead, and told him, that their fellowes which had died
60 in that expedition would take their parts, and fight against the *Turkes*. The Christians went out of the Citie against *Corbagath*, which would not leaue his Chesse at first, but after was forced to leaue the field, notwithstanding his huge troups esteemed to be sixe hundred & sixtie thousand Horse and Foot, and ours famished and few, which were enriched with their spoiles. Many of them were slaine, and their Women in the Tents. After *Antioch* was taken, the *Podian* Bi-
shop died, and the Princes wrote to Pope *Urban*: To the holy Lord and venerable Pope *Urban*, of
H h h h h h Buamund,

Bloudy battell

Strangemarch
to Iconium.

Fulcherius
Chaplain to
Baldwin after
Duke *Godfrey*
King of *Ierusalem*.

Robert calls him
Cassian & King.

Visions in those
daies com-
mon, and yet
for want of visi-
on the people pe-
rished.

Triall by fire
touching the
Lance before
mentioned, by
Monke *Robert*.

The Armie in
white, of which
Robert fabled.

* *Malmsbutie*
saith that *Cor-
bagath* or *Cor-
banach*, was
slaine by *Robert*
of *Normandie*.

Buamund, and Raimund Earle of Saint Giles, Godfrey Duke Lothariensis, Robert Earle of Normandie, Robert Earle of Flanders, and Eustace Earle of Bullon, Greeting and faithfull Seruices; and as Children to their spirituall Father, true subiection in Christ, &c. They relate the occurrents of the Warre, and desire him to come in person, and sit in Peters Chaire, whose Vicar hee is, where the name of Christians beganne, and to open to them the Gates of both Ierusalem, &c.

Robert the Norman was offered the Kingdome of Ierusalem, & neuer throued for refusing it, saith Malmesbury, and Math. Paris: Earle Raimund also had the offer.

Bara and Mara being taken, Buamund returned to Antioch, and chased thence Earle Raimunds men, and possessed the Citie and all the Prouince. But Earle Raimund and Robert of Normandie proceeded towards Ierusalem: and in the year 1099. besieged Archas at the foote of Libanus. Duke Godfrey and the Earle of Flanders followed. In Iune, (to omit the rest) they came before Ierusalem, which on the fifteenth of Iuly, they tooke, and slue about ten thousand men in the Temple, called Salomons: shot also many which were vpon the roose. Our feete in the Temple (*Usq; ad bases, forte brachas*) were steeped in blood. Our men opened their entrails to search for Byzantines, and after some daies, made a great heape of carkasses, which they burned to search the Ashes: Five hundred Turkes which had betaken themselues to the Tower of David, agreed with Earle Raimund, and were sent to Ascalon. And now one piece of the Crosse was found, by reuelation made to a Syrian, which was carried to the Temple of the Sepulchre with Procession. Duke Godfrey was made King: and the King of Babylon, and Leuendalins his Generall, made hast with great Forces to besiege or fight with the Christians, and came to Ascalon, where the Christians obtained a glorious victorie. Robert of Normandie, and Robert of Flanders returned to Constantinople by shipping; Earle Raimund to Laodicea, where hee left his Wife, going thence to Constantinople, with purpose to returne: Duke Godfrey retained Tancred, and many others with him at Ierusalem.

HONDIVS his Map of Terra Sancta.



Boamund was meane while at *Antioch*, and *Baldwine* at *Edeffa*, where hee had often fights with the *Turkes*, in the Confinnes of *Mesopotamia*. These by mutuall treatie agreed to goe together to *Ierusalem*; which also they did, and met at *Valenum*, together with three Bishops, being five and twentie thousand Horse and Foote. But passing thorow the *Saracens* Countrey, where no prouision could be had, our owne being spent, the Horses and Men were miserably pinched, both with famine, and also with cold, and raines continuing foure or five daies together, by reason whereof, many which wanted Tents perished. I *Fulcherius* there present, saw many of both Sexes, and very many beafts die with cold. Often also many were slaine by the *Saracens*, assaulting vs in strait passages, as likewise in foraging: Yea Knights of Noble descent hauing lost, 10 their Horses, were forced to goe on foote. So difficult is euery great designe: and a great matter it was that euer we got to *Ierusalem*, which was on the day of the Winter Solstice. We went after to *Bethleem*, thereto celebrate the Natiuitie where it was accomplished.

O how great a stinke was still about the walls of *Ierusalem*, arising from the fallen, scattered, putrifying carcases of the *Saracens*, which made vs to stop our noses: *Daybert* the Archbishop of *Pisa*, (which had come with vs) being made Patriarch, wee went thence to *Iordan*, (the former Armie had washed themselues there, and gathered Palmes at *Ierico*, according to the custome, in the Garden of *Abraham*, before the departure of the Earles of *Normandie* and *Flanders*) some of our Armie staying at *Ierusalem*, and some of the former going againe with vs. In the yeare 1100. on the first day of the yeare, we cut Palmes at *Ierico*, and the next day de-

20 parted. Our Princes passed by *Tyberias*, neere the Sea of *Galilee*, which is there eightene miles long, and five broad, of fresh water: and thence by *Cesarea Philippi*, called *Paneas*, where arise two Fountaines whence *Iordan* springeth, and passeth by the Sea of *Galilee* to the Red Sea. We came to the Castle *Balbat*, where three hundred men at Armes of the *Turkes* set vpon vs, and had slaine many, whose Arrowes being spoiled with the raine, they were vnarmed, if *Baldwins* care had not protected them. So passing by *Tortosa* and *Laodicea*, *Boamund* departed to *Antiochia*, where he was ioyfully receiued, and held his Kingdome fixe moneths. Then in Iuly following, one *Gabriel*, an *Armenian*, offering to render to him the Citie of *Milutina*, he went thither with small company, and in the way *Danisman*, an *Amira*, with a multitude of *Turkes*, slue

30 many, put the rest to flight, and tooke *Boamund*. *Baldwin* made after them, but in vaine, sauing that *Gabriel* rendred *Milutina* to him. In the midst of this his prosperitie, newes was brought him of his Brothers death in Iuly, the second yeare after *Ierusalem* was taken, and that all *Ierusalem* expected him to succede. Griewing somewhat at his Brothers death, and more reioycing for the Inheritance, hee let out to one *Baldwin* his Kinsman the Countrey which hee held, and with seven hundred men at Armes, and seven hundred Foot-men, on the seventh of October he set forth towards *Ierusalem*, passing by *Antiochia*, *Laodicea*, *Gibellum*, *Mara-* *clea*, *Tortosa*, *Arobas* and *Tripoli*. The King of *Tripoli* gaue him kind entertainment, and intelligence of *Duchar* King of *Damasco*, and *Gnabaldole* King of *Caliptus*, waiting and way-

40 laying his coming. Neere to *Berito*, about five miles distance, is a strait passage neere the Sea, which a few hundreds may make good against one hundred thousand. Heere they waited for vs, and heere wee were in ill taking, not knowing which way for to escape or get backward or forwards: how soeuer we made a shew of courage, I wished my selfe at *Carnote* or *Orleans*. Wee resolved after an ill nights rest, to goe backe the next morning, which we did, they pursuing vs in such sort, that we had no place left for flight or hope of safetie. But God mercifully saued vs with a great miracle, they being suddenly terrified, and their ships flying for feare of vs, and we made great slaughter, and got great spoile. The next day we returned againe, and found the streight aforesaid cleere, and passed the same with praises to God. The *Amiras* of *Beruto*, *Sidon*, also *Tyrus*, & *Achon*, made shew of friendship to vs. But *Tancred* which held the Castle *Caiphas* was maleuolent to *Baldwin*, wherefore we entred it not. We came at last to *Ioppe*, where the 50 *Frankes* acknowledged *Baldwin* for their King, and hasted thence to *Ierusalem*, where hee was welcomed with Procession of Clergie and Laitie, with Crosses and Candles. *Daybert* was not present as one accused, distasted of the people, and held in suspicion.

Sixe daies after, *Baldwin* set forth to *Ascalon*, whiles we wasted the Countries, diuers *Saracens* had hidden their goods and themselves in holes of the Earth, which being reuealed by the *Syrians*, they were forced out by fire, made in the entries of their dens and slaine, being usuall Robbers and Murtherers of Christians, we passed that way. When our prouisions were spent, we made an in-road into *Arabia*, and passing by *Abrahams* Sepulchre foureteene miles from *Ierusalem*, came into the Valley where *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* were destroyed, where is now the great Lake *Asfalti*, which they call the dead Sea. The length whereof from *Zoara* of *A-* 6 *rabia*, is five hundred and eightie furlongs to the places next to *Sodom*, the breadth one hundred and fiftie, so salt, that neither Beast nor Bird can drinke thereof, which I *Fulcherius* descending from my Mule, tasted, and found more bitter then *Ellebores*. And because nothing liues therein, it is called the *Dead Sea*. *Iordan* enters on the North; on the South is no passage out, neither River nor Lake. Neere which Lake or *Dead Sea*, is a high Mountaine salt also, by places, hard

- as a stone, and like Ice; which I coniecture, both by the waues washing it, and the showers falling downe, it make the Lake salt; or else the bottome thereof reacheth vnto the great salt Sea, by some inuisible passage vnder ground. A man can hardly sinke to the bottom if he would. Hauing compassed the South side of the Lake, wee found a Village, which they say, is *Segor*, of goodly situation, and abounding with Dates, whereof we fed pleasantly. Of other things we seldome found any, (for the *Arabs* hearing of vs, were fled) except some poore ones, blacke as Soote, which we contemned. There I saw Fruits on the Trees, which when I had broken the skin, I found to be dustie within and blacke.
- Thence we passed the Mountaines of *Arabia*, where the Inhabitants were fled from their Villages, and had hidden themselues in Caues. We came to a fertile Valley, watered out of the Rocke which *Moses* stroke with the Rodde, still continuing with such abundance, that Water-Mills are driuen therewith, where I *Fulcherius* watered my Horses. Wee found a Monasterie in the top of the Mountaine, called Saint *Aarons*, where *Moses* and *Aaron* were wont to speak with the Lord: and we reioyced to see places so holy and strange. And because from thence, till neere to *Babylon*, the Countrey is desert, we proceeded no further, but returned the same way we came to *Ierusalem*.
- In the yeare 1101. on Christmas day, in the Church of Saint *Marie* at *Bethleem*, by the Patriarch (then reconciled) was *Baldwin* anointed and crowned King, which *Godfrey* in reuerence to our Lord, there crowned with Thorne, had refused. *Baldwin* was feared as a good Souldier, but his people were few. Wee had yet no Port but *Ioppe*, neither was the way safe from thence for Pilgrims; but when we heard of any ships there, we went forth to meete them, which hauing visited *Ierusalem*, some stayed, others returned. Whereby the holy Land of *Ierusalem* remained emptie of people: nor were there to defend it from the *Saracens*, if they had dared to assault vs. For we had not then of men at Armes, aboue three thousand, and so many Foot-men as kept *Ierusalem*, *Ioppe*, *Ramula* and *Cayphas*. Neither durst we scarcely at any time assemble our forces, for feare of loosing our Fortresses: that it was not without miracle that wee continued among so many thousand thousands so strong. Wee durst aduenture no expedition, but neere to *Ascalon* or *Arsuth*. They which came by Sea brought no Horses, and by Land none came at vs; neither could the *Antiochians* helpe vs, or wee them. In March, *Tancred* left *Cayphas* to *Baldwin*, being sent for to *Antioch* to gouerne that Kingdome, till *Buamund* were free.
- A Fleet of *Italians* and *Genuois*, that had wintered at *Laodicea*, sailed thence to *Ioppe*, and came to *Ierusalem*, where on Easter Euen was great adoe, because the light which that day vseth to bee kindled from Heauen at the Lords Sepulchre, was not seene as in former times. But after much Ceremonies and Prayers, on Easter day happened to a Lampe in the Sepulchre, of which the Patriarch had the Key. The *Genuois* after Easter, forced *Arsuth* to yeeld themselves to King *Baldwin*, who also with their helpe besieged and tooke *Casarea Palestina*. I saw there many *Saracens* burned for the *Bizantines*, which they had swallowed, or hidden in their mouthes, that with a blow on the mouth many pieces flew out of their mouthes: women also had hidden them in places not to be named. Wee went to *Ramula*, and waited if the Enemie would fight with vs. Seuentie dayes after our departure, wee heard that they set forth to seeke battell, and *Baldwin* assembled his people from *Ierusalem*, *Tiberias*, *Casarea* and *Caypha*. And because we had but few Knights (or men at Armes) the King warned all that could to make their Esquires Knights: so that all together were two hundred and threescore, and of footmen nine hundred. Against vs were eleuen thousand men at Armes*, and twentie one thousand footmen. We carried the wood of the Lords Crosse which comforted vs, & was carried openly by a venerable Abbot. *Baldwin* comforted them also, telling them of *Heauen open to the dying, glory among Christians to the suruiuing: but France is farre off, if we runne away*. The Leader with five thousand of the Enemies were slaine: this battell was fought the seuenth of September. The next day we returned to *Ioppe* laden with spoile: encountring five hundred *Saracens*, which hauing fought and beaten a part of our forces in the battell, with their Armes halted to *Ioppe*, thinking to get the Towne; but not receiued, they thought vs to be their owne fellowes, supposing the Christians all slaine, in that error comming to vs, till they learned the truth to their cost. Two Newes-tellers had also signified to the *Ioppites*, the death of King *Baldwin*, and defeating of his Armie, whereupon they had sent by Sea to *Tancred*, yea, the Queene did write a Letter of that import to hasten him to their succour, who was also setting forth when the true report by a Messenger purposely sent, stayd him. Wee went safe to *Ierusalem*, and rested eight monethes.
- In the yeare 1102. the *Babylonians* were gathered together at *Ascalon*, to destroy vs utterly, being twentie thousand Horsemen and ten thousand Foot, besides victuals. These in May laid siege to *Ramula*. At that time many *Frankes* were at *Ioppe*, waiting a fit wind for their returne to *France*. These had comne the yeare before by *Romania*, and had lost their Horses and all they had. For *William*, Earle of *Poictou**, and *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, (which sought now to recouer the

Sodoms fruits.

Rock of Moses.

Weaknesse of
the Frankes at
Ierusalem.

Milisibns.

Arsuth, which
the Ancients
cal Antipatrida.

Easter light.

Baldwin taketh
Casarea.Milites,
Knights, men
at Armes,
Horsemen:
* Milites.

Ramula.

* He was also
Duke of Aquitane.

the credit he had lost in flying from *Antiochia*) and ^a *Hugo Magnus* which had returned from *Antiochia* to *France*, and Earle *Raimond* returned from *Constantinople*, where he had made stay, and *Stephen* Earle of *Burgundie*, and many other Noblemen had adioyned to themselves an innumerable number of Horse and Foot, the Armie diuided in two. In the *Romanian* Confinies, *Soliman* the Turke with great forces of Turkes had dispersed them, and almost destroyed them, slaying aboue one hundred thousand of their Horsemen and Footmen, also some of their women, and some he carryed away. Their Mules, Horses and Beasts of burthen and goods the Turkes had gotten. The Earle of *Poitou* saued only himselfe, getting on foot to *Antiochia* in lamentable case, whom *Tancred* entertained. They which escaped (for they were diuided in many

^a Rob. Mon. was deceived if this deceiue not.

Aboue one hundred thousand men slaine, besides women, &c. *Tyrinus* accuseth the Emperour of *Const.* for the ouerthrow, l. 10. by his treachery, also the Christians were *arena sine calce*, and vndisciplined.

- 10 Troupes) came to *Ierusalem*, except *Hugo Magnus* which dyed at *Tarsus*. Some went by Sea and they which had Horses by Land, which also in the way assaulted and tooke *Tortosa*, where Earle *Raimond* to their great disgult, remayned. *Baldwin* wayted for them at the Streights neere *Beruto*, eightene dayes: they came to *Ierusalem*, kept there their Easter, visited the holy places, dined with King *Baldwin* in the Temple of *Salomon*, and now waited passage at *Ioppe*, when this newes came that King *Baldwin* had taken horse to goe against the *Babylonians*. *Stephen* of *Blois* and *Stephen* of *Burgundie*, *Gefferie* of *Vendon* and *Hugh Liziniac* (brother to Earle *Raimond*) got Horses and followed. But *Baldwin* improuidently hasting, was in fight of the Enemies before his forces could haue sight of him, not attending the foot, and hauing but few Horses. So that, with two hundred men at Armes, he was encompassed of twentie thousand, where he expected
- 20 but a thousand, against whom they were enforced to fight, committed great slaughter, but lost the field, the King and some others escaping to *Ramula*. Where not daring to stay, with fiew followers he departed, and three dayes after, with one only, hungrie and thirstie escaped to *Ar-suth*. The two *Stephens* of *Blois* and *Burgundie*, were slaine. The King durst not aduenture by Land, and therefore sailed to *Ioppe*. Thence hee intreated an old poore Syrian, to carrie by by-ways, newes to *Ierusalem*, whither on the third day hee came, and ninetie men at Armes with some others of the Citie which could get Horses, set out for *Ioppe*, whither not without skirmishes and losse the most came. Also *Hugh* of *Tiberias* had before comne with eightie men at Armes. With such forces as he had, he set forth to meete the Enemy then approaching within three miles. Their huge numbers encompassing ours, were yet chased out of the field, leauing
- 30 their Tents to the *Frankes*, with Camels, Asses, Money. For the King had then the word of our Lords Crosse, which if hee had in the former battell carryed, it is not to bee doubted, but God would haue shewed mercie to his people, if the King would haue gone wisely with his people to the battell. All Winter after they were quiet. Anno 1103. the King besieged *Achon*, but not able to take it, he waited the Countrey and returned to *Ioppe*. *Buamund* was now restored to libertie and his *Antiochian* Principalitie, adding also *Laodicea* which *Tancred* had taken from the *Constantinopolitans*, giuing him recompense for it in his owne Land. King *Baldwin* in a skirmish was very dangerously wounded neere the heart.

- Anno 1104. the King againe besieged *Achon* (or *Ptolemaida*,) assisted by a Fleet of *Genuois*, of seuentie ships beaked, ^b and after twentie dayes siege tooke it: of great import for the Port, which within the walls harboureth many ships safely. *Buamund* and *Daibert* by Sea went to
- 40 *Italy*, he to get people, the other to complaine of *Baldwin* to the Pope, who fauoured him, but in his returne he dyed.

^b *Rostrate*, that is, the beaks, or stems couered with Iron or Brasse.

- Anno 1105. Earle *Raimond* dyed in his owne Towne before *Tripolis*, whom succeeded his Nephew *William Jordan*. The King of *Caliptus* receiued a great ouerthrow by *Tancred*, which then ruled in *Antiochia*, and lost numbers numberlesse. The King of *Babylon* ^c raised a great Armie which he sent to *Ascalon*, against which *Baldwin* moued from *Ioppe*, and sent to *Ierusalem* that they should fast, pray, and make Procession barefoot, which was done, my selfe beeing one. The Patriarke went and carryed the Crosse. Our men at Armes were fiew hundred, besides other Horsemen which had not that Militarie place, and two thousand foot. The Enemy was fiftene
- 50 thousand, foure thousand were slaine, of which was the *Amira* of *Ascalon*; the *Amira* of *Achon* was taken. Their Nauie before *Ioppe* returning to *Babylon*, (*Cairo*) was assailed by Tempest, and miserably disperst, whereof fiew and twentie ships were taken by vs, beeing full of *Saracens*. On Christmas Euen at *Ierusalem*, we felt a great Earthquake.

^c That is, as in other places of the storie, the Egyptian *Chalifa*: *Cairo* being by some called *Babylon*.

- Anno 1106. a Comet appeared fiftie dayes decreasing, beginning in February: also three Sunnes, a smaller on each hand of the true, both in quantitie and light; a great white Circle enuironing, and in it a Rain-bow of foure colours, the Bow toward the Sunne, and reaching to the other two Sunnes. In the next moneth, the Starres of Heauen seemed to raine. *Hugh* of *Tiberias* against the *Damascens*, had a notable Victorie, with sixescore, chasing foure thousand, and soone after dyed of an Arrow shot.

Such a triple Sun and Rainbow was scene 1621. in *Devonshire*.

- 60 Anno 1107. seuentie of ours chased fiew hundred of theirs, besides one thousand footmen. *Buamund* returned out of *France* with fiew thousand men at Armes, and threescore thousand footmen, without women; provided a Fleet at *Brundisium*, sailed into *Bulgaria*, tooke *Analon*, besieged *Duratum* a yeare, and forced the Emperour to sweare to protect the Pilgrimes thorow all his Empire, and he also sware fealtie to the Emperour ^d after which, with part of his Ar-

^d *Malmsh.* saith, that *Alexius* had partly poisoned, partly corrupted his chiefe followers, whereby dejected, he returned to *Apulia*, and soone after dyed.

mie hee returned into *Apulia*, the greater part according to their Vow, repaying to *Ierusalem* by Sea.

Anno 1109. *Bertran* sonne of Earle *Raimund* came out of *Prouince*, and with ninetie ships of the *Genuois* besieged *Tripolis*, but (by dissention betwixt him and *Jordan* his emulous Kinsman) to little effect. *Baldwin* came to the siege to intreate the *Genuois* to his assistance against *Ascalon*, *Beruth* and *Sidon* and began to agree the two Earles; but *Jordan* was slaine as hee rode in the night with an Arrow, no man knew how nor whence. *Bertran* sware fealtie to King *Baldwin* for his Fathers Inheritance (the cause of their quarrell) and when the *Saracens* had compounded to surrender the Towne, their liues saued, (which the King had confirmed by Oath) they permitted our chiefe men to enter part of the Towne. Meane-while, I know not how, a sudden tumult happened amongst the meaner *Genuois*, who scaled and entred the Towne without the Princes knowledge, and put all to the sword, no equitie being able to make restitution of their heads. But in the Kings circuit they escaped.

Anno 1110. King *Baldwin* with *Bertran* tooke *Berith* after seuentie five dayes siege: and after with *Tancred* passed ouer *Euphrates*, where they found the *Turkish* forces, which yet refused fight, and with wearisome delayes, caused that they furnished *Edessa* with victuall (the *Turkes* hauing wasted the Countrey and taken the Castles and Husbandmen which serued them with food) and departed againe ouer the Riuer, where the *Turkes* tooke and carryed into *Persia*, many of our footmen. In the meane-while, a Fleet arrived at *Ioppe* out of *Norway*, and the Westerne Sea conducted by that Kings Brother, which with their Sea-seruice ayded the King in the siege of *Sidon*, which yeelded vpon composition in December.

Anno 1111. *Tancred* sent to *Baldwin*, who with *Bertran* assembled all their forces against the *Turkes*, which in great multitudes had passed *Euphrates* out of *Persia*. They passed by *Apamia*, which *Tancred* had taken the yeare before: but the *Turkes* refusing to fight, they departed, *Tancred* to *Antiochia*, the King to *Ierusalem*. Preparation made, hee besieged *Tyrus* or *Soor* aboute foure monethes in vaine, his two Towers of wood which he had raised higher then the walls, beeing disappointed by two which the Citizens had erected on their walls by night, whence they being higher, cast fire into the other and consumed them. And ours which in conceit had diuided the prey, returned home with shame. *Anno 1112.* *Tancred* dyed.

Anno 1113. the *Turkes* passed *Euphrates*, and committed great spoile ouer the whole Countrey, and in a battell King *Baldwin* lost his Colours, Tents and goods, twelue hundred footmen, and thirtie of the best men at Armes. The *Saracens* before subiect, tooke Armes against vs. *Sichem*, which we call *Naples*, was taken. The *Ascalonites* came to the Suburbs of *Ierusalem*, and spoiled their Haruest: nor could a Messenger passe betwixt the King and them; nor durst the Husbandmen reape their Haruest in the Countrey, or exercise other busineses. But our Armie being renewed by Christian Pilgrimes from beyond the Seas, the *Turkes* departed towards *Damasco*, and King *Baldwin* to *Achon*, where he found the Countesse of *Sicilia*, (Wife of *Roger* the Brother of *Robert Guiscard*) comne to become his Wife.

Anno 1114. an infinite multitude of Grasse-hoppers, from the parts of *Arabia*, came into the Countrey of *Ierusalem*, which in Aprill and May much wasted our Corne. Two Earthquakes had happened the yeare before: two also this yeare, one so great in the Region of *Antiochia*, that many Townes were halfe or wholly ruined, throwing downe their walls, and the Houses, and killing the people: ouerturning the Castle *Trialet* neere to *Euphrates*, *Mariseum* with the walls, Houses and people was extinct: a great part of *Mamistria* fell.

Anno 1115. in Iune the *Turkes* passed the Riuer into *Syria*, and *Doldequin* King of *Damasco*, knowing that they hated him for the Murther of their former Generall *Manduef*, entred league with King *Baldwin* and *Roger* Prince of *Antiochia*, knowing that a three-fold Cord is not easily broken. When *Baldwin* was comne into those parts, the *Turkes* hid themselves, whom thinking to haue beene gone out of the Countrey, he returned. Meane-while, the *Ascalonites* had besieged *Ioppe* by Sea and Land, but returned frustrate: againe they sought to take it vnprouided, and made a second assault ten dayes after with like successe. The *Turkes* spoyling the Countrey of *Syria*, the *Antiochians* ouerthrew them in battell, slue three thousand and tooke many with rich spoyle, and three hundred thousand Byzantines. This yeare *Mamistria* was the second time subuerted by an Earthquake, wherewith also the like happened else-where in the Countrey of *Antiochia*. This yeare the King built the Castle Mount Royall within three dayes iourney of the Red Sea.

Anno 1116. the King went to the Red Sea, and found the Citie *Heli*, where the *Israelites* rested after they had passed the Red Sea: the Inhabitants being Fishermen were fled into their Boats. In the end of the yeare the King being sickly and fearing death, put from him *Atlanda* the Countesse of *Sicilia*, whom he had vniustly marryed, his former Wife still liuing at *Edessa*.

Anno 1117. the said Countesse returned into *Sicilia*. Grasse-hoppers deuoured the Vineyards, Corne, Trees of all kind, eating all greene things and the barks; going forth in Bands like an accurate Armie, some on foot, some flying. In the following moneth Iune, the Moone on the thirteenth day of her age was all red and after blacke, and two houres together lost the light, which

which happening not in the full we tooke for a signe. In Iuly happened an Earthquake in December, the whole Heauen was fire like bloud, in some places shining white. Pope Paschal died in Ianuarie after, and King Baldwin in Aprill, and his Wife in Sicily, Alexius the Emperour, and the Patriarke Arnalphus.

In the end of March 1118. Baldwin had spoyled the Citie Pharamia, walking on a day by Nilus, his old grieve renewed, whereof he dyed in the way, being returned as farre as Laris. He was buried neere to his Brother Godfrey in Golgotha, hauing reigned eightene yeares, three monethes. Baldwin Earle of Edessa his Kinsman was elected in his stead, and was consecrated on Easter day, hauing comne accidentally to Ierusalem to speake with the King. That yeare the 10 Babylonians came with an Armie of fifteene thousand Horsemen, and twentie thousand foot, to Ascalon, and a great Fleet of ships attended on them by Sea. King Baldwin assembled his owne with the Tripolitan and Antiochian forces, and sate three monethes neere to them, neither side aduenturing the hazard of battell.

Pharamia.
Laris.
King Baldwin
dyeth, and
Baldwin suc-
ceedeth.

Anno 1119. Roger Prince of Antiochia, made an Expedition against the Turkes, and neere to the Towne Arthasium, was slaine with seuen thousand of his people, and of the Turkes not twentie. And no maruell? for they abounding in wealth exceedingly, neither feared God, nor reuerenced man: the Prince vsed manifold adulteries, dis-herited the Sonne of Boamund, re-mayning in Apulia with his Mother, hee and his liued luxuriously and proudly. King Baldwin sped better in a battell neere Sardanium, twentie foure miles from Antioch. Our men at Armes 20 were seuen hundred, the Turkes twentie thousand. Gazi was their Generall. A certaine Turke spake to a Franke which vnderstood the Persian, saying, Your God hath forsaken you, seeing yee neither hold his Law as ye were wont, nor faith and truth amongst your selues; This wee know and haue obserued, and to morrow shall ouercome you. Hereof wee might well indeed bee ashamed when a faithlesse Turke objected our want of faith. The battell followed, long doubtfull; at last the Turkes fled, some to Aleppo, some into Persia, God deliuering the King by vertue of the Crosse carryed by the Bishop of Casarea: who after two dayes keeping the field went to Antiochia, the Patriarke therof came forth to meet the holy Crosse, the King and Bishop; & on the day of the Exaltation of the Crosse they entred with the Crosse into Ierusalem reioycing, the King staying at Antiochia to set things in order, hauing that Kingdome added to his other of Ierusalem. On Christmas day 30 he and his Wife were crowned at Bethleem.

Prince Roger
slaine with se-
uen thousand
Antiochians.

Anno 1120. the King remitted Tolls and Imposts, and hearing that the Turkes were comne into Syria, hee very humbly desired of the Patriarke and the Clergie, the Crosse to bee deliuered him, saying, that his men should be thereby fortified, and not trusting in his owne or his peoples force, he should obtaine it in stead of many thousands. Heere grew some reasoning betwixt those which went and those which staid, whether the Crosse ought for such a necessitie of Christianitie to be carryed to Antioch, or the Church of Ierusalem be depriued of such a treasure. We 40 said, Alas wretches, what shall we doe, if God permit the Crosse to bee lost in Warre, as once the Israelites lost the Arke of the Couenant? Nilling and willing we did it, with many teares shed for it, and Songs in prayse of it, conueying it out of Towne bare-foote, the King, Patriarch and people, with which the King departed weeping. The Turkes were neere Antiochia, but now retyred to Caliptus: some skirmishes happened in which many on both sides were slaine or wounded, but without battell ours returned to Antiochia, and most of them into Persia: and in October we entertained the most glorious Crosse of our Lord into Ierusalem with great ioy.

Superstition of
the Crosse vn-
like Ezechias
Nebushtan, al-
though made
by diuine ap-
pointment, &
by Christ in-
terpreted to
signifie Christ
crucified, Iob. 3.
Yet broken in
pieces when
abused.

Anno 1121. the King set forth against Tuldequine, King of Damasco, who with the Arabians his Confederates spoyled the Countrey neere to Tiberias, tooke the Castle Iarras and razed it together with the Towne. Anno 1122. the King went to Tripolis against Earle Pontius, which refused to bee subiect to him, as his Father Bertran had beene, and the matter betwixt them was peaceably ended. Hee 50 went also against the Turkes which besieged Sardanium, and repelled them. Blessed therefore bee the Banner of the most holy Crosse of our Lord, a present helpe to true beleeuers, vnder whose protection and consolation, the faithfull without any losse returned home: they being ten thousand, ours but one thousand and two hundred. Meanewhile, Gofeline Earle of Edessa, was taken, and his Cousin Galeran, by Amira Balac, and soone after King Baldwin also.

King Baldwin
taken Prisoner
Venetian Fleet
120. saile.
Chaco.
Ramath.

Anno 1123. Henry King of Almaine, was pacified with Pope Calixtus. A great Fleete of Venetians which wintered at Corfu, being one hundred and twentie Saile, besides smaller Vessels, in which were fifteene thousand armed men, Venetians and other Pilgrims, and three hundred Horses. The Kingdome in Baldwins Captiuitie was committed to the gouernement of En- 60 flace, which then held Casarea and Sidon. The Babylonians with a Nauie of nintie Ships, came and besieged Ioppe: another land Armie was gone to Ascalon. The Ioppites men and women resisted valiantly: yet, had the siege continued, so few could not haue holden out. But the rumor of the Christian Fleete had scarred away the Enemies, when they had now made a breach in the Wall. Our men were vnited from all places at the Castle Chaco, and marched with the Crosse to Ramath neere Diospolis. Wee at Ierusalem made Prayers bare-foot, and Processions thorow all the Churches of the Citie, and gaue almes. Ours hauing receiued Benediction and

Abso.

Abolution of the Patriarke; fought neere *Azot* or *Eldot*, now called *Ibenum*, being brought to a small Village. Their Horse-men fled, their Foot were slaine, and their Tents were left to our men. And of thirtie thousand *Babylonians*, twelue thousand were slaine by Land and Sea, of ours in this fight but ten: after which, the Patriarke returned to *Ierusalem* with the Crosse; which was receiued without *Dauids Gate*, and with honorable Procession conuayed to the Temple of the Sepulchre. The Generall of the *Venetian Fleet* came to *Achon*, which hearing of the defeat, diuided his Nauie, with one part going towards *Ioppe*, sending the other into the Mayne to make the *Saracens* beleue that they were Pilgrimes comming from *Cyprus*. Meeting with the Fleet of *Saracens*, they made such a slaughter that the Sea for foure miles space was died red: for they slue the men and tooke the ships. After which they fell vpon ten other ships laden with victuall and timbers for Engines, Pepper, Cinamon, and diuers Spices, Munition and Money. Some ships they burned on the shoare, the most they brought to *Achon*. *Eustace* dyed, and *William de Buris* succeeded in the Protectorship. *Baldwin* escaped out of his hard Imprisonment, where he and Earle *Ioseline* were bound by a strange stratageme. Fiftie *Edeffens*, making shew as if they were Pedlars or poore Merchants: and waiting an occasion got into the inner gate, where the Captaine or chiefe of the Warders was at Chesse, to whom they made shew of complaint for some wrong offered: and seeing oportunitie, suddenly drew their Swords, and slue him, layd hold on the Launces (or Halberds) there standing, and laid lustily about them. The clamour brings many to see the businesse which they were suddenly sent to tell in another World, about one hundred *Turkes* being slaine, they shut the Castle, take out the Captiues, erect the Christian Colours. *Balac* had dreamed that *Ioseline* had pulled out his eyes, whereupon hee sent to put him to death, and before the Messengers were arrived, this had happened. *Balacs* best beloued Wife was in the Castle. Earle *Ioseline* by night, with three of his Seruants, gat out of the Castle in a Moone-light night, thorow the midit of the besiegers, and by night trauell got to *Euphrates*, and with two blowne Bladders and helpe of his companions, beeing ignorant of swimming, gate ouer: where vnder a Tree resting himselfe almost tattered and starued, hee was knowne by a Countriman, which hauing a Wife, and a little Daughter, and a silly Asse was willing to attend him with his Family. The Earle rode on the Asse, and carryed the poore mans childe crying and vnquiet, till they came through the Enemies Countrey to his owne Castle *Terbexell*. Thence (hauing repaid the poore *Armenian*) he hasted to *Ierusalem* where hee offered his Fetters in Mount *Caluarie*, and with the Crosse & an Armie had returned to *Cartapeta*, but in the way newes came that the King was againe captiue, whereupon after much spoile in the *Saracens* Countries, they parted the prey and departed home. *Balac* had vndermined the Castle, erecting timbers in the Mines, and filling the holes with wood, which he fired, and the Earth by that meanes falling, part of the Castle fell therewith, so that they within were forced to yeeld to mercie. The King *Galdran* he spared: the rest were hanged, or flayed, or cut asunder in the middle. The King was sent Prisoner to *Carra*.

This Castle
was *Cartapeta*.

Terbexel.

Balac slaine.
Knighthood.
Tyrus taken.

Anno 1124. the Patriarke agreed with the *Venetians* to besiege *Tyrus*. *Balac* laid siege to *Ierapolis*, called *Mumbeth*, which *Ioseline* hearing (beeing then at *Antiochia*, hee came with his forces and gaue him battell, in which *Balac* and three thousand of his men were slaine. *Balacs* head was sent to *Antioch*: and his Esquire bringing the newes to the Campe at *Tyrus*, was knighted by the Earle of *Tripolis*. *Tyrus* was yeelded on the seuenth of Iuly, and the thirds giuen to the *Venetians* in the Citie and Port by composition.

CHAP. III.

A supplement of the Holy Land Storie, gleaned out of the large Historie of WILLIAM Archbishop of Tyrus.

W. Tyr. l. 13.
The Kings libertie.



He same yeare in the end of August, King *Baldwin* agreed for his libertie, and returned to *Antioch*. His ransome was one hundred thousand Michaelites (a principall Coine in those parts) which not knowing how to pay, hee was perswaded to besiege *Halapia*, then being in some distresse. The *Halapians* were assisted by the *Saracens* beyond *Euphrates*, whereupon the King returned and went to *Ierusalem*. But hearing of *Bursequines* spoiling the Confinnes of *Antioch*, assisted by *Doldequine* of *Damascus*, who had taken *Caphardan*, and besieged *Sardan*, and thence removed to *Hafard*: he with the Earles of *Tripolis* and *Edeffa*, came and gaue them battell, and winning the field, got enough to redeeme his Daughter, which remayned pledge for his ransome. Hee invaded the Territorie of *Damascus*: but being told of the *Babylonians* comming to *Ascalon*, (for it was their custome foure times in the yeare to direct forces thither) hee set forth thither and curbed their insolence.

Anno 1126. he made an expedition by *Tyberias* and *Decapolis*, and to the Plaines of *Medan*, where

where the Riuer *Dan*, betwixt *Tyberias* and *Scythopolis* runneth into *Jordan*, making vp that name; before which, that which descends into the Sea of *Galilee*, is called *Ior*, as some say, though *Beda* and others be otherwise minded. He encountered with the *Damascenes*, in a dreadfull and long doubtfull battell, which inclined at last to the Kings part. Hee restored *Antiochia* to *Boamund* the yonger, in marriage with his Daughter; against whom, Earle *Iosceline* conceiued such hatred, that he called in *Turkes* to his aide, and entred the Territories of *Antioch* with Fire and Sword, in the abience of the Prince. At that time *Roger* Earle of *Sicilia*, frustrated of his hopes in *Africa*, with his Fleete wanne *Syracuse*, slaying all, of all Ages and Sexes.

Ior, Dan, Jordan.

Boamund Inui-
or.

Ciuill Warre.

An. 1127 *William* an English man, was made Archbishop of *Tyru*, being before Prior of the Sepulchre; who being consecrated by the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, would needes against his will, seeke his Pall at *Rome*, where Pope *Honorius* much honored him, and sent *Giles* his Legat with him, to make the Patriarke of *Antioch* to deliuer his Suffragan Bishops to him, vnder paine of Suspension. The yeere following, *Hugo de Paganis*, first Master of the Temple, and some other Religious men, which had beene sent by the King into the West, to excite aides of those Princes, returned with many Noble-men. Whereupon all the Easterne Christians agreed to besiege *Damascus*. Anno 1130. But hauing lost many in forraging and skirmishing, the Elements with thunders and raines compelled them to retire home. *Boamund* was one, which in his returne to

W. English man
Archbishop of
Tyre.

First Tem-
plers.

Damascus be-
sieged in
vaine.

King Fulke.
Lib. 14.

his Prouince, found *Rodoan* the *Turke*, committing spoiles, and in seeking reuenge lost himselfe and his life. The King made haste to set things there in order, where his Daughter the Princes Wife, sent to *Sanguin* the *Turke* for aide, to hold *Antiochia* to her selfe. The Messenger by the way was intercepted, and brought to the King. She prepared to withstand her Father, but in vaine. He returning to *Ierusalem*, fell sicke, and because the Patriarkes house was neerer the place of the Resurrection, lay there; and taking the habit of Religion, hauing commended the Kingdome to *Fulke* his Sonne-in-law, with his little Sonne *Baldwin*, he died in August, 1131.

This *Fulke* had married the Kings eldest Daughter, *Milifend*, being Earle of *Anion*, *Turon*, &c. and had beene at *Ierusalem* in Pilgrimage, and maintained one hundred Horse-men a whole yeere at his charge, winning such loue of the King and people, that the King bestowed his Daughter and succession on him. *Honorius* dying, a contention grew for the Papacie, twixt *Innocent* and *Peter*, called *Anacletus*, the matter was tried on both sides with blood and slaughter. *Innocent* obtayning, ordained the Church of *Tyre* to be subiect to *Ierusalem*, and to haue the same place with that Patriarke which before it held with the *Antiochian*. Great stirre arose about the Earle of *Ioppa*; who, being accused by *Galternus Casariensis* of treason, was sentenced to acquit himselfe by combat; but he appeared not, and was therefore condemned: whereupon hee went to *Ascalon*, desiring aide of the Enemie, which added fewell to the fire, and inuaded the Christians on that confidence. Peace was concluded, and the Earle after that in *Ierusalem*, as he was at play, was murdered, and the King suspected as procurer thereof, whereof hee cleered himselfe by execution of the Malefactor.

The Author
speakes against
the Romane
Church, and
the two Patri-
arkes, which
cut large,
thongs of o-
thers hide, &c.
Ciuill broiles,
Earle of Triplis
slaine.
Tarsus taken by
the Emperour
of constant.

Earle of Trip.
taken, and the
King distressed

Pontius Earle of *Tripolis*, with all his power, fighting against the *Damascens*, was taken and slaine, his Armie disperfed, the Bishop taken, and a great multitude killed. The *Antiochians* had deliuered their Citie to *Raimund*, with *Boamunds* daughter to Wife, which the *Constantinopoli-*tan misliked, and by great power sought to subdue all that Principallitie, with Horses, Chariots, Treasures beyond number, and Forces infinite, passing *Saint Georges* arme, and violently forced *Tarsus*, and placed his owne, expelling thence the *Antiochian* Forces. He besiegeth *Antiochia*. *Sanguin* the *Turke* takes the aduantage to inuade the Countrey of *Tripolis*, and besieged Mount *Ferrand*. Both parts sue to the King for aide, who going first against *Sanguin*, receiued an ouerthrow; the Earle of *Tripolis* was taken, and almost all the Footmen taken or slaine with all their carriages. The King fled for succour to a Castle vnprovidd, out of which whiles his subiects seeke to deliuer him, *Neapolis* was taken by other *Saracens* with cruell execution of all sorts. *Sanguin* put the King to such straits before succours could come (which on all hands were provided) that he was contented to agree on conditions to resigne the Fortresse after much Famine and death. *Antiochia* was also grievously assaulted, but peace was by mediation concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Prince, which did him homage.

The Emperour hauing wintered in *Cilicia*, the next Spring layeth siege to *Cesarea*, assisted with the Prince of *Antioch*, and Earle of *Edeffa* to satisfie them, which yet by their negligent labours and diligent play, gaue him so little satisfaction, that being offered money, he accepted it, and returned to *Antioch*, where arose a tumult about his demand of a Garrison, which grew to blowes, wounds, deaths, which caused the Emperour to remit his demand, and to returne home. Meane-while, *Theodericke* Earle of *Flanders*, the Kings Sonne-in-law came to *Ierusalem*, with a strong Armie. These with the *Ierosolymitans* besieged a Den of Theeues neere Mount *Galad*, being an inaccessible Caue, where a Nest of Adders resided, wayting all opportunities of mischief: which while they were doing, the *Turkes* tooke *Tecua*. The Master of the Temple came vpon them with his forces, and chased them, but minding the spoyles, the conquered returned and regained the victorie with great slaughter and spoile.

Cesarea besie-
ged.

Tecua taken.

Sanguin sought now to get the Kingdome of *Damascus*, whereupon they desired the King, and

Papall Legate
deposeth the
Patriarke of
Antioch, and
holdeth a
Councell at
Ierusalem.

Death of the
Emperour and
King *Falco*.
Baldwin the
third.
Edessa taken.

Edessa wonne
and lost.

* *Loricarium*.

Incredible
numbers slaine
and lost.
See more of
these in *M. Par.*
following.

Raimund slaine
Earle of *Edessa*
taken.

The foure
parts of the
Easterne
Frankes power.
Ciuill Warres.

Emperour of
Const. his inua-
sion.

Maym of the
Easterne King-
dome.

and promised the Citie *Pancas*, and twentie thousand pieces of Gold to King *Fulke*, to assist them against a common Enemy. But *Sanguin* feared the encounter and returned. *Pancas* after a strong siege was taken. The Popes Legate commeth into those parts, and after much stirre deposeth *Ralfe*, the Patriarke of *Antiochia*; compels him to deliuer his Ring and Crosse, and commits him to the Prince to Bonds and Imprisonment in a high Mountaine, whence escaping to *Rome*, and obtayning some glance of Papall light, in his returne hee was poysoned. The Legate returneth to *Ierusalem*, and dedicates the Temple in great solemnitie, and celebrates a Councell with the Patriarke, the *Armenian*, *Median*, *Persian*, *Cappadocian* Bishops, and reformation was promised in the things wherein they dissent from vs. *Aimerike* an vnlearned man was chosen the *Antiochian* Patriarke.

The Emperour makes another Expedition within foure yeares after the former into *Cilicia*, and to *Edessa*, with innumerable Treasures and People, where after much labour to little effect, the next Spring in hunting a wild Boare, with a Poysoned Arrow hee hurt his hand as hee was shooting, whereof he dyed, Anno 1137. and King *Fulke*, by like disadventure followed, in the following of a Hare falling from his Horse, his braines with the violence thereof, forced out of his nose and eares. This happened in Nouember 1142.

Baldwin the third succeeded. *Sanguin* the Turke Lord of *Nimue* (now called *Musul*) came and besieged *Edessa*, the Metropolis of *Media* called *Rages*, a Citie better stored with Merchants then Souldiers, and by vndermining tooke it, neither sparing age or sex; amongst the rest, *Hugh* the Archbishop was slaine, who hauing horded infinite Treasure, to spare it hee was prodigall of his life, and fame and it also, to a cruell vngratefull Heire. He proceeded to besiege *Calogenbar* on the other side of *Euphrates*, where one night in his drunkenesse hee was slaine of his seruants; liuing and dying, *Sanguine*, one of his Sonnes succeeded at *Musul*, *Noradine*, another at *Halapia*. The Captaine of *Bostrum* vpon discontent with the *Damascens* came to *Ierusalem*, and offered to yeeld the Citie to the King, who went with an Armie, but too late, the Enemy hauing possession before, wherefore after many dangers and losses he returned. Not long after the *Edessans* (*Noradine* being else-where busied) send to Earle *Iosceline*, who commeth and suddenly becommeth Master of the Citie, which he was not able to hold, *Noradine* returning with a strong power, and recouering it with exceeding slaughter of the Citizens and of the Earles Armie.

After this, Pope *Eugenius* sent Preachers to excite men to take the Crosse (amongst them *Bernard* Abbot of *Claronale*) which went thorow Kingdomes and Regions, whereby *Conrade* the Emperour and *Lewis* King of *France* with many Princes embraced the word and signe of the Crosse, which yet did in all that Expedition nothing acceptable to God, our sinnes deseruing it. As they which were present, constantly affirme there were in the Emperours Campe seuentie thousand * harnessed Horse-men, besides Foot-men, Children, Women, and Horse-men of lighter Armour. And in the Armie of the *French* as many armed Horse-men, and a Nauie; able if God had blessed them to haue conquered all the Easterne Prouinces. The *Greekes* either by command, or corrupted by the Enemy, led ours by vnpassable passages, so that their Enemies made such slaughter, that of all those thousands of Horse-men, and innumerable Footmen, scarcely the tenth part escaped. The *French* followed the Imperials in like fates, the glory of the *Frankes* and vertue sometimes dreadfull, being made a mockerie to their Enemies, Famine and Disorder pursuing the residue which escaped the Battell which was in Ianuary 1146.

Anno 1148. *Noradine* inuades the Territories of *Antiochia*, and in Battell *Raimund* the Prince with the strength of those parts were slaine. *Raimunds* head and right hand were sent to the Calipha of *Baldac*: all the Countrey was ouer-runne by martiall furie. The *Soldan* of *Iconium* inuades the Countrey of the Earle of *Edessa*, takes many Cities and Castles, and besiegeth the Earle in *Turbessel*, and vpon conditions departeth. This Earle a voluptuous and dissolute man reioycing at the fall of *Antiochia*, fell soone after into his Enemies hands, which carried him to *Halapia*, where tyred with miserie he dyed.

The power of the *Frankes* consisted in the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, the Principalitie of *Antioch*, the Earldome of *Edessa*, & the Earledom of *Tripolis*. After the former miseries in other parts happened a dissention twixt the King and his Mother, which diuided the Kingdome betweene them in ciuill combustions. The Queene betakes her to *Ierusalem*, whither the King followes with an Armie, and (notwithstanding the Patriarkes admonition) besiegeth it, and after that the Citizens had let him in, laid siege to the Tower where she was, till at last agreement was made on both sides, internal grudges and reliques of faction stil remayning, whiles without as two Millstones, *Noradine* and the *Soldan* of *Iconium*, ground the State betwixt them to powder. The *Soldan* of *Iconium* hauing inuaded againe the Countrey of *Edessa*, lest miserie should want, the *Constantinopolitan* sends a great Armie and challengeth the Countrey which the King yeelds to, taking with him the people (which hereupon with their wealth departed) whereof *Noradine* vnderstanding with great power assailed them, their carriages being sticked with Arrowes like Hedge-hogs, yet they shifted away, the *Turkes* wanting victuals to follow them. In one yeare did *Noradine* dispossesse the *Greekes* of their new Possessions, a rich Countrey beeing quite lost, and three Archbishopricks cut off from the Church of *Antioch*, the *Edessan*, the *Hierapolitan*, and *Coricen*. The Earle of *Tripolis* was murdered by the *Assisines*.

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- A huge Armie of *Turkes* called *Hiaroquin*, whose Progenitors had held *Ierusalem*, made an expedition thither for recouerie of their pristine possession; where, tyred by the difficultie of the way, they were made an easier conquest to the Sword of the Christians, so that five thousand being slaine, the rest were glad to retire. This was *Anno 1152*. The King besieged *Ascalon* two Moneths; after which, according to the custome, at Easter was a passage of Pilgrims in great frequencie, which came thither with huge bands of Horse and Foote, the Campe daily increasing, the Pilgrims which would haue returned being forbidden, and their Ships being imployed in this seruice. Ours with Masts of Ships, made a wooden Tower, and of the other materials of the Ships, engines and Pent-house provisions for securitie of the approachers. After
- 10 five Moneths siege, and daily killing and wounding on both sides, the *Babylonian Fleet* came to their succour. *Gyrard of Sydon* the Admirall of our Fleet, thought to encounter with them, but seeing their multitudes fled; they being seuentie Gallies and other Ships of huge greatnesse and great provisions, which the *Egyptian Prince* had sent. A peece of the Wall being razed, they which would haue entred, were forbidden by the Templers (that being the custome for all men to hold whatsoeuer spoile they got) in hope of gaine, so that their couetousnesse exposed them to the slaughter. And our men fainting were incouraged, and the Citie was yeelded, on composition to depart with bag and baggage. *Ascalon* was made Bishop by the Patriarke, against the will of the Bishop of *Bethleem*, which appealed to the Pope, and by his sentence excluded the former. *Nocquin* a *Turke* seeing the *Ascalonites* destitute of sufficient guard, hee
- 20 (which had vnderooke to guard them into *Egypt* himselfe) fell vpon them, rised them, and left them wandring in the Desert. This hapned, *Anno 1154*. *Mischiefes neuer alone.*
- Anno 1155*, was a grieuous famine, and but for the store of Corne which they found in *Ascalon*, the people had all perished. And the yeere following, the soile about *Ascalon*, which
- hostilitie had not permitted to be tilled in fittie yeeres, rendred sixtie-fold increase. Great contention grew betwixt the Patriarke and Hospitalars, about Titles of their goods, and other their insolencies. The *Roman Church* not considering what it granted, gaue cause hereof, freeing the place from iurisdiction of the Patriarke. This place of the Hospitall was giuen first by the *Egyptian Calypha's* to the *Amalfitan Merchants* of *Italie*, to build them a house, where they erected a Monasterie of *Saint Mary*, of *Latin Monkes*; and another Nunnerie of *Saint Mary Magdalen*; and after that an Hospitall, and an Alrar in honor of *Saint Iohn Eleyman*, or the
- 30 *Almoner*. The maintenance of these was yeerly almes: which continued till *Ierusalem* was won by the Christians, *Gerald* being then Master of the Hospitall, to whom *Raymund* succeeded, which now by *Roman* priuiledge did thus domineere. The Patriarke went a dangerous iourney with others to *Rome*, where he receiued bad entertainment, the Cardinals (all but two) following *Balaam* sonne of *Bosor*, and going after gifts. The Emperour of *Constantinople* at that time by the Popes consent inuaded *Apulia*. *Lib. 18. Famine and plentie.*
- About this time the *Soldan* of *Egypt* slew the *Calypha*, to make his sonne *Noseredine*, *Calypha*; but the fact being knowne, the Countrey was too hot for him, who flying the *Egyptian Fryingpan*, fell into the fire of the *Frankes*, which slew him and tooke *Noseredine*, whom desiring to
- 40 become a Christian, the Templers sold to the *Egyptians* for sixtie thousand *Egyptian* pieces of gold, which carried him in an Iron Grate into *Egypt*, and there cut him in small pieces. The yeere after, *Ranialdus de Castellione* Prince of *Antiochia* inuaded *Cyprus* with hostile Legions, a Christian neighbour Countrey, alway friendly to vs. He ouerthrew their Armie, wasted Cities, Townes, Monasteries, rauished Nunnes, obtayned infinite spoiles, which he soone spent as prodigally. The King also brake his league with the *Turkes* at *Paneas*, for greedinesse of spoile to pay his debts: which was soone reuenged. *Noradine* besieged the Towne, which the King caused him with an Armie to leaue, but so, as waiting better opportunitie, which hee soone found, to doe more hurt to the Kings Armie; taking the most of the geeat Men therein, the King hardly escaping, and consequently (in that time) the Kingdome. He againe besiegeth *Paneas*, and againe by the King is repelled. After this, the King besieged *Cesarea*, and with the
- 50 helpe of *Theodorick Earle of Flanders*, then with his forces present, wanne it: and after that *Harenc*. He dyed, *Anno 1162*, and his brother *Amalricus* succeeded. *Cesarea taken.*
- He in his first yeere descended into *Egypt*, and fought with *Dargan* the *Soldan*, and obtained victorie; who, lest he should proceed further, brake the bankes of *Nilus* then swolne, to ouerflow the Countrey. *Dargan* was soone after slaine. *Noradine* inuaded the Countrey of *Tripolis*, but by helpe of *Westerne Pilgrims* then comie thither, his Armie was dissipated, himselfe hardly escaping, with one Legge bare, leauing his Sword behinde. Of these Pilgrims *Gilbert de Laci*, and *Robert Mansel* were Commanders. To recouer his credit, he besieged *Harenc*, where *Boamund* the third Prince of *Antiochia*, *Raimund* the Earle of *Tripolis*, and *Caliman*
- 60 President of *Cilicia* and *Toros*, an *Armenian Prince* opposing, were discomfited, and the three former, with diuers other Nobles taken, *Anno 1165*. *Baldwins death Amalricus succeedeth. Lib. 19.*
- Syracon* tooke an in expugnable Fort by corruption of the Keepers, called *Canea de Tyrum*. He prepared great forces against *Sauar* the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, by authoritie of the *Calypha* of *Baldac*, carrying Water in Bottles thorow the Desert. *Amalricus* followed him, his whole Armie meeting
- An Ass laden with gold, best Fort-taker.

Tempest of
sand.

Tribute paid
by the Egypti-
ans to the King
of Ierusalem.
The Palace
Cascere.

The Calipha's
glorie.

His person.

Mehemetan
Sects.
Sunni and Shia.
See before in
Leol. 6. c. 1.

Cairaan.
The Authors
story of Ma-
hometans.
The battell of
Beben, in the
Confines of
the Deserts.

Alexandria
taken.

Pelufium taken.

Cairo besieged.

ting at *Belbeis* or *Pelufium*. *Sauar* gaue him royall entertainment, shewed him his Treasures; and *Cabere* (*Cayro*) liating on the left hand *Babylon*, which the *Arabs* call *Macer*, (infinite ruines remaine ten miles beyond *Nilus*, still called *Memphis*, and therefore this is not the old *Memphis*) *Iohar* built *Cabere*, in the yeare after *Mahomet* 358. The King and *Soldan* agreed to goe meete *Syracon*, which was passed ouer the Riuer before they came. Some remainders they tooke, which told them, that in the Wildernesse such a tempest of Sand in manner of Clouds, and a thicke Mist hapned, that they durst not open their mouthes or eyes, and were forced to alight and lye downe, lest the Whirle-wind should lift them vp in the ayre, to receiue greater fals on the earth. The Sands there, are moueable with the winds like waues of the Sea, and no lesse dangerous. Many were lost, together with their Camels and prouisions, and many scattered in the Deserts. *Sauar*, to hold the King with him in that danger, encreased the tribute, and gaue larger pay to his followers: to which the *Calipha* also bound himsele, *Hugo Casariensis* being therefore sent to him. He and *Galfridus* came to *Cabere*, and entred the Palace *Cascere*, passing by darke passages needing lights, (in euery of which was a guard) vnto more spacious places open to the Sunne, where they saw Galleries borne vp with Marble Pillars, the Roofes gilded, with carued workes, the pauements diuersified, presenting a Royall splendor. There were marble fish-ponds, many strange Birds vnkowne in our World, with their prouisions. Then they passed to places as farre exceeding these, as these the vulgar. Heere was admirable varietie of admirable beasts. By many turnings they came to the Palace of this Palace, where were greater Gards, more glorious Courtiers, and supereminent riches. The *Soldan* which conducted them, twice prostrated himsele with a kind of adoration, and the third time being prostrate, he laid aside his sword from his necke. Presently the Curtaines embroydered with Gold and Pearle were drawne from about the Throne, where the *Calipha* sate in more then Royall habite, attended with a few Domestickes and Eunuches. The *Soldan* approached with reuerence, and kissed his feet, and then acquainted him with the affaires of the present state, to which hee gaue a gentle Answer. And when Ours desired him to confirme it with his hand, his attendants made strange, as a thing vnheard off: but at last the *Soldan* vrging, he stretched forth his hand, but veiled: to whom *Hugo*, Sir, Faith seekes not corners, and in faith betwixt Princes all things ought to bee bare with open sinceritie: whereat hee vnwilling, yet smiling, gaue him his bare hand, (which the *Egyptians* much grudged at) putting it into the hand of *Hugo*, vsing the words of the compact. Hee was as the Lord *Hugo* hath told vs, a young man, browne, tall, comely, liberall, had innumerable Waues: his name was *Elbadech*, the Sonne of *Elseis*.

The diuision betwixt the *Calipha* of *Baldac*, and this hapned by the Schisme of *Hali*, which made himsele a greater Prophet then *Mehemet*: those that acknowldge *Mehemet* the greatest being called *Sunni*, and the followers of *Hali*, *Sfia*. In the yeare 286. of *Mehemet*, arose one *Abdalla*, of *Hali*s Posteritie, which from *Selencia* a Citie in the East passed into *Africa*, and called himsele *Mehedi* (that is, making plaine) which built *Mehedia*, tooke *Sicilia*, made spoiles in *Italie*, and called himsele *Calipha*, first of all the followers of *Hali*: His great Grandchildes Sonne *Ebuthemin*, by *Iohar* his Captaine subduing *Egypt*, built *Cabere*, which signifieth conquering: whereupon leauing *Caroca* in *Africa*, where foure of his Progenitors had dwelt, he made that the Imperiall Seat, opposing himsele to the Easterne *Calipha*, as I haue more largely shewed in mine Historie of the Eastern Princes, & their Acts from *Mehemet* to this day (1182.) with great diligence, King *Amalricus* procuring me the *Arabian* Bookes. But leauing these digressions, a battell was fought betwixt the King and *Syracon*, very various both getting the better and the worse, neither partie conquering nor conquered in the whole, but in diuers parts of their Armies. *Saladine* Nephew of *Syracon* tooke *Hugo Casariensis*. The Bishop of *Bethleem*, the Kings Chancellor (in which office I succeeded) was wounded and lost his baggage. *Syracon* passed thence to *Alexandria*, and the Citizens receiued him. The King followed: but *Syracon* leauing the Citie to *Salahadine*, escaped by night. The King besieged the Citie and put them to great straites. *Hugo* (then captiue) was vsed as an Instrument of Treatie, and the Citie yeelded to *Amalricus*, Anno 1167. But *Amalricus* by *Gerbert* Master of the Hospitall his meanes (*Pelufium* beeing promised to the Hospitalers) brake his league and entred *Egypt* in hostile manner, the Templers refusing to follow, either of enuie to the Hospitalers, or of conscience, which the King violated.

Pelufium was taken, no Age or Sexe spared, and *Mahazam* Sonne of the *Soldan* was taken. *Sauar* sends to *Noradine* for aide which sent *Syracon* thither with an Armie. The King proceeded towards *Cabere*, but went slowly vpon promise of great summes from the *Soldan*, which deceiued him. His Nauie passing vp the Riuer by the arme thereof *Carabes*, forced *Tapis*. The King laid his siege to *Cabere*, but vpon promise of money remoued a mile further. *Milo de Planci* disturbeth the businesse, but *Syracon* more, who entring *Egypt*, the King went to meete him, but missing returned home. *Syracon* taking the oportunitie entred *Cabere* in peace, treacherously slue *Sauar*, and was by the *Calipha* made *Soldan*, soone after dying, and *Salahadine* suc-

succeeding. The Easterne Emperour sent in succour of the Holy Land, a strong Fleet of one hundred and fiftie Gallies of Warre, besides other Vessels of seruice, whereupon, Anno 1169. Amalricus againe entred Egypt, and came to Damietta, which hee besieged in vaine, if it bee not more then vaine, that themselves forced with fire, famine, raines, returned (so many as were left) home frustrate. Lib. 20.

The yeare following followed a most terrible Earthquake, vtterly ouerthrowing strong Cities, inuoluing the Inhabitants in the ruines, filling euery place in the Land with laments. Thus fared it with the Cities of Syria, and Phœnicia throwne to the ground, and Antiochia in Cœlesyria was quite ouerthrowne; the Walls, Towers, Churches, Houses so ruined, that to this day they cannot be reduced to a meane restauration. *Gabul, Laodicea, Nerea* called otherwise *Halapia, Casara, Hannin, Emissa*, and many other Cities in that Prouince, Townes without number, fared likewise. *Tripolis* was made a heape of stones, and publike Sepulchre: scarcely any escaping. *Tyrus* lost her Towers. These terrors continued three or foure moneths, thrice or foure times a day. *Palestina* remayned free. Const. Fleet.

After this *Salahadine* inuadeth the Countrey, taketh *Gaza*, makes cruell executions and returneth into Egypt. *Milo* the Armenian adioyneth himselfe to *Noradine*, vexeth the Antiochian Territories. *Salahadine* spoyleth all the Countrey beyond *Iordan*. Anno 1173. *Amalricus* dyeth, and his Sonne *Baldwin* succeeded, whom his Father at nine yeares of age had committed to our Erudition (then Arch-deacon of *Tyre*) his right arme was stupified and senselesse, the beginning of an incurable Disease, when he was a stripling proofing a Leprosie. Hee had a Sister named *Sybilla*. In the first yeare of his Reigne, *William* King of *Sicilia*, sent a Nauie of two hundred ships against *Alexandria*, which returned with great losse and shame. *Salahadine* the Sonne of *Negmend*, Brother of *Syracon*, was called by the *Damascens*, and made Lord of *Damascus*, the Sonne of *Noradine* being disherited. *Corobedi* Lord of *Musul*, came in his Nephewes behalfe against him, but in vaine, *Salahadine* winning the rest of the Countrey. After this with a huge Armie, he entreth the Kingdome, layeth all waste, is encountred and ouerthrowne by the King; *Salahadine* flying with scarce one hundred Horse, an innumerable company being taken or slaine. The King 1178. inuaded the Enemies Countrey, and hardly escaped the Lord Constable and others being slaine. In a battell also against *Salahadine*, ours hauing gotten the field laden with prey, are spoiled and made a prey to the conquered. The Earle *Trecensis* and the Brother of King *Lewis* of *France*, *Peter*, and other Nobles with a great power came into Syria but could not withstand the current of *Salahadines* victories, which now possessed himselfe of a Castle which the King had lately built neere *Iordan*, and rased it. Hee makes league with the King and breakes it, and takes diuers holds by Sea and Land, annoying the Kingdome. But wearie of blood I follow this Author no further, whose storie is left vnperfect, as the King then was in state of bodie, committing the Gouvernement of the Kingdome to *Guido* of *Liziniac*, on whom before he had bestowed his Sister in Marriage. I will likewise commit you to an English Author and Acts in these businesses. Terrible Earthquake.

If any bee offended, that the date and yeare of each Exploit is not mentioned, it is because the Author had not done it. Baldwin the fourth his Leprosie.

CHAP. IIII.

The Continuation of the Ierusalem Expedition and other Additions, gathered out of MATTHEW PARIS, chiefly relating the Acts of English Pilgrimes in that Employment. Sa'adine.

§. I.

Templers beginning and degeneration. Huge slaughters of Christians. Lib. 22.

SALADINES taking Ierusalem and the Holy Land.

ABout the yeare 1118. the Hospitulers were begunne by *Hugo de Paganis*, and *Godfrey* of Saint *Omar*. These were Knights religious in manner of Canons Regulars, deuoting themselves to the seruice of Christ in Chastitie and Obedience; to whom King *Baldwin* gaue a residence in part of his Palace, the Canons of the Temple of our Lord gaue the street adioyning to build Offices; the King, Patriarke and Prelates gaue Benefices for their maintenance. Their first profession was, for remission of their sinnes, to secure the wayes for Pilgrimes against Theenes. Nine yeares after, at the Councell of *Treca*, a rule and white habit was designed them by Beginning of the Templers.

Iiiii

Pope

- Pope *Honorius*: and nine yeares after that their number (being but nine) beganne to increafe together with their Possessions; after which in the time of Pope *Eugenius*, they sewed Crosses of red Cloth to their Mantles. In a small time they were so many, that in their Couent they haue three hundred Knights, besides other Brethren, whose number is almost infinite: and their Possessions on this and the other side of the Sea are said to bee so immense, that there is no part of Christendome, which hath not bestowed on them part of their goods, and they are now richer then Kings. And because their abode is neere the Temple, they are called *Brethren of the Soldierie of the Temple*: and hauing continued some time in good order, the humilitie of their profession now being neglected, they haue withdrawne themselves from the Patriarke their founder, withholding Obedience, and the Churches Tithes, and are become very troublesome to all. 10
- Their possessions.**
- Two huge Armies.** Anno 1146. was a Councell held at *Rhemes*, and Preachers appointed for the Holy Land, which the *Saracens* did ouer-runne without resistance. *Conrade* the Emperour at the preaching of *Bernard* tooke the Crosse, and with him an innumerable multitude. In May following, hee beganne his Pilgrimage, leading with him seuentie thousand Horse-men armed, besides light Horse-men, * Footmen, Women and Children. *Lewis* King of *France* followed him with no lesse an Armie of armed Horse-men. They went asunder for better prouision for themselves and their Horses. Passing *Banaria*, the *Danow*, *Austria*, *Hungarie*, and both *Pannonias*, also the *Bulgarian* Prouinces, *Mesia* and *Dacia*; *Conrade* came into *Thrace* and to *Constantinople*; thence (after speech with *Manuell* the Emperour) passed into and thorow *Asia* to *Lycaonia*. The *Soldan* of *Iconium* had hired great forces out of the East. The Guides which the *Constantinopolitan* 20
- * *Loricatorum Equitum.*
a *Equitum*, *senioris armature*
This is here repeated for the hugeness of these Expeditions.
- had giuen him, with *Greekish* sleight, as is said, through enuie of their Master, brought them into difficult passages, and so betrayed them, before famished, to the *Turkes* expected opportunitie and furie; that of the seuentie thousand armed Horsemen, and Footmen, in manner innumerable, scarcely the tenth part escaped, the rest shared betwixt Famine, the Sword and Captiuitie. *Conradus* escaped to *Nice*, and so to *Constantinople*, where he wintered. The next Spring he passed by Sea to *Achon*, and was receiued by the King ioyfully at *Ierusalem*.
- Defeat of the Dutch.**
- French Armie.** This yeare 1147. King *Lewis* came to *Meander* with seuentie thousand armed Horsemen, besides a great Nauie of ships which followed him. The Enemy attended to hinder their passage ouer the water, which cost many mens liues. Comming to *Laodicea*, they ascended a high Mountaine, where they were miserably discomfited by the *Turkes*. Yet did the King with *Elia-* 30
- Conrades strength.**
- nor* the Queene hold on their Pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, where their case is much condoled. The Emperour and both the Kings agreed to besiege *Damascus*, which they did: where the Emperour forcing his way at the watering place, strooke off a *Turkes* head (which fought lustily) together with the Head-piece, the necke and shoulder armed, with his Sword, diuiding the left arme and side vnder it from the rest of the bodie. The Citizens terrified, corrupted some Princes with Bribes, who indeuoured to dissolue the siege, which Treason of the Easterne Christians, was odious to those of the West, and caused the Emperour and the *French* to returne home, abominating the fellowship of these Easterne Princes, and cooling others Deuotions to this Pilgrimage.
- Easterne treacherie.**
- After their departure, Anno 1148. *Noradine* entred the Confines of *Antiochia*, besieged *Ne-* 40
- Prince Raimund slaine.**
Earle *Raimund* slaine by *Assisines*.
- pa*, slue Prince *Raimund* with other Nobles in battell, tooke the Castle *Hareng*, and spoyled all the Countrey. Anno 1150. *Raimund* Earle of *Tripolis* was slaine by the *Assisines*; a man deplored as dreadfull to the *Saracens*: These *Assisines* inhabit the Mountaines neere to *Antaradus*, in the Prouince of *Phœnicia*, haue ten Castles and fortie thousand men or more. These elect their chiefe whom they call, *The old man of the Mountaine*, at whose word they will attempt any thing. These haue bene preciser *Saracens* then othres foure hundred yeares. Their old man at this time began to embrace Christian Religion, and sent for that purpose a Legate to the King of *Ierusalem*, which by one of the Templers was slaine, to the hinderance of the businesse till this day. Anno 1154. *Adrian* an *Englishman* was made Pope, borne in the Territorie of Saint 50
- Templers treacherie.**
Pope *Adrian*.
Ascalon.
Papall schisme.
- Albans*. The same yeare *Ascalon* was wonne by King *Baldwin* after a long siege. Pope *Adrian* dying, 1159. there grew a diuision touching the Papacie, betwixt the *English* and *French*, following *Alexander*, and the Imperials, *Octavian*: insomuch, that the Archbishop of *Collen* comming into *England*, to receiue the Kings Daughter for the Duke of *Saxonie* to wife, the *Altars* whereon he said Masse were subuerted, 1165.
- T. Becket murdered for maintayning the Clergies Liberties, against the Secular power in murders, &c.**
- Anno 1171. *Thomas Becket* was slaine in his Church at *Canterburie*, on the fifth day of the Natiuitie, by *William Tracie*, *Hugh Maruell*, *Reginald Fitz Ursi*, and *Richard Briton*, Courtiers, wh ch had heard some stomachfull speeches of the King, touching the said Archbishop, wherevpon King *Henry* sent to *Rome* to excuse himselfe. But his Ambassadors could not bee admitted to the Popes presence. Hee sent others, which on Maundie Thursday, hearing that the Pope 60
- meant to sentence the King of *England* by name, and to interdict all his Lands, the Ambassadors to decline the same, sware that the King should wholly obey the Pope and his Cardinals. The Authors and Fautors were excommunicated. The Church of *Canterburie* continued after his Funerall, a yeares Funerall of her Holies, the Pauement plucked vp, the Walls bared, the Bels silent.

The King ſwore in the preſence of *Albert* and *Theodine* the Popes Cardinals, that hee was not conſcious of *Thomas* his death: but becauſe he had ſpoken raſhly, and had brought vp ſuch bad Souldiers (which ſo auenged him) hee deſired and obtayned abſolution, promiſing as he was inioyned, To giue ſo much money as ſhould maintayne two hundred Knights, to the defence of the Holy Land for one yeere, and that he ſhould permit appeales thenceforth to be made freely, and that the cuſtomes which in his times were brought in contrarie to the liberties of the Church, ſhould be reuoked, and that the poſſeſſions taken from the Church of *Canterburie* ſhould be reſtored. To this the two Kings, both Father and Sonne, ſware in *remiſſionem omnium peccatorum*. Soone after he came to *Canterburie*, 1174. and bare-foot, in manner of a penitent went to the chiefe Church, and with abundance of teares, to the Martyrs Sepulchre, where he continued long proſtrate in prayer. He there proteſted his innocency, but becauſe his words gaue occaſion of the Biſhops death, hee deſired of the Biſhops preſent abſolution, and ſubmitting his bare fleſh to the diſcipline of Rods, he receiued three or foure blowes of euery religious man, of which a great multitude had aſſembled. After which he put on his clothes, gaue precious gifts to the Martyr, aſſigning further fortie pounds a yeere for lights about the Sepulchre, and continued the reſt of that day and the night following in bitterneſſe of minde, continuing his prayers, vigils and faſts till the third day. In the yeere 1176. hee granted the Popes Legat, that no Clergie man ſhould be brought before a ſecular Magiſtrate for any crime, but for Foreſt and lay fee: that Biſhoppricks and Abbies ſhould not be holden about a yeere in the Kings hand: that the killer of a Clergie man ſhould be arraigned before the ſecular Iudge, in preſence of the Biſhop: that Clergie men ſhould not be compelled to trialls by combat.

Becket's murder as the ſeed of her Martyr, the ſeed and advantage of Rome by appeales, liberties, &c.

Monſter of reſgall penance.

Clergie-liberties.

Anno 1177. the Kings of *England* and *France* did ſwear to goe together in the ſeruice of Chriſt crucified to *Ieruſalem*, and to take the Croſſe, and to hold firme league. An. 1179. a Councell was holden at *Rome* againſt *Albigenſes*, that Eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhould not be compelled to ſtand to the iudgement of Lay-men, that Archbiſhops viſiting Churches ſhould be content with fortie or fiftie horſes, againſt pluralities, &c. About the ſame time Pope *Alexander* writ to *Priſt Iohn*, King of the *Indians*, ſhewing that *Philip* a Phyſician had told him of his deſire to be inſtructed in the Catholike and Apoſtolike diſcipline, and that they diſſented in nothing from the Doctrine of the Apoſtolike Sea: and that, as *Philip* had learned of his ſubiects, he deſired to haue a Church and ſome Altar in *Ieruſalem*, where religious men of his Kingdome might reſide, and be more fully inſtructed in the Apoſtolike diſcipline: He therefore deſiring, to reuoke him from thoſe articles in which they erred from the Chriſtian faith, ſent the ſaid *Philip* to his Maieſtie, to be further inſtructed, &c. *Baldwin*, then King of *Ieruſalem*, being leprous, ordained *Guido de Liſniaco* Ouer-ſeer of the Kingdome, whoſe gouernment being not prosperous, it was committed to *Raimund Earle* of *Tripolis*.

This *Priſt Iohn* was not that in *Abasſia*, nor that in *Tartaria*, but one in *India*.

In theſe times, *Saladine Soldan* of *Damaſco*, hauing ſubdued the *Saracens* in the Eaſt, paſſed ouer *Jordan*, ſpoiled *Crach Caſtle*, burned *Neapolis*, deſtroyed *Arabia*, waſted *Gerinum*. And *Baldwin* being dead, *Baldwin* a child of five yeers old ſucceeded, his nephew by his ſiſter *Sybilla*: *Raimund* was Protector. The Clergie and People ſeeing the ſtate of the Kingdome vnlikely to continue, ſent Embaſſadors to *Henrie* King of *England*, ſolemnly offering the Kingdome of *Ieruſalem*, and keyes of the holy Citie and Sepulchre. *Heraclius* the Patriarke vnder-tooke the Embaſſage with the Maſter of the Hoſpital, and others, bringing by the way the Letters of Pope *Lucius*. He found the King at *Reading*, Anno 1185. whom with his Courtiers they prouoked to teares. They brought vnto him the Keyes of the Natiuitie, of the Paſſion, of the Reſurrection, of the Tower of *Dauid*, and of the holy Sepulchre, and the Banner of the Kingdome: which all he much honored. The Popes Letter was this. *Lucius Episcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, &c. Whereas all thy Predeceſſors, aboue other Princes of the Earth, haue long ſince flouriſhed in glorie of Armes, and Nobilitie of minde, and the Chriſtian people hath learned to haue them Patrons in their aduerſitie, worthily is there recourſe to thee, the Heire, not of the Kingdome alone, but of thy Progenitors vertues, with a certayne preſumed ſecuritie, when danger, yea deſtruction is feared to hang ouer the Chriſtian people, that by the arme of Royall Greatneſſe aide may be yeelded to his members, who by his pitie hath granted thee to attayne the height of ſo great glorie, and hath ordained thee a Wall inexpugnable againſt the wicked enemies of his Name. Your Maieſtie may further take notice, that *Saladine* the cruelleſt perſecutor of the holy Name of the Crucified, hath ſo preuailed in the ſpirit of furie againſt the Chriſtians of the Holy Land, that except the courſes of his crueltie be by ſome obſtacles ſtayed, hee hath confidence that *Jordan* will flow into his mouth, &c.*

Saladines exploits.

Henry the ſecond elected King of Ieruſalem.

The Popes Letter.

Hereupon, a Parliament was aſſembled at *London* at *Clerken-Well*, in which the King adiured all his Subiects, in the audience of the Legats, to ſhew what might be moſt expedient for his ſoule, promiſing to perſorme whatſoeuer they ſhould aduile. His Parliament aduifed that hee ſhould moderately gouerne his Kingdome, and preſerue it from barbarous incurſions, rather then in his owne perſon to prouide for the ſaſetie of the Eaſt. As concerning the Kings Sonnes (one of which the Patriarke deſired, if the King reſuſed) it ſeemed vnfitting to determine any thing in their abſence. The King with the Patriarke paſſed the Sea to *Roan*, and had three dayes conference with the *French* King, and in their preſence many Nobles receiued the Croſſe.

- Both the Kings promised the speediest helpe, and the Patriarke returned home.
- Baldwin dieth.* Anno 1186. *Sybilla* the Child being dead, *Sybilla* was crowned Queene, as Heire to the former Kings, but was enioyned to diuorce solemnely *Guido* her Husband, with condition vpon Oath, to receiue him for King whomsoever she should choose. *Guido* himselfe also intreated it, that the Kingdome should sustayne no damage for his sake, and returned home. *Saladines* comming being bruted, shee assembled the Lords Spirituall and Temporall to consult about a King: and when they granted her to name whom shee liked, all beeing in expectation, shee said vnto *Guido* there present, *My Lord Guido, I choose you for my Husband, and deliuering my selfe with the Kingdome to you, doe publikely protest that you shall be King.* Heereat all were amazed that one woman had deluded so many wise men. 10
- Truce broken.* About this time, *Saladines* Mother in confidence of the Truce passed with great riches from *Egypt*, into the parts of *Damascus*, by the borders of *Iordan*, and was robbed by *Reginald* of *Castellion*. Whereupon *Saladine* demanded satisfaction and restitution according to couenant: but *Reginald* returned harsh Answer. *Saladine* glad of the occasion, prepared himselfe for reuenge. In the end of January, the Kings of *England* and *France* tooke the Crosse.
- Saladine his reuenge.* Anno 1187. *Saladine* assembleth *Parthians*, *Bedwines*, *Turkes*, *Saracens*, *Arabians*, *Medes*, and *Cordines*, with whom and the *Egyptians* hee inuadeth the Christians. Hee slue the Master of the Templars, with threescore of his Brethren, and besieged *Caluaria*. The King assembled all the strength of his Kingdome, the Earle of *Tripolis* being chiefe Commander. They fought and *Saladine* preuailed. The Earle of *Tripolis* is said to haue throwne away the Kings Stan- 20
- The King taken.* dard, and procured the flight. The King was taken with the holy Crosse, and the rest either taken or slaine. The Earle of *Tripolis* and some Templers escaped. *Saladine* made vse of his victorie, sent the King and Captiues to *Damascus*, tooke *Ptolemaida*; and after that *Ierusalem*, each man redeeming his libertie at ten *Bizantines*, a woman at five, an infant at one, the rest to bee slaues, which had not to pay, of which poorer were fourteene thousand. They entred the Citie and caused in foure corners of the Temple their Superstitions to bee proclaimed. Hastening thence he possessed himselfe of all the Cities and Townes, but *Ascalon* and *Tyrus*, and *Crach* or *Mount Royall*. For the redemption of those fourteene thousand, it is to be noted, that Crosse, Chalice, Guildings, and Church-garments were sold by consent. 30
- Ierusalem taken by Saladine.*

p. II.

The Emperour and two Kings take the Crosse. King RICHARD the First his Expedition, his Noble Exploits in Sicil, Cyprus, and the Holy Land. His imprisonment: and the great miseries which hapned to England, generally by that Expedition.

* The Author of the former Storie.

Both Letters are in *Mat. P.* at large. Faith not to be kept in perill of Religion, that is, Faith must dye that Faith may liue. Zeale of those times. *Vtinam & scientia conscientie.*

- Anno 1188. at the preaching of the Popes Legate, the Emperour *Fredericke* tooke the Crosse. The Kings of *England* and *France* agreed after much consultation, together with the Earle of *Flanders*, to take the Crosse, which the King of *England* did at the hands of *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, * sent by the Pope for that purpose. Whereupon both in the Empire and in both Kingdomes, Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Mar- 40
- queses, Earles, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, and the vulgar did the like. It was also ordered, that all of the *French* Kingdome should weare Red Crosses, of the *English* White, of *Flanders* Greene, all things to remayne in the present State thorow all their States, till fortie dayes after their returne. But the *French* King entring vpon the King of *Englands* Territories, disturbed the Affaires of the Crosse, King *Henry* righting himselfe by Warre. The Emperour *Fredericke* 50
- sent a Letter of Defiance to *Saladine*, and challenged to himselfe the old feathers of the *Romane* Eagle, euen vnto *Ethiopia* and *Persia*, which *Saladine* answered and out-braued, setting forth the puissance and numbers of the *Saracens*, demanding also the three remayning Holds to bee surrendered to him. He deliuered King *Guido*, taking his Oath to forsake the Kingdome, and betake himselfe to Sea. But the Clergie of the Kingdome deliberated and determined, that Faith is not to be kept in the perill of Religion, and therefore the King being absolved from bonds, many Pilgrims resorted to him, and with the people of the Countrey made a great band. The King with the Hospitulers and Templers, *Venetians*, and *Genuois* came to *Achon*, and layd siege to it, which continued to the comming of the Kings, *Philip* and *Richard*, and then was taken.
- The meaner sort of men are so possessed with deuout Zeale, that they stay not the com- 60
- mings of their Kings and Lords, but flow from the vttermost parts of the Wold to serue the Lord.

Saladine came with a great power to raise the siege, but frustrated of his hopes, he returned with shame, a Nauie of twelue thousand *Danes* and *Frislanders*, comming to the ayde of the Chri-

Christians, after three dayes weary fight. Meane-while the French King with Earle Richard, against his father King Henrie continued the warre, with much spoile and bloudshed on both sides. Saladine also agreed with the Emperour of Constantinople, and resigned the Churches of the Holy Land vnto him, therein to obserue the Greeke holies. The Emperour promised to send Saladine one hundred Galleyes, and Saladine him the whole Holy Land, on condition to hinder the Westerne Pilgrimes. And if any at Constantinople accepted the Crosse, he was presently imprisoned. About the same time some Northerne Pilgrimes sayling thorow the English Seas, agreed with English Pilgrimes, and set forth together from Dordrechtmouth, which passing by Lisbon, were requested by the King of Portugall to helpe him to subiect the Citie Syluia, iweaving to permit the spoile to them. They tooke it, and of sixtie thousand Inhabitants, spared onely thirteene thousand from the sword; dedicating the Mahometan Temple for a Christian Cathedrall of our Lady.

Greekes and Saracens conspired.

Syluia taken by help of English. King Richard. See what a whirle Poole of treasure and sinke of bloud, the land called Holy, proued.

* A marke was eight ounces.

Kings sales.

Popes praise by a Monke.

Superstition aduanced.

Miseries to England by King Richard his holy Land voyage.

Exactions.

Beckets Hospitall at Achen.

Beginning of the Kings expedition.

Roman simonie. The Emperour drowned.

Apparition of Th. Becket Faith, built not on Scripture, but reuelations.

English-men entertayned against Morocco.

King Henrie, wearied with the French and his sonnes actions, died, and left his sonne Richard his Heire: of whom the Poet, *Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est*; and of his Father, *Sufficit hic tumultus, cui non suffecerat Orbis*. He left aboue nine hundred thousand pounds in gold and siluer, besides Plate and Iewels, and precious stones. At the same time died Geffrie Bishop of Ely intestate, of whose goods were confiscate three thousand markes of siluer, and two hundred markes* of gold, besides other treasures in Plate, Iewels, and Gold. King Richard deposed almost all the Sheriffes from their Offices and their Dependants, to wring great summes by redeeming them. And for regayning of the Holy Land, hee set almost all things to sale, Donations, Castles, Mannors, Woods, Townes, Sheriffewicks, and the like. Hugo the Pompons Bishop of Durham, bought to him and his Church the Kings Towne, Seggesfield, with the Wapintake and all appurtenances, and the Earledome of Northumberland, giuing ouer and aboue one thousand markes to be Iustice of England, and to redeeme his voyage to the Holy Land. And for further securitie, hee with infinite money obtayned of the Apostolike Sea (which is wanting to none that giueth money frankly) license to remayne, notwithstanding his voluntarie vow.

The Christians and Saladine had a bloody battell, with great losse on both sides. The French King sent to treat with the King of England, for their meeting in the Holy Expedition, and securitie of their Countries meanwhile. King Richard hauing fasted and prayed at Thomas Beckets Tombe, vowing to performe to the Church those things, for which he had suffered: passing to Normandie, in the Sea hee vowed to that Saint to erect in his honor a Chappell in the Holy Land, he being his Protector by Sea and Land; which he performed after at Achen. The Bishops of Ely and Durham, had chiefe charge of the Kingdome in his absence: the one being chiefe Iustice (and hauing the Kings Seale) from the great Riuer to the South, the other to the North: but this double-headed beast agreed not. The Archbishop of Canterburie interdicted the Lands of Earle John, whose appeale the Popes Legate receiued, and released the Interdict. A tenth part of moueable goods, was giuen for the Holy Land affaires thorow the Kingdome, which instead of almes, vexed the Clergie and Laytie with spoile in the exacting. Likewise the King fayned that he had lost his Seale, and made a new, that all men which would bee secure, were forced to seeke the new Seale, and many to follow him therefore out of the Land, and to fine with him at his pleasure.

Anno 1190. the Kings of England and France, sware to each other the Articles of the league (their Earles and Barons did likewise) as also, that if one died in the Expedition, the Suruiuor should haue the money and people of the deceased. William an English-man, vowed in his way to Ierusalem, that if he arriued safely at Achen, he would build a Chappell to Saint Thomas the Martyrs honor, with a Church-yard, which he did, and was made there the first Prior. Saladine corrupting Commanders with money, burned the Christians Fortifications. King Richard procured his Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, to be the Popes Legat.

The two Kings met at Nizeliac, where in the Church of Saint Denis, King Richard tooke his Scrip and Staffe. They came to Lions, and passing the Bridge, it brake, and many were drowned in the Rhosne. Their people were so many that they could not goe together; and therefore the French King went to Genna, the English to Messana. Here King Richard found many Pilgrims which had spent al their prouision with long stay, whom he adioyned to his own troups. King Richard was requested to visit the Pope, which he refused, obiecing to the Cardinall the Roman Simonie, which for consecration of a Bishop, had taken seuen hundred markes, and for the Legantine power of the Bishop of Ely, had taken fiftene hundred marks, and infinit summes of the Archbishop of Burdeaux, accused by his Clergie. Queene Elenor followed and ouer-tooke her sonne. The same yeere, the Emperour Frederick, betwixt Iconium and Antiochia, was drowned in the Riuer Saphet, falling off his Horse. The English fleet, on holy Thursday, were mightily embroyled in the Spanish Seas with a Tempest, and Thomas of Canterburie three times appeared visibly, bidding them not to feare, for He and the Martyr Edmund, and Saint Nicholas, were appointed Patrons of the Fleet, and the Tempest presently ceased. Many ships were dispersed, one of which came to Syluia, and eightie well armed men of the companie, were entertayned by the King of Portugall against the Emperour of Morocco, with good conditions. Ten

other ships came to *Lisbon*, and diuers trauelled to *Marsiles* thence by Land. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Baldwin*, *Hubert* of *Salisburie*, came to *Tyrus*. *Iohn*, Bishop of *Normich*, went to the Pope, and emptying his purse, was released of his vow.

King Richards
acts in the
Kingdome of
Sicilia.

Freedom carnall.

Bishop of E.
ly's pride,
pompe, ex-
ceffe.

Philip, King of *France*, arrived at *Messana*, and was entertayned in the Palace of King *Tancred*. King *Richard* comming a few dayes after, was forbidden entrance by the *French*, fearing that prouision would not be procured sufficient for both. The Citizens were willing to receiue him, which the *French* forbad, ascending the walls armed and keeping the passages. *Richard* called to armes, and by hostile force entred, putting the *French* to slaughter and flight, which kindled a fire in the *French* Kings brest, neuer after till himselfe was extinct, extinguished. King *Richard* tooke in *Calabria* the strong Fortresse, called *Lemba Maris*, and another betwixt *Calabria* and *Messana*, called the Monasterie of the *Griffons*. The *Griffons* hauing slaine many men and horses of the King, he brake in by force and tooke their Citie. The Citizens gaue him pledges, and he fortified there a Castle, called *Mategrino*. A Councell prouinciall was holden at *Westminster* by the Bishops Legat, little or nothing to the good of the Church. The Church of *Normandie* then obtayned her freedom, King *Richard* granting that Clergie men should not be attached by Seculars, and matters of Oathes, Marriages, Vluries, &c. should bee tried in the Spirituall Court. *Baldwin* the Archbishop dying at *Achon*, bequeathed all which he had to the succour of the Holy Land, which *Hubert* his Executor distributed faithfully. *William* of *Ely* meane-while made a ditch about the Tower, and exercised his bought Dignities with immoderate exceffe to re-fill his emptied bags, prouing burthensome to all Churches, both Conuentuall and Cathedrall, riding thorow *England* with fifteene hundred horse, with troups of Clergie men and Knights, attended at Table by Noblemens sonnes, whom hee married to his Nieces and Kindred: buying any Land which was to be sold, giuing and retayning at pleasure Abbies vacant, by feare or price obtayning euery Castle and Towne, followed with Minstrels and Songs of all sorts: none durst murmur against him. His stile was in his Letters, *W. Dei gratia, Eliensis Episcopus, D. R. Cancellarius, totius Anglia Instituarina, & Apostolica sedis Legatus, &c.*

HONDIVS his Map of Sicilia.



Anno 1191. the French King tooke ship at *Messana*, in the end of March, and in the beginning of Aprill King *Richard* followed with thirteene Galleons, * one hundred ships of burthen, and fiftie Gallies: and thirtie dayes after came to *Cyprus*. *Cursac* the Lord of the Iland, which called himselfe Emperor, tooke and imprisoned many of King *Richards* men, whereupon he warred against him, tooke him and his only Daughter and subdued the whole Iland, with all the strong places to his subiection. He bound the King in siluer Fetters, and imprisoned him at *Marguth* Castle neere *Tripolis*. The Daughter received Honourable custodie with the two Queenes.

* *Buccas triplici velorum expansione.*
Cyprus subdued by *K. Richard*.

* *Buccas triplici*
velorum expan-
sione.
Cyprus subdued
by K. Richard:

HONDIVS *his Map of Cyprus.*



Philip Earle of Flanders going to the Holy Land with the French King, dyed without issue.
 50 The Armie which besieged *Achon*, was besieged with Famine, which with a well furnished Na-
 uie King *Richard* relieved, in the way sinking a *Dromund*, a huge ship of *Saladines* going to aide
 the besieged, frighted with Wild-fire, Vessels full of unknown Serpents, & five hundred Souldiers.
 The Kings diuers, whiles it was becalmed, bored many holes therein, so that the goods hee sa-
 ued, but drowned three hundred of the men. When the two Kings were now at *Achon*, they
 came to capitulation; and *Saladine* couenanted to render the Crosse (before taken) and fifteene
 hundred choice Christian Captiues, and seuen thousand Bizantines to saue the liues of the *Sara-*
gens, the rest remayning to the Victors. But when the conditions were not kept, two thousand &
 six hundred *Saracens* lost their heads. The French King enuying the glorie of all the Christian
 Exploits ascribed to the English King, pretended for want of money to returne. Hereupon King
 60 *Richard* offered to communicate for the Seruice of the Holy Land, one halfe of his gold, silver,
 victuals, armes, ships: who yet had sworne, and against the wils of his owne, and to the dis-
 gust of the whole Armie, must needs home. Another quarrell arose, the King of *France* purpo-
 sing to deliuer *Achon*, and all whatsoeuer they should take to *Marchisius* of *Mount Ferras*, and to
 make him King of the Holy Land, King *Richard* standing for *Guido*. But *Messana* had begunne
 and

His reliefe of
Achon, and ta-
king a *Dra-*
mond.

Achon taken.
French enuic:
Cælum non ani-
mum imitat,
q. 1. m. 6.

and an vnhappie running at Tilt, had made runne on this dissention. Hee left the Duke of *Burgundie* with one thousand men at Armes in shew to doe seruice to King *Richard*, instructed before in Treacherie. Thus swearing to invade no mans Land there present, he returned; and King *Richard* repayred the breaches, and ditched and fortified *Achon*.

The Countrey
recovered by
King Richard.

The Coast Cities hearing of his approach fled, hauing no hope of succour from *Saladine*: thus they did in *Caiphaz*, in *Cesarea*, *Ioppe*, *Affis*, *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, so that all the Region on the Sea from *Achon* to *Ioppe* was taken, yet not without great losse to the Christians, whom *Saladine*s Armie still attended, wayting all opportunities of mischiefe.

King *Richard* in a Letter to the Archbishop of *Roan*, tels of a Battell and great overthrow giuen *Saladine* neere *Affur*, wherein more of the chiefe Saracens were lost, then had beene in one day in fortie 10
yeares before: after which *Saladine* durst not attempt by open force, but by secret ambushes. Hee ouer-
turned *Ascalon*, and made it euen with the ground, hearing of our comming thither, and wee haue hope
shortly to reuener all our Lords Inheritance.

King Richard
giueth the
Kingdomes of
Ierusalem and
of *Cyprus*.

King *Richard* being returned, gaue the Kingdome of *Ierusalem* to his Nephew *Henrie*, with the Wife of *Marchisus de Monte Feratio*, beeing heire of the Kingdome, now her Sister the Queene was dead, *Guido* consenting, to whom King *Richard* gaue *Cyprus*, lately gotten by the Sword, for which he did him homage. The said *Marchisus*, was a little before murthured at *Tyrus* by the *Assasines*.

Treasure of re-
likes,
God opened
the mouth of
an Assie to
reach the Pro-
phet.

When *Saladine* had taken *Ierusalem*, the Inhabitants had gathered together the Relikes they could find, and put them in foure great Iuorie Chists, which he (learning what they were) com- 20
manded to be carried to *Baldach*, and giuen to the *Calipha*, that the Christians should no longer glory
of dead mens bones, and beleue to haue them Intercessors in Heauen, whose bones they worshipped on
Earth. But the Prince of *Antioch* and the Patriarke loth to be depriued of such a Treasure, co-
uenanted by Oath to redeeme them at fiftie two thousand *Bizantines*, or else to returne them.
The Prince sealed them vp, and all Christians were deiected, the time being at hand for the pay-
ment. King *Richard* paid the money that they might intercede for him in Heauen, whose bones
he had redeemed on Earth from the hands of Infidels.

Chancellors
excesse.

Combustions hapned, meane-while, in *England*, by the Chancellors excesses, the issue where-
of was his Deposition, he and his hauing so exhausted the Kingdomes wealth, that they left not
a Girdle striped with Siluer, nor a Ring, or Iewell, or any thing of worth to any, nor Treasure 30
to a Jew. The Chancellor sware to the Articles, and to deliuer vp all the Castles before his de-
parture. He came to *Canterburie*, and their tooke the Crosse of Pilgrimage, and laid downe that
of his Legantie Office: and getting closely to *Doner*, thought to haue stolne ouer Sea in a Wo-
mans Habit. Wayting on the shoare for passage, a Mariner was somewhat homely with him,
and found him as arrant a man as himselfe, by the testimonie of his Breeches. Hee calls in com-
pany, and women would needs buy of him his piece of cloth, which hee had taken to cloke his
Sexe and businesse: but he vnderstanding no *English*, could say nothing, whereupon they remo-
ued his Muffler, and found a Shaueling, whom they dragged contumeliously alongst the Strand,
with cryes, buffets, spittings, and haling him thorow the streets, imprisoned him in a Cellar;
Who yet escaped by leauing his Oath to the Lord, and his Pledges (and his two Brethren) to 40
the Lords, and gate ouer to *Normandie*.

Pride of a
Prelate and
his fall.
A Bishop and
Chancellor of
England with-
out *English*.

K. Rich. winneth
Darum.
Cause of King
Richard his
captiuitie.

King *Richard* besieged the Castle *Darum*, the next of Christendome towards *Babylon*, and
wanne it. Soone after hee tooke a rich Carouan of Merchants guided by *Saladine*s Souldiers,
with teuen thousand Camels richly laden. The Duke of *Austria* came about that time to per-
forme his Vow in the Holy Land seruice, where a quarrell falling out betwixt his Harbengers,
and a *Norman* of King *Richards*, the King inconsiderately, taking his mans part, caused the
Dukes Colours to be cast into a Iakes, which the Duke seeking to right, was further wronged
with Icoffes; whereupon the Duke seeing himselfe contemned by the King, turning to the
King of Kings inuoked him with teares to his reuenge, which after fell out accordingly. King
Richard with his late gotten spoile would haue gone and laid siege to *Ierusalem*, where the feare 50
of his name and comming had already terrified the Inhabitants. But this was hindred by the
Duke of *Burgundie*, (enuying that Triumph to King *Richard*) counselling the Templers, and
French to his part. *Saladine* also with great gifts corrupted the Duke, sending him by night
fue Camels laden with Gold, Siluer, Silkes, and other Riches. Whereupon the King conuin-
cing him by witnesse, called him Traytour, and hee returned from the King in displeasure to
Achon.

Duke of Burg.
treacherous.

King Richards
acts at *Ioppe*.

Newes came that *Saladine* besieged *Ioppe*, and King *Richard* desired the Duke to assist him in
the Enterprize, which he refused and went the same night toward *Tyrus*, where he fell madde,
and dyed miserably. The King hasted to *Ioppe* by Sea, *Saladine* hauing already taken the Towne,
the Souldiers were vpon deliury of the Cattle, when King *Richard* brake in amongst them like 60
a furious Lion, and chased the *Saracens* to *Ramula*. But hearing the next day of the Kings small
numbers they returned, (for only three ships had arriued) *Saladine* sent sixtie two thousand
to set vpon the King, which encompassed his Tents, and awakd him with their noise. He gate
vpon his Horse attended by eleuen others (they had no more till they had borrowed of the *Sa-
racens*.)

* Eightie
Knights and
foure hundred
Crossebow-
men.

racens,) and beyond belief so laid about him, making way for the rest, that they in the Towne also made out, and quited the field of them. This hapned on Lammas day. *Salaadine* in his rage sent for an old Prisoner, whilome Prince of *Antiochia*, and asked him, *What wouldst thou doe if thou hadst me in thy power as I now haue thee?* Hee (adiured to tell the truth) said, hee would cut off his head; which was his owne sentence, and *Salaadine* himselfe the Executioner. An Heremite told the King he should not winne *Ierusalem*, and gaue him a piece of the true Crosse, as he said. Whiles the King abode at *Ioppe*, seuen weekes, an infectious Disease seised on him, and the most of his, deadly to all in manner which had it, except the King. Seeing therefore the *French* alienated, and readie to returne, his monies spent, his men diminished by warre and

His Armie diseased.

His returne crossed by a Tempest. His hard passage.

K. Richard taken by the D. of Austria, and sold to the Emperour. Miseries which came to England, by this otherwise victorious and glorious Expedition, from the first to the last thereof.

French perfidie

King Richards returne.

Duke of Austrias death.

Indulgences,

till

10 sicknesse, his Enemies increasing daily: he determined to returne home for the reparation of his Purse and force, concluding meane-while a Truce with the Pagans for three yeares. By Sea hee was incountred with a terrible Tempest, some drowned; others wracked, few attayning their desired Port. This hapned in Autumne, whereas *Salaadine* dyed in the Lent following, and had they stayed, had facilitated their Designes; both by his death and the dissentions which followed amongst his sonnes and followers. Hereunto was added the Conspiracie of the Earle of Saint

20 *Giles*, and all those Princes by whom he was to passe: which made him purpose to returne by *Germanie*. He came to *Gazara* in *Sclanonia*; where some notice of him being taken, he with his small company hasted away at mid-night: but a worse and darker mid-night hapned. For with one man and a Boy which could speake *Dutch*, he trauelled three dayes without eating or drink-
king: he came to *Gynatia* in *Austria*, and being suspected by the Boyes change of *Byzantines*, and after by the Kings Gloues which vnawares he had carried vnder his Girdle, hee was beset and yeelded himselfe to the Duke, who committed him to strait custodie, and in the yeare 1193. sold him to the Emperour for threescore thousand pound of Siluer, *Collen* weight. Heere hee was againe imprisoned, and a strong Gard set on him, with whom he made himselfe merrie in sports, making them drunke, trying of Masteries, in all seeming Master of himselfe and his hard fortunes. The Emperour would not admit him his presence or speech, and pretended

30 many calumnies against him. At last, by mediation of friends he obtayned a hearing, eloquently cleered himselfe of Imputations, and wonne much respect both of others and the Emperour *Henry*, who after vied him more familiarly, and demanded one hundred and fortie thousand Markes of Siluer for his ransome. This was brought by the Kings Letter, and the Emperours Golden Bull into *England* by *William* Bishop of *Ely* aforesaid: and all Bishoppes, Clergie-men, Earles, Barons, Abbots, Priors were assessed at a fourth part of their Rents, to ransom the King. Also they sold for that purpose their Chalicees of Gold and Siluer. *John* Bishop of *Norwich*, thorow all his Diocesse tooke halfe the price of their Chalicees and Goods. The *Cistercian* Order (free before from all Taxations) gaue all their Wooll to his Redemption. No Church, no Order, no Degree, or Sexe, was passed by, which was not hereto compelled; manifold Tempests, Inundations, and Winter Thunders hauing thorow that yeare fore-signified the same, causing also great scarfitie of Corne and Fruits.

King *Richard* being Prisoner, his Brother *John* made compact with the *French* King, and sought to be crowned in *England*, but the vertue of the *English* was more loyall. *Philip* the *French* King inuaded *Normandie* with a very great Armie, not sparing Order, Age, Sexe, vling no lesse the Treason of King *Richards* Subiects corrupted by him. He besieged *Roan*, but by the Earle of *Leisters* Prowesse and the Inhabitants valour, was repelled with shame.

Anno 1194. King *Richard* hauing paid the greatest part of his Ransome, and giuen Pledges for the rest, arriued at *Sandwich* on the Sunday after Saint *Georges* day. Presently he visited *Thomas Becketts* Tombe, and was with Festiuall Solemnitie, receiued soone after at *London*. He hastened to Saint *Edmonds* to performe his Deuotions; and thence to *Nottingham*; against those which had conspired with his Brother *John*, some of whom he suffered to redeeme themselves; so to redeeme his Pledges, and to inuade the *French* which continued spoyling his Land with fire and sword. The Sunday after Easter he ware his Crowne at *Winchester*. His Brother *John* humbled himselfe and the King receiued him to fauour. This was done in *Normandie*, where he pursued the warre against the *French*. He procured the Duke of *Austria* to bee excommunicated by the Pope, and his Land to be interdicted: whose Land was further smitten with Famine and Pestilence, and the Inundation of the *Danow*, which drowned ten thousand men: himselfe also falling off his Horse, his legge was incurably hurt, which beeing cut off, yet the paine continued and killed him, before beeing penitent, absolved, and absolving King *Richards* Pledges.

6 Anno 1195. Pope *Celestine* writ to *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and to the Bishops of *England* to preach the Crosse, Gining Indulgences to those which undertooke it, the Remission of imposed Penance by the Priest, as his Predecessors had done; namely, that they which with a contrite heart shall undertake this expedition, and for the Penance of their sinnes; if they depart in the Faith, shall obtaine full Indulgence of their crimes and life eternall. Also their goods and families, after they haue taken the Crosse, shall be under the protection of the *Romane Church*, and of the Bishops and Prelates. And nothing which they then at their crossing did quietly possesse should be called in question, but

till their retorne or death should remaine quiet : Others which minister of their goods, shall obtaine Indulgence according to the Prelats moderation. Hee exhorted him to be instant in season and out of season, going about the Prouince, King Richard and the French came to agreement, but the Archbishop of Roan interdicted all Normandie, because of a Castle which King Richard there fortified against his will. Anno 1199. King Richard died, and Iohn his Brother succeeded. The same yeare the Kingdome of France was interdicted by the Popes Legat, for the taking of the Elect of Cambray prisoner, who was freed before the sentence could. Hee came also to the King of England, threatning like interdict, if the Bishop Beluacensis were not deliuered, whom yet because he was taken in Armes, he dismissed not without his ranfome.

Anno 1200. an Epistle from Heauen was sent for the keeping of the Sunday or Lords day, from the ninth houre on Saturday, till Munday Sunne rising, which the Pope approued, and sent Preachers thorow diuers parts of the world, Eustace Abbot of Flay comming from him into England for that cause. (But of visions the Stories of these times are full.)

In the yeare 1215. was holden the great Councell of Lateran, in which after other things, the affaires of the holy Land were propounded. We will and command (they are the words of the Pope) that Patriarchs, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and others, which haue cure of soules, doe preach studiously the word of the Crosse, beseeching by the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost, one onely true and eternall God, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earles, and Barons, and other Nobles, and the Communalities of Cities, Villages and Townes, that if they goe not personally, they will send a sufficient number of Warriours with expences for three yeares, for the remission of their sinnes, &c. If any refuse, let them protest to them on our behalfe, that they shall answer this at the dreadfull Iudgement of the iust Iudge, &c. And we define that all which shall haue taken the Crosse, shall be vnder Saint Peters protection and ours, and vnder the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Prelats of the Church, and all their goods, &c. as before.

Interdict.
King Richards
death.

France inter-
dicted.

Reuelations.

Councell of
Lateran.

¶ III.

Prosecution of the Holy Land Warres: English Nobles crossed: RICHARD Earle
of Cornwall his Acts there: WILLIAM DE LONGA SPATA,
and other English-men. King or Saint LEVIS of France
his doings and sufferings: Prince
EDWARD.

* Euery Easter
was a generall
passage.

* Incredible
tales of the
Crosse, in that
credulous age
receiued. The
crosse of Christ
was fruitfull
and bare ma-
ny others, or
else fancie is
mad, which be-
lieued a Syrian
for the same
before by re-
uelation, and
now another
lye.
Crosses in the
Ayre.

Damiata besie-
ged.

Ierusalem razed

English Noble-
men in seruice
of the Crosse.

THE truce being expired in the first generall passage * after the Councell of Lateran, the Christian Armie was assembled in Achon, with the three Kings of Ierusalem, Hungarie, and Cyprus, the Dukes of Austria and Morauia, and great Forces of the King of Germanie, with many Arch-bishops, Earles, Gentlemen. The Patriarch of Ierusalem tooke vp the Crosse (which had beene hidden * till this time, it being before, as some say, diuided, and the one part lost, as you haue heard, and now this other part succeeded) and the Christian Armie in the Vigill of Saint Martin, washed themselves in Iordan, and hauing visited the holy places, returned to Achon. The King of Hungarie soone after departed to the great detriment of the holy Land being requested to the contrary by the Patriarch. But away he went excommunicate with his followers, carrying with him Pilgrimes, Gallies, Horses, Armes. Others cowardly abode in Achon, a finfull Citie, and full of all vncleanness: the King of Ierusalem and Duke of Austria, Hospitalars, and others, fortified the Castle of Casarea. The Templers and Hospitalars of the Dutch house, fortified the Castle of the Pilgrimes. In Bebon of Frisland appeared a white Crosse in the ayre towards the North, another toward the South, a third particoloured, in the midst, with the forme of a Crucified man. Other Crosses after appeared, whereby the Prouince of Colen was prouoked to the holy Land seruice. These with the Frislanders prouided three hundred ships, made with great care, which in the way came to Lisbon: and their dissention diuided them, some staying with William Duke of Holland, in the siege of Alchacia a Moorish Castle, where they wan a great battell against the Moores, and slue one of their Kings, after that taking the Castle also.

Anno 1218. The Christian Nauie passed from Achon to Damiata, and besieged it, where after great losse of their owne they tooke a Tower. Saphidine Sonne and Succellour of Saphidine (by the murther of his Bretheren) died, and Coradine his Sonne razed Ierusalem, making the Walls and Turrets rude heapes, and leauing nothing but the Temple and Tower of David in reuenge of the siege of Damiata. The next passage brought many Pilgrimes from diuers parts of the world, with the Popes Legat, Ranulph Earle of Chester, Saer Earle of Winchester, and William Earle of Arundell, Robert Fitz Walter, Iohn Constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, Barons, and Oliuer the King of England Sonne, with many others. Many lost their liues on both sides, and by inundation of the Sea and Riuer, brought new prouisions of vnwelcome Fishes into

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into their Tents, and did much harme, carrying their workes to the other side, the water betraying them to the fire. A grievous disease, for which the Physicians knew no remedie, infested the Campe, (*by the description it seemeth the Scorbute*) which killed many. Many conflicts on both sides swept away many. *Damiata* was in this long siege assaulted with Sword, Famine, Pestilence. *Nilus* refusing this yeare to visite a great part of *Egypt*, made the *Soldan* to feare a Famine, and in these straits hee offered the true Crosse, which *Saladine* had taken and all the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, and to repaire the ruines of the razed Citie, and restauration of Captiues, (onely he would hold *Crac* and *Mount Royall*, paying twelue thousand Byzantines yearly tribute, for the Carauans securitie which trauell to *Mecca*) if they would leaue *Damiata*.

10 The Princes liked it, the Clergie refused, and on the seuenth of Nouember, the Christian Armie *Damiata taken* tooke it, without resistance, it hauing beene a buriall place of her Inhabitants, and now stinking like a Graue, the streets and houses being strewed with carcases, eightie thousand had dyed therein during the siege, besides three thousand which they found yet remaining. The spoyle thereof was very great, and equally shared where theeuery preuented not.

After *Damiata* taken, the next passage came so many Pilgrimes, that *Taphnis* Castle was taken, and both fortified. The *Soldan* tooke the Castle of *Cesarea*, and did much hurt to *Achon* and *Tyrus*. Anno 1222. *Philip de Albencio* a stout Souldier, and the Master of King *Henrie* went to the Holy Land. Anno 1224. *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* returned, and was knowne and acknowledged of many. But his Daughter denyed him to be her Father, and procured him to be

20 hanged betwixt two old Dogges.

This *Baldwin*, with the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Louaine*, the Marquesse of *Mount-Ferrat*, *Simon de Monfort*, and others, intending the Holy Land, by opportunitie of Greeke combustions at *Constantinople*, tooke *Iadera*, besieged *Constantinople* seuentie two daies, and tooke it, (being before fired) on the twelfth of Aprill, 1204. By common consent *Baldwin* was elected Emperour: and the *Greekes* vpon that occasion began another Empire at *Trebezond*. *Baldwin* by *Venetian* helpe conquered *Thrace*, and after the *Greekes* betaking themselves to the King of *Bulgaria*, in a battell against him and the *Scythians* he was said to be slaine, Anno 1206. the *Scythians* putting all *Thrace* to spoyle and sword. *Henrie*, *Baldwines* Brother, was chosen to succeed; who ayded by the Marquesse, now King of *Thessaly*, expelled those *Barbarians*, and recorded the Couna

Strange story of *Baldwine*. Greeke broiles, *Constantinople* taken by the Latines. See for this Knolls Turkish Historie.

30 trey, and after eleuen yeares troublesome reigne, died. *Peter* his Sonne-in-Law succeeded, who was treacherously slaine, and *Robert* his Sonne succeeded; whose Wife a beautifull Ladie in a tumult, was by a *Burgundian* (to whom she had before beene betrothed) taken in the night, her nose and eares cut off, her Mother throwne into the Sea; and her Husband then absent, had his griefe so present, that he liued not long after, leauing a little Sonne *Baldwin*, the last Latine Emperour of *Constantinople*, affianced to *John of Brenne*, whom Pope *Innocent* had made King of *Ierusalem*: the *Greekes* easily recouering in that opportunitie. The first *Baldwin* thus reuiued, whether he were a counterfeit or no, is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that our Authour saith, all that were of counsaile to that his hanging, dyed an ill death. The last *Baldwin* sought by helpe of *Frankes* and *English*, (for here he had large gifts) but in vaine to recouer that Empire.

Rufull report.

40 About this time great multitudes tooke the Crosse thorow the world, insomuch that of the Kingdome of *England* onely, sixtie thousand and more sufficient men, besides women and old folkes, tooke the Crosse; Master *Hubert* testifying, that he (being a Preacher of the Crosse) had so many in his Catalogue. On Mid-somer night, the Lord appeared in the Firmament, in crucified forme and bloody, to shew (saith our Author) how acceptable that deuotion was to him. This was seene neere *Vxbridge* by a Fish-monger. *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *William* Bishop of *Exeter* were two of these, which spent fve yeares in that Pilgrimage. *Friderike* the Emperour tooke shipping toward the Holy Land to performe his vow, but returned, pretending sicknesse, so that fortie thousand men which waited his comming that passage, returned frustrate to their homes, and many to their long home. Whereupon Pope *Gregorie* excommunicated

Sixty thousand *English* take the Crosse, besides old men and women.

50 him. He by publike writings purged himselfe, and great broyles ensued. The *Romans* expelled the Pope out of their Citie to *Viterbium*, and thence to *Perusum*, hee hauing no other weapon of reuenge but excommunication. The same time, the Earle of *Tholouse* had a great victorie against the *Crusado* Armie, which the Pope had with like Indulgence to that of the Holy Land, excited to warre against him and the *Albigenses*, (which for denying the Papacy were condemned Heretickes.) *Friderike* yet made best speed to the Holy Land, where the Clergie, because the Pope had excommunicated him, counselled him to reconciliation, and would not communicate with him. But the *Templers* and *Hospitalars* received him with reuerence. The *Soldan* sent him rich presents. Pope *Gregorie* in his absence raised warres by *John de Brennes*, King of *Ierusalem*, which out of *France* and other parts, gathered a great Armie and inuaded, helped by the Popes

Friderike the second excommunicated.

Albigenses and *Crusades*.

Popes Acts.

60 Forces, the Emperours Dominions. The *Soldan* troubled with ciuill broiles, restored to *Friderike* all the Holy Land, so that he entred *Ierusalem* with his Armie, and they purified the Holy Citie, but the Clergie would not communicate with the Emperour. Master *Walter*, a Frier Preacher, an *English-man*, which had done great seruice for the Crosse, appointed by the Pope to that Office, said Masse: and the Clergie was restored to their Quondam possessions. The

Walter, an *English-man*.

Emperors

A Turke more
fai hfull then
Popish Tem-
plars and Ho-
spitalars.

Popes tenths.

M. Par. faith,
that this puis-
sant Emperour
at once main-
tayned sixe ar-
mies in severall
places.

Manner of
preaching the
Crosse.

English Nobles
take the crosse.

Sale of vowes
is so common,
that I forbear
to follow the
Author his of-
ten mention.

Battell of Gaza.

Earle Rich. his
acts.

Templars
pride.

Emperour intending to goe to *Iordan* after the custome, the Templars and Hospitalars treache-
rously gaue intelligence to the *Soldan*, that he might intrap him: partly enuying his successe,
loath any should there haue honor but themselues; and partly, because they heard that the Pope
had inuaded his Territories. The *Soldan* abhorring such perfidie, sent their Letter to *Fredericke*,
and laid open that hellish myserie. Hence arose grudges, and the Templars and Hospitalars drew
the Patriarke into their conspiracie, which published a Letter diffamatorie against him. Pope
Gregorie exacted tenths for the maintenance of those his warres against the Emperour, thorow
England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, which were rigorously, vnder paine of Interdiction and
Excommunication exacted, not as the twentieth before to the King, but as might best be for the
Popes aduantage, and the people forced to pay it before hand, euen for the crops on the ground. 10
The Prelates sold their Ornaments and Church plate for expedition, and *Stephen* the Popes
Procurator, hauing Vsurers attending like *Rauens*, saue that they preyed on the liuing. All this
notwithstanding, the Emperour returning, soone recouered that which the Pope and his King
Iohn had taken, and some composition was made betwixt them. Pope *Gregorie* sent Preachers,
and writ to excite men to the holy Warre, and sent others for money to release those vowes,
Nec sciri poterat in quam abyssum tanta pecunia qua per Papales Procuratores colligebatur est de-
mersa. Unde negotium Terra Sancta nunquam felix, &c. He after excommunicated him againe,
and chose another Emperour, absolving his Subiects, perswading them to be faithfull in infide-
litie. But the wickednesse of the *Roman Church* deserued that the Popes authoritie was not re-
ceiued: he addeth of it, *Deposito rubore velut meretrix vulgaris & effrons omnibus venalis & exposi-* 20
ta, usuram pro paruo, simoniam pro nullo, &c.

The Truce betwixt the Emperour and the *Soldan* expiring, the Pope sent and writ againe,
granting Indulgences as before, and freeing from Vsuries, employing the Preaching Friars and
Minors in this Crosse businesse, who by the Popes Mandate, were attended by the Archdeacons
and Deanes, which in euery place caused the Parishioners, men and women to assemble, not one
vnder paine of excommunication, being absent. Many Noblemen of *England* tooke the Crosse,
Earle *Richard* the Kings brother, Earle *G. Marshall*, Earle *Iohn* of *Chester*, the Earle of *Salisbury*
and his brother, and many other honorable personages. Earle *Richard* made sale of his woods,
and of whatsoeuer he could for that prouision. But the Preachers preaching the same Indulgen-
ces to them, which gaue so much money as would beare the charges, hindred mens deuotions. 30
For this proued a common and vsuall course, to exchange vowes for money. Aboue one hun-
dred Knights Templars were soone after slaine in a battell with the *Turkes*, besides other multi-
tudes, Anno 1238.

Many crossed Nobles were assembled at *Lions*, to goe to the Holy Land, when a Messenger
from the Pope forbad them to proceed; notwithstanding, that was the place and time appointed
by his Preachers, and that they had sold and pawned their goods and lands for that Expedition.
Many returned home discontent: Many held on their way. Anno 1240. Earle *Richard* and the
other English Nobles, tooke leaue to set forth on their Holy voyage. That yeere, the Christians
not agreeing in the Holy Land, sustayned great losse, innumerable being slaine and taken. Earle
Richard passed on his way into *France*, and was by the Popes Legat forbidden to proceed, who 40
answered, that he had prouided his Ships, Moneys, Armes, and detesting the double dealing of
the *Roman Church*, committed himselfe to the Sea. The *Soldan* of *Damasco* gaue the Christi-
ans all which they challenged beyond *Iordan*, to helpe him against the *Egyptian*. Earle *Richard*
came to *Achon* a little after *Michaelmas*, where he was receiued with all solemne significations
of ioy. The third day after his comming, he caused Proclamation to be made, that no Christian
Pilgrime should depart home for want of money, for he would entertayne them in his pay. He
writ thence of the great Schisme and mischiefe thereon attending, complayning of the Pope:
the King of *Nauarre* and Earle of *Britaine*, were gone fiftene dayes before his comming: Truce
was concluded by him with the *Soldan*, many Places and Prisoners surrendred vnto him, which
he there in his Letter particularly nameth. Further, that he and the Christians fortified *Ascalon* 50
Castle with two Walls and high Towers, to preuent the worst, if the *Saracens* should violate the
Truce. Hauing receiued on Saint *Georges* day all the Prisoners, hee returned homewards and
landed at *Trapes* in *Sicilia*, and hearing of the captiuitie of certayne Bishops, he went to *Rome*.
He caused also the disperfed bones, of those which had beene slaine in the dismall battell of *Ga-*
za to be buried. The Emperour receiued him honorably, hauing married his sister *Izabel*, daugh-
ter of king *Iohn*. He was welcomed into *England* by the King his brother, in Februarie, 1242.
The *French Nobilitie* much honored him as their Patron, for deliuerie of their prisoners. The
Pilgrimes departing after Earle *Richard*, the Templars enuying, scoffed and derided his acts,
and brake the Truce which he had made, which the Hospitalars obserued, whom therefore the
Templars besieged in *Achon*, chasing also the *Dutch Knights*, turning the great Reuenues a- 60
gainst Christians, which were giuen against *Saracens*. This dissention continued betwixt them
with great scandall. It hapned that the *Tartarian Deluge*, hauing then ouer-flowed the Easterne
World, and ouer-whelmed *Persia*, the *Chorosmines* by them expelled and forced to shift, were
entertayned by the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, and promised, if they could driue out the Christians,
that

that they should possess their Countrey. Whose multitudes so terrified the Christians, that they consulted to remove all the Inhabitants of *Ierusalem* to *Ioppe*, and began in the night to performe it. The *Corofmines* entring, found certayne Banners, which they erecting, some Christians called backe their fellowes, as if some notable triumph had hapned to the Christians, which returned either into the Citie or Suburbs, where the enemy presently assaulting them slue seven thousand. The yong Men and Maydens they made slaues. They entred the Holy Citie, and slue the old and feeble persons (which had not gone forth, but fled to the Sepulchre for Sanctuary) and Nunnes. The Christian Souldierie sought to reuenge it, fighting with them a bloudie battell till night, losing innumerable, yet killing many more. On Saint *Lukes* day, with the generall power of the Holy Land assembled to the Patriarke, they fought against them, now strengthened with new supplies from the *Soldan*, where the best was, that they sold their liues at a deere and bloudie rate, more perishing of the *Infidels*, but the *Christians* losing almost all. The Master of the Templars, and the Maister of the Hospitalars and *Dutch* knights fell, and but eightene Templars and sixteene Hospitalars escaped. The number of the slaine was inestimable on both sides. The whole Land put on irrecoverable confusion.

Chorofmines.

Ierusalem taken.

Bloudie slaughter.

enough.

enough.

enough.

enough.

And although Pope *Innocent*, at the Councell of *Lions*, seemed zealous of this quarrell, yet that other quarrell to the Emperour more possessed him; and the Councell withstood him to his face, taking authoritie to appoint Collectors for that Subsidie, whereof the *Roman* Court had beene so often, so fraudulent a Disburser. The *French* King lately sicke, had vowed a Holy Land voyage, if he recovered, whom almost all the Nobilitie followed. But the Pope prosecuting the Emperour, and causing a new to be chosen, little succour could be sent them, so that many despayring, became Apostata's. The *Soldan* himselfe detested, and openly protested against the Templars and the Pope. The Bishop of *Worcester*, *William de Longa Spata*, and many Nobles of *England*, in imitation of the *French*, tooke the Crosse. This *William* imitated Earle *Richard*, who couenanting with the Pope got great treasures, by dispensing with that Holy Land vow, desired the Pope to grant him fauour in that kind, which hee did, cutting a large thong of anothers hide. The Earle gathered infinite summes by the Popes grant, taking of one Archdeacon sixe hundred pounds, and *William* got about one thousand markes. King *Henrie* with great deuotion carried some of the blood, sent him from the Holy Land in a CrySTALL vessell, pretended to be that of Christ, from *Pauls* to *Westminster*.

King *Lewys* his vow.

W. de Longa Spata, and many *English* pilgrims.

Reliques, the best Holy Land wares.

Earle of *Leister* crossed.

enough.

enough.

enough.

Henry the third takes the Crosse.

English acts.

Damiata taken.

enough.

W. Longspat honourable death.

enough.

enough.

enough.

enough.

enough.

enough.

enough.

enough.

enough.

Anno 1248. the Earle of *Leister* tooke the Crosse to expiate his sinne, in marriage of her which had vowed chastitie. His wife and many Nobles and Knights, followed the example. The *French* King began his iourney, first seeking in vaine to reconcile the Pope to the Emperour. Hee tooke ship and left many behind, which returned and were dispensed with by the Pope then at *Lions*, giuing him their prouisions, and emptying their purses. *William Longspat* followed with two hundred Horse-men, whom the *French* King kindly entertayned, and be- fought the *French* to lay aside their wonted enuie to the *English*. Anno 1250. King *Henrie* tooke the Crosse of the Archbishop, and the Archbishop himselfe, the Kings brother *William de Valentia*, and many Courtiers; the Abbot of *Burie*, and many others followed: some being of opinion, that the King did this but for a colour to get money. Five hundred Knights, and innumerable crossed people met at *Bermundsey* (hauing sold or morgaged their Lands and Goods, and inuolued themselves in vsuries for the Holy Land businesse) to consult of their vowed voyage, intending so to serue the King of Heauen, howsoeuer their earthly King stood affected. Which to preuent, he procured the Popes Letter by money to suspend their iourney till himselfe went. The *French* besieged, and were besieged at *Damiata* by the *Soldan*, and Scarfitie, where many perished by Famine and Sword, and many ran to the Enemy and became Apostataes. The *French* also were enuious to the *English* and *William Longspat*, hauing taken fortunately a rich Carauan with Camels, Mules, Asses, laden with Silkes, Spices, Gold and Siluer, and other riches and prouisions, slaying and captiuing the men; the *French* quarrelled hereat, and tooke his purchase from him, the Earle of *Artois* the Kings brother being herein chiefe, which the *French* King not daring to remedie, hee left him and went to *Achon*. The *French* tooke *Damiata*, and the *Soldan* offered all the Holy Land and great treasures for the restitution. But they chose rather to remove towards *Cairo*, and the Earle of *Artois* proudly objecting to the Templars their pride, and calling *W. Longspat* (then returned) tayed cowardly *English*, saying, that the Armie would doe well if it were cleansed of tayles and tayed (this hee spake vpon occasion of wise counsell giuen him by the former.) *William* answered, *We shall be this day, where I beleue, you will not come neere my Horses taye*: which also hapned, the Earle being drow- ned in flight, and *William* brauely dying in fight, standing to it when he had no legs to stand on (they being cut off) to a miracle of resolution, and commending his valiant soule to the Hea- uens, hauing first sent many *Saracens* to Hell. This was the issue of the others daring temeritie and pride. Of all the Armie present, two Templars onely, one Hospitalar, and a base person escaped. The King was behind with the rest of the Armie, who made another as vnfortunate a battell, in which himselfe was taken, his Armie almost all slaine or taken. The *Soldan* laboured that none should carrie this newes to *Damiata*, which yet was done by *Alexander Giffard*, an *English*.

Damiata giuen
vp.

English man, hauing receiued five wounds in the attempt. But *Damiata* was deliuered in exchange of the King: the *Soldan* commanding the Christians to bee beheaded which stayed behind, and their Nauie to be burned.

Mill-stone
compact.

Soone after, the King of *Castile* tooke the Crosse, hauing conquered thirteene dayes iourney vpon the *Saracens*, thinking it better to get the Holy Land from them then any other. But the rapines and spoiles which the poorer iustayned from the great men, the *Roman* Church permitting, yea teaching, as often as they would goe to the Holy Land in pilgrimage, our Authour much lamenteth. And for the extortions of *France*, the *French* King saith, hee by permission of the *Roman* Church, gathered a third yeeres tenth of the Clergie, on condition that the Pope, to maintayne his warres against *Fredericke*, might gather as much more. The

Base exaction.

King would not after permit this, though his owne were gathered by Papall Ministers, that the Pope might hereby learne to how much his share would arise. The Popes Exactor met by chance on the way a poore Priest, hauing a piece of bread giuen him for sprinkling of holy water, whom he asked what his Liuing might be worth by the yeere. The Priest (ignorant of *Romish* sleights) answered, some twentie shillings. Two shillings then, said the other, must thou giue the King, holding him, that begged his liuing from doore to doore by the throat, and forcing him to sell his Bookes to pay him. The King borrowed money of the Templars and Hospitulars, sent two of his brethren into *France*, one being slaine, another vanquished, himselfe resolving neuer to returne, and liuing at *Achon* inglorious. Those two brethren with the Duke

Pope accused.

of *Burgundie*, went to the Pope, laying the blame on him, and if hee would not agree with *Fredericke* (which alone could remedie these mischiefes) he should no longer abide at *Laons*, but all *France* would arise against him. *Fredericke* by his death, instantly following, cut off those hopes. The Quarrels dyed not, but continued hereditarie to the Pope and his Sonnes. *Guido*, King *Henries* brother, came out of the Holy Land beggerly miserable, borrowing horses of the Abbot of *Fewersham*, which he neither repayed according to his promise, nor acknowledged so much as with thanks, but scoffed at his messengers sent to demand them.

Guido halfe
brother to
King *Henry*.

Deuillish stragem of a
iuggling knaue
occasioned by
the superstition
of that time.

The *French* Kings Mother and Brethren sent much money to him by Sea, which with the ship was drowned, he bearing this as his other disasters with admirable patience, beeing herein esteemed another *Iob*. At the same time a certain *Hungarian* Apostata, promised his Master the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, to present him infinite store of Christian slaues, and make the conquest of *Christen-*
dome easie. He therefore hauing the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Latine* Tongues goeth about preaching, saying, that he had in charge from the blessed Virgin to call Shepherds and Herdmen, to whose simplicitie and humilitie it was granted from Heauen to conquer the Holy Land. For the militarie pride of the *Frankes* was not acceptable. Hee wanne faith by the indissoluble closenesse of his hand, in which he said was Our Ladies Charter. Shepherds and Herdmen without acquainting their Masters and Parents, and without care of prouisions followed him, vsing his Incantment wherewith he had so farre preuailed fortie yeeres before (hee was now threescore yeeres old) gathering an infinite number of children together, which followed him singing, whom neither Prayers, Threats, Flatterie, Gifts of Parents or Friends, nor Lockes and Walls could detain from him. (A certaine Iuggling Fryer Preacher, *Robert Bugre*, is said to haue infatuated in like manner innumerable and deliuered them to the fire.) But these were now fauoured, by the Queene Mother, hoping that they would doe seruice for her Sonne, inasomuch, that about one hundred thousand of this Rabble were assembled, and carryed a Lambe for their Colours. After this, Theeues, Exiles, Runna-wayes, Excommunicates, and like raskalitie resorted to them with diuers Weapons, and now they did openly things vnlawfull in Politie and Religion, preaching where they came, and at *Orleance* breaking into open hostility, at *Burdeaux*, *Paris*, and other places, which occasioned their dispersion and confusion. One of their Preachers came into *England*, and was here cut in pieces, his carkasse being left for the Fowles, hauing before caused much disorder. Many of them went ouer to the Holy Land.

A former kna-
uetic.

Greater In-
dulgence a-
gainst Christi-
ans then Turke,
by Papall
charitie.

Anno 1251. the Pope caused solempne preaching in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the Confinies of *France*, that whosoever would warre against *Conrade* the Sonne of *Fredericke* the Emperour, hee should haue greater Indulgence then for warring in the Holy Land. For if any should be signed (with the Crosse) against *Conrade*, both he so marked, and his Father and Mother should receiue remission of all their sinnes: which, the *French* King sending for reliefe, caused much murmuring of the *French*, imputing to the Popes vnchristian Warres against Christians to enlarge his owne Dominions, this neglect of the *French* King and Holy Land. And the Queene Mother caused the Lands of all which had taken the Crosse to be seised, and that if they would warre for the Pope, he should maintaine them.

Crosses crossed
by Popish Ex-
tortion.

Anno 1252. the King caused the *Londoners* to be assembled to *Westminster*, to the preaching of the Crosse, which yet in regard of the *Romish* extortions few receiued. Some Courtiers did, whom the King magnified, calling the other base Mercenaries. His reason was; hee had now obtayned of the Pope three yeeres tenths of Clergie and Laitie to that purpose, which would amount to aboute fixe hundred thousand pounds. He was thought to haue taken the Crosse only for this mony-purpose, which Vow hee then sware to performe both on his brest like a Priest, & after

after on the Gospels kissing the Booke like a Lay-man, none being hereby more certaine of his purpose. Truce was concluded betwixt the *French King* and *Soldan*. But soone after, Anno 1253. came newes of miserable spoiles there made by the *Saracens*, *Achon* beeing only left free from their furie. Anno 1254. the *French King* returned home. Anno 1255. *Conrade* being dead, the Crosse was preached against *Memfred King of Apulia*, Sonne of the Emperour *Fredericke*. In which case the Pope intangled the King of *England*, giuing that Kingdome to his Sonne *Edmund*, to the great trouble of this Realme.

Clergie and
Lay Oath.

Anno 1259. the *Templars* and *Hospitalars* at *Achon* fell to ciuill Warres, well neere to the ruine of both Orders, and of the poore remaynders in those parts. Anno 1260. King *Henrie* hauing sworne to the prouisions of *Oxford*, repented of his Oath, and obtayned of the Pope Absolution. Anno 1264. Pope *Vrbane* gaue the Kingdome of *Sicilia*, to *Charles* the *French Kings* Brother, on condition to depriue *Memfred* thereof, whom Anno 1267. he slue in battell.

Pope main-
taines his
Kingdome by
Crosses when
he wants cros-
ses.

Anno 1269. Saint *Lewis* lent to speake with Prince *Edward* of *England*, and inuited him to vndertake with him a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which he did, King *Henrie* permitting all which would to goe with him.

King *Lewis* and
Prince *Edward*
Pilgrims.

Anno 1271. Prince *Edward*, and his Brother *Edmund*, foure Earles, as many Barons, and many Gentlemen, went his vowed Pilgrimage. His Wife *Elenor* accompanied him, who at *Achon* was deliuered of a Daughter, calld *Ioan* of *Acres*. The *French King* came safe to *Tunis*, where his Sonne first, and after himselfe dyed. The Armie was much endangered, but by meanes of *Charles King of Sicilia*, was freed, and *Tunis* made tributarie to *Sicilia*. Prince *Edward* had followed Saint *Lewis* thither: and when King *Charles* hasted backe, Prince *Edward* sware, that if all his company should forsake him, yet he and *Fowine* (his Horse-keeper) would hold on to *Achon*: and with the *English* he set saile thither. But a Tempest ouertooke the *Sicilian* at Sea, and drowned almost all his Armie and Treasure.

Prince *Edward*
and the *English*
at *Tunis*, where
K. *Lewis* dyeth.

Anno 1272. Prince *Edward* at *Achon*, was much respected by the *Amira* of *Ioppe*, who writ often to him by a certaine *Affisine*. Who faining some secret businesse, the Prince caused all to depart the roome, and whiles he looked out of the Window, with a poysoned Knife he receiued two wounds on the arme: The Prince pulled the Knife from him, and killed him with his owne weapon, but withall in the wresting, wounded his owne hand. This grieved much the *Amira*, being ignorant of the *Affisines* designe. With much difficultie the Prince was cured of his venomous wounds.

Prince *Edward*
stabbed with a
poysoned knife
King *Edward*
the first his
returne and
Turnement.

Thus farre we haue followed our Author *Matthew Paris* to the death of King *Henrie*, which hapned, Anno 1273. and the death in manner of the Christian State in the Holy Land. Hee returned (which we adde out of *Thomas Walsingham*) 1274. hauing long in vaine expected the aids of *Christians* and *Tartars* at *Achon*, leauing Souldiers in his pay for defence of the Holy Land. He returned by *Sicilia*, and receiued kind entertainment of King *Charles*, and after of the Pope. His Turnement I omit: wherein the Earle *Kabulanensis* challenging him, laying hold on the Kings necke, and seeking to plucke him off his Horse, was by the great strength of *Edward* rayed from his owne Horse, and after a hot skirmish, forced to yeeld, that the name which had in this Voyage wanne honour in *Africa*, encreased it in *Asia*, might receiue further accomplishment in his *European* returne.

Anno 1292. *Achon* was taken by the *Soldan*, the Citizens hauing sent their vnseruiceable persons and relikes with their treasures before to *Cyprus*. Great slaughter was committed. In the beginning of *Edward* the Second, the *Templars* were condemned, imprisoned, and some burned. The *Hospitalars* planted themselves at *Rhodes*, and continued till *Soliman* the *Turke* dispossessed them: since which their residence hath beene at *Malta*. The *Dutch Knights* conquered *Prussia*. The Acts of the *Tartars* in the Holy Land you may learne in others. It is more then enough that I haue sumraed the Acts of almost two hundred yeares, with such expence of Christian blood and treasure abroad and such convulsions and confusions of Religion and ciuill Affaires at home as I know not to haue beene effected by any one particular cause since the World stood, the pretence being not the Monarchie of the World, but of a little Region, and that vnder colour of Religion. I honour the zeale and valorous resolution of our Progenitors, but I pittie the illusions and collusions which hapned to those Worthies by the Popes sleights, and the malice of the old *Serpent*, which a little to vnmaske, would to the studious Reader, perhaps be a recreation after these fields of blood. Some particulars whereof wee haue out of Histories of that Age deliuered: but the full cannot bee deliuered, as may appeare by this circumstance, that besides often, solemne, publike, Royall Expeditions, and the priuate occasionall Pilgrimages to the Holy Land continually; there was euery yeare against Easter a generall passage both for deuout visitation of the holy places and seruices in these holy Warres: which summes being added to these, amount aboue conceit; especially, if wee adde the *Crusadoes* which from this Example awed and tamed Emperors, Kings, Princes, States, Peoples, repugnant to the Popes designs, howsoeuer otherwise Catholike and Christian. All this blood was of *Christians*, besides the Riuers and Seas of *Ethniike*, (yet humane) blood hereby shed, of *Turkes*, *Egyptians*,
K k k k k 2 Per-

Generale passage
giuim yeally.

Persians, Chorasmians, Tartars, and so many other Asian and African Nations, not to mention the Christians, Armenians, Syrians, and all the subjects of the Easterne Empire in this Warre so much interelld, by it weakned, after it irrecoverable, and now Turkish. But because to passe from one extreme to another, and suddenly to diuert the minde from such Martiall Actions and Passions to so high studious contemplations, would rather be exchange of toyle then recreation (as in the interim betwixt turbulent Acts on the Stage) I haue presented a Mical Pilgrime, whose old English Richmes may perhaps allay those former conceits of cryes, shriekes, wounds, deaths, desolations: and as when the Minstrell played, the hand of the Lord came upon Elisha, and hee prophesied; so in reading this, which tels the holy wares so farre sought, and so deere bought in these holy Warres, thou mayst haue the hand of the Lord not only to guide thee from such vanitie, but to lift thee to a higher pitch, and to make thee vnderstand (or some way to apply) concealed Mysteries and darke Prophecies, which that mystie Age, not seeing, fulfilled. The Author is vnkowne and his time: which yet is likely to haue beene about two hundred yeares since: Sir Robert Cottons rich Librarie hath yeelded the Manuscript, whence it was copied.

CHAP. V.

Here beginneth the way that is marked, and made wit Mount Ioez from the Lond of Engeland unto Sent Iamez in Galis, and from thence to Rome, and from thence to Ierusalem: and so againe into Engeland, and the names of all the Citeez be their waie, and the maner of her gouernanuce, and names of her siluer that they vse be alle these waie.



*In the Name of the Fader that setez in trone,
And of Ihu his oonly blesset Sone,
And of the Holy Gost, this blesset Trinite,
And also of our Ladie S. Marie:
And of all the Seintez of the Court of Heuen,
I make this mynde wit milde Steuen:
Wich waye I went I schall you telle,
And how be the waie I dide dwelle.
Ferst to Plummouth to seewent I,
And lander in the Trade of Bretany,
There we rested daies too,
And thrugh the Race then did we go
To Burdewez to that faire Citee:
And there was I daies thre.
And so from thence to Bayon,
For so the that is a faire toune.
And from thence to Petypont St. Ienouthe,
The ferst toune of Naueron, sicurly:
Up in a hee hull hit is faire sette,
And ther men schall make her tribett,
For euery pice of Gold trust me well,
Thou schalt swere upon the Euangele:
And there lakkez ferst most thou haue,
And the lust thy Gold to saue.
Wymmen z araie upon there bened,
Like to Myterez they ben wheed:
A raie Mantell they were upon,
And foule wymmen mony oon.
Then to the Dale of Rounceuale hit is the waie,
A derk passage I der well saie:
Witelez there ben full necessary,
For in that passage my maute was dry.
Be yond the hull upon hee,
Is a Mynster of our Ladde:*

*Of Chanounez of the Order of St. Austyn,
And the well of Rouland, and Oliuer therein.
From thence euen to Pampylion,
The ches Cite of the Reme of Naueron:
A faire Cite and a large,
Thereto commeth bothe Bote and Barge.
And from thence to the toune of Keer,
Is xxx. miles long, and hongery heer.
Then to the Gruon in Spayne,
That is the last toune certaine,
Of the Realme of Naueron:
And then into Spayne feare ye schon,
Iakkez ben ther of little prise:
For there beginneth the Maruedisez.
Alle is brasse, siluer is none In,
And the Grote of Spayne is siluer fyn.
iiij. score for a Coron schal thou haue,
Of the Maruedise of master and knaue.
Then from the Grune to Sent Dominico
Thou hast tenn long miles for to go.
And from thence to Grunneole,
Much pyn men ther thoole.
Hit ston upon a hull on byy,
And lewez ben Lordex of all that contray.
Ther most thou tribute make or thou passe,
For alle thi gud bothe mor and lasse:
Of that tribute they be full fayn:
For thei byeer hit of the King of Spayn.
From thence thou most to Pount Roie,
That passage ther hit kepeth a boie:
A gud contraie, and euell wyn,
And witelez ther ben bothe gud, and fyn.
And so forthe to Pount Paradise.
At that passage thou most paie thriez.
And so forthe from thence to Borkez that citee,
A faire toune and a muche sicurly.*

H O N -

HONDIVS his Map of Spaine.



- 40 And from thennez to Hospitall de Reyne,
Topasse that Riner thou schalt be fayne.
And so forthe to Sent Antony:
And ouer ther gothe the Maruedy.
From thennez enen to the cite of Lyones:
Betweene hem ben mony praty tonnez.
In that cite ther schalt thou paie
Passage or thou goe awaie.
By younde the Brugge on thi right hand,
To Sent Saluator the waie is liggand,
50 Where if. pottez may thou se,
In the wiche water turnet to vyn at Architriclyne.
And mony other reliquez ben there,
But the mountez ben wonder be, & fere.
Wymmen in that Land vse no vullen,
But alle in lether be thei wounden:
And her benedez wonderly ben trust,
Standing in her forhemed as a crest,
In rowld clouthez lappet alle be forn
60 Like to the prikke of a N unicorn.
And men haue doubelettez full schert,
Bare legget and light to stert.
A Knight, a boie wit out hose,
A sawyer also thei schull not lose.

A Knaue bere ij. dartez in his hand,
And so thei schull go walkand:
Here wyn is theke as any blode,
And that wull make men wode.
Bedding ther is nothing faire,
Mony pilgrimez hit doth apaire:
Tabelez vse thei non of to ete,
But on the bare flore they make her sete:
And so they sitte alle in fere,
As in Irlande the same manere.
Then from the citee of Lyonz so fre,
On thi lyst hand the waie schalt thou see,
At that Brugge that I of haue saide,
Ouer an heethe to Astergo is layde.
That is a cite and faire is sette,
There the gret mountaines togeder be mette:
And so forthe to Villa Frank schalt thou go,
A faire contraye, and vinez also.
The Raspis groeth ther in thi waie.
If thee lust thou maie asae.
From thennez a deepe dale schalt thou haue,
Vp vnto the Monut of Faue:
He bullez, and of the Spanye see a cry:
That noyse is full grenose pardy.

2. Reg. 3. 15.
Perfians, Chorofmines, Tartars, and fo many other Asian and African Nations, not to mention the Christians, Armenians, Syrians, and all the fubieets of the Eafterne Empire in this Warre fo much intereffed, by it weakned, after it irrecoverable, and now Turkish. But becaufe to paffe from one extreme to another, and fuddenly to diuert the minde from fuch Martiall Actions and Paffions to fo high ftudious contemplations, would rather be exchange of toyle then recreation (as in the interim betwixt turbulent Acts on the Stage) I haue prefented a Mulical Pilgrime, whole old Englifh Richmes may perhaps allay thofe former conceits of cryes, shriekes, wounds, deaths, defolations: and as when the Minftrell played, the band of the Lord came vpon Elisha, and hee prophesied; fo in reading this, which tels the holy wares fo farre fought, and fo deere bought in thefe holy Warres, thou mayft haue the hand of the Lord not only to guide thee from fuch vanitie, but to lift thee to a higher pitch, and to make thee vnderftand (or fome way to apply) concealed Myfteries and darke Prophefies, which that myftie Age, not feeing, fulfilled. The Author is vnkowne and his time: which yet is likely to haue beene about two hundred yeares fince: Sir Robert Cottons rich Librarie hath yeelded the Manuscript, whence it was copied.

CHAP. V

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*In the Name of the Fader that
 fettez in trone,
 And of Ihu his oonly blesset Sone,
 And of the Holy Gost, this blesset
 Trinite,
 And also of our Ladie S. Marie:
 And of all the Seintez of the Court of Heuen,
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 And how be the waie I dide dwelle.
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 And so from thence to Bayon,
 For fo the that is a faire toune.
 And from thence to Petypont St. Ienouhe,
 The ferst toune of Naueron, sicurly:
 Vp in a hee hull hit is faire sette,
 And ther men schall make her tribett,
 For euery pice of Gold trust me well,
 Thou schalt swere vpon the E. angele:
 And there lakkez ferst most thou haue,
 And the lust thy Gold to saue.
 Wymmen z araie vpon there bened,
 Like to Myterez they ben wheed:
 Araie Mantell they were vpon,
 And foule wymmen mony oon.
 Then to the Dale of Rounceuale hit is the waie,
 A derk passage I der well saie:
 Wuelez there ben full necessary,
 For in that passage my manthe was dry,
 Be yond the hull vpon hee,
 Is a Mynster of our Ladee:*

*Of Chanounez of the Order of S. Austyn,
 And the well of Rouland, and Oliuer therein.
 From thence euen to Pampylyon,
 The chief Cite of the Reme of Naueron:
 A faire Cite and a large,
 Thereto commeth bothe Bote and Barge.
 And from thence, to the toune of Keer,
 Is xxx. miles long, and hongery heer.
 Then to the Gruon in Spayne,
 That is the last toune certaine,
 Of the Realme of Naueron:
 And then into Spayne feare ye schon,
 lakkez ben ther of little prife:
 For there beginneth the Maruedilez.
 Alle is brasse, siluer is none In,
 And the Grote of Spayne is siluer fyn.
 iij. score for a Coron schal thou haue,
 Of the Maruedile of master and knaue.
 Then from the Grune to Sent Dominico
 Thou hast tenn long miles for to go.
 And from thence to Grunneole,
 Much pyn wen ther thoole.
 Hit ston vpon a hull on hy,
 And lewez ben Lordez of all that contray.
 Ther most thou tribute make or thou passe,
 For alle thi gud bothe mor and lasse:
 Of that tribute they be full fayn;
 For thei byeer hit of the King of Spayn.
 From thence thou most to Pount Roie,
 That passage ther hit kepeth a boie:
 A gud contraie, and euell wyn,
 And witelez ther ben bothe gud, and fyn.
 And so forthe to Pount Paradise.
 At that passage thou most paie thriez.
 And so forthe from thence to Borkez that citee,
 A faire toune and a muche sicurly.*

H O N -

HONDIVS his Map of Spaine.



40 And from thennez to Hospitall de Reyne,
 To passe that Riner thou schalt be fayne.
 And so forthe to Sent Antony:
 And ouer ther gothe the Maruedy.
 From thennez euen to the cite of Lyones:
 Betweene hem ben mony praty tounes.
 In that cite ther schalt thou paie
 Passage or thou goe awaie.
 By younde the Brugge on thi right hand,
 To Sent Saluator the waie is liggand,
 50 Where if pottez may thou se,
 In the wiche water turnet to vyn at Architriclyne.
 And mony other reliquez ben there,
 But the mountez ben wonder be, & fere.
 Wymmen in that Land use no vullen,
 But alle in lether be thei wonden:
 And her beuedez wonderly ben trust,
 Standing in her forhemed as a crest,
 In rowld clouthes lappet alle be for
 Like to the prikke of a N'unicorn.
 60 And men haue doubelettez full schert,
 Bare legget and light to stert.
 A Knight, a boie wit out hose,
 Asqwyer also thei schull not lose.

A Knaue bere ij. dartez in his hand,
 And so thei schull go walkand:
 Here wyn is theke as any blode,
 And that wull make men wode:
 Bedding ther is nothing faire,
 Mony pilgrimez hit doth apaire:
 Tabelez use thei non of to ete,
 But on the bare flore they make her sete:
 And so they sitte alle in fere,
 As in Irlande the same manere.
 Then from the citee of Lyon so fre,
 On thi lyst hand the waie schalt thou see,
 At that Brugge that I of haue saide,
 Ouer an heethe to Astergo is layde.
 That is a cite and faire is sette,
 There the gret mountaines togeder be mette:
 And so forthe to Villa Frank schalt thou go,
 A faire contraye, and vinez also.
 The Rapis groeth ther in thi waie.
 If thee lust thou maie as aie.
 From thennez a deepe dale schalt thou haue,
 Vp vnto the Mount of Faue:
 He bullez, and of the Spanye see a cry:
 That noyse is full grenose pardy.

And so forth euen to Sent Iamez,
 Alle waie Pylgrimez suche hauez,
 And then to Mount nostre Daine,
 The Prior ther hath muche schame.
 And then so forth to Luaon,
 Other Villagez ther be many oon.
 And then to Sent Iamez that holy place;
 There maie thou fynde full faire grace.
 On this side the toun milez too,
 By a Chappell schalt thou go:
 Vpon a hill hit stondez on hee,
 Wher Sent Iamez ferst schalt thou see,
 A Mount, Ioie mony stonex there ate,
 And iij. pilerez of ston of gret astate:
 A C. daiez of pardon there may thou haue
 At that Chappell, and thou hit craue.
 Then at Sent Iamez wit in that place.
 To telle the pardon hit askes space.
 Hit is a gret Mynstor, large, and long,
 Of the hold begging hit is strong:
 Glason windowz there are but few,
 Wit in the Mynstor in nowther rew:
 Vij. Cardinalez chosen there be,
 For Confessourez, that is verry,
 And haue plaine power fully to here,
 And penance to yef in alle maner:
 And to assoyle the of alle thing,
 That is the Popys graunting.
 Now of the pardon telle I shall,
 In what place thou maie it calle:
 At the Northe side of that place,
 There is pardon and muche faire grace.
 In the Chappell on the rizt hand among the guest,
 iij. C. daiez of pardon thou hauest.
 Forthermore at the hee autere
 A iij. daiez alle time in the yere.
 Vnder the hee autere lube Sent Iame,
 The table in the Quere telleth the name:
 At alle the auterez so by and by,
 xl. daiez to pardon is grantet to the.
 At the iij. derrez benethe the Quere,
 Is plenor remission onex in the yere:
 And at alle tymes xl. daies,
 The table written so hit saies.
 On the Southe side behinde the Derre,
 A grete of ston fyndest thou there:
 At nine of the Bele the Derre up is sett,
 And a Bele rongen a gret fet.
 Ther men maie se of Sent Iame the lesse,
 His heed in Gold araied freche:
 To the wiche Pilgrimez her offeryng make,
 For the more Sent Iamez sake.
 And there by a nauer there is,
 Wher Sent Iame, and Mase yuis,
 A iij. daies ther maie thou haue,
 Of remission, and thou hit crane.
 More pardon is nonxt in that place
 That in that table mynde hase.
 Then from thennez to Patrovum,
 Wher Sent Loudet the ferst toun
 iij. xx. myles long from Sent Iamez,
 Coron ne vin non men there hauez.
 And then to Pont Wederez went I,
 L. long miles; that waie is dry:

Iewes and Sarasynex ben there mony on,
 A plenti full contraye as man maie gon.
 From thennes a vale faire, and clere,
 Where wynez groethe of all manere,
 Vnto the toun of Corpe Sante,
 Alle manere fruyte at man maie haunt.
 The See cometh thether at alle tide,
 And fisch, and coron on alle side.
 Wymmen be araied like to men,
 Men maie nouzt well nouthen ken:
 There thei life vn gudely,
 Namely men of holy Chirche pardy.
 And Bugell flesch is there full rine,
 In alle that contraye hit is ther lif:
 And Corpe Sant is the last toun,
 In Galise, and stondeth the See vpon.
 Then into Portyngale, and I faire
 Ouer the Riuer wit gret care:
 For ther the Spaynyolez wull ye scherche,
 Whether any Gold be in thi perche.
 Then thi Maruedise haue no takke,
 The Rioler of Portyngale maken the lakke.
 When thou comest to Valence toun,
 The money of that Lond thou schalt see son.
 And then so forth to Priutia,
 And fro thennez to Ponylyme schalt thou ga.
 And then forthe to Porta hauen,
 A faire Cite, and that is the namen:
 Olive trez ther schalt thou fynde,
 Alle the Lond full, that is the kind:
 And figez, felle wit out faile,
 And alle maner plente of vitale.
 The araie of wymmen is wonder to see,
 How thei be reuelet about the knee.
 Of fresch fisch thei haue gret store,
 At euery place more, and more.
 Then schalt thou passe to Colymbria,
 And to Towrez a faire Cite also.
 And so forthe to Sent Helena on hee,
 That is a well faire Citee.
 And from thennez to Frankeuile,
 And so to Luschebon is xiiij. mile,
 A faire Cite, and a large,
 Thether cometh schipper, hulkez, and barge:
 That is a faire Vniuersite,
 And of vitellex gret plente.
 And in Luschebon verement
 Lithe the holy Martur Sent Vincent.
 Vy. mile ouer the water most thou gon,
 To a toun that hight Kone,
 And from Kone to Palmele,
 A whilde waie hit is some dele.
 And to Sent Owell, that is the waie,
 To Landauere, and Kauerell in the claie.
 And to Mount Maior a Castell fre.
 The chiefe of Portyngale it maie be.
 A while contraye full of Lyngge,
 Wit the I rede thou brede brynge.
 From thennez to Rioler most thou faire,
 To Estermore, that Land is bare.
 And so to Borbe a litell Village,
 And then to Eluez that gnd stage:
 The last toun of Portyngale to the See,
 That departet Portyngale, and Castell free,

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The

The Iewez ben Lords of that town,
 And few christen men there come.
 Now in to Castell schall we faire,
 Ouer the Riner, the land is bare,
 Full of heeth and hunger also,
 And Sarasynéz Gouvernouréz thereto.
 At Baddehshe we schall begin,
 To enter Castelanéz wit in.
 And from thennez to Talevere,
 10 At Luggebon that Cite is a faire riner.
 To Paralez then most thou draw,
 And so to Mereda, that is the law.
 Tovrez Iuliauez forezete we nonzt,
 At Sent Petro her vittellez ar bonzt.
 Martyn Santio a whilde waie is there,
 Forestez, and whilde bestez in fere:
 Beres, and Wulfez, other bestez mony on,
 A perelez waie hit is to gon.
 Then to Reyne so most thou ga,
 20 Vnto the Cite of Mater Caliea.
 And then to Kanamare that faire place,
 Of catel ther is plente, and that is grace:
 The herdez lyn in the felde in Tentez of clothe;
 To come to toun that is thann lothe.
 From that Cite milez xxx. and to,
 To Sent Marie Kadalupe most thou go:
 A Pilgrimate bothe faire, and fre,
 That Mynstor is of our Ladie:
 Of the Order of Sent Irome the Doctor,
 30 A maruelez sight is in that Tour.
 In wildernesse that place is sette,
 There groeth no coron, vin, ne brede:
 By xxx. mile on euery side,
 For whilde bestez no man dar abide.
 Then from that place to Waldepalatia,
 And after that euen to Alidera:
 And then to Elecampanario,
 From thennez to Quyntana also.
 And then to the Cite of Salamea,
 40 To Lestaselez, and to Maggaela.
 Alle the spicery that I man can mene,
 In that land hit maie be sene:
 For Sarasynéz and Morez be ther duellant,
 And euer in her spicery thei be workant.
 The Morez ben blake as any pikke,
 And go alle mest naket, no men like.
 Bellrange that Cite, full hote is hee,
 That know nō coude in that Contre.
 Walekanale is a toun full faire,
 In Caillaile the Cite is gudare.
 50 And from thennez to Petrose,
 To the Cite of Kantelane before the nose:
 Ouer a narwe of the Se most thou tee,
 To Ciuyte graund, that is so fre.
 A Paradise hit is to be hold
 The frutez, vynez, and spicery, the I haue tolde.
 Vpon the Hauen alle maner Marchandise,
 And Karekez, and Schippeez at alle deuise.
 Don be the streame so maie thou goo,
 The Toun of Sent Lucar de Baramedez to.
 60 Vpon a hull hit stondeth full bee,
 Frost ne Snow there maie non be:
 Europa that land men calle hit:
 The blesset contrare that euer was set.

About hit Ylez mony oon,
 I schall tham reken euerichon:
 For I haue be ther, and sayn them alle,
 I schall you telle, how thei hem calle.
 Porta hit is the ferst place,
 And Rota a nother Hauen, to the See it gase:
 And Serethiez a Cite full faire,
 But the Sarasanez hit don apaire.
 That is the vnterest Cite of that Lond
 Toward the Sarasanez, I vnderstand.
 And Cordua on that other side,
 Wit Sarasanez muche soro thei abide.
 Wit in the Se a Cite of fight,
 The which in that land Calys hight,
 From the lond milez fife,
 There the Karekkez in Hauen do drine.
 XX. daiez we rested the Yles vpon,
 Wit Karekkez to Ienne to haue gon:
 And for enemyez be the Se were so strong,
 Therefore we tornet againe be lond,
 Vnto the Reyme of Arogony:
 And mony maruelez be the waie saie we.
 Ferst to Sent Marie de Serrat,
 Mony a Pilgryme is wery ther ate,
 A desert place, and full of waaste,
 And mony man his staf ther hath cast.
 From thennez thou schalt to Monshow,
 A faire Cite, and riche I trow.
 Hullez and vailaiez mony schalt thou fynde,
 The sight ther of thenn maketh men blynde.
 Litell coron, but craggez and stonéz,
 And that maketh Pylgrymez wery bonez.
 Faire wymmen and of febull araie,
 The Castelanéz ar better I dar well saie:
 For in Castell thei be araied comely,
 Wit faire grownez full honestly;
 And in Aragony thei araied be,
 In raie cotez full incomely.
 A wedding I saie in Monshow toun, (on:
 Alle the men and the wymmen then daunsyng in
 iij C. on a davnce I dar well saie,
 From morn to euen all the daie.
 Ther is but litell mete and drinke,
 Be cause men lust not for to swynke.
 Then to Leide the Vniuersite,
 There is a pleyntuouse Contre.
 Twyez karnest ther thei haue,
 And figez full gret, so God me saue.
 Thei be like to a gret Wardon,
 Blew, andfaat, as any Bacon.
 Ther groeth the Vyn men calle Tribian,
 Garnadez ar and Oryngez mony an:
 Vnto the come to Sent Pere de Mont,
 Alle that waie the maie thann haunt.
 And then to Sent Mari de Mount Serrat,
 Pylgrymez that Mount thei hate.
 Hit is full hee to clymbe unto,
 And the waie is straite to and fro.
 V. Crosses of ston schalt thou haue,
 The v. Ioiez of our Lady ther in be graue.
 A faire Mynstor vpon hee,
 That Chirche is of our Ladye.
 Mony miraclez ther hau ben wroght,
 And mony Reliquez theder ben brought.

xv. milez up schalt thou ascende,
 And as much downward er thou descende.
 Taward the Cite of Barilon,
 For sothe that is a faire town:
 The chef Cite of alle that lond,
 And the gret See is ther even at hond.
 From thennez thou schalt to Perpynian,
 And after to Sallo most thou gan.
 And so forthe then to Narbon,
 A faire Cite and well bygon.
 And from thennz to Tour Sent Denise,
 The last place of Aragoni wys.
 Mount Pylerez that is a Vniuersite,
 A faire place hit is securly.
 And so thennez fro to Castell Ryse,
 A schrewed town at my denise.
 The Dolphyn is Lord of alle that lond,
 And hath tham sugget to his hond.
 And from thennez to Auinion,
 Is xij. laigex from town to town.
 And begynneth Prouince full fre,
 At the brugge of Auinion I telle the.
 Then of Prouince that faire Contray,
 Some what thereof I will the saie.
 In Dominion in that standing,
 The Pope hath a faire dwellyng:
 A riote Palys, and well ydight,
 Wit Towrez, and wyndowez full of light.
 A mery Contray and a faire,
 And also ther is full good aire.
 From that Vniuersite to Sushee went I,
 Taward Marie Magdaleyn sicurly:
 Ther liather Sent Marie Magdeleyn,
 In the frere Prechourez this is certayn.
 A faire Contraie hit is, and a clere,
 And pepull of diuerse manere.
 At wedding in that Contre,
 Alle the folke of the town there schull be:
 And dauunce alle the long daie,
 Yong and olde, and make tham gaie.
 In that Contraie when on is dede,
 Thei heire weperex for wyn and brede:
 To cryent, and make gret faire,
 And rynde her benedex, and make hem bare:
 And scratt ther facez, and make them blede,
 And so thei walke thugh alle the strete.
 And at the Messe at the sacrynge,
 Then make thei a foule howtynge.
 And gon to the graue, and cryon hy,
 Out harrow why woldest thou dye:
 Men wolde wene at thei were wode,
 For thei make so foule a lode.
 Then from that Contraie to Sent Antonce,
 Ben xxx. longe laigex full sicurlye.
 A Mynstor there is, a faire Abbay,
 And there is his harom I dar well saie;
 In Gold and Siluer araied full well,
 And there is of his owne mantell.
 To faire well in that Contraie hit is nede,
 But the Siluer of that Contraie is alle the spede.
 The grote of Prouince is ther alle maister,
 The Kingez armex of Prouince hit doth ber.
 Siluer hit is, bothe gud, and fyne,
 Like to the armex of Godefrey Boleyne.

xvij. for a coron schalt thou haue,
 That knoweth well bothe maister, and knaue.
 From thennez thou schalt to Port Dawnton,
 And after that, then to Sent Lyon.
 Then schalt thou passe a feble waie,
 Into the Mountanez be my saie.
 Vnto the Cite of Mount Riall,
 Hit is coneret with snew at alle.
 A longe waie schalt thou fynd,
 To the Mount of Cyneez er thou wynde. 10
 Ferst to the town of Sent Iohan,
 A whilde waie ther most thou gan.
 Alle is snem alle tymex of the yere,
 Wit ze thi witelez I rede the bere.
 When thou comest to that Mountayn
 Advise the well forth er thou gan.
 For and the wynd blow, trust me well,
 Thou schalt haue payne on that hull:
 Or thou come to that other side,
 For the Mount is hee, large, and wide. 20
 iij. Mountez ther be, that I know well,
 And wich thei be I schall the tell:
 That be in the waie to Rome,
 And mony Pilgrymez that waiez come.
 The nest Mount is Mount Bernard,
 That waie is bothe long and hard.
 By Sawoie the he waie is right,
 That is a mery Countrie, and a light:
 And the Dukez monch is brasce,
 Roundez and mitez they be lasse. 30
 A nother Mount there is, the name Godarde,
 And that is better then Mount Bernard:
 For there men passe the Lake Luterne,
 Taward Mount Godard, the waie to lerne:
 And so to Bellon, and to Millayne,
 And there ben Tuskennez, that money is tagn.
 A nother Mount meste comyn waie,
 Is thugh Almayn, as I you saie:
 The Marchandez waie, men calle hit so,
 Out of Engclond to Rome who that will go. 40
 Now then to Cyneez I will torne agayn,
 And tell for the my tourney that I hane tagn.
 To Hespital Sent Antony,
 And so to Pynnerole that Cite fre.
 Then comen the Qwaterneyn on plove,
 For the Duke of Millayn gouernance there hase.
 And so forthe to Mount Rigall,
 Then groeth wyn tribian in that vale.
 And from thennez to Sauoune,
 And so to Ienne that riall town. 50
 By the Riner of Ienne schalt thou passe,
 To Mount Ros, and Mount Vernage a pase.
 There groeth the Vernage upon hee,
 And the Blaffard is ther gud money.
 Then schalt thou go to Geoa,
 And to Sarazan that Cite alsa.
 From thennez to Pount Sent Petre,
 And so to the town of Luke, wit gud chere.
 And then to Pife that faire Cite,
 And so to Florence a noubull Vniuersite. 60
 Ther gothe Quaterneyn, and ike the grote,
 And faire wymmen of mery note.
 From thennez to Sene, that Siluer is gud,
 And there to chaunge hit the be honed.

And so then forth to Sent Clerico,
And after to Rede Cofer schalt thou go.
After that next to Aquapedant,
And right to Bolsen left thou be schent.
From thennez even to Mount Flastkon,
And so to Viteherbe that faire town.

And thenne to Castell Sent Laurence:
And so to Sowterez in Lence.
From thennez to Castell Susanne,
And so to Rome that blesset town.
The Duke of Troye that Eneas high
To Rome he come wit gret myght.

HONDIVS his Map of Italy.



Of him come Remus, and Romulus,
After hom callet is Ruse.
Hethen hit was, and christen nought,
Telle Peter and Paule had hit brought.
In Rome was some tyme I wene,
CCC. Paristhe Chirchez and seuene:
Chapelez ther ben mony also,
ij C. and fise ther too.
About the walkez milez ij and xl.
And Towers a M. and sixty.
iij and xx. grete yatez ther be,
Principale ouer alle other in that Cite:
And in Transeibo ther ben thre,
And thre in Leone full sicurly.
Thuse partet I from Rome to Venys town
After the fest of our Lady Anunciation.
And bode there for my passage
To the holy Land I toke my viage.

De ciuitate Romana recessi in comitiua
Domini Magistri Walteri Meddeford, ysq;
Venice, et sic ad Terram Sanctam cum
Domino Priore Sancti Iohannis London, &c.
Then from Venis I schall you telle,
Wiche is the waie be water, and hull.
From Rome to Tode is lx. mile,
Vpon the Riner of Tibere hit last a while.
And from thennez to the Vniuersite of Peruse
Is euen xl. long mile waiez.
And thenne to Assise, Sent Fraunceis is there,
Is x. mile in a valaie faire, and clere.
And to Remule the Vniuersite of honor
A man maie see mony a faire touer.
Thenn to the See passe he schall,
Unto Venis men do calle.
Ferst to Frannkeleyn be the Riner fre
The most to Venis the Cite.

Ostryge.

Ostryes the fynde be the River mony oon,
 Cordula is the ferst of hem ichen.
 xxv. mile hit is betwene,
 By that streame that runneth shene.
 And so to Cholye thou most go,
 That is xxv. long milez also.
 From Cholye to Palestyne hit is,
 v. long milez no thing lesse.
 And thenn to Malemoke went I,
 The wich xiiij. long milez by.
 And thenn to Venis x. long mile hit is,
 Alle this waie I went I wis.
 And Venis stondes alle in the See,
 And Ylez about hit gret plente:
 And Lordez thei ben of diuersez placez,
 To telle her Lordschip I haue no space:
 But I dar hit so discry,
 Hit is a riche Toun of spicery:
 And of alle other marchandise also,
 And right well vitelet ther to.
 And namely of freche water fische,
 Pike, Eile, Tenche, Carpe, I wis:
 And of other vitelez mony oon,
 And namely of freche Storgon.
 Gud chepe, and gret plente,
 And semely Burgez on to See.
 I schipped me ther in a Galias,
 That laie fast by Sent Nicolas.
 An' Abbay in that Hauen mouthes,
 From Venis Easte, and somewhat Sonthe:
 By estimation as I conthe see,
 Too milez from that Cite.
 How that we went, and on what visez,
 We were forward mor then thriez.
 At the last, as Goddez wille vafe,
 Thei analet the saile, and toke the rase.
 The ferst Land at we come too,
 Was a Nyle land, thei said soo.
 Wiche at men calle Itera,
 And ther in our schippe gon gan:
 Hem to refresche thei were full fayn,
 Be cause the wether was us agayn.
 What Tounes, and Castellez we sailer by,
 Of alle that Land telle schall I.
 Pyrane a Castell, Vmago a Cite,
 Cite Noue a nother is bee.
 Parenter also a nother Cite hit is,
 Vithall a Chapell, and a n' Abbay I wis.
 Ryne a Cite som what full strong,
 And Pole a nother, large, and long.
 Mony mo wit in that Land there be,
 And Venicyanez Lordez of alle sicur le,
 Ther ben other mony be name,
 But these we saw, and by them came.
 Then sailer we forthe full sicurly,
 Be the partiez of Sclauony.
 Ther found we a Nyle that hight Nedo
 And a nother that hight Kerfo.
 And a Nyle that Sarlyg hight,
 There is a n' Abbay of Monkes right.
 A C. mile from thennez sailer we there,
 And seie the yle of Geagere:
 Wiche is a Nyle large, and longe,
 And a Castell faire, and stronge.

The Castell of Sent Michell hit is called,
 A strong place, and well walled.
 After that, as we duden go,
 We saie a Toun hight Beneto.
 And on our list hand as we dude saile,
 Was the Cite Tregora, in a Nyle.
 And the Cite of Spolita, ther ben thre,
 Alle hard land, and faire to see.
 And lxx. milez euer ther fro,
 On our right hand as we duden go,
 Ayan that forsaide faire Cite,
 We saie a thing like tille a Tre.
 Iche man hadde wonder what hit was,
 Some said a Mast, some saide hit Nase.
 We askede the Schippemen euerichon,
 And thei said, hit was a ston.
 That zought vs wonder for to be,
 Suche a ston stande in the See.
 But we saw hit so well mit eyez,
 That we west well hit was no lye.
 Then we asked what hit hight,
 Micella they said full right.
 Then sailer we forthe in our waie,
 By the cost of Sclauony, I yow saie.
 A Nyle there for sothe we founde,
 That hight Lilla, on our list hande.
 Too Abbaiez in that yle was,
 Of Sent George, and Sent Nicolas.
 Then sailer we forthe on our lornaie,
 And on our left hand a Nyle we saie:
 And of a Chirche the olde walles,
 The Mount of Sent Andrew men hit calles.
 A litell ther fro as we duden ga,
 We saie a Nyle hight Boiea.
 Then sailer we forthe a gud while,
 On our list hand we saie a Nyle,
 That men callen there Letena,
 Full of pepull, and of vitelez also.
 And ij. Castelles forsooth there bee,
 Of frute and of wyne grete plente.
 Another yle yette we came by,
 And alle in the partiez of Sclaueny:
 Cursula men calle hit in that Land,
 Wit pepull fele, too Castelez strang.
 A baren yle then after we founde,
 And non frute on alle that Lond:
 Cassa men calle hit, thei saie thise,
 And x. mile about hit is.
 On our list hand as we sailer these,
 We saie a Nyle hight Pelagus:
 There we se in our Romence,
 Where Sent George duden his penaunce.
 On our list hand after that,
 We founde a Nyle bothe faire, andfaat:
 That we callen there Augusta,
 And after a nother, that hight Milida.
 And after that a Tonne well walled,
 That Cite Drogonle men called.
 Faire we saie hit, and sailer ther by,
 The chef Cite of alle Sclaueny.
 And from thennez lx. milez full tong,
 Is a Cite faire, and strong:
 The wiche Cattera called hit is,
 And there begynnez Abonnez,

A Land that is next Sklaueny.
 Then saie we a Toun hight Tyuerie,
 After that a Cite we saie,
 That men callen Dulceny.
 And from thence a litell space,
 Is a Castell that hight Durace:
 The wiche the Venyceanez hald in hande,
 And no mo in alle that Lande.
 By Abony coost, as we dud go,
 10 We saie a Cite hight Valona.
 Yett founde we mony Pleyz moo,
 The next after hight Salfino:
 That is from the Cite of Venyce,
 Fully vij C. mile waiez.
 The heved of the Golfe men calle hit,
 Wher schippez haue mony a foule sitt.
 From that Ile on our right hand,
 To the Reme of Pyele I understand,
 Is but sixty miles and ten.
 20 A stif streame there rennez: thence,
 From Venyce what so thou come,
 Is ever more Mare Adriaticum.
 That is to saie in our Englishe,
 The grete See of Adrian I wis.
 In that Ile a Castell dothe stonde,
 That the Grekes hald in her hande:
 And a Minster of our Lady,
 Full well serued, and full honestly.
 The Grikkez See begynnez there,
 30 And at the next Lond after, as we can faire.
 From that Ile of Salfyneo,
 On our left hand as we dud go,
 A C. miles thence full trow,
 We founde the Ile of Cusfew:
 A faire Cite as I yow telle,
 And a Castell that hight Aungelle.
 And from the Cite of Cusfew,
 Vnto the Ile of Paxlew,
 xxx. long miles hit is hold,
 40 And the Venyceanez haue hit in holde.
 Bothe these Pleyz, and other moo,
 Forthe on our waie we wull goo.
 VVe sailer forthe bothe erly and late,
 Tille the Ile of Dowgate:
 A C. mile hit is long and large,
 To saile from Paxlew wit Bot or Barge.
 The Castell ner standeth in that stage,
 The Blake Castell in our langage.
 Then sailer we forthe a gret ride,
 50 And founde a Nyle on our left side,
 That men calle Cefolonia:
 And a Castell of folke full alsa.
 And a Nyle that Gavut hight,
 That is a Castell of Grekez right.
 Then sailer we forthe a while,
 And founde a nother plentouse Ile,
 That hight Stryualle in that Land.
 There ben holy Monkez duellande,
 In a Mynster of our Lady,
 60 And there thei lif full honestly:
 And nother woman, foule, ne best,
 And thei wull agayn there lest,
 Nis non femenyng gender,
 Thei maie not there endure.

A wounde miracle there was wroght,
 When S. Marke from Alexander was broght:
 And was translatet in to Venyce,
 The Galiez comen be that waiez.
 And when the Galiez come zeder thoo,
 The Ile cleued euen in too:
 And the Galiez token euen the same waie,
 So thence the see in to this daie.
 After that a Nyle we found,
 That hight Prodo a waast Londe.
 Then by a nother sailer we,
 That Morrea hight full sicurly:
 On our left hand that Lande stode,
 Fast ther by our Galiez yode.
 The Castell of Iunke thei saie soo,
 That longeth the King of Nauerre too.
 Ten mile be yond the Castell,
 Upon a wonder hee hull,
 Standeth a Chirche hee on hight,
 Of Sent Teodete that noble Knight.
 After that we came full sone,
 Vnto the Cite of Modome.
 Taward that Cite as we dud go,
 On our left hand a mile ther fro,
 There is a Nyle Sapientia men callez,
 A strong Ile, and no wallez.
 Upon that Ile the see I wise,
 Hit bereth ther on sanz myse.
 Of that Ile, and of that Cite,
 The Venyceanez Lordez thei bee.
 On our left hand as we dud sailo,
 A waast Ile we saie sanz foile,
 That men calle ther Seuerigo:
 A Heremite there dwelleth, and no moo.
 And so to Candy we go sailand,
 And the Land of Morez on our left hand.
 From the Lond of Modyn xvij. miles waiez,
 Is a Cite worthy for to praise:
 Corona that place is called,
 A strong Toun, and well walled.
 Hit stondeth in the Lond of Morez,
 And the Venyceanez Lordez thei be.
 And after that same Lande,
 We saie a Cite hight Diamande:
 As a Diamande hit is maked,
 Conoret wit snow, and neuer naked.
 After in the same Land of Morrea,
 We saie a Castell hight Moirema.
 After in the same Land a Nyle we see,
 That hight Cherigo in that Contre.
 In that Ile be Castelez too,
 And the Venyceanez be Lordez of thoo.
 A nother Ile we founde in hast,
 Hight Cetherigo, but hit is waast.
 And bestez there be great plente,
 On the same side as sailer we.
 There is a Nyle ij. mile there fro,
 That men callen there Gneco:
 As a negge hit is maked,
 And nonz in-abitte, but alle naked,
 Bothe of men, and of bestez,
 Sane onely Hawkez make there her nestez.
 From thence we sailer a certeyn waie,
 On our left hand a Nyle we saie:

That

That men callen Ancello,
 And ther in be Castellez too.
 Thei be of the Lordschip of Candy,
 And the Venyceanez Lordes sicurly.
 Euen Azan that forsaide Ile,
 Be the space of lx. mile:
 The Ile of Candy there began,
 Betweene them we sailer than.
 Then sailer we forthe on our right hand,
 And come to the Ile of Candy Land.
 A cite ther was not ferr vs fra,
 That men callen Cananea:
 And fifty mile that cite fro,
 Is another that hight Retimo.
 And from thennez milez fifty,
 Is the chef cite of alle Candy.
 And Candy the cite men calles,
 A faire toun, and stron of valles.
 There groeth alle the Maluesy,
 That men haue in all Christyanty:
 Or in any place in heithenese,
 And at Modyn alle the Romeney Iwis.
 Another cite is in that Ile,
 From that cef citte a C. mile.
 On our list hand as we did go,
 Setea men calle it so.
 That Ile boethe large and longe,
 viij. C. mile alle Vmbegange.
 iij. good citeez hit hath full ryue,
 And castellez xx. and fife:
 Except Thorpez, and Hamelettez,
 And housez that in the wynez ben settez
 iij. M. men there may be raiset,
 Well horset, and well barneset
 Of houelerez, and of albesterez
 ij. C. M. ate alle yerez.
 From thise Ile now wynde we,
 And telle we forth, on our lorny.
 Fifty mile we sailer, and anon,
 From the cite of Candy to Capa S. Ion,
 That is to saie in Englese,
 S. Iohanez heued I wis.
 Ther is a Chappell, and no moo,
 The Lordschip of Candy hit longeth too.
 Spina longa men calle hit,
 On our list hand that Ile was sette.
 Then sailer we forthe so anon,
 And seie the Ile of Refrenan:
 A wait Ile standing in the See.
 And after that, anon saie we,
 An yle that men calle Styppea:
 And there in be Castellez twa.
 On our list hand as we sailer thoo,
 We saw the Ile of Awgeo:
 And too Castelez ther in bee,
 And after an yle hight Nazaree.
 Ther is a Castell of lyme and ston,
 And Knightez of Rodez Lordes bon.
 The nexst land after that hight Nysserey,
 And nexst that the lond of Turkey.
 And euen ouer ther agayne,
 The Ile of Rodez is certayne:
 xv. mile the See brode is,
 From Turkey to the Ile of Rodez.

At the begynning of this Ile,
 Wit in but a luttell while
 Is a thorp that hight Newtoun:
 And on a hull there alle alonen,
 Is a Castell stiff, and strong,
 That some tyme was a cite strong.
 The Castell hight men saie soo,
 Sancta Maria de Fulmaro.
 The ferst place hit was then,
 That euer thei of Rodez wan.
 Thei myght not well hold hit,
 But be vysement, and gud witt.
 Then at Rodez thei made them zere,
 Here dwellyng for ener more.
 A strong toun Rodez hit is,
 The Castell is strong and faire I wis.
 From Rodez then a C. mile,
 On our list hand we found an yle,
 Castell Ruge men calle hit,
 Therede Castell be my witt.
 The Knightez of Rodez be Lordes, and theder go
 And seie we Ilez, no mo:
 But too on our list hand,
 On of the Kynges of Ciprese land.
 The Ile of Ciprese for so the hit hight,
 There of fer ferr we had a sight:
 I can not saie of toun ne of citee,
 Hit was so ferre I myght not see:
 That other was the Ile of Baaf.
 On our list hand toward Iaaf,
 Of a land we had a sight,
 Carmeyn de Surry for so the hit hight.
 The white Frerez were founde ferst there
 Of our Lady there is a Mynster.
 Then to Port Iaaf when we came,
 There was mony a blythe mane:
 And thanked God of his faire sonde,
 That brought vs saue into that land.
 And from Iaaf we went to Ierusalem,
 And that waie tornet home agayne.
 At Ierusalem while I was,
 I went pilgrimager in mony place:
 And had the pardon that longeth thertoo
 As I schall zow or I go.
 Now at Port Iaff I wull begynn,
 To telle the pardon at is ther inn:
 The wiche is called Ioppen,
 And Port Iaff wit other men.
 This pardon ferst when hu begane,
 Was of Pope Siluester that holy mane:
 At the prator of Constantyn,
 That was an Emperour gud, and fyn.
 And of Sent Elene his moder dere,
 That founde the Crose as thei say there:
 And after the place be of degre,
 So that pardon confermet bee.
 To some plenor remission of syn,
 And some vij. zerez, and vij. lenton.
 At Port Iaff begynn wee,
 And so frothe from gre to gre,
 At Port Iaff ther is a place,
 Wher Petur reised through Goddes grace,
 From dede to lif to Tabitane,
 He was a woman that was her name:
 And

And was wit the Apostlez like a knave,
 vii. yere there schalt thou haue.
 And as many lentonez sicurly,
 And a nother place is ther by.
 Wher Sent Petur stode and fische,
 As much pardon is there I wis.
 And after that there is a Cite,
 That men callen Leidy:.
 There is a Chirche in that stede,
 10 Where Sent George was don to dede.
 And also there is a nother place,
 Wher heled was Eneas
 Of his Pallesey, and mad clere,
 Through Sent Peter Praier.
 As muche pardon thou schalt haue there,
 As I haue tolde of now before.
 After that the Cite of Roma,
 And the Castell of Emus also:
 In the wiche a Chirche dothe stonde,
 20 Where the ij. Discipelez were walk and:
 And metton wit Ihesu after his rysing,
 And knew him by the brede breaking.
 Also in that same place,
 Is the graue of Cleofas:
 Wiche was oon of the too,
 And Sent Luke that other also.
 Then the Cite that a Riamathia hight,
 Where Ioseph was boron that noble Knight:
 That toke Ihesu don of the rode tree,
 30 And Samuel the Prophete there liue hee:
 In alle these placez that bene met here,
 Of Pope Siluester be graunted there;
 vii. yere, and vii. lentonez ther to:
 To alle hem that zeder wull go.
 Now to the Citee of Ierusalem we wull wynd,
 Where of the Sepulcer is a Chirche hynde.
 There in is the Mount of Caluery,
 VVher for our sake Iesu wolde dy.
 There is plenor remission,
 40 To alle hem that zeder wull come.
 Also there fast by is a place,
 VVhere Ihesu Crist anoyntet was,
 Or he was laid in his graue:
 Plenor remission ther maie thou haue,
 And at the Sepulcer wit in,
 Plenor remission maie thou wynn.
 There a place by right nere,
 VVhere Crist was like a gardenere:
 And aperet to Marie Magdaleyne,
 After his uprist, as Clerkez sayn.
 50 Next that place a Chapell there is,
 In the worschip of our Ladie, I wis:
 VVhere Crist to his moder ferst
 Aperet, after his uprist:
 There is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere,
 And in a wyndow fast by there,
 Is a piler of her state,
 To wiche in the house of Pilate
 Crist was bounden to, and kete:
 60 An in the same Chirche is sete,
 The preson that Crist was in sent,
 And the place where thei partyet his vestment.
 At ichon of these placez hir before,
 Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere more.

A Chapell there is of Sent Elene,
 VVhere sche the crose faire, and fyne,
 The crowne, the naylez were founden there,
 And the bened of Longeez spere.
 In that place where thei founde were,
 Is plenor remission alle daiez in the yere.
 In that Chirche a piler is founde,
 To wiche Crist was bounden, and cronnet.
 And in the Chirche where Adam hened was fun,
 Is the middez of the world by resone.
 Alle these ben in that Chirche aboute,
 And iij. Chapelez ther be wit onte.
 The ferst of our Lady, and Sent Ion Euangelist,
 The ij. of the Angelez, the iij. of Ion Baptist:
 The iiij. is of Marie Maydeleyn:
 Deuote placez alle for certayn.
 At alle these placez, to pardon by and by,
 Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez sicurly.
 VVut out the dere of that Mynster,
 Is a place lene, and dere:
 VVhere Crist him rested for wery,
 Beryng his crose for to die.
 There is the riche mannez plate,
 That leit the Lazarus, as Clerkez saiez,
 Dye for defaute of mete,
 There in Helle is made his sete.
 And a waie ther after thou fyndest sene,
 Where a man that hight Symeon,
 VVut the Iewe constraynet was,
 For to bere Cristes crose.
 Then Crist tornet him agayn,
 And to the wymmen thus gan sayne:
 VVepe on youre selfe, and not on me,
 And on your childer wher that thei be.
 A nother place there is at hounde,
 VVhere our Lady fell don sownande:
 Seeyng her son his crose bere,
 Taward his deeth, that dud her dere.
 Also there is ij. stonz white,
 To the wiche Crist restet alite:
 VVut his crose hym selfe to cole,
 And anon after ther is our Lady stole.
 At alle these placez forsade here,
 Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere.
 And fast by is the house of Pilate,
 Wher Crist was brought to full late:
 Bounden, buffetet, and crownet wit thorow,
 Demed to deeth on the moron.
 Azannez the desprite that he had there,
 Is fully remission, and plenere.
 And there is the place, thou maie go in,
 Wher Crist for yaf Madeleyn her synn.
 And also there is Herodez place,
 Hoder Crist was sende as clerkez saiez:
 From Pilate to Herode in scoryng,
 And cladde wit white clothyng.
 Also by a water thou most ga,
 That men calle Probatice Piscina:
 There is the Temple verement,
 Where in our Lady was present:
 And weddet to Ioseph afterward,
 Azan her wille hit was full hard:
 And after that Crist he was,
 Presentet in the same place,
 Llllll

To that holy man Sent Symeon:
 At iche of these places haue ye mounne
 vij. yere, and vij. lentonez therto.
 And Crist was founden in the temple also,
 Disputyng whisly in his sawez,
 Wit the Doctorez of her Lawez.
 A Chirche there is of Sent Anne,
 Where our Lady was boron of that woman:
 Plenor remission is in that place,
 Blessed be Iehsu of his grace.
 After that sone thou fyndest a gate,
 Wher Sent Steuen was ladd out ate,
 To be stoned to his deeth:
 And anon after, a nother stede,
 The gulden zate called hit is,
 Where Crist entred Ierusalem I wis.
 To alle these place who so wuld gon,
 Is vij. lentonez to pardon.
 Now to the vale of Iosophat so fre,
 A faire place there schalt thou see:
 Where Sent Steuen stonet was,
 And the tour of Cedron is in that place.
 Also a gret pece of the crose of Iehsu,
 In that same place is, I trow,
 And serued there for a trugge mony a daie,
 That is the voice in that Contraie.
 A Chirche of our Lady is there also,
 And the graue the sche was in do:
 The pardon of these too placez in fere,
 Is vij. lentonez, and vij. yere.
 And there our Lady beriet was,
 Plenor remission is in that place.
 In Iosaphat the vale befor saide,
 Is the place where Ckrist praied,
 To his fader befor his lideeth:
 vij. yere, and vij. lentonez ben in that stede.
 Then at the Mount of Oliuete,
 There is a Chirche faire, and swete.
 At the gardeyn we wull begyn,
 Where Crist was taken, and bounden in.
 And fast by a place is there,
 Where Petur smot of Malkes ere.
 Also a place there schalt thou see,
 Where Crist said to his Apostlez three:
 Abide hire to hem these he saide,
 Tille I haue ben at my fader, and praide.
 And a place there schalt thou fynde,
 Where the Apostell Thomas of Iynde,
 Had a gurdell of our Lady,
 When sche was boron to heuen on hee.
 A nother place fast by is sette,
 Where Crist upon the Citee wept.
 Also the place is nee by there,
 Where the Aungele did apere
 To our Lady wit the palme, and saide to fore:
 That dai to beauen sche schuld be bore.
 A nother place is not ferr ther fra,
 That men callen there Galelia.
 The xi. Apostlez were gederet there,
 And Crist to hem dude apere:
 At alle these placez here abouen,
 Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez to pardon.
 A nother Chirche is ther by to nemen,
 Where Ihesu stedd vp in to heuen.

What man or woman that cometh there,
 He hath remission plenere.
 After that a Chirche of Iym, and ston,
 Of Sent Marie Egiptian:
 And the Sepulcre of Sent Pelage,
 In a nother Chirche maie you see.
 And in the Mount of Oliuete on hight,
 A place there is that Bethfage hight.
 And of Sent Ion a Chirche there is,
 Where the Apostlez made the Crede I wis. 10
 There is a nother Chirche right hynde,
 Where Crist the Apostolez kened
 The Pater noster for to praie:
 Also there is in the same waie,
 Where our Ladie rest a stage:
 For wery goyng on Pilgrymage.
 There is the Chirche of S. Iame the lesse,
 To whom Crist apperet the daie of Pasch.
 And after in the same place,
 The same beriet he was. 20
 To alle these places to for said,
 Is vij. yere of pardon araied:
 And vij. lentonez I dar well saie,
 Passe we forthe thusse on our waie;
 To the vale of Siloe,
 A faire Well there scholt thou see:
 Wher our Lady Cristez clothez dude,
 When he into the Temple present was.
 There is the well of Siloe,
 VVhere Crist made a blynd man to see. 30
 And a place ther schalt thou see,
 Where Isaias the Prophete so free,
 Of the Iewez sawez he was,
 And beried in the same place.
 Also a Chapell thou schalt see there,
 Where the Apostlez bud hem for fere.
 Also the felde hit is fast by.
 That was bought for penyes xxx:
 For the wiche Crist was solde,
 At ichon of these placez that I haue tolde, 40
 Is to pardon vij. yere,
 And vij. lentonez also in fere.
 Of the Mount of Sion I wull you telle,
 Where the Iewez both false and felle,
 Wold haue raft of the Apostlez wit force,
 Of our Lady the vere, and the tref coorce:
 When thei here bare to her graue.
 Also fast by ther schalt thou haue,
 Where Petur wept, and sore cau rowe,
 That he forsoke his Lord Iesu. 50
 A Chirche of Sent Angel is there beside,
 That was a Palice faire, and wide:
 And Anna the Bischope that place hade,
 To the wiche Crist was ferst lade:
 Examinent, and wit buffetez bete.
 A nother Chirche ther by was sette,
 That is of our Lady, and Sent Saluator,
 And Caiphas place hit was before:
 Where Iewez him bobbed, and dud dispise,
 And Petur there forsoke him thyrez. 60
 In the same Chirche is there also.
 A preson that Crist was in do:
 And in that same place thou schalt haue,
 The ston that laie on Cristez graue.

Where

Where that our Lady abode so,
 xiiij. yere in gret whoo:
 And there fast by sche made a nynde,
 Out of this word when sche schuld wynde.
 There is plenor remission,
 And there fast by is a place anon,
 Wherein Ion the Euangelist,
 Was chosen dere to Iesu Crist:
 And sange a Messe to our Lady.
 10 And fast by is where Sent Mathy,
 Was chosen to the Apostolez:
 And ther is our Lady Oratory Iwis.
 Also there is another place,
 Where Sent Steuen beried was
 The secounde tyme, as clerkez saie ichon,
 Wit Gamaleel and Abibon.
 Deuote places there schalt thou fynde,
 And ther Crist his Apostolez taught full bynde:
 And wher our Lady herd full prechyng,
 20 Of her Sone Iesu, heuen Kyng.
 And yet thou may fynde more,
 Dauid, and Salamon beried there:
 And other Kingez by hem ben cast,
 And the Pasche Lambe ther was rast.
 In ichon of these placez is viij. yere to pardon,
 And viij. lentonez there haue ye mowne.
 Also there is another place,
 Where the Pasche Lambe eten was,
 Wit Ihesu, and his Disciplex infere,
 30 And the Sacrament was made there:
 Plenor remission for sothe ther is,
 And yet another place I wis,
 Where Crist to his Apostolez was lowly,
 Wesche here fete, and made them dry:
 And where he on the Ascencion day,
 Reprouet hem of her febull faie.
 Then schalt thou fynd there full sone,
 The place where the Apostolez ichon,
 Receyuet there the holy Gost,
 40 In the feste of Pentecost:
 Plenor remission ther maie thou wynn;
 Another place is yet wit in,
 Where Crist to Sent Thomas aperet,
 And to the Apostolez, when the gates were speret:
 Where more Sent Iam beded was.
 And yetse is there another place,
 Where Crist aperet to Mariez three,
 And said to hem, Auete.
 vij. yere to pardon be at that place,
 50 And viij. lentonez full of grace.
 Then wull we these to Beethleem,
 That is v. mile from Ierusalem.
 In that waie ther is a place,
 Where the thre Kynges herbaret was:
 And where the sterre aperet to hem.
 And also a Chirche as thei sayn,
 That stondeth in the same stede,
 Where was boron Elias the Prophete.
 And the graue of Rachael;
 60 At ichon of these placez, trust me well,
 Is viij. yere, and viij. lentonez, thertoo,
 To all thaim that theder wull goo.
 Thenn at Beethleem I will begyn,
 And telle the pardon that is therin.

There is a Chirche of our Lady,
 Where Crist was boron full sicurly:
 And the crache that he laie in,
 Plenor remission there maie thou wyn.
 Also there is a deuoute place,
 Where Christ circumciset was:
 And where the sterre waynascet awaie
 From the Kynges, when thei hit saie.
 And the Chapell of Sent Ierome,
 And the graue that he was in don.
 Also ther by schalt thou haue,
 Where the Innocentez were graue.
 There is a Chirche of Sent Nicolas,
 Where Paule, and Eustoce beriet was:
 Thei were Maydonez full sicurly.
 Also ther is a Chirche of our Lady,
 Where the Angele canzt here, and Ioseph also,
 Into Egipt for to go.
 Of the Angele a Chirche is there,
 Where the Angele dud apere,
 To the Schepardez, and to hem saide,
 That Crist was boron of a Maide,
 And the Chirche, or else the graue,
 Of the xij. Prophetis there schalt thou haue.
 And the Mynster of Sabaa
 That was an Abbas, as thei saa.
 At iche of these place who so will go,
 Is viij. yere, and viij. lentonez, thertoo.
 Now here we the pardon of Betany,
 VVhere Lazare dyethet, that is werry:
 The wiche laie ther iiij. daiez deed;
 And Crist raiket hym vp in the same stede
 VVhere he clepet hym out of the graue,
 Plenor remission there maie thou haue.
 There is the house of Symeon that good man
 In the wiche Marie Mawdelyn came:
 On ther Thursdaie wit oynement swete,
 To anoynt Cristez fete.
 And there Martha said these word, i
 For sothe and thou haddest be hir, Lord,
 Lazar my brother schuld not dede be:
 Thi brother schall rise, then said he.
 Also there is the house of Maudelyn
 VVhere sche was when Martha can sayn:
 Our Lord, our Maister, hir cometh hee,
 And Maudelyn suster he calleth thee:
 To iche of these places forsaide,
 Is viij. yere, and viij. lentonez laide.
 Ther ben pilgrimages many mo,
 But I saw non of alle thoo:
 And therfor I make non mention,
 But of the places that I haue gon.
 Then at Flem Iordan I wull take
 Ther of a mention for to make.
 There is a Mynster of Sent Ioachim,
 Fader of our Lady that holy Uirgyn.
 Also the hull hit is thare,
 Wher Crist fasted, the ground is bare;
 xl. daiez witouten wyn,
 Therfor it height Mount Karantyn:
 Plenor remission there maie thou haue,
 On the top of the hull thou must hit crane.
 A place is there the deuile temptet Ihesu,
 And said if Goddez sone be thou,

These stonez into brede brynge,
 At thou maie etc after thi fastyng.
 In other thynges, he temptet him also:
 But we wull tale of Ierico:
 VVhere Crist herbare was,
 In the house of Zaccus.
 Also a place ther by maie be,
 VVhere Crist made a blynd man to see.
 Of Sent Ion Baptyst a Mynster ther is:
 At ichon of these placez, I wis,
 Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez therto,
 To alle tham that theder wull go.
 VVher Ihesu Crist baptizet was,
 Is plenor remission in that place.
 Also ther is a wildernesse homesome,
 VVhere is a Mynster of Sent Ierome:
 And the dede See that is there,
 VVher the v. Citeez drenchet were,
 For sinn that thei dud thanne,
 And be yond flem Jordan,
 Is a full desert place, and wan,
 Of Sent Marie Egiptian.
 To alle these placez, who that wull go,
 Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez therto.
 Of the Hullez of Vrie to telle,
 A while ther for to duelle:
 Ther is a Mynster faire, and free,
 In the wiche place groeeth a Tree,
 That went unto Cristez crose:
 Thus in that Lond hit hath the wise.
 Ther is the house of Symeon,
 That in the Temple was redy bon,
 On Candelmes daie Crist to hent
 Unto his armes, he was present.
 There is a Chirche of Sent Ion Baptyst,
 VVhere our Lady when sche was wit Crist,
 Salute Elizabet here Cosyn dere,
 And said the wordes that folo here:
 Magnificat anima mea Dominum.
 And Zacarias place is ther also,
 VVhere he wrote bothe faire, and welle,
 Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.
 To alle these placez, who that wull go,
 Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez therto.
 Now telle we of the Vale of Mambre,
 And of the placez that about hit be.
 Ther wull I telle a litell thing,
 VVhere was Abrahamez dwellyng:
 VVher that he saie Childeren thre,
 And on for alle worshipping he.
 Passe not thi Seruant in this hete,
 I schall faich water, and waich thi fete.
 And Clerkez sayn, and don us lere
 The first tokynning of the Trinite was there,
 Also there is the Cite of Ebron,
 VVhere Adem, and Abraham in grane was don.
 Isaac and thei ben beried there,
 And alle her wifex wit hem in fere.
 Also fast by there is a place,
 VVhere that Adam formet was:
 And there is the Desert wher Ion Baptyst,
 Dud penance for Ihesu Crist.
 Also the Cisterne see you mounne,
 VVhere that Ioseph Jacob sone,

Wit his brether schuld haue be cast in,
 For dremez, that he redde to hem.
 At ichon of the se placez, what at thou be,
 vij. yere, and vij. lentonez is graunted the.
 Thus to Nazaret let us wynde,
 And telle of that place so hynde.
 Some what to saie that is best,
 Of that pardon that ever schall last.
 In the begynning thou schalt haue a place,
 Where Sent Steuen first beried was:
 After a Castell there schalt thou see,
 That hight Abiera in that Citee:
 Wher our Lady knew he had left her sonn;
 Another Chirche yette fyndest thou son,
 Fast ther by then schalt thou haue,
 The Welle of the Samaritane.
 And the Cite Nebulosa, or Sichar men hit calle
 In the wiche the grane fynde thou schall
 Of Ioseph, that is to fortolde,
 That to the limalitez was solde.
 After that, thou fyndest thenne,
 The Cite that hight Sebastiane.
 There Ion Baptyst in preson was don,
 And after that heuedet full sone.
 There is the Castell of Iehenne,
 Where the x. Lazarez were Inne.
 And Crist hem heled of her sekenes,
 And the Cite of Naym ther by hit is.
 Crist and miraclez in that stede,
 Raised a widow sone from dede.
 Also in the Cane of Galelie,
 Wit in Nazaret that faire Citee,
 There is a Chirche full faire sette,
 Where Gabriel our Lady grett.
 Also in a while thou schalt fynde there,
 Where Crist to his Moder water dud bere.
 Also a faire place is fast by,
 Where the Iewez full spitiuously
 Ihesu bedlyng wold haue don caste:
 And a myddex hem a waie he past.
 At ichon of these placez, befor nemet,
 Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez assignet.
 There is a Hull that hight Tabor,
 Crist was transfigured there,
 From his Manhod, to his Godhede:
 Plenor remission is in that stede.
 There is the Cite that hight Cafarnaum,
 Where Crist mony miraclez hath don.
 The See of Galelie forzete we nought,
 Where Crist mony miraclez hath wrought.
 Also the Cite of Fibiadiis,
 Where Crist calde Mathew Discipull his.
 Also there is a nother place,
 VVhere Archisinagog Doughter was
 VVut Crist raised from the dede,
 And Crist etye wit Mathew brede.
 Yet the Hull maie thou kenne,
 VVhere Crist feede v. m. mene,
 VVut the brede of lounz fine.
 A nother Hull yette fyndest thou rine,
 VVhere that iij. m. men were,
 VVut seven lounz fede there.
 Also the Cite of Sidonne,
 VVhere the woman, dud forth the gon.

And to Crist sche saide full yare,
Blessed be the wombe that the bare.
At iche of these placez leue thou me,
Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez grantet the.
Then telle we of a nother place,
The wiche is called Damace.
Beside Damace ther is a waie,
Wher Iesu to Paule can saie:
Saule, Saule, why folonest thou me?
10 Also a wyndow ther maie thou see,
Where Paule went out when he hym heed:
Also in the same house is keede,
Where that Paule cristenet was,
Of that holy man Ananias.
Also a place ther schat thou fynde,
Where Sent George the Knight hynde,
Fought wit the Dragon for the Maide sake,
And delineret her from wrake.
At alle these placez that I haue tolde,
20 Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez, be thou bolde.
Now telle we of the Mount of Synai,
A full denote place sicurly,
The Cite of Gaza is in that place,
Where Sampson slayn, and beriet was.
In that Mount upon hy,
Is a Mynstor of our Lady:
The Mynstor of the Busche men calle hit,
Wher in the body of Sent Katheryne was put.
Also behynde the hee Autere,
30 Is wher Iesu dud apere,
In that Chirche to Moisie,
When he kept Getro Madan schepe trulee.
In middeze of that Hull is a place,
Where dud his penaunce the Prophet Helias;
In the hye of that Hull, by Clerkez samez,
God gaf to Moises boothe the Lawez:
Written in Tabelez, wit outen misse,
Plenor remission ther hit is.
A Garden ther is without distaunce,
40 Where Onorius dude his penaunce.
Another Hull also is there,
To the wiche Angelez dud bere
The blessed body of Sent Kateryne,
Sche was a holy Virgyn.
Vnder that Hull trust thou me,
There renner the Rede See.
At ichon of these placez, that I haue tolde,
Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez, be thou bolde.
Thuse from Synai wull I skippe,
And telle of the Pilgrimagez of Egypt.
50 These saie I nought, but by herd telle,
Written in a Tabull in the Hull:
Therfor I telle as I hit saie,
VWho that cometh thether be maie a saie.
In Egypt is a Cite faire,
That hight Massar, or ellerz Kare:
In the wiche mony Chirchez be,
And oon is of our Lady:
De Columpna calleth hit is,
60 And Sent Barbara beriet ther is,
There is a water of gret prife,
That cometh out of Paradise:
The wiche is calleth Nilus,
Men of that Land thei saie thuse.
Also ther is a great Gardyn,
Where that the Bawm groeth in.

Also a Mynster there is sette,
Of Sent Anton, and Poule the ferst Heremet:
And of Macary, and other mo,
These from that Cite let vs go.
By the space of iij. daiez Iornay,
There is a Contraie in that waie,
That men calle Menfelcula:
There is a Chirche hight Elmorana,
Where is a Chapell of our Lady.
There sche dwellet vij. yere truly,
Wit Iesu her sone so dere,
And wit Ioseph her Sponse inferre.
In that Chapell on Palme Sondaie,
Of alle Cristen I you saie,
That duellen in Egypt Lande,
Do there her seruice I vnderstande.
The Cite of Alexander in Egypt is,
Where Sent Kateryne was slayn I wis:
And Sent Iohan Elemosmere,
That holy Patriarke is beriet there.
And Sent Mark the Apostell of Crist,
Also he was Euangelist:
There was martired, and to ded don,
And after was beriet ther sone:
And so from thennez to Venece translate.
At ichon of thez placez and thou go ate,
Is vij. yere, and vij. lentonez to pardon,
To alle hem that thether wull come.
Pilgrimagez ther be no mo.
That euer any man dud goe.
But now at my yann turning,
Hereth of our home comyng.
From Ierusalem sothe to sayn,
Euen to Iaff we turnet ayan.
Here we schippet alle to geder,
In the Galias that brought vs theder.
iij. hunderet mile then sailer we,
Unto the Golf of Satelle:
Wiche the Schippe four pardy,
Thei were the worst of Cristianty.
The Pilgrymez bere me gud record,
For, thei tornet vs from bord to bord,
And iij. wikkez I dar well saie,
We myght not skape the Golf awaie:
But up, and don trauerse the See,
By alle the Cost of Turkey.
And on our list hand the Golf was,
As we from Iaff toke the rase.
On Turkey side we saie there,
The hee Hull that hight Mount Clere.
And vnder that Hull hit maie be,
The cheff bened of Synode:
That is a token to schippmen,
Whereby thei the Costez kenne.
And after fully fifty mile waie,
Is a Castell, as I you saie,
The wiche Mirra calleth is,
And Sent Nicolas was boron ther I wis:
And Bischop ther was he made,
And his last ende there he hade:
In his grane he was laid thoo,
And after translate to Ballo,
That is in the Pole Lande,
And there be lithe I vnderstande.
And xx. mile that Castell fro,
Is a Hauen hight Cacabo:

Hit is right depe, and faire of floe,
In alle wedere hit is gude:
For schippez therein to take her rest,
In alle Turkey side hit is the best.
That Hauen tofore, as men said me,
Was some tyme a faire Cite:
And was cristenet as men telle,
Tille gret vengauce vpon hem selle,
For sinn that thei dud in the Toun,
Hem to amende thei were neuer bon.
That Cite was drant for the same case,
Right as Sodome, and Gomore was.
Some wyndowez, and wallex yet ther be,
For I saie hem wit myn ee.
From that Hauen of Cacabo,
On our right hand as we dud go,
xxx. mile by Lond I wis,
To the Castell Ruge hit is:
We sailer therby taward Ierusalem,
And come therby hamard agayn.
And xxx. mile from that Castell,
Is a strong Ile trust me well:
The wiche in the langage of that Lande,
Is callet the vij. benedez, I understande.
What is the cause thei calle hit soo,
For vij. poyntez go out ther fro:
Alle gret Roches, and long ther thei be,
And ferre in sonder men maie hem see.
For a token men hold hem there,
By cause thei schuld by theim faire.

And sixty long mile, and ten,
VVe sailer to the Ile of Rodez then:
And rested ther a litle space,
To confort vs in that place.
And euen from Rodez to Venece,
As I went I come home, I wis.
And come to Padua the Cite faire:
There I rested, and toke the aire.
And from thennez to Castell Limimia,
And so to Bassiayn, ther are Castellez taa.
From thennez to Bononia full euen,
And there we were daiez seuen.
And so forth to Castell Sent Iohan,
And then to Mirandula that foule Toun.
And euen forth to Hostia
Muche Marise ther schat thou in ga.
Then so forth to the Toun of Veron,
The Venyceanez be Lordez of ichon.
Then so forth to Castell Selucian,
And the Blaffard is thi money than.
From that place thou schalt to Trent,
That stony waie most thou beent.
And so forth to the Cite of Merane,
VWhere wyn is plenty to mony ayne.
And then to Mount Sent Nicolas,
VWho is him that waie gas:
For Montez, and Snow, and ile chers,
Failer not there of alle the yere.
So draw the don to Nazaret,
And whaite thi Pike be well sett.

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HONDIVS his Map of Germanie.



And from thennez to Kempton,
 For sothe that is a gud town.
 And then so forth to Memmyng,
 There is the Emperour money walking:
 Like a barre of siluer hit is,
 And lasteth ferre, that maie not myse.
 Then to the cite of Vlme is thi waie,
 And at the Brugge ther most thou paie.
 And so from Vlme to Ofselyng
 And after that to Kipping.
 And so then den to Brushull,
 That muketh men her leggez to pull.
 And from thennez to Duron,
 And then to Spire that rioll town.
 From Spire to Vormez are milez xiiij,
 And so to Mence thou schalt I wene.
 And to Bynge a town upon the Ryene,
 And to Wesell, and Couelence, there is gud wyn.
 And so to Andernak that is thi waie,
 And then to Bun, I dar well saie.
 From thennez to Coleyn that faire cite,
 Ther most thou chaunge thi money.
 And so from thennez to Acon,
 There be hote bates in that town.
 And then to Mastrik I the rede,
 And there new money most thou gette.
 And so forth euen to Disle,
 That waie is wilde, and hit be myste.

And so thou schalt to Macheleyn,
 That is a town booth gud and syn:
 There gothe the money of Braban,
 And that deceiuet mony man.
 And so from Mechelyn to Gaunt,
 Into Flaunderez most thou haunt.
 And so to Burgez that faire town,
 And then to Newport most thou gon.
 And after that to Denkerke,
 And so to Grauenyng most thou linke.
 And to Calys a town full free,
 Thuse at the See-side we bee.
 And for hit is the comyn waie,
 From England to Rome, I will not saie:
 Ne tales make of her gouernance,
 For to all pilgrymez hit is no staunce.
 Then praie ne to the Lord of myghtes most,
 That brought this Pilgryme to Engeland cost.
 His lif to mayntene to his wille,
 In his seruice bothe lounde and stille.
 And when we out of this word schull wende,
 The ioye of heuen be vs sende:
 That is my praior, and schal be aie,
 We may be saued at Domesdaie:
 And so to his blis he vs bringe,
 Iesu that is heuen King:
 And secur therof, at we maie be,
 Saie alle Amen for charite.

CHAP. VI.

The Churches Peregrination by this Holy Land way, and warre into mysticall
 Babylon: or a Myserie of Papall Iniquity reuealed, how the Papall Mo-
 narchie in and ouer Christendome, was aduanced in that Age and
 the following, and principally by this Expedition
 into the Holy Land.

§. I.

The Historie of the Normans, and their proceedings. Of V R B A N and
 B O A M V N D S policie, abusing the zeale of Christendome
 in these Warres: and of Satans loosing after one
 thousand yeares.

50 **H**itherto you haue heard the Monke and the Priest Eye-witnesses of this Expedi-
 tion: the one called Robertus Anglus, the other a follower of Robert the Nor-
 man: and after them the Tyrian Archbishop, and an English Monke. Neither
 let any maruell that in these Peregrinations, dedicated to the English name prin-
 cipally, I omit not the Norman, whose Father and Brethren reigned here, who
 for the hope of the English Crowne forsooke that of Ierusalem being offered, who dyed in Eng-
 land: and what shall I more say? What are Englishmen but in triple respect, Normans or North-
 men? From the North parts adioyning came the first Angles, or Saxons: from thence also the
 Danes, which made the next Conquests: and from these North parts, the scourge of the World,
 Omne malum ab Aquilone (ex Scanza insula que erat quasi officina gentium, aut velut vagina Natio-
 nem, the parts for most part still subiect to the Crowne of Denmarke) the same Danish people
 settling themselves in France, and called Normans, that is, men of the North, after a French civil-
 izing and Christianitie, made their third Conquest vnder Earle William. This three-fold Cord
 cannot be easily broken, nor can any Englishman at this day separate his Norman blood from the
 English, and indissoluble mixture euen from the last conquest remayning in the tongue and peo-
 ple,

Vid. camd. Brit.

w. Gemetic. de
duc. Norm.

History of Nor-
mans.Car. Sigon. de
Reg. Italie l. 8.Normans in
Apulia.Sonnies of
Tancred.Apulia shared
amongst Nor-
mans.A warlike
Pope.Robert Wischard
Duke of ApuliaOccasion of
the Normans
entring Greece.* Car. Sigon. de
reg. Ital. l. 9.* Boamund was
sonne to Rob.
by a former
wife: Roger by
the daughter
of Guaimar
Prince of Sa-
lern.W. Gemetic.
how this Dut-
chie added to
Sicilia became
a Kingdome, is
here omitted.* G. Malm. l. 4.
initio.

ple, the Conquerors vtmost indeuours being herein conquered. A great part of Earle Roberts Ar-
mie was *English*, and as *Eadmerus* and all the Historians of that time testifie, the monie which
defrayed his Armie was *English*, *Normandie* remayning therefore engaged to King *William* his
Brother. Yea, *Boamund* also and *Tancred* were *Normans*: fortie of which Nation returning
from a *Ierosolymitan* pilgrimage, behaued themselues so valiantly at the siege of *Salerne*, against
the *Saracens*, that *Guaimar* the Prince sent Legats with them into *Normandie*, to draw some ad-
uenturers into his part, where *Giselbert* a Nobleman, hauing slaine *William*, and fearing the anger
of *Robert* then Earle or Duke of *Normandie*, embraced the occasion, and with his Brethren
Ranulph, *Aisclitin*, *Osmund* and *Rodulph*, and their followers went into *Italie* to Prince *Pan-
dolph* at *Capua*, Anno Dom. 1017.

Apulia and *Calabria* were then subiect to the *Greeke* Empire, which rather tyrannizing then
ruling, by the *Catapan* or Deputie, *Melus* a principall man perswaded the *Normans* to inuade
his Countrey so to shake of the *Greekish* yoke, and fought foure times with *Bubagan* the *Catapan*,
in the three first battels winning much, which in the fourth at that fatall place of *Canna* hee
lost againe: the remayning *Normans* betaking themselues to *Pandulfe* and *Guaimar*. After this
Maniacus the *Catapan* sent to *Guaimar* to send him his *Normans*, to fight against the *Saracens* in
Sicilia. Lately before (this was, Anno 1039) the sonnes of *Tancred* (inuitd by their Coun-
trimen) had comne thither with three hundred men at Armes, by whose helpe he recovered *Sy-
racuse*, and the most part of *Sicilia*, which after their departure the *Saracens* next yeare repoi-
sessed. Anno 1041. *Arduinus* a *Lumbard* offended with *Maniacus*, for taking from him a Horse
which he had taken from a *Saracen*, incited Earle *Ranulph* a *Norman*, to assist him in the warre a-
gainst the *Catapan*, wherein many fights ouerthrowing the *Greekes*, matters succeeded so pro-
sperously, that *William* one of the sonnes of *Tancred* was made Earle of *Asculum*, *Drogo* his Bro-
ther obtayned *Venusia*, and the rest of *Apulia* was shared amongst the rest of the *Normans*. In
this Expedition, *William*, *Drogo*, *Humfrie*, *Richard*, *Roger*, and *Robert* the Sonnes of *Tancred*
were renowned, of whom many Dukes and Kings in *Italy* after descended. *Henry* the Emperour
confirmed to *Drogo* Earle of *Apulia*, and to *Ranulph* of *Auersa*, all which they had gotten. To
Drogo succeeded his Brother *Humfrie*, 1051. who inuading the possessions of the Church, which
Pope *Leo* seeking to recouer by battell, was beaten out of the field with exceeding slaughter on
both sides, and besieged in a Castle whither he fled, was taken and forced to receiue the *Norman*
into communion.

Baielard the Sonne of *Humfrie*, by *Robert* called *Wischard* (brother to the said *Humfrie*) was
expelled from his Countrey of *Apulia*. He added also *Rhegium* in *Calabria*, and *Troia* in *Apulia* to
his conquests, stiling himselfe Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. His brother *Richard* winning *Ca-
pua*, vexed the confines of *Campania*, and both molesting the Papall Possessions were cursed by
Pope *Nicholas*, who yet vpon their Oath of vassalage to the Church, receiued them and confir-
med the one Prince of *Capua*, the other Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, paying twelue pence a
yeare on euery yoke of Oxen. Anno 1062. *Robert* with his brother *Roger*, warred against the
Saracens in *Sicilia*. *Richard* inuaded a great part of *Campania* neere to *Rome* it selfe, and sought
to become *Patricius*; whereupon *Henry* the Emperour entred *Italy*, and *Richard* forsooke
Campania.

Anno 1078. *Nicephorus* put downe *Michael* from the Empire of the East, who came and
sought to *Robert* for ayde, who being compounded with *Jordan* which had succeeded his Father
Richard, went into *Greece*, and prosperously succeeded. Hence he was called backe by *Hildebrand*,
or *Gregorie* the Seuenth, which before had excommunicated him, to helpe him against *Henrie*
the Empeour then hauing taken *Rome* by force; who hearing of *Roberts* comming with a strong
Armie (leauing *Boamund* to pursue his *Grecian* affaires) went with *Clement* or *Guibert*, his new
made Pope into *Etruria*. Thus was hee dreadfull to the Easterne and Western Emperours at
once. He dyed, Anno 1085. *Roger* his Sonne succeeded. This Historie both as of *Normans*, and
as a preamble to the Expedition of the *Franks*, is not vnworthy recitall.

Roger the younger brother succeeding in the Dukedome of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, as also in
the quarrell of *Urban* successor of *Gregory* against *Guibert* (who also confirmed his Dutchie to
him as Vassall of the Church, the possessions whereof (such good fishing made he in troubled wa-
ters, he had euen to *Tibur* and *Velitre* * gotten into his possession) his brother *Boamund* * be-
gan to thinke of another succession, that as *Roger* had gotten the inheritance of *Calabria* and *A-
pulia*, from the Easterne Empire, he might also obtayne the like in *Greece*. This was not vn-
knowne to the wiser in those times, as *William Malmesbury* * our Countriman testifieth, whose
words are these.

Anno ab incarnatione 1095. Papa Vrbanus secundus, qui presidebat Apostolico culmini, euasis Al-
pibus venit in Gallias. Aduentus causa ferebatur perspicua, quod violentia Guiberti Roma extru-
sus, citra montanas ad sui reuerentiam sollicitaret Ecclesias. Illud repositum propositum non ita vulga-
batur, quod Boamundi consilio penè totam Europam in Asiaticam Expeditionem moueret; ut in tanto
tumultu omnium prouinciarum facile operatis auxiliaribus, & Vrbanus Romam, & Boamundus Il-
lyricum & Macedoniam peruaderent. Nam eas terras & quicquid prateret a Dyrrhachio usque in

Thessa-

Theſſalonicam protenditur, Guiscardus pater super Alexium acquirerat: idcirco illas Boamundus suo iuri competere clamitabat, inops hereditatis Apulæ, quam genitor Rogero filio minori delegauerat. Thus Urbanes intent was to get Rome from the Antipope Guibert or Clement, whom the Imperials and some Italians followed; neither had hee any great partaker in Italie but Roger, who sought his owne aduantage.

Anselme Archbishop of Canterburie was by King Rufus disposſſed of his reuenues, and lined in Exile for acknowledging him, as Eadmerus his companion in his Italian peregrinations to and with Pope Urban testifieth: no Bishop in England then daring to acknowledge either of the Popes without the Kings leaue, who also admitted no Papall power, but by his leaue in this Kingdome (for his and his fathers power in eales and ouer persons Ecclesiasticall, See Eadmerus and the Annotations of that learned and industrious Gentleman, Master Selden thereon, and therewith now published.) And Boamund enioying some Castles by his brothers indulgence, wanne many other, the men of warre following him. Nam ad fratrem specie tenuis Ducatus peruenerat (Malmesbury addeth toward the end of that Booke) alterum bello meliorem secuti. Iam vero parui momenti fuit quod paterni propositi sequax, Guibertum repellens Urbano validissime astutit, & constantem impulit ut Gallias ad Concilium Clari Montis accederet, quod eam Raimundi Provincialis Comititis & Episcopi Caturicensis Epistole inuitabant. Concilioq; celebrato libens occasionem accepit & in Græciam copias traiecit, subindeq; promouens exercitum modestè Raimundum & Godfridum operiebatur. Quibus venientibus sociatus magnum incitamentum ceteris erat, disciplina militaris scientia & virtute nulli secundus.

Eadmerus published by Ma Selden.

This Myſterie hath beene little obserued of most Authors, and was lesse obserued in those times by the zealous Princes of Christendome, whose valour, wealth, deuotion, glory and liues were engaged so deeply in this quarrell, most of all other deuices auailed the Papacie, in abasing the power of Princes Christian.

See how this agreeth with his cunning dissimulation before mentioned.

And well might Urban vse the helpe of Boamund and the Normans in that desigrie, which not only sorted to that expected effect to settle him in Rome, then held by Clement his Corriuall, but to a further aduancement of the Papacie in after times, then either hee or Boamund could then diuineor dreame of. For of the Normans disposition, Henry Huntingdon hath long since giuen testimonie that God had chosen them to exterminate the English, because he saw them eminent above all people in the prerogative of singular cruelty. For their nature is when they haue delected their enemies to the utmost, that they then depreſſe themselves, and bring themselves and their Lands into pouertie and waste: and alwayes the Lords of the Normans, when they haue trodden downe their enemies, seeing they cannot but be doing cruelty, they hostily trample vnder foot their own. Which plainly appeares in Normandie, England, Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and Antiochia, very good Countries which God hath subiected to them. Thus our Historian, and thus our Myſterians Urbanus (then for this disposition called Turbanus) and Boamundus vncharitably seeking their owne, abused the charitie and deuotion of those degenerated times.

Hen. Hunt. lib. 7.

So it was necessary that Myſteries should be carryed in mystie cloudes: which make mee not a little minde that Reuelation not fully reuealed, yet in some imperfect glimpses offering it selfe to view, this Historie vnmasking that Myſterie; or if it bee not the iust interpretation of the Prophecie (a taske too great for me to determine) yet not vnfit to be waied in the ballance of the Sanctuary together, and to be propounded to wiser considerations, at leſt by way of Allegoricall application, if not of Prophericall explication. Saint Iohns myſteriall Reuelation is deliuered in these words. Apoc. 9. 1. And the ſiſt Angell ſounded, and I ſaw a ſtarre fall from Heauen vnto the Earth, and to him was giuen the Key of the bottomleſſe pit. 2. And hee opened the bottomleſſe pit, and there aroſe a ſmoke out of the pit, as the ſmoke of a Furnace, and the Sunne and the ayre were darkened by reaſon of the ſmoke of the pit. 3. And there came out of the ſmoke Locuſts vpon the Earth, and vnto them was giuen power as the Scorpions of the Earth haue power, &c. 7. And the ſhapes of the Locuſts were like vnto Horſes prepared vnto battell, and on their heads were as it were Crownes like Gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. 8. And they had haire as the haire of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of a Lion. 9. And they had breſt-plates as it were breſt-plates of Iron, and the ſound of their wings was as the ſound of Chariots of many Horſes running to battell. 10. And they had tayles like vnto Scorpions, and there were ſtings in their tayles, and their power was to hurt men ſiue monethes. 11. And they had a King over them which is the Angell of the bottomleſſe pit, whoſe name is in the Hebrew Tongue, Abaddon, but in the Greeke Tongue, hath his name Apollyon. After the ſiſt Angel ſounding, followeth the looſing of the foure Angels bound in the great Riuer Euphrates, for to ſlay the third part of men. And the number of the armie of the Horſemen were two hundred thouſand thouſand. And thus I ſaw the Horſes in the Viſion; and them that ſate on them, hauing breſt-plates of Fire and of Iacint, and of Brimſtone; and the heads of the Horſes were as the heads of Lions, and out of their mouthes iſſued Fire and Smoke, and Brimſtone. By theſe three was the third part of men killed, by the Fire, and by the Smoke, and by the Brimſtone which iſſued out of their mouthes. For their power is in their mouth, and in their tayles: for their tayles were like vnto Serpents, and had heads, and with them they doe hurt.

Diners Interpreters will direct in the former of theſe Viſions, to behold the Popiſh Clergie, in

* Ap. 1 ult.
a Col. 3. 1.
b Ephe. 3. 20.
c Heb. 12. 22.
d Ph. 3. 19.

e Sanfoina l. 11
* Sac. Cer. R. E.
l. 1. 8.

Math. 16.

Key of the bot-
tomlesse pit,
and kingdome
of Hell.

Alfredi Epist.
published be-
fore Tho.
Walsingham,
Mat. Par. in W.
1. Clerici adeo
literatura care-
bant, ut ceteris
esset stupori qui
Grammaticam
dedicisset.

Gen. 11.

* Priests had
not power to
kill, till they
had subiected
the secular po-
wer to them.
See Eadmerus
and Nubrigenfis
Writers of
those times.

in the other the Saracenicall Souldiory: both which agree to our present businesse, where Papall superstition, and Saracenicall crueltie begot in strange copulation such numerous innumerable deaths. As for the *Starre* it noteth an Ecclesiasticke Angell, or Bishop, as the Revelation it selfe reuealeth *. This *Starre* is not fixed, but falleth from heauen, the care of *Heauenly* ^a affection, *heauenly* ^b conuersation, and bringing soules by Pastorall vigilancie to the *heauenly* ^c Ierusalem, and *Church of the first borne, whose names are written in heauen*; and falleth to the earth, that is, to minde earthly pompe, and secular glorie, *whose God* ^d *is their belly, whose glorie is in their shame, who minde earthly things*. That the Pope hath euidently done this, their owne Histories make mention; first by *Phocas*, obtaining a Monarchie ouer the Church, and since *Hildebrand* exalting it ouer Kingdomes, States and Empires, and now at this day exercising nothing of a Bishop, but the Title, leauing the Cure to his *Vicario di Roma* ^e, whiles his Cardinall Consistorie are not *Vigiles Ecclesie*, but *Consudices Orbis terrarum, & Principes mundi, regum* ^{*} *similes, veri mundi Car-* dines, and himselfe hath turned *Pasce oues* into *Rege*, and playes the King, and playes with Kings, making and marring Kings and Emperours, and wearing himselfe a triple Crowne: either detaining (as King *Iohns*) or deposing and disposing (as *Henries* to *Rodulph*) or with the foote striking off, (as *Celestine* to *Henrie* the sixt Emperour) or treading also on the Emperours necke, (as *Alexander* to *Fredericke*.) All this power is challenged to the *Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen*, promised to *Peter*, *Math. 16*, in the name of the rest of the Apostles, of whom the question had beene asked, which he in their name answered; and that to shut out impenitents, and to admit those which beleue and repent, by Euangelicall ministry into the house of Gods Church and Family. But neither by word nor Sacraments, publicly, nor priuately, by teaching, improving, exhorting, rebuking, doth he either open or shut, or exercise any proper Episcopall Function: so that the key of power which he hath, must needs bee *this Key of the bottomlesse pit*, whereby Hell is opened, (as here in vision) and Heauen is hidden; both that supercelestiall Heauen of glorie, wherein is the *Sunne of righteousness*; and this inferiour Ecclesiasticke heauen of Grace, and of the Church, which as the *Aire* borroweth her light from that Sunne, or else must needs abide in night and darknesse.

And indeed what are Papall Dispensations and Indulgences, (as we shall anone see) but opening of Hell? What his Crusados to kill and destroy, Interdicting of kingdomes, excommunicating and deposing of Kings, raising warres, seditions, treasons, prohibiting vulgar reading of Scriptures, and the like, but shutting of heauen? These, these are the Papall keyes so much gloried of, keyes of the bottomlesse pit; yea, the key singular to open, and not plurally keyes, as hauing no power to shut that Hell which once he hath opened. Hence arose (by this opening of the bottomlesse pit) that *Smoake of Ignorance*, which bemisted the world (so that in King *Alfreds* daies not one Priest in *England* could vnderstand his Latine Seruice, or translate an Epistle out of Latine into English; and if any in the next Ages had his Grammer, he was a wonder to the rest of the Clergie) caused by *Barbarians*, which filled *Italy*, *France*, and other Countries of Christendome before, with a *Smoake of Confusion* and combustion, whereby the Latine Language was lost in vulgar vse, which continued in their Holies: men in that smooke not able to see what God said to them in his Word, or they to him in their Prayers. Hence a *Smoake of blind zeale* ascending as from a furnace: but as the fire of Hell is fire without light, burning and not shining, such is eager impetuous zeale without discretion, which crucified Christ, and persecuted Christianitie, & in Papists hath much changed them for Antichrist, and Antichristianitie. A *smoake from the bottomlesse pit*, is all vnbrideled Concupiscence, alway fuming from and to Hell; *Bottomlesse* in the originall, without iust cause of beginning; *Bottomlesse* in fine, without causing Iustice in the ending. Pride, Couetousnesse, Enuy, and other Hellish passions, are a *smoake* which ascend, but by ascending vanish; which as in the Builders of *Babel*, seeke a Name, and make as they would build to *Heauen*, but get no other name but *Babel*, and after confused cloudie *Chymeras* (like pillars of smooke in the Aire) vanish to nothing.

Out of this smokie ignorance, and ignorant zeale, and zealous perturbations (the trauels and throwes of the bottomlesse pit) came *Locusts* vpon the Earth, the carnall and earthy minded Bishops, Priests, Cardinals, Abbots, Monkes, and innumerable religious Orders of inordinate Religion: these being wholly superstitious, degenerating into superstition, and turning their heauenly calling into earthly, ease and pompe, and the spirituall seruice of God, into beggerly, worldly, carnall rites and bodily exercises. Thus haue you the Locusts worse then *Egyptian*, such to the soule as those in *Aluares*, and other the former Stories of this Booke mentioned to the bodie, saue that they are limited, and may not (as those) hurt the *Grasse and Trees, and greene things*, that is, such as haue a liuely Faith in Christ. Neither may they kill bodily, but spiritually torment the Conscience with their Canons, Confessions, Penances, Purgatories, Miracles, Visions, and (which most concernes our present purpose) Pilgrimages, and the like. Their *shape is like to Horses*, for their courage and wilfulnesse, Kings and Kingdomes being forced to stoop, both to their old *Mumpsimus*, and to their new *Sumpsimus*; euen the most refractorie or couragious, as *William Rufus*, and the two first *Henries*, conquered in Clergie immunities by *Anselme* and *Becket*, men of great worth in other kinds, but for this accounted Worthies, emi-

nent

ment in the sanctitie of those times, for this honored and Canonized Saints. These the *Crownes on their heads*, or as *Dunstan*, *Eadmund*, and if there were any more *Canterburie* Canonizations: and such Crownes had the heads of Religious Orders, and first Founders and Inuentors of Holies, as *Dominicke*, *Francis*, and others, (and now at last *Ignatius Loyola*) and all the Clergie were crowned with dignitie, in their head ouer-topping Kings, in the meanest Priest exempted from Kings, yea creating his Creator the King of Kings, (that I mention not their shauen crownes, nor the Martyrs crownes which befell Priests or Laitie, dying in this *Ierosolymitan* Peregrination, or in fight against Christians, against whom the Pope had published his *Crusado*.)

But these Crownes were *like Gold*, not of it, the Pope herein the best Alchymist, extracting
 10 true Gold out of Leaden Bulls, but distracting and contracting shewes of Gold, seeming Canonizations, and sanctitie in shew and sound of holy Church, rather then true holinesse: yea, the holy name of Church appropriated to these shauen crownes, by Popish Monopoly. Yet were the shewes made faire, and in all their actions they *had the faces of men*, in resemblance of iust reason and resolution; insomuch, that as when I looke on the Scripture onely, I wonder how there could bee any Papist, so when in Histories and the courses of times, I looke vpon the Church, especially after *Hildebrand*, I as much wonder that all were not Papists, the smoake had so taken away the light of the Sunne, and the Pope set vp so many Night-lights of humane reasons, and Treasons or Traditions in Canon Law and Schoole Diuinitie. Yea they had also
 20 the haire of Women, in insinuating impressions, and melting rauishments of flattering perswasions, promised pleasures of Paradise, dazeling pomps in the present, and for the future, Merits, Supererogations, deliueries from Purgatorie, Relikes of Saints, Reuelations, Miracles, & a world of the like; which this Historie of the Holy Land sheweth sufficiently, and a Map of which you may see in *Vrbans* elegant Oration, and *Boamunds* cunning dissimulation. Their teeth were as teeth of Lions, in preying vpon Temporal Lands, Liberties, Iurisdiccions, and Spirituall deuouring of soules. Their Iron Breast-plates, were their defensue immunities and exemptions, whereby they were hardned and heartned against all contrary powers.

The sound of their Wings, was their preaching of Indulgences, thundering Interdictments, and Excommunications, Penances in Confessions, and the like. Their Tails, were the consequences of their Doctrine and Actions, which promising satisfactions to God and Man, yea
 30 Merit and Supererogation, the honoring of Saints and Angels, in the fore-part: in the end stung like a Scorpion, filled the soule of their most deuoted with disconsolation, the body with grievous bodily exercises in Fastings, Pilgrimages, (as here) selfe-whippings; *Euer learning, neuer coming to the knowledge of the truth*; giuing reall possessions, and bequeathing true beggerie to their heires, for deliuerance from a Poeticall Purgatorie; crucifying themselues indeed before a painted Crucifixe, buying repentance at a deare rate, and making more irksome way to Hell (if Gods infinite mercy preuented not) then that by which many haue attained Heauen. Their King is the *Angell of the bottomlesse pit*, (you see whose Vicar he is indeed) and is named in *Hebrew* and *Greeke*, as hardning the *Jewes*, and corrupting *Christians*; or as restoring both *Jewish* rites and *Gentile* superstitions, in both a *Destroyer*. The five moneths some interpret of this life, some
 40 alluding to the Grasse-hoppers Summer season; some to *Noahs* floud, so long preuailing ouer the Earth; some to one hundred and fiftie yeares, taking a day prophetically for a yeare, and reckoning from *Hildebrand*, to *Gregorie* the *Decretalist*; some for an indefinite time, some for a short time: as if they should say, *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father* Acts 1. 7
hath put in his owne power. I haue rather sought to lay open their qualities then their durance: as for the time, Time will deliuer it.

Now for the other Vision of *four Angels*, bound in the great River *Euphrates*; some vnderstand *Euphrates* mystically, for the meanes of vpholding and aduancing the Merchandize of mysticall *Babylon*, that is of *Rome* and her Poperie: Indeed foure hath beene a famous number, for the foure Gospels, for those foure first generall Councils, for the Ecclesiasticke Aristocracie
 50 by the foure Patriarchs, (the fift was in manner titular) for the foure Doctors of the Latine Church: also foure hath beene notable in this Papall mysterie and Supremacy; first in the ages thereof, the Child-hood from *Boniface* to *Hildebrand*, in a spirituall Monarchy, long growing vp; the Youth from *Hildebrand* to *Boniface* the eight, in addition of power, ouer all powers Royall and Imperiall, with youthfull vigour trampling vnder foote the strongest Aduersaries; the *Mans* age from thence till *Luther*, losing somewhat of that King-awing strength, by schismes amongst themselues, and by Councils*, Kings and Kingdomes better opportunitie and vigilance; but holding vp to the vpmost their spirituall, till *Luther* gaue beginning to their old declining age, and thus their almost precarian and obnoxious power, which by leaue of Kings and States they hold, howsoeuer in seeming aboue them. *Four* Courses haue aduanced and vpheld
 60 them, *Excommunications*, (to which interdictments of Kingdomes, and deprivations of Kings are annexed) *Decretall* Lawes and Constitutions to gouerne the Church; *Warres* by *Crusados* and Treasons, and *Inquisitions* against contrary opinions. *Four* sorts of men haue beene their Creatures and Creators; degenerated Monckery of later ages, which vndermined the ancient sanctitie and discipline, *Canonists* which wholly corrupted it; *Schoole-men* which admitted

* As those of Constance, Basel, &c. so in the Statute of Praemunire in Rich. 2. c. 6.

mitted the Philosophers to bee Masters in Diuinitie, and *Friers* which occupied both Churches and Palaces in new and meerely Papall hypocrisies and priuiledges. And since, the reuenues of *Poperie*, as we shall by and by see, are *foure*, Temporalties, Collations of Benefices, Indulgences, and Dispensations.

But I rather like their Interpretation, which apply these foure to the Angels of destruction, which literally haue beene loosed from *Euphrates* vpon the Christian world, and indeed destroyed the third part of Christian men with bodily death. For presently after *Boniface* the Pope had obtained his Supremacy of *Phocas*, *Mahomet* arose with his new Sect in the East; the one with Locusts, (whereof you haue heard) to corrupt the soules; the other with Horses in his Successors, to destroy the bodies of men. And these Angels of destruction haue beene many 10
waies foure. First, in the foure Doctors, Authours of the foure Sects of that irreligious Religion. For *Mahomet* hauing taken *Mecca*, created foure Generals, *Ebubezer*, *Omar*, *Osmen*, and *Ali*; whom he called, the *foure sharpe Swords of God*, and commanded them to goe into the foure parts of the world, to kill such as resisted. After *Mahomet*'s death, these foure successiue-ly succeeded. These may be called foure Angels, as the *foure Doctors of the Mahumetan Law*, (so they are vsually stiled by the *Mahumetans*) and reckoned Saints in their Kalender; whom they say *Mahomet* had prophesied should succeed him, who also fained his Law receiued from the *Angell Gabriel*. These were Authours of *foure Sects* also, *Ali* or *Hali*, of the Sect *Imemia*; *Osmen* of the Sect *Baanesia*, *Homar* of the *Anesia*, *Ebubezer* of the *Melchia*. These foure in their succeeding Generations, haue bin sent out from neere the parts of *Euphrates*: where before they may be said to be bound, because that howsoeuer *Chosroes* or some others at some start, or aduantage 20
passed ouer, and did hurt to the *Roman* Empire, (then the most flourishing part of the Church) yet did they not continue any long space, or much preuaile on this side *Euphrates*, that being the boundary, as it were appointed of God, betwixt the *Roman* and the *Parthian*, and after, betwixt the *Roman* and *Persian* Empires. But after the *Mahumetans* had once appeared from *Arabia*, which *Euphrates* washeth, they in one Age ouer-ranne *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Palestina*, *Persia*, yea ouerwhelmed *Africa*, quite thorow to the Streights, and all *Spaine*, with many other Countries*, neuer after recouered to the Empire. And as they began with foure Angels in foure Sects, and conquering to the foure Winds: so there haue beene of them foure principall Deluges, each from *Euphrates*, onerwhelming the world. That we reckon the first, in that Saracen- 30
nicall Age: the second, that of the *Turkes*, which vnder *Belphebr* tooke *Diogenes* the Greeke Emperor prisoner, and conquered in manner all the Countrey to *Constantinople*, the occasion of this *Ierosolymitan* expedition, and consequently, of killing the third part of men, dwelling in remote Countries which they had not seene, but came to the Holy Land as the publike slaughter place and Shambles of the Christian world: in which it is remarkable, that the two *Calypas* of *Bagdet* and *Cairo*, one on the one side, the other on the other of *Euphrates*, otherwise dissenting, consented yet like *Herod* and *Pilate*, to kill Christ again in his members, and to perpetrate those butcheries, yee haue read of in the former Relations. And let the vnderstanding Reader examine the *Roman* Stories, and see if in aboue sixe hundred yeares from *Romulus* forward, there was so much *Ethnicke* blood spilt on both sides, to purchase the *Roman* Monarchie, as here in 40
much lesse then the third part of that time, was occasioned to be spilt by the *Romish* Hierarchie: on both sides shall I say? Or may I make the question, euen of that which was meerely Christian of the Easterne and Westerner beleeuers? And the third ouerflowing, was of the *Tartars*, at first not *Mahumetan*, yea destroying *Bagdet* and the *Calypha*, and enemies to mankind in generall, but after prouing, and still continuing in greatest part *Mohumetan*. These did almost roote out the Christianitie of the greater *Asia*, and erected the greatest Empire (not with best bloodshed) that euer was: yea, they not onely ouer-ranne the Christians, as farre as *Poland* and *Russia*, *Hungaria* and *Germany* by themselves, but forced the *Chorosmines* out of *Persia*, (which as you haue heard gaue the fatall blow to the Christians in the Holy Land) and rooted out the *Turkish* Kingdome there, and forced them also to inuade the Christians, founding in the Christi- 50
an ruines the *Aladine Turkish* Kingdome in *Natolia*, and enforcing ouer *Euphrates* the Progenitors of *Ottoman*, from whom beginneth our fourth *Epocha*, and that fourth Deluge of the *Turkish* Nation, which hath deuoured such worlds of Christian flesh. The Warres also of these peoples, haue beene principally by *Horses*, neither doe I thinke the number expressed of two hundred Millions is any whit hyperbolicall, if we consider the innumerable Armies of innumerable Horse-men, which they haue in diuers times burthened the World withall. That of the *Tartars* alone, if Authors report truly, easily makes credible that incredible number. The later expedition of the *Tartars* vnder *Tamerlane*, how monstrous doth it seeme?

Also, *Their Horses hauing power in their mouthes and tailes*, agrees to the manner of Warre vsed by those Nations, which vsed a conioyned flight and fight, as before yee haue read, that 60
euen then when they seemed to flye, they had *Serpent headed tailes*, and did flee but in cunning sleight, to returne to greater mischiefe, shooting also as they fled, and wounding their pursuers.

And as the number of foure, so sitteth their foure Doctors, foure Sects, foure Deluges; so also

See my Pilg. l.
3. c. 2. §. 2.

* See my Pilg.
l. 3. c. 7.

* See vbi sup. l.
3. c. 2.

See of the
Tart. my Pilg.
l. 4. c. 11. and 12.
and after fol.
in this Worke
in Haiton, M.
Polo, &c.

See T. H. p. 76.

so haue they had foure principall places of residence, neere to *Euphrates*, *Mecca* still hallowed in their profane Rites, the seate of *Mahomet* and his first Successors. After that *Damascus* (for *Ierusalem* continued not their Imperiall residence) and after that *Bagdet*, to which by a contrary faction was opposed *Cairo*, succeeding herein to *Cairoan*, as that to *Tunis*.

Likewise, foure great Nations doe still obserue these *Eufreatan* Angels, the *Turkish* (to whom the huge *African* tracts haue some reference) the *Persian*, the *Tartars* (the chiefe of which is now seated in *India*, the *Mogol* successor of *Tamerlan*) and the *Indian* (in many smaller and specially maritime Kingdomes) depending for their Faith and Scepter of the *Arabians*, which beginning with Trade proceeded to Conquest. But more then enough of these things. Wherein we see all plainly agreeing to this warring Religion, as in the former to the *Romish* Locusts; in both perhaps rather intimating the danger to Christians by both Angels (the one corporall, the other chiefly spirituall) then their time: both which wee see haue continued so long a time, and spread so farre, that they thereby, the *Moore* aswell as *Papist*, plead Catholike from Vniuersalitie.

See before
Finches Iouri-
nall.
Apoc. 20. 1.

Yet if we will weigh the time, when both were likely to doe Christendome most harme, and like *Samsons* Foxes looking contrarie, held a *fierie coniunction in their tails*, to set the World on fire; this Angell of the bottomlesse pit, puts vs in minde of another Angell which came downe from heauen, hauing the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand, And hee laid hold on the Dragon that old Serpent, and bound him one thousand yeeres. And cast him into the bottomlesse pit, and shut him up and set a seale vpon him, that he should deceiue the Nations no more till the thousand yeeres should be fulfilled, and after that he must be loosed a little season. This is not a falling starre, but an Angell which descends; euen Christ himselfe (which is called the Angell of the Covenant) and hath the keyes of Hell and Death, which entreth into the strong mans house and binds him (as *Primasius*, *Andreas Casariensis*, and other interpreters doe agree) that hee should not seduce the Nations or Church of the *Gentiles*, as before in a generall defection and idolatrie. But after that thousand yeeres expired, he should be loosed, not so long as in the *Gentile* superstitions, nor all so farre, but exchanging those prophane Idoll names (with greater wrong to Gods holy Angels and Saints) should in holier Names and shewes restore those *Heathen* Rites, Lights, Images, and other will-worships of Angels and dead men. Now, for a thousand yeeres after Christ, the state of Christs Church, though it were still after the primitiue golden Age somewhat declining, as the Fathers and Ecclesiasticall Histories shew: Yet in substantiall and fundamentall points it continued sound, as Bishop *Iewel* in the mayne points of Controuersie hath shewed for fixe hundred yeeres, and Bishop *Usher* for the foure Ages following, although these were much more corrupt then those former. *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*: and it is true of mysticall *Rome* also, that it was not built in one day. But I had rather the Reader should examine this point in Bishop *Usher* his learned worke, *de Christ. Eccles. Success. & Statu*. I am more then enough busied in our Holy Land pilgrimage.

Mal. 3.
Apoc. 1.

See D. Vsher
de C.E.S. & St.

Cedrenus mentions diuers starres fallen, one *An. 1033*. which made a noise in the fall (*cum sonitu & fragore*) and another the next yeere, which in the night made so great a light, that people thought the Sunne had risen. He mentions also terrible Armies of Locusts, which brought miserable famine ouer those parts: as if God by visible signes would then warne men to obserue these mysticall predictions, when they were to worke their most complete effects. The like is mentioned in the West by *Floriacensis* and others. An earthquake at *Ierusalem* destroyed many buildings, and men, continuing fortie dayes. The Temple of the Sepulchre had a little before beene razed by *Azims*, whose sonne permitted the reedifying thereof, and presently there resorted innumerable numbers; first, of the meanest; after of the meane sort, after of Kings, Prelates, Earles; and lastly, of women both noble and base. And when some questioned what this might signifie, it was answered, the comming of Antichrist. Once; from the thousandth yeere after Christ, till *Hildebrands* time, *Anno 1073*. hapned more frequent and prodigious signes in Heauen, Locusts, Famines, &c. on earth, then euer we read of, as *Glaber* and other Historians haue recorded.

Glaber. Rodolph.
l. 4. c. 6. hist. sei
temp.

And for those *Hierosolymitan* Pilgrimages in such numbers, what did they else but make way to these bloudie expeditions, after that *Peter* the Eremite had receiued a reuelation thereof. Neither is it likely, that this reuelation was from any but the Deuill (so many superstitious reuelations, then more plainly arguing this loosing of Satan) which is a *liar and murtherer from the beginning*, and can turne himselfe into an *Angel of light*, as appeareth by his fore-mentioned vanitie, by the monstrous impietie of his followers, in sacrileges and all abuses to God and Men, in almost idolatrie to himselfe. Whose attempts at *Ierusalem*, whatsoever lustre they sparkle forth, yet wanted not some sparke of Hell, in that they were so died in bloud, corrupted with spoiles, corrupting with superstition, and with neglect of their æconomicall and politicall calling. Christ himselfe had said, the true worshippers would shewship the Father, not at *Ierusalem*, nor in that Mountayne, but in spirit and truth: for God seekes such to worship him. And although I denie not that a place dignified with holy actions or passions, may bee a Place to the memorie and affection exciting holinesse, yet for Religion of place to leaue or neglect our place and calling

M m m m m m

in

Greg. Nys. de ijs
qui adeunt Hie-
rosol.

Sulp. Sen. l. 2.
Beda in Mar. 13.
&c.

Dodechinus,
Guibertus,
Albertus Aq.
&c.

Quicquid age-
bat seu loqueb-
quasi quiddam
subdiuinum vi-
debatur, praefer-
tum cum etiam
de eius mulo pili
pro reliquijs ra-
perentur, Guib.
hist. Hier.

1. Cor. 14.
Rom. 13.

So Eadmerus
which was his
keeper of
them, l. 4.

in Religion, is superstitious; and to ascribe sanctitie to the place, is *Iewish*. Gregorie Nyssene hath written a whole Epistle against such *Hierosolymitan* Pilgrims, alledging, that it is neither commanded, nor is God present, or the holy Ghost any more there then in other places of Christendome; yea lesse, because more iniquitie is there committed, in no place more nor more abominable: that himselfe had beene there, but in the Churches affaires, and made this benefit thereby to know that their owne were more holy; with other like passages against that superstitious passage. Which might better be spoken of these Worlds of men, which trauelled nothing from themselves and their vices in this Pilgrimage, as the stories testifie: yea *Vitriacus* Bishop of *Achon*, tells of the Christians which liued at *Ierusalem*, as if they were the worst in all the world. And what else were the Templers, and other their chiefe Warriours, but such as were, *The neerer the Temple, the further from God*, verifying that prouerbe, *Calum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*? The Ancients thought that God suffered *Ierusalem* before to bee destroyed, for the further propagating of the Catholike Church, which liueth and walketh by Faith and not by sight: *id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis seruitus à libertate fidei atq, Ecclesia tolleretur*. And sure, iust one thousand yeeres after this ruine of the Temple liued *Hildebrand*, who began the Monarchie of the Church, in the deposing of Kings, which nothing euer so much effected as this disposing them first to serue the Crosse, and after the Crosse to serue to depose them. It saouours somewhat of the Deuills loosing, that they which are called *Gods*, hereby were so loosed from their charges, and their charges or subiects by *Crusados* loosed from them, loosed against them. *Mirabilis spiritus*, (saith *Dodechinus Abbas* in his Appendix to *Marianus Scotus*) *illius temporis homines impulit ad illud iter aggrendum*. A meruailous spirit (the loosed Dragon, it seemeth) moued the men of that time. For women vsed mans habit and went armed. And he saith, that *Peter* the Eremite carried about a Scroll, which he said, was fallen from Heauen, commanding men hereto. Men, Women, and Children followed him, so as Kingdomes were void of *Gouernours*, Cities of *Pastors*, Streets of *Inhabitants*. They began their bloudie and disordered out-rages vpon the *Jewes*, and after that vsed like hostilitie against the *Christians* in *Hungarie* (which had shewed them kindnesse) and other places as they passed, besides their vncleannesse, fornications, and abominations amongst themselves. *Albertus Aquensis* addeth; Bishops, Abbots, Monkes, Clergie-men, Nobles, Princes, and all the vulgar, aswell chaste as incestuous, Adulterers, Homicides, Theeues, Perjured, Robbers, and all the kind of Christian profession, and the Woman-kind led with penance (the fruits of which their Expedition declared) runne together at *Peters* preaching this way. He tells that Christ appeared in vision to *Peter*, bidding him carrie from the Patriarke, *Letters of our Embassage*, and thou shalt rayse the hearts of the faithfull to purge the holy Places of *Ierusalem*, and to restore the seruices of the Saints (officia Sanctorum.) For now by perils and many tentations, the gates of *Paradise* shall be opened to the Elect and Called. *Leonem ex ungue*. You may know by his Offices of Saints what Christ this was, and what *Paradise* is now set open, as also by *Peters* peoples proper successe, which being fortie thousand, and the first that went, after much villanie, perished by *Christian* and *Turkish* swords before the rest could come, not aboue three thousand being left. *Godscake* Priest, led fiftene thousand with like successe.

But aboue all, they were so superstitiously deuoted to *Peter*, that whatsoeuer hee said or did, was held subdiuine, and they plucked off his Mules haire for Relikes (his hypocriticall abstinence, *Robert* the Monke hath before told you.) These are the words of *Guibert* an eye-witnesse, which neuer saw man so frequented with multitudes, so enriched with gifts (which he bestowed on his followers) so applauded for sanctitie. And which more encreased the wonder (he calls it a miracle) victuals being that yeere very deare, yet men sold their goods cheape to buy provisions deare for that way of *God*, as it was called. Yea, the men which to day laughed at men for this distracted deuotion, to morrow were suddenly possessed with like instinct, and imitated those whom they had derided. Children, saith he, old Wiues, tender Virgins, trembling old Men, deuoted themselves to warres and Martyrdome: poore men carrying their small substance in Carts with their little ones, which asked at euery Towne if it were *Ierusalem*. These and much more shall you read of the generall confused raptures of that Age. *Fulcherius* hath told you of sixtie hundred thousand, which vnder-tooke the way, most of which repented, or dyed, or were forced to stay. God is not a *God of confusion*: & *qua à Deo sunt, ordinata sunt*. These confusions preach *Babylon*, and these raptures, strange instincts, strong, impetuous, mad zeale, reuelations, and all abominations in all places, plainly proclaime that *Hell* was broken loose indeed: and the crye of bloud, and exaltation of superstition in Reliques, and the like crye out, that Satan was loosed.

When I read that *Anselme* esteemed the *Alpha* of his times for learning and sanctitie, gaue so light credit to receiue two haire, brought by a Souldier of *Boamunds* companie from those parts, with great ioy and reuerence, and to keepe them with great veneration, as two of the haire which the blessed Virgin plucked from her head at the Crosse in the time of the Passion: (two others the Bishop of *Roan* receiued with a long Procession of Monkes, Canons, Priests, People, with the greatest honor.) What may we thinke of the vnlearned vulgar? Yea, his iudgement of Relikes

- likes *Eadmerus* describeth, vpon occasion of a Bone, said to be of *Prisca* the Martyr, giuen him, whom desiring more, *Anselme* restrayned, saying, that *her body cannot bee entire so long as this Bone shall be wanting. Wherefore if thou shalt keepe it worthily, and shalt serue the Lady whose it is with what deuotion thou canst, shee will accept the gift of thy seruice as thankfully as if thou shouldest serue her whole bodie.* Of the Crosse you haue alreadie read, vpon what ground it was receiued (a superstitious *Surians* report, as the former on a Souldiers) how obserued and serued, and consequently how multiplyed. Once, Reuelations caused adoration at Reliques, Crosse, Images, Pilgrimages, and the like; that is, the Deuill was loosed a thousand yeeres after Christ, to seduce the Nations as before, to Ethnike idolatrie and superstition, all things fitted to Heathenish splendor, and himselte with signes and lying wonders, working effectually in the children of disobedience; Ethnisme in Rites and worthips being restored, but Palliated with Christian names and shewes. A thousand yeeres * had passed after Christ, before the Reall Presence was decreed (more before Transubstantion, Eleuation, Adoration, Communion in one kind) before the Cardinals grew Kings fellowes, the Election of the Pope being deuolued to them; before Canonists, and Schoolemen, the issues of *Lumbard* and *Gratian*, before exemptions of the Clergie from Kings, before Kings became Subiects to the Pope, before there were any Friars, before religious Orders were so diuided, inbdiuided, multiplyed; before Indulgences, Iubilees, Canonizations, legall power of Decretals, Generall Councils of all Christendome called and ordered by the Pope, before marriages wholly prohibited the Clergie, before Saturday made our Ladies day, before Crusado's, Interdictments, Inquisitions, and other carnall and spirituall Monsters of crueltye. A thousand yeeres had passed before this present face of Poperie had once seene the World, or the World it; which after that time of the Deuils loosing by degrees crept in, euen the moderne Councell of *Trent* adding many things, and many things still added occasionally by Papall Constitutions to Popish faith. The smoke from the bottomlesse pit darkned the light of the Sunne to humane eyes: and this Papall Moone is euer in change, the Scriptures, as Cardinall *Cusanus* writes, altering their sense also with the practice & interpretation of the Church. Now indced was the time when Antichrist was ascended his Throne, which had beene closely conceiued in former and better times; for euen in *Pauls* time the mysterie of iniquitie did atreadie worke, when some preached Christ of enuie and strife, when the Pastors did not naturally care for the state of the Flocke, with a genuine, Fatherly and Pastorly regard; but all sought their owne and not the things of Christ; and that in *Rome*: so that whereas charitie seeketh not her owne, and God is charitie, and he that dwelleth in charitie dwelleth in God and God in him, the Deuill had no fitter meane to vnder-mine the Faith, then by diuerting charitie, peruerting and subuerting it with selfe-loue and ambition. Which seedes lay hidden (onely now and then some motions and springings, as it were, in the wombe of the *Roman Church*, by some proud and wicked Popes testified both conception and quicknesse) till by *Phocas* his Mid-wiferie Antichrist was borne, aboue fixe hundred yeeres after Christ, and grew vp by degrees to further maturitie, till a thousand yeeres were expired, and the Deuill was againe loosed in the Sea of *Rome*.
- These thousand yeeres, after some were expired in the thousandth yeere, when *Syluester* the second was Pope, who had attayned the Seate by compact with the Deuill, according to whose equiuocating Oracle he lost it and his life, saying Masse in *Ierusalem*, a Chappell so called, which he vnderstood of the Holy Citie. The common expectation of those times was of the Deuils loosing and the Worlds end, but seeing no such matter (for this was a mysterie, in which men could not see Wood for Trees) they fell euery where on worke with building of glorious fabrikes of Monasteries and Churches. Of which *Hilaries* words deserue memorie: *Caute Antichristum. Male enim vos parietum amor cepit, male Ecclesiam Dei in tectis adificastis, veneramini: male sub his, pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est in his Antichristum esse sessurum?* *Wickliffe*, *White* and *Luther*, with others of later times, haue applyed the loosing of Satan to that time. *Otho* the Emperour gaue eight Cities to this *Syluester* in *Marca Ancona*, for his more Papall Port.
- Others begin these thousand yeeres from Christs Passion, at which time another Coniurer *Theophylact*, called *Benedict* the ninth, was Pope, made at ten or twelue yeeres of age: at which time Authors tell strange reports of deuouring Locusts in the East and West, and of a portentuous Dragon, appearing of a mile in length, huge bignesse, dreadfull with horrible scales, hissing, coldnesse, colours, without legs and feet, as *Arnolphus* an eye-witnesse testifieth, ending in terrible thunders all that day (the Friday seuen-night after Whitsontide) and the next.
- Others referre this loosing of Satan to *Hildebrands* time, another famous Sorcerer, so stiled (and therefore deposed) not by *Benno* alone, but by a whole Synode of Bishops, Anno 1080. He brought in the doctrines of *Denills*, forbidding the Clergie marriage (which caused great tragedies) and appointing Saturday fasts. Once, hee exalted the Papacie and Romish Church to freedome, wealth, temporall Reuenue, to rule ouer all secular Rulers, to be Lady of all Christians, from whom the right of this great, euer-dreadfull and venerable, and almost infinite power (they are the words of *Onuphris*) hath proceeded. He first deposed the Emperour, and he tooke order for exalting this *Urban* * the second (the second *Turban* or *Hildebrand*) to the Seate. As for the man-

* Of the ac-
cesse to Papall
power in that
Age by *Hilde-
brands* decrees,
&c. See D.
Vsh. ubi sup.

Card. Cus. E-
pist. ad Bob.

Phil. 1. & 2.

1. Cor. 13.
1. Job. 4.

Of this loosing
of Satan, see
D. *Vshers* book,
de *Christ. Eccles.*
success. & statu.

Hil. cont. Aur.
Artian.

* *Wicliffe* the
next Pope li-
ued but a little
while.

ners of those times how degenerate they were, all the Authors which then writ, yea *Tyrius* the most famous Writer of these Holy Land warres, haue deliuered them beyond all parallel of all Ages for *crueltie, oppression, ignorance, treason, and all abominations of desolation; and like Priests like People*. Let the Reader see these things more fully handled in Doctor *Vshers* learned worke. As for those which begin the Devils binding at *Constantines* time, and loosing with *Boniface*, one thousand and three hundred yeeres after Christ, they doe not well consider that from *Gregorie* to *Boniface* there was more effusion of Christian blood, then had beene all the times of the ten Primitiue Persecutions; not onely by *Turkes, Tartars*, and ciuill warres amongst the Christians; but also by occasion of the Warres called Holy, both in the millions which perished in them, and other millions by them through Indulgences against Emperours, Kings, Prin- 10 ces, States, *Albigenses* and all the Opponents whatsoever. And what are seuentie to a thousand, whethersoever of these three opinions be followed?

¶ II.

Of the foure meanes which Popes haue to get monies: Of the two first, their Temporalities and Collations of Benefices.

Hist. concil. Trid. l. i. published in Italian, and Latm, and Englished by Master Brent.

Car. Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. 3. A. D. 726.

Sig. l. 4.

Onuph. in vita Greg. 7. col. 271, 272. see Auentine, and diuers Authors, cited by D. Vsher, ubi sup. * Sigeb. Chron. hec sola nouitas, ne dicam heresis &c. Otho Fris. lego & relego Rom. regum & imp. gesta & nusquam inuenio ante &c. Otho Fris. Chron. lib. 6. in fine & prol. 7. Vid. lib. de vita Henr. written by one of that time, Malmfb. l. 3. de Reg. Ang.

Ranciscus Soderinus Cardinall of Volterra, a man versed in the troublesome affaires of 20 the Papacies of *Alexander, Julius* and *Leo*, could counsell *Adrian* that reformation of manners was not the way to extinguish Heresies, rayfed against the authoritie of the Church of Rome; but *Crusado's*, by exciting Princes and People to roote them out; that thus *Innocent* the third oppressed the *Albigenses*, and the succeeding Popes the *Waldenses, Picards, Lionists, Arnoldists, Speronists* and *Patauines*: that likewise many German Princes if they might haue leaue to seise on the States of *Luthers* fauourers, would greedily embrace the condition; and many might bee caused to follow them by Indulgences. Neither could any reformation be made without diminishing the Rents of the Church, which hauing foure Foun- 30 taines, the one Temporall (the Rents of the Ecclesiasticall state) the other three Spirituall, Indulgences, Dispensations, and Collations of Benefices; none of them could be stopped, but that one quarter of the Reuenues would be cut off. You see here the foure Riuer of the Popes Paradise, the foure feete of the Beast, all which had either their beginning of being, or strength at least to support it about these times. For as for the Temporall Reuenues, their originall is deriued from the rebellion rayfed against *Leo Iconomachus*, whom for abolishing Images, Pope *Gregorie* the second excommunicated, *ac mox Italie populos Sacramenti* (they are the words of *Sigonius* the Popes Histori- 40 an) *quo se illi obligauerant religione exoluit, & ne ei aut tributum darent, aut alia ratione obedirent, in dicit*. Thus the People rebelled, killed the Emperours Lieutenants and swore subiection to the Pope. *Ita Roma, Romanusq; Ducatus ad Rom. Pontificem peruenit*. So did Rome and the Roman Dukedome accrue to the Pope by treason (or by leasing, for *Onuphrius* a Papall Antiquarie esteemes it a tale) and hauing chruied so well by treason at home, he fared much better by like arts 40 elsewhere: the French, by the Popes counsaile enthronizing *Pipine*, and deposing *Chilperike*: who with *Charles* his sonne were not vnthankfull. For to omit *Pipines* deuotion, his sonne *Charles* hauing subdued the *Lumbards* (which still were troublesome to the Popes, not permitting them well to hold what they had so ill gotten) left *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the Emperour (which the *Normans* after turned into another Kingdome) to others other parts, to the Pope he permitted the Exarchate of *Ranenna, Pentapolis, the Perusine Dukedome, the Roman, Tus-* 50 *cane* and *Campan*, *iure, principatu & ditione sibi retenta; reliqua ipse sibi nomine regni retinuit*. The Right, Souereigntie and Iurisdiction reserued, made the Pope no absolute Prince: and the acknowledging him *Patricius Romanus*, the making and Inuestiture by Ring and Staffe of Archbishops and Bishops in euery Prouince, yea his choosing the Pope and ordering the Apostolike Sea, made him an absolute subiect. And subiects they were till *Hildebrands* time, and their au- 60 thoritie, saith *Onuphrius*, extended not further then matters of Faith. *Ceterum Imperatoribus suberant, ad eorum nutum omnia fiebant, de eis iudicare vel quidquam decernere non audebat Papa Romanus. Primus omnium R. Pont. Greg. 7. armis Nortmannorum fretus, opibus Comitissa Mathildis mulieris per Italiam Potentissima confusus, discordiaq; Germanorum Principum bello ciuili laborantium inflammatus, prater maiorum morem contempta Imperatoris authoritate & potestate, cum summum Pontificatum obtinuisset, Casarem ipsum (a quo si non electus, saltem confirmatus fuerat) non dico excommunicare, sed etiam regno Imperioq; priuare ausus est. Res ante ea sacula inaudita. Nam fabulas que de Arcadio, Anastasio, & Leone Iconomacho circumferuntur nihil moror*. And thus whereas the Popes and the whole Clergie had beene exalted by Princes, they became Princes 60 of their Princes; and in this *Gregorie* first imitated *Dauid*, which cut off *Goliaths* head with his owne sword, as *Otho Frisingensis* hath obserued. *Henrie* the fourth King, the third Emperour of that name, was the subiect of *Gregories* furie, a man for humilitie, patience, and many vertues much commended; yea, for bountie to the Church, as at *Spire, Mentz, &c.* and for valour 70 tried

tried in sixtie two battels, but so haunted with the euill *Genius* of the Papacie, *ut rem religionis tractare sibi videretur quisquis in illum* (you read our *Malmesburie*) *arma produceret*. The temporall power of the Pope, was much increased by the great Legacie of Countesse *Mathildis*, (as a little before by the gift of *Osbo* to *Syluester*) and by taking aduantages in the *Norman* and other occasions: which they held with vneuen fortunes, and not so quiet that *Rome* it selfe could well brooke it (which caused diuers of them to liue at *Auinion* for about seuentie yeeres) and was not secure to them till the time of *Boniface* the ninth, a man composed of the worst vices and best fortunes, as *Theodorike à Niem*, one of his Courtiers obserueth; who first, in alto & bas-

Theod. de Schis.
l. 2. c. 13.
Plat. de vit. P. in
Bon. 9.

- 10 *Primus populi Romani vim omnem in Pontificem transtulerit, creatis suo nutu Magistratibus omnibus, munitaq; Sancti Angeli arce, &c.* Once, how euer they got this Papall Duchie or temporall Kingdome, they had neuer kept it but by their Spirituall Empire and Monarchie, and that branch especially which lookes to *Ierusalem*. For the generation of the Popes Temporalties in *Italie*, (now valued by some aboue diuers Kingdomes) arose out of the corruption and ruine of the Empire, the Emperours being Kings aswell of *Italie* as *Germany*, crowned * not only at *Aquisgrane* or *Germanie*, but at *Milan* for *Italie*, and at *Rome* for the Empire. But the Empire decaying by the Popes stratagems, by bandying factions against the Emperours, by inciting them to Holy Land Expeditions (to their great weakning) by exciting the World against them for neglect, by taking opportunities in their absence at home, by seeking to betray them there, by ap-
- 20 plying and employng the Crusados and Indulgences, (yea, sometimes as before yee haue read of *Conrade*) greater indulgence against them, or theirs then against *Saracens*, (most of which *Matthew Paris* hath deliuered of *Fredericke* the Second) besides, Monies raised, by Tenths, Lones, Impositions, and specially by releasing Vowes for Holy Land Expeditions, to maintayne Armies against them; hence the Imperiall Rent, *Guelph* and *Gibelline* long and bloudie diuision, and the Emperour quite deprived of *Italie*, and so little left him of *Germanie*, in *Germanie* also. Thus hath the Pope turned his Keyes into Pick-locks, into Swords, into Scepters, exercising his Spirituall vnlimited power, *Extra anni solisq; vius* (saith * one) to all parts of the World: yea, and if there should be found out more Worlds, as *Democritus* dreamed, this Dreamer addes that they should all be vnder Papall Iurisdiction. This hath no Hills, Seas, or Riuers for boundaries, but is
- 30 without Horizon or limitation. And this power hath two Functions to rule; and to provide against dangers of Wolves, both vicious and hereticall persons, as also Princes either malignant or negligent. For seeing that Princes haue original from Elections of the people, and this power is confirmed by mutuall Oathes of Prince and people, and God hath giuen all power of binding and loosing of Oathes to the Pope: therefore *Botero* concludes all Temporall Princes subiect to the Popes censure, which *Ordine ad Deum*, in pretence of defence the Church hath raised such Tragedies in the Christian World.

* See Bot. and Booke of Estates by E. G.

* Botero 2. part. 1. 4.

- Now for Collations of Benefices, these partly depend of his Temporall Souereigntie, and partly are wrung and extorted from Temporall Souereignes and Patrones, vnder pretence of their Simoniacall bestowing them. This the pretended quarrell of *Gregorie* to *Henrie*, and of his
- 40 Successors to the next *Henrie*, and all other Christian Princes. *Eadmerus* was present at the Roman Councell of Pope *Urbane*, and heard his words excommunicating all Lay-men giuing, and all Ecclesiasticals taking Inuestitures at their hands, and all which consecrated such so inuested (a custome which had continued many Ages) and all which for preferments of the Church did homage to Lay-men, *Dicens nimis execrabile videri, manus qua is tantam eminentiam excreuerint, ut quod nulli Angelorum concessum est, Deum cuncta creantem suo ministerio creent, & eundem ipsum pro redemptione & salute totius Mundi Summi Dei Patris obtutibus offerant, in hanc ignominiam detru- di, ut ancilla fiant earum manuum qua die ac nocte obscenis contagijs inquinantur, rapinis & iniusta sanguinum effusioni addicta commaculantur.* He addes; *Hic presentes fuimus, hac conspeximus, hic ab vniuersis fiat, fiat, acclamari audiuimus.* Thus you see the Reall and Corporeall Presence (that
- 50 men may know what benefit accrueth to the Pope by that Doctrine) is made an argument of deuesting Princes of Inuestitures, and making of Prelates both first confirmed in that Age, the one by Pope *Nicholas* against *Berengarius*, the other by *Gregorie* and *Urban*: thus opposing and exalting himselfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worshipped, that is ouer all powers Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall (called Gods) and ouer God himselfe, whom here he professeth to be created by his creature: a three-fold cord of power, all broken by one blast of the Pope.

Ead. Nouorum
lib. 2.
Vid. Selden An-
not. ad eund.
Malmesbur. & c.

2. Thes. 2. 4.

- How fitly King *Henry* stood for his Inuestitures, and how *Henry* the Emperour warred and captiued the next Pope *Paschall* for them, *Eadmerus*, *Malmesbury*, and others then liuing testified, the Pope swearing and starting from his Oath in that case. Neither is it likely that the Popes had thus made all Bishops and Abbots depend vpon themselves, without acknowledging
- 60 homage to their Princes, vsurping so euidently al Ecclesiasticall Supremacy, had not the ciuill combustions on one side (as here vnder King *Stephen* the first King which discontinued them) and exhaustions into the Holy Land on the other side, made the Pope dreadfull, whose breath could thus lead the Western World into the East. Thus did the Pope vsurpe a Monopoly of the Keyes by Elections, Postulations, Translations, Reservations, Promissions, Vnions, Permutations, Accesses, Regresses, Coadiutories; by Compositions for Palls, Crozier Staves, Meters, Rings; personall

a The Pope can make his Cardinals rich and himſelfe by their creation, both by money for that dignity, and by al their former Benefices falling to him.

Theod. a N. l. 2. c. 7, 8, 9, 10. & d.

b The words of *P. Alexander*, treading on the Emperors necke.

Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, &c.

See the ſtorie before related.

Ground and reason of Diſpenſations.

Viſitations by Biſhops and Abbots of the Apoſtles ſtaires; by making his Cardinals,^a (which in this Age firſt grew to be *Giants and men of renowne*, and as I ſaid, Kings fellows, being before but Biſhops, Priests, & Deacons,) *able to carrie it out in pomp and Maieſtie as beſits the Apoſtles of Christs Vicar; and by enriching his Kindred, Countrymen, Officers, and Fauorites with the beſt Benefices and Prelacies in euery Countrey,* (whereof let the Reader informe himſelfe in *Matthew Paris*, of that *Egyptian Babylonian ſeruitude* in his time, as alſo of his imposing ſummes of money to bee giuen out of theſe, and if they had it not, to be taken vp of the *Cauſines* (Out-landiſh Papall Vſurers, at abominable rates) *Tenths, Firſt-fruits, Thirds, Fiſthes, and I know not what Annuities and Penſions, yea, the open and ſhameleſſe ſale of theſe at Rome* (read *Theod. à Niem* a Courtier to many Popes, of Arts beyond what *Simon, or Magus*, or the Deuill himſelfe had euer heard of, if it could be *Simonie* which the Popes did, who forſooth could not ſinne as their flatterers ſaid) *and laſtly, by making Lawes in all theſe and other Eccleſiaſticall affaires to remayne to all Generations,* whereby the Clergie was exempt from Kings, not Kings from their Clergie; yea, forced out of their means and Lands, to maintayne the ſubieſts of another Soueraigne; euery Monasterie being a Caſtle, euery Cathedral a ſpirituall exempt Citie, euery Prelate the Popes Captaine, and to whom alſo they were particularly ſworne. Conſider this legge of the beaſt, and conſider *Monſtrum horrendum, informe*, conceiued long before, in receiuing Appeales from all parts, but borne in that *Smoke from the bottomleſſe pit*, when Satan was looſed; nor euer could haue growne to full age, if Indulgences had not ſtrengthned the Popes, to tread vnder foote all *Aspes and Baſiliskes* (ſo they eſteemed gaine-ſaying Kings and Emperours) nor were Indulgences of any force at all in this kinde before this Expedition, when and whence ſprung their vnexpected puiſſance, and thence the Popes, as ſhall anon appeare.

Besides, the Eaſterne Patriarkes which before theſe warres, held of long time in many Ages no communion with the Popes of Rome, by this meanes became ſubieſt to him, *Antiochia* firſt, then *Ieruſalem*, and after that *Conſtantinople* it ſelfe (*Romes Corriuall*) being ſubieſted and ſubdued by theſe Expeditions from the Weſt; and I know not what *Gemue*, both in the Eaſt and Weſt, making the Biſhops in ſeeming moſt religious, make this a part of their Religion to quarrell with their Kings, (and one with another for ſuperioritie of their Seas) and goe to the Pope for refuge, as is ſeene in *Anſelme of Canterburie*, *Thurſtan of Yorke*, and others; and eſpecially *Thomas Becket*, whoſe murder in that quarrell, conſtrued to a Martyrdome, and rewarded with a Canonization, did ſuper-exceedingly aduance and aduantage the Popes power ouer Kings; furthered by the emulation of the French King againſt the *Engliſh*, which inſtigated the Biſhop firſt, after the Pope; laſtly, his owne ſonnes againſt him, honouring the new Saint alſo with perſonall Viſitation, Offering and Pilgrimage. Alſo *Daibert* the firſt Weſterne Patriarch of *Ieruſalem*, taught his Succeſſors this Leſſon, who went to Rome to complaine of his King; *William an Engliſhman*, firſt Latine Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, and *William*, the Authour of the Holy Land Hiſtory, with others muſt needs fetch their power from Rome: and the Eaſterne Empire beeing before weakened by the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, now engirt on both ſides by the Weſterne *Frankes*, the heart and bowels being alſo by ciuill diſſentions embroyled, it muſt needs follow that by the fall of her Competitor, Rome muſt riſe, *ſit alone and reigne as a Queene*; Whoſe ambitious neglects, hath ſince betrayed that whole Empire to the *Turke*.

Þ. III.

Of Diſpenſations.

BUT Temporalties and Benefices were but the hinder legges, of this *Babylonical Beaſt*, for ſtabilitie; Diſpenſations and Indulgences were the two fore-legs, more actiue for prey and puiſſance. And theſe alſo now began to bee of vigour and ſtrength in the Church to Papall Monarchicall intents and purpoſes. As for Diſpenſations it is true, that there was ſome vſe of them in the ancient Church: it beeing neceſſary that as in the Temporal, ſo in the Eccleſiaſticall Republique, there ſhould be according to conducent circumſtances, a qualification of rigid (which differing times may eſteeme rigorous) Canons. Euen the Ceremonies of Diuine Law yeelded to the neceſſitie of Charitie, as in *Dauids eating the Shewbread*, iuſtified by Chriſt himſelfe, who preferres *Mercie* to *Sacrifice*. How much more in the milder times of the Goſpell, and in the Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, not giuen immediately by miniſterie of *Angels*; nor to a *Jewiſh* Pinfold, or one compendious people, and that for a ſet time till *Shilo came*; but to a Sea of peoples, by miniſtery of men, without limitation of time; may the difference of times, manners, and men require a diſpenſing by change, or ſuſpenſion by conniueance, making the beſt harmonie of *Mercie and Iudgement*. No man puts new wine into old veſſels: nor were later, weaker times fitted to the ſeueritie of the Ancients, which were both more holy, and by neceſſitie were forced for want of the Temporal Sword, to whet the Spirituall ſharper. Neither can men ſee all circumſtances which may ariſe, nor are all men or times

times of one constant tenor. *Summum ius, summa iniuria*: The wringing of the Nose bringeth forth blood; the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife. Charitie couereth a multitude of offences, is weak with them that are weak, and burneth when others are offended, maketh vs all things to all: yea, casts forth the wheate into the Sea to preuent shipwracke, notwithstanding a promise of deliuerance. Hence new Parliaments, Statutes, Edicts; hence later Councels, Synods, Canons.

But what is this to the Popes *Non obstante*? a plenitude of power to dispense with Oathes, Vowes, and whatsoeuer Diuine or Humane, standing in the way of his Monarchie? True it is, that aboue foure hundred yeares before this time, *Gregorie* Bishop of *Antioch* did dispense with the Oath of the Armie, which said, they had sworne not to admit *Philippicus* their Commander, alledging the Episcopall power of binding and loosing: but this was to preuent, not to inuent Treason; to reduce to, and not seduce from loyaltie & subiection to their Emperour. In these times first were the *Keyes of the kingdom of heauen*, pretended by *Peters* pretended Successor, to exclud the Kings of the earth, with *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodulpho*, setting vp one & putting down another Emperour at Papall pleasure. Little did Dispensations before auaille the Papacie (except in enlarging the Phylacteries of his Spirituall power, in admitting Appeales, and making himselfe a Bulie-bodie, and Interloper, *Magnus Ecclesia ardelio*) but now the Cedars of *Libanus* quaked with feare of fire from the bramble, when Dispensations with the Oathes of Subiects, had deposed *Henry* the victorious Emperour, by the Ministerie of his owne Sonne. In vaine did that Sonne seeke afterwards to stop the current in taking the Pope Prisoner: *Sero medicina paratur*; his Fathers Example might teach him to feare some *Absolom*, to imitate himselfe.

And especially Dispensations were brought into request, by the quest of the Holy Land: when large Merit and larger Indulgences, Priuiledges, Prouiledges attend the Vow, and taking the Crosse on the one side; and larger summes fill the Popes Coffers on the other side by the Popes dispensing: when some Friars goe before to preach the Crusado and holy Warre, other Friars are sent after with Faculties to dispense for so much money, as the Expedition would cost you, leauing you no lesse merit with a great deale more safetie, ease and pleasure at home: when the Pope can thus prostitute the zeale of Christians, to let and set it to Farmers and Undertakers, as to *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, (whose summes this way gotten were incredible, able to make way to his Imperiall Election) when the like Dispensations are bestowed as Papall fauours to repaire the broken state of others: when Dispensations raise vp new *Locusts* from the bottomlesse pit; not only exempting some principall Monasteries from Episcopall Iurisdiction, as the Popes peculiars vnder Saint *Peters* immediate protection (and hee thus obliged the chiefe Colledges of the chiefe learned men of those times, to maintayne that power which priuiledged them) but Chapters of Cathedrall Churches, whole Orders of Religion, as the *Cluniacensian* and *Cistercian* Congregations; and after that the Orders of Friars in their seuerall swarmes, dispensing to them, not only Exemptions from Bishops, but power to build Churches, to receiue Confessions, to preach in all places, to be Bishops in euery Diocesse, and Curates in euery Parish; at once Papall Lords by Dispensations, and Mendicants by Vow and Profession. Yea, euery petty Priest might obtayne by his Purse an exemption from Episcopall power. And lastly, new Dispensations, and new Priuiledges haue hatched a new *Ignatian* Societie of parti-coloured Leopards, Regular-Secular-Clergie-Lay-Fathers-Friars-all-things-nothing.

Thus Dispensations made way to get monies by Sales; Friends by Gifts, Patrons by patronizing (Forts and Armies of Learned men in Abbies, Couents, Colledges, Congregations, Orders) yea, they robbed the Church of her Officers and Labourers; it being now a glorious vertue for Bishops and Priests to forsake their flockes, and in stead of Spirituall warfare against the Deuill, (by preaching to cast downe, with weapons not carnall, imaginations and euery high thing exalted against the knowledge of God) to imbrace this carnall against the Turks, walking in and warring after the flesh: yea, they were dispensed with for non residence, mean-while, and to receiue or lay to pawne the fruits of their Benefices for that three yeares, no lesse then if they were resident. So *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Cant. rbury*, made a Pilgrimage thorow *England* and *Wales*, to winne Pilgrimes for this warre. Pope *Gregorie* had excommunicated *Fredericke* the Emperour, for not going to the holy warres, as he had vowed: hee went and did gloriously, as you haue read already: but the Hospitulars and Templars pursuing the Popes quarrell sought to betray him to the *Soldan*, (a perfidie odious to that Infidell) and in his absence the Pope sets *Iohn de Brenes*, to conquer and subiect his *Sicilian* Dominions. For quarrels of those Templars, and others, he is againe excommunicated; and the third time by *Innocent* in the Councell of *Lions*: *Omnesq;* (saith the Pope therein) *qui ei iuramento fidelitatis aliquo modo astricti vel obligati, a iuramento huiusmodi perpetuo absoluiamus & liberamus, autoritate Apostolica firmiter & strictim inhibendo ne quisquam de cetero sibi tanquam Imperatori vel Regi pareat, vel quomodo libet parere intendat. Decernendo quoslibet qui deinceps ei, velut Imperatori vel Regi, consilium vel auxilium presterint* (could the Deuill haue roared lowder against Charitie?) *seu fautorem, ipso facto excommunicationis vinculo subiaccere, &c.*

To palliate this Dispensation of Oathes, and electing a new Emperour, the Holy Land businesse

Pro. 30. ult. &
10.
1. Cor. 9.
Afts 27.

Euag. l. 6. c. 12.
In malis promissis rescinde fidem, in turpi uoto muta decretum.

Iud. 9.

Nummis ait pro me, nubit Cornubia Rome.

See hist. Conc. Trid. pag. 221.

2. Cor. 10. 4.
Concil. Sur. tom. 3. pag. 754.
Mat. Paris.
Hen. 3. pag. 911.
in Concil. Lugdū.
Of Baldwins Itinerarie, Giraldus hath written a book.

neffe was also a goodly couert, where besides the Dispensations to beneficed Priests (after this Expedition, giuen to all such as could pay the price, insomuch, that *John Mansell* had foure thousand Markes of Ecclesiasticall Reuenue in those dayes of *Henry* the Third, and others incredible purchases in that kind of pluralities) he authorizeth Bishops to excommunicate and interdict the Lands of such as hauing receiued the Crosse did not performe their vow. All Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and such as haue cure of soules, are enioyned to preach this word of the Crosse to their Cures, to goe or send Souldiers thither for remission of their sinnes. Crossed Detters are freed from paying Vsuries, although bound thereto by Oath, &c.

* *Non obstante* was a clause, signifying notwithstanding, that is notwithstanding any Canon, Law, Promise, Priuiledge, &c. he would dispense, and they might do the contrarie.

And thus treasonable Dispensations beganne by *Hildebrand*, grew vp to strength and maturity by this Holy Land businessse, and both Laitie and Clergie at once were exempt from oaths, 10
vowes, and bonds to God and Men. Hence grew that *Non obstante*, * so often mentioned by *Matthew Paris*, for the grieuances whereof the whole Parliament sent *Anno* 1246. Messengers or Legats, to *Lions* to treat with the Pope, and for which that *Lincolne* Bishop *Robert Grosted* (whom the Westerne Church admired for Learning and Sanctitie) both writ to the Pope, and on his death-bed proued him to be Antichrist. He affirmeth also that the King vnder-tooke to sweare with most solemne Ceremonies of Candle curse, that which hee obserued not, in confidence of the Popes Dispensation: yea, falsified his owne, and frustrated his Progenitors Acts and Grants in professed imitation of the Popes *Non obstante*: vowed this Holy Land Expedition, and sware where hee had no meaning to doe any thing, but get money of his people; part whereof might procure Papall Dispensation. Yea, hereby the Popes haue obliged Kings, 20
States, and Kingdomes to them, by dispensing with oaths, with Marriages in degrees forbidden, or hauing other wiues liuing, so that their Posterities stand obnoxious to the Pope for feare of illegitimation.

See abundant testimonies hereof in *Conc. Lat. sub Iul. 2. Leon. 10.*

In the first of these the Pope by *Temporalities* became a temporall Prince by Treason to his Prince; in the second by *Collation of Benefices*, hee became vniuersall Bishop, swallowing the power of all Bishops and Church-men, and of Princes ouer them, into a Papall Whirle-poele, which he confirmed by Lawes, sitting in *Ecclesiam* (as it was prophesied of the *Man of Sinne*) as representing the whole Church, inuested in her whole power, which vnder him as vnder couert Barnes was no person in Law, but hee answeres all in Law, and is himselfe in his written Decretals, and in his present Consistorie, the speaking Law of the Church: In this third, he is more 30
then Law, cutting asunder the *Gordian* knot, by Dispensations, if he cannot by Glosses, and qualifying Interpretations vntye it; aboue Law, aboue the Church, aboue God, aboue himselfe by his *Non Obstante*, in fulnesse of power disanulling all their acts hindering his acts and present purposes. And whatsoeuer hath beene by former Popes, by Councils, by themselves ordained for reformation, *vna falsa lachrymala quam vix vi extorserit*, one goodly pretence forced to some shew of equitie, shall with a Dispensing *Non Obstante*, turne to serue his turne, and bring money to his Coffers, though purposely deuised against it.

Hist. Conc. Trid. pag. 251.

Guicciard. hist. lib. 6.

Thus dealt he with *Commenda's* (deuised for the good of the Church, which was commended for a time to some other fit Rector, till a proper Rector and worthy might be procured) to a longer time, yea, to terme of life, for the goods, not the good of the Church. Euen after *Luthers* 40
preaching Pope *Clement* commended to *Hyppolitus* all the Benefices of the World, Secular and Regular, Dignities and Parsonages, Simple and with Cure, being vacant for fixe monethes, to beginne from the first day of his possession, with power to dispose of, and to conuert to his vse all the fruits. Yea, this Cardinall *de Medicis* (which plucked out the eyes of his brother *Iulius* whom his Mistris loued more then him for his eyes sake) continued to hold the Archbishopricks of *Milan* in *Lumbar die*, *Capua* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, *Strigonium* in *Hungarie*, besides the Bishopricks of *Agria* in *Hungarie*, *Mutina*, and *Ferrara* in *Italie*, places so far distant. *Vnions* deuised for the Churches prouision in the insufficiency of one liuing, by adding some neere one, were stretched to thirtie or fortie whersoever lying, as if the good not of the Church, but of the person 50
had beene intended.

See *Rain. and Hart. 7. 6.*

Matthew Paris in his time tels that the Pope sent to the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *Lincolne*, and *Salisbury*, to prouide three hundred *Romanes* in the Benefices next vacant, giuing none other till these were prouided, which neuer meant to come at any cure but of the money. Yea, when they dyed other *Italians* succeeded, so that their receipts in this kind, far surmounted the Crowne Lands: and after complaints to the Pope, and the fore-mentioned Councell so zealous of the Holy Land, the case was worse, as it hapned to the *Israelites* by *Pharoes* Taxe-masters, swelling from sixtie to seuentie thousand Markes. *Clement* the sixt reserued for two Cardinals, which hee had lately made, the Benefices void and to be next void, besides Bishopricks, and Abbeyes, to the summe of two thousand Markes, which in the valuations of those times, might one with 60
another be two hundred, forsooth, for these *Princeps mundi, consiliarij nostri* (so saith Pope *Pius* of his Cardinals) & *coniudices orbis terrarum, successores Apostolorum circa thronum sedentes, Senatores urbis & Regum similes, veri mundi Cardines, super quos militantis ostium Ecclesie voluendum ac regendum est*. Thus Cardinall * *Wolsey* is said to haue had more Reuenues, then all the Bishops and Deanes in *England* now.

*T. Walsingham in Ed. 3. Sac. Cer. Ec. Rom. lib. 1. f. 8. c. 3. * Heroologia Anglica.*

In the Councell of *Trent* (which pretended to reforme, intended to palliate, if not further to pollute with abuses, at least in the greater and Papall part) the Pope could not indure the question of Residence due *in re diuino*, which the *Spanish* Bishops vrged, and in the question of Dispensations had *Adrian* a *Dominican* Friar, to defend his absolute and vnlimited power; and though he dispensed without cause, the dispensation was to be held for good, alledging that of *Saint Paul*, that Ministers are dispensers of the mysteries of God, and to them is the dispensation * committed (his paterne was the Dispenser or Steward, *Luc. 16.* which is said to deale wisely, as the Pope did in the Master piece of their skill, this whole Councell) and though the Popes dispensation in diuine Law be not of force, yet every one ought to captinate his understanding, and beleene that he hath granted it for a lawfull cause, and that it is temeritie to call it in question. Laynez, the General of the last Locust-brood (the * Iesuites) said, that to say the Pope cannot by dispensation disoblige him who is obliged before God, is to teach men to preferre their owne conscience before the authoritie of the Church; that it cannot be denyed that Christ had power to dispense in every Law, nor that the Pope is his Vicar, nor that there is the same Tribunall and Consistorie of the Principall and the Vicegerent; so it must be confessed that the Pope hath the same authoritie: that this is the priuiledge of the Church of Rome, which it is heresie to take away, &c. that it belonged not to the Councell to reforme the Court, because the Scholar is not aboue his Master, nor the Seruant aboue his Lord. And thus must all men dispense with *Romish* Dispensations: and thus it comes to passe that the Popes Exchequer is like vnto the Sea, into which all Riuer runne, and yet it runnes not ouer, as one obserued which serued long, and well obserued the reserued courtes in the Popes Court.

1. Cor. 4.
* A glosse contrary to the Text, as if Dispensing the Word, were concealing or cancelling it.
* Hist. conc. Tr. lib. 8.

Theod. Niem.
Nem. vii. tr. 6.
c. 37.

F. Sansouino del
gou. de diuersi
regni.

* Euen in these the Pope hath made prouisions at his pleasure, as in many Archbishops of Cant. &c.

Note how meane Gods Lawes are to humane in Rome.

* Quod si dolosi spes resulerit, nummi.

The fruit of many Canons and Lawes Ecclesiasticall, publike and priuate.

* This the reason of their strict law: as for the Law of God, as in Henry the eighth &c. the Fee is too great for the Penitentiare.

ders

Neither is it amisse to heare *Sansouino* tell the manner of dispensing Dispensations at Rome, in his eleuenth Booke, written wholly del *Gouerno della Corte Romana*. The authoritie of the Pope (saith he) as the Head, disperfeth it selfe into so many members, that the Courtiers vse to grow old before they vnderstand that gouernment. There is first, the Colledge of Cardinals, the Head whereof is the Pope (therefore called *Maximus*) and the Cardinals members; of which the number is not certayne in our times, howsoeuer it is found that in former times there were but twelue. These Illustrious Fathers assemble once a weeke, which Assembly is called the *Consistorie*; in which Senate are appointed Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans and Patriarks when the Seas are void, whose election doth not belong * to a Chapter, Citie, Prouince, King, or other person: in which case they are chosen by the Pope and this Senate. Here they treat of all things which belong to Worship, to Faith, to Religion, to the peace of Christendome, to the temporall estate of the Church of Rome. In this sacred Senate (as the greatest in the World) all Prouinces, all Regulars, and all Kings, haue their Fathers Defenders, which they call *Protectors*, who propound the causes of their Prouinces, &c.

For the *Penitentiare*, he addes, that all the World seekes to the Pope for many graces in that matter, which our Lord *Iesus Christ* left vnto Peter, to wit, of loosing and binding in earth whatsoeuer he will. Now this part being by the Pope reserued to himselfe; that other is accustomed to be granted of him, that is, that of loosing, to one of the Cardinals, who is called the chiefe *Penitentiare*, who for so much as appertaynes to that which is common in the diuine Law, and to his Absolution, exerciseth the Iurisdiction committed to him by the Pope by many Vicars, and Substitutes, called *Penitentiaries* (or *Penitentiars*) diuided thorowout all the greatest Churches of Rome, as *Saint Peters* in the Vatican, *Saint Iohn de Lateran*, *Saint Marie Major*. But the Dispensations which are made touching obseruation of humane Lawes, he granteth not but in some cases, and by himselfe. And by a generall commission from the Pope he heares Sutors in such affaires, and hauing scene their Demands, if there be any cause * for which the Sutor meriteth to be heard, and that which he requireth hath bene accustomed to be granted by the Pope; he writes by authoritie Apostolicall and of his Office, and not by the Popes mouth but by that generall commission in his Letters of commission from the Popes mouth, hee affirms, and his Assertion is beleeued as in a thing belonging to his Office, and rescribes alway to the Supplication on that side directed to the Pope in one of these formes, fiat in forma, fiat de speciali, fiat de espresso, with which varietie of wordes he lets the Taxers vnderstand the importance of the Suit: and as the Rescript of the *Penitentiare* differs in forme, so the taxes of the payments are altered by the Officers. And in these times the multitude of humane Lawes is so increased, both by the Pope, and by Councells, and by Monasteries, that men being in some sort bound, desiring their ancient libertie, haue recourse by way of Supplication to the *Penitentiare*, who hauing signed the Supplicants Bill with his hand, they dispatch the Bulls under his Name and Scale. And for that many times hee doth not write backe precisely, requiring some attestation of the Suppliant, hee appoints Iudges by his writing, which taking knowledge of the Cause, perfect the Act; and herein he appoints others in his place. And this holy Office of the *Penitentiare*, for the greater commoditie of them which come for Expeditions hath foure and twentie Defenders of Supplicants, which are called the *Protectors* of the holy *Penitentiare*. These as Advocates declare the Contents of his Suite, and as it were plead the Cause before the *Penitentiare*, of whom they procure to obtayne their Suite, and to get their Bulls dispatched. He vseth also to rescribe in many Causes appertayning to Iustice, and as it were alway to grant in the one kinde and in the other, here vnder noted, Dispensations matrimoniall in degrees forbidden by the Law * of Man; legitimations of Children; Dispensations in respect of them, or for want of members due to such as are to receiue Or-

ders or Benefices; also for incompatibilitie of more Benefices. Absolutions from homicide in Foro Conscientie; for Clerkes in both Courts, with retention of Benefices and Dispensations for more. The like for Simonie, for Exile, moreouer from an Oath for the effect of the operation, from false Oathes, commutation of Vowes, and Licences from obseruation of any humane Law, and especially of Regulars from any Chapter (or Article) of the Lawes of their Rules. He giues Indulgences to places and persons; and moreouer, infinite Commissions in forme of Law, as namely, the Declaration of the Nullitie or Invaliditie of Marriage, which are called Declaratorie: and in many other things which are knowne to them that practise in the Ecclesiasticke Courts.

They doe euery day demand the Subscriptions from the Pope of such things as come from his voluntarie and proper liberalitie, as the grants of Benefices and other things, which are also generally committed to the Great Penitentiarie, and all matters which pertayne to Iustice in things Ecclesiasticall throughout all parts of the World, as also in things profane of the temporall patrimonie of the holy Church of Rome, and of any other place of the World which haue recourse to the Court of Rome, by reason of the person being Ecclesiasticall, or by Princes sending it, or by consent of the parties. The Pope for the more easie dispatch of Sutors in all these things, hath ordayned two Audiences, in one of which they demand matters of Grace, in the other those of Iustice.

Officers and
Counsellors of
the Popes
State.

Vicario di Ro-
ma.

2. Pet. 2. 3.

Apoc. 18. 13.
Soules sold,
whiles their sin
remaynes,
though their
mony be gone;
yea is increa-
sed with bold-
nesse and fre-
quency in
hope of Di-
spensations:
sinnes being
thus made
both veniall
and venall.
Bud. de Affe. li. 5.

Nonus homo, in
a Supplication
by a Romish
Catholike to
his Maiestie,
Englisht by
M. Cr.

But for these and the like Officers, the Vice-chancellor, the Audience of the Chamber (as it were his priuie Counsel) the priuate dispatches by the Secretarie, the Chamberlan (which hath power in the Temporall State) Treasurer, Aduocate, Proctor, Commissaries, Marshalls (to one of which the Whores of the Citie pay a yeerly Taxation, which they call Tribute) I omit and referre the Reader to the Author. The last he mentions is the Vicar of Rome, who hath the same authoritie which the Pope hath ouer the Priests in all things, in Rome and in the Diocese, hearing all Clergie cases as Ordinarie; imposeth Penance, conferreth Sacraments, calleth Congregations, visits Churches and Monasteries, makes Inquisition, correcteth, punisheth, remooueth and giueth Benefices: his authoritie extends fortie miles out of Rome, in some cases. The Pope hath also giuen him all those Pontificalia, which euery Ordinarie exerciseth in his Diocese, as to consecrate places profane, to reconcile such as are profaned, to promote to holy Orders, to punish Blasphemies, Vsuries, Periuries, Incests: and in case of corporall punishments to send them to the Secular Iudges. He hath foure Notaries or publike Scribes, and two Vicars substitute. So farre is the Pope degenerated from a Bishop in any thing but Title, and vsing that onely, that through conetousnesse with fayned words he might make merchandise of men, as turpilucricupidus, a lo-uer of filthy gayne (euen that of Curtezans filchinesse) yea, of the soules of men, which are reckoned among the Babylonian wares of these Merchants of the earth. And what else are these dispensations thus abused, but soule-sale, which is made more euident (is any thing more impudent then a Whore?) by their Taxa Camerae, a Booke published in print, whereby men may know the prices of their Absolutions for Simonie, Sodomie, Incest, Homicide, and other the Master and Monster sinnes and degenerations of mankind. In which marke also, that being breaches of the Law of God, an inferior Penitentiarie by his Booke of Taxation can absolue, but those crimes against humane Lawes require the chiefe Penitentiarie to turne the Law into a Net, and become a good Sponge-man to exenterate his purse more thorowly.

And as Rome by Dispensations is made a Merchants shop, *Litium officina capturarumq; improbarum*, where are kept perpetuall Marts of Sacriledge, which make sinnes not onely Veniall but Venall; and Golden Canons become Lesbian Rules by Papall Leaden Bulls, flexible and pliant according to the price and banke of the Romish money changers: so by Indulgences hath she beene indulgent to all her Chapmen (except they wanted money) and hath made them the foundation of the Tower of Babylon; in this, Indulgences and Dispensations agreeing that nothing hath more rayfed, nothing more razed her gorgeous and glorious Fabriques; Henrie the eight, vpon the one occasion forsaking wonted commerce with Rome, and Luther by the other prouoked to open his mouth so wide and loud, that he awakned all Europe to behold her filthy whoredomes. And if any thinke the later times either more *Castia*, or more *Cauta*, let him obserue what Nonus Homo, an vnknowne Suppliant of Rome, hath reuealed touching the mysteries of the Datarie (the Office where matters of Benefices are dispatched) where the bestowing of Benefices is deferred, that inquirie may be made of the richest Competitors; each Liuing is charged with a pension of halfe, or a third, or two thirds of the worth, and then by another Ordination by present payment of five yeeres purchase extinguished. As if the Benefice bee worth three hundred crownes a yeere, a pension is imposed of two hundred, leauing one hundred for the Incumbent; who paying one thousand crownes and a hundred more for Seales and Expedition, buyes repentance at a deare rate. The *Regressus* and *Expectatuna* forbidden by the Councell of Trent, are deluded with *Coadiutorships*, sold for a yeeres profit in colour of expediting Bulls, with assurance of future succession: by which and like meanes (you may not call that Simonie which the Pope doth; and it is disputable amongst them, whether the Pope can commit that sinne, although the very name comes from Simon Magus his seeking to contract with Simon Peter) Paul the fifth is reported to haue extracted out of his Lead twentie hundred thousand Scutes, to buy Lands for his Nephew (or sonne) Borghesius. The truth of which, by the Registers

(saith

(saith the Author) in the Office of *Bettus*, a publike Notarie, in a particular kept secret, appeareth.

§. IIII.

Of Indulgences.

- H**us haue we seene the Popes Temporalities, arising from Conspiracies against Emperours, his Collations from the spoile of all Kings and Princes of their Inuestitures, in pretence of Simonie, to further intensions and extensions of Simonie; his Dispensations, Factors and Bawds for Compensations, by this *Man of Sinne*, which thus sinned and kept a Trade, Shop, Mart, Sale, and gaine of Sinne: but that which had least shew of reason, and yet was the right fore-legge of the beast, whereon he had surest standing, whereby he had securest holding his prey, wherewith he made strongest fights against his Adversaries, was *Indulgences*. And whereas the Riuer of the Popes Eden, is parted into foure heads, *Gen. 2. 10. 12. Hist. C. T. I. 16* this first compasseth the whole Land of Hauila, where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Land is good. Of which the Author of the Historie of the Councell of Trent, relateth that this manner of gaining Money was put in practise, after Pope Urban the second had giuen a plenarie Indulgence to all that should make war in the Holy Land; imitated by his Successors, some of which granted it to those that maintained a Souldiour, if they went not in person. And after, the same Indulgences or Pardons were giuen, for taking Armes against those that obeyed not the Church of Rome, although they were Christians: and for the most part, infinite exactions were made under those pretences; all which, or the greater part were applied to other uses. Thus Pope Leo the tenth, 1517. sent an Indulgence thorow all Christendome, granting it to any which would giue Money and extending it to the dead; for whom his will was, that when the disbursement was made, they should be deliuered from the paines of Purgatorie: giuing also power to eate Egges and Whitmeats on fasting daies, to chuse themselues a Confessor, and other such like abilities. And although the execution of this enterprize of Leo had some particular neither pious nor honest, notwithstanding many of the Grants made by the preceding Popes, had causes more vniust, and were exercised with more Auarice and Extortion. He distributed part of the Harvest before it was reaped or well sowne, giuing to diuers persons the Reuenues of diuers Prouinces, and reseruing some also for his owne Exchequer. The Indulgences of Saxonie, and from thence to the Sea, he gaue to Magdalene his Sister, Wife vnto Franceschetto Cibo, Bastard Sonne of Innocent the eighth; by reason of which marriage, this Leo was created Cardinall at the age of foureteene yeares. She to make the best of it, committed the care of preaching the Indulgences, and exacting the Money vnto Aremboldus, a Genoa Merchant, (now a Bishop and Merchant too) who found Ministers like vnto himselfe, who aymed at nothing but gaine: which would not vse the Hermite Friers (as had bene the custome of Saxonie in this case) but Dominicans, which to amplifie the value, spake many strange things; and in Tauernes, games, and other things not fit to bee named, spent that which the people spared from their necessarie expences, to purchase the Indulgences.
- By this meanes Martin Luther an Hermite Frier, first began to speake, first against these new abuses; and after being pronoked by the Pardoners, he set himselfe to studie this matter, being desirous to see the rootes and foundations of the Doctrine of Indulgences. He published ninetie fine Conclusions herein, to be disputed on in Wittenberg, which none accepted: but Iohn Thecel proposed others contrarie in Frankfort of Brandeburg. Luther proceeded to write in defence of his, and Iohn Ecchius to oppose; and these Writings being gone to Rome, Syluester Prierias, a Dominican Frier, wrote against Luther: which contestation inforced both the one and the other partie to passe to other things of greater importance. For the Doctrine of Indulgences hauing not bene well examined in former Ages, the essence and causes of them were not well vnderstood. Some thought they were nothing but an absolution made by Authoritie of the Prelate from Penance, which the Church in most ancient times imposed by way of Discipline vpon the penitent, (which Imposition was assumed in succeeding Ages by the Bishop onely, after delegated to the Penitentiarie Priest, and in conclusion left wholly to the will of the Confessor) and that they deliuered vs not from paying the debt due to the Iustice of God. Others thought, that they freed from both. But these were diuided: some thinking that they freed vs, though nothing were giuen in recompence; others said, that by reason of mutuall participation in charitie of the members of holy Church, the Penance of one might bee communicated to another, and free him by this Compensation. But because it seemed that this was more proper to men of holy and austere life then to the authoritie of Prelates, there arose a third opinion, which made them in part an absolution, (because authoritie was necessary for them) and in part a Compensation. But because the Prelats liued not in such sort as they could spare much of their Merits to others, there was made a treasure in the Church, full of the Merits of all those who had more then would serue their owne turne: the dispensation whereof is committed to the Pope, who when he giueth Indulgences, recompenseth the debt of the Sinner, by assigning so much in value out of the Treasure. It being opposed that the Merits of Saints being finite, this treasure might be diminished; they added the Merits of Christ which are infinite: which caused another

Originall of Indulgences.

Occasion of Luthers preaching.

Doctrine of Indulgences vnkowne. Diuers opinions of them.

Effects of the opinion of merit and supererogation.

another doubt, what needed those drops to this Ocean; which gave cause to some to make the Treasure to be onely of the Merits of Christ.

These things then so uncertaine, and had no other foundation then the Bull of Clement the sixth, made for the Iubilee, 1350. Wherefore Thecel, Echiuz, and Prierius, laid for their ground-woke the Popes Authoritie, and Consent of the Schoolemen, concluding that the Pope not being able to erre in matters of Faith, and himselfe publishing the Indulgence, it was necessarie to beleue them as an Article of Faith. This made Martin to passe from Indulgences to the Popes Authoritie, &c.

Pope Adrian
the Sixt.

Myſterie.

Hist. C. T. 1. 8.

Tract. de Iub. 70.
Pheſeo ap.
Morn. myſt. Iniq.
pag. 1036.

Theod. 1. 1. c. 68.
Plat. in Bon. 9.
Krantz. Metrop.
1. 1. c. 10.
T. Gaſt. in Dicti.
on. Theol.

Io. Epiſt. 144.

P. Dam. ep. ad
Petrum cereb.
ap. Sur. Oſi.
14. vid. ſpalat.
rep. Eccleſt. 1. 5. c. 8
Sig. de Reg. Ital.

P. Virg. de In.
ter. li. 8.

Ludi ſeculares.

Roff. art. 18.

After Leos death, Adrian ſucceeded, who being a Devine, had written in that matter, and thought to eſtabliſh his Doctrine by Apoſtolicall Decree, that is, that an Indulgence being granted to one which ſhall doe ſuch a Worke, the Worker obtaineth ſo much of it as is proportionable to his Worke; thinking Luthers objection thus answered, (How a peny could gaine ſo great Treasure) and yet Indulgences remaining in request, ſeeing he that hath not all, hath his proportionable part. But Cardinall Caietan told him it was better to keepe this ſecret, leſt the Popes grant might ſeeme to profit nothing, that Indulgences are but abſolutions from Penance impoſed in confeſſion onely; and if he would reſtore the diſuſed penitentiarie Canons, men would gladly ſeeke Indulgences. This being propoſed in the Penitentiary Court, Cardinall Puccio, Datarie to Pope Leo, a diligent Miniſter to finde out Money, (which had counſailed Leo to thoſe Indulgences, and was now cheefe Penitentiarie) related to the Pope with a generall aſſent the impoſſibilitie; that thoſe Canonick Penances were gone into diſuſe, becauſe they could be no longer ſupported for want of the ancient zeale, whereas now every one would be a Iudge and examine the reaſons; and in ſtead of curing they would kill. At length the Cardinall of Volterra propoſed the way to extinguiſh Heresies, to bee not by Reſormations, but by Cuiſados, (as is ſaid before.) And in the Conncell of Trent, when Indulgences came to bee examined, the Biſhop of Modena told them they would finde it difficult, and to require a long time, it being impoſſible to make that matter plaine, but by determining firſt whether they be Abſolutions, or compensations onely and ſuffrages; or whether they remit the penalties impoſed by the Confessors onely, or all that are due; whether the treasure be of the Merits of Chriſt onely, or of the Saints alſo; whether they extend to the dead, or though the receiver performe nothing; with other difficulties. But to determine that the Church may grant them, and that they are profitable to thoſe which worthily receive them, needed no great diſputation, and a Decree might be compoſed without difficultie: and hee with other Frier Biſhops was deputed to make a Decree in this ſenſe, adding a prouiſion againſt the abuſes.

Thus farre haue we gleaned out of that fertile Corne-field. As for that of Clements Iubilee Indulgence, it is not amiſſe to recite ſome part, in which every Pilgrime to Rome hath power granted, to chuſe his Confessor or Confessors, to whom hee giues full power to abſolve all Papall caſes, as if the Pope himſelfe were perſonally preſent: and if he dies in the way being truly confeſſed, that he be quite free, and abſolved from all his finnes: and moreover, wee command the Angels of Paradife that they carrie the ſoule into the glory of Paradife, being fully abſolved from Purgatorie. Theodorike a Niem ſpeaking of Boniface the ninth his Indulgences, ſaith that his pardoners got in ſome one Prouince by ſale of them, one hundred thouſand Florens, releaſing all finnes to ſuch as were confeſſed, euen without Penance, Diſpenſing for Money with irregularities, &c. Yea, ſome Pardoners deſcended ſometime (ſaith Gaſcoigne) to take for them a ſupper, a nights-lodging, a draught of Wine or Beere, a game at Tennis, and ſometime a venereall Act. Pope Alexander the ſixt gaue thirtie thouſand yeares Indulgence, for the ſaying of a certaine Prayer to Saint Anne. And Iulius his warring Succeſſor gaue large Indulgences to every man which ſhould kill a French-man, with whom he had Warres. Others to Stations, Roſaries, Croſſes, Churches, Images, Graines, Pilgrimages, Prayers, throwing Wood into the Fire to burne Heretickes, and other like parts of Faith and Charitie. But let vs come to the Originall of this ſinke.

Some aſcribe their beginning to Pope Iohn, about the yeare 880. which yet is but giuing his opinion of them that die in Warre againſt Infidels, not an Indulgence to any. Petrus Damianus tels of Monks, redeeming Penances with Pſalmodes, and ſelfe-whippings, redeeming a yeares penance with a thouſand ſtripes, and five thouſand ſtripes with once ſinging the whole Pſalter, with other voluntarily impoſed taskes. Sigonius tels of Pope Alexander, about the ſame time, Anno 1071. conſecrating the Church of Caſſinum, and giuing great Indulgences to all preſent; which brought thither moſt Italian Princes and Biſhops, and Agnes the Empreſſe. Some tell of Gregorie the firſt, in the time of publike Peſtilence, enioyning a publike kind of Penance, the Letanies, and Stations or viſiting on ſet daies certaine Churches, with prayers for deliuerance, and remiſſion to be giuen by the Priests, to ſuch as penitently confeſſed their finnes. Theſe Stations gaue occaſion to Boniface the eighth, of proclaiming his Iubilee every ſecular yeare in imitation of the Secular games, which Clement reduced to fiftie, and Sixtus Quartus to five and twentie. Theſe Iubilees begunne in Anno 1300. haue Indulgence generation, Jewiſh and Ethnick imitation, which the other haue little Commerce with, as being void of Commerce. Biſhop Fiſher of Rocheſter writing againſt Luther, doth more ſilly make Indulgence, a Daughter of Purgatorie Family: *Quamdiu enim (ſaith he) nulla fuerat de Purgatorio cura, nemo quaſiuit Indulgentias. Nam ex illo pendet omnis Indulgentiam exiſtimatio. Si tollas Purgatorium, quorſum Indulgentijs opus erit? Caperunt igitur Indulgentia poſtquam ad Purgatorii cruciatus*

cruciatu aliquandin trepidatum est. And indeed Purgatorie hath beene the gainefullest fire to the Pope, and as a painefull-gaine-foole Mother, might well procreate this Daughter: both issuing from conceit, that temporall punishment remaineth to be satisfied, after the fault of sinne remitted. Therefore haue they inuented that Treasurie of the Merits of Christ and the Saints to bee this way employed, a name fitting the nature, being the best Treasurie, (for externall Treasures) which euer the Pope had; in warre to pay Souldiers, warring in his cause, at their owne costs, in peace to fill his Coffers. But let vs looke to a purer generation, whereof this is the corruption and degeneration.

When as in the first times of the Church, onely feare of God and Ecclesiasticall Discipline held men in awe, the Magistrates being Ethnicke; seuerer Canons, and sincere Zeale held things in order. And if men transgressed, yet either for intension of their superabundant sorrow, or for encouragement and prouocation to Martyrdome, or in danger of death relaxation was made and Indulgence; the Church receiuing some satisfaction for the externall scandall, and beleeuing that God for the merit of his Sonne, and propense mercy was satisfied also in that sacrifice of a contrite heart and broken spirit; God graciously accepting that Care, feare, clearing of ones selfe, zeale, indignation, desire, and reuenge, (the affects and effects of true repentance) and the Church imitating the mercy of the heauenly Father; as wee see in the incestuous Corinthian. This satisfaction did not by merit redeeme, but in Faith and Penance appeale him, being reconciled in his Sonne; for he sheweth Mercy (not Merit) to thousands in them that loue him and keepe his Commandements: he turning to them when they turne to him. Indulgences and Dispensations were adulterously commixed to destruction of this both publike and priuate Penance, when men were taught in stead of a Contrite heart, to giue a contrite purse; and in stead of satisfying God, (to vse that word) that is, appealing and meeting him by repentance, doing what he exacts and expects; or satisfying the Church in her Sanctions, by externall humiliation, testifying internall humilitie and conuersation; to put ouer all to a Iubilee and Plenarie Indulgence. Which if they bee good, why doth not the Popes Charitie freely giue what he freely receiued? What greater Simonie then sale of Merits, the chiefe graces of the holy Ghost; yea, of Christs owne Merits? And what shall become of this Treasurie after the last day?

Let Bellarmine and Valentianus alledge the communion of Saints, and other Scriptures of seeming supererogation, as Col. 1. 24. and the power of the Keyes, yet doth Valentia confesse their nouitie, whence followes their inuolencie and vanitie. Once, their Money-valencie and Man-valency, was not begun before by Gregorie the seuenth against the Emperour, as is said, and by Urban heere applied to the Holy Land Warre. Yea, these of Urban did but giue occasion to the after Popes, to make them so strong pillars of the Babylonicall Tower, the Indulgences being then but Calues, which after grew to be Bulls, as appeareth by the various reports of this his Speech, and Act in the Councell of Claremont. I haue read seuen or eight seuerall Orations, written most of them by men of that time, and some professing themselves present, which yet haue made it the triall of their wits, what they could, or else haue added what Urban at diuers times, did say or write, or other Popes after him: the later composing themselves to their own times, when Indulgences were common and current. You haue heard Robertus and Fulcherius already. Baldricus the Arch-bishop being present, deliuered that part of his speech, which looks this way in these words: *Confessis peccatorum suorum ignorantiam, securi de Christo celestem pasciscimini veniam.* Guibertus, perorauerat uero excellentiss. omnes qui se ipsos uouerant, (in his long Oration I find nothing to this purpose) Beati Petri potestate absoluit, eadem ipsa autoritate Apostolica firmavit, &c. Malmesbury had it of those which heard it in this sense, *Sturi habentes per Dei concessum & beati Petri priuilegium omnium absolutionem criminum, & hac interim latitia laborem itineris alleuiant, habuisti post obitum felicitis martyris commercium.* Vitricus Bishop of Acon, *Omnibus in remissionem omnium peccatorum peregrinationem iniungens.* William Archbishop of Tyre thus, *Nos autem de misericordia Domini & Beatorum Petri & Pauli autoritate confisi, fidelibus Christianis qui contra eos arma susceperint, & onus sibi huius peregrinationis assumerint, iniunctis sibi pro suis delictis poenitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera poenitentia decesserint, & peccatorum indulgentiam & fructum aeterna mercedis se non dubitent habituros.* M. Paris after them, & more fitted to Indulgences, *Nos autem de Omnipotentis Dei maxime & BB. App. eius Petri & Pauli autoritate confisi, ex illa quam nobis (licet indignis) Deus ligandi atq; soluendi contulit potestatem, omnibus qui laborem istum in proprijs personis subierint & expensis, plenam suorum peccatorum, si veraciter fuerint corde contriti & ore confessi, veniam indulgentiam, & in retributione iustorum salutis aeterna pollicemur augmentum.* Thus the later, perhaps from some later Popes, * which after Urban had broken the Ice, gaue further Indulgence to the spirit of Indulgences, til (like the Frog in the fable) they cracked themselves in sunder with swelling. Some you see mention only the merit of the worke, some adde the power of the Keyes in loosing, or absolving from sinne in the Conscience, others absolution from enioyned penances (by the Confessor) the last to a plenarie Indulgence, yet at most but an absolution and that from penall Canons, as it were by commutation of penance, in stead of that imposed by the Ghostly Father, or Canonically sentence of the Prelate, vndertaking in person, or by purse in maintenance of another this peregrination. Vpon this timber they soone after built hay and stubble, which hath by Luthers kindling set Rome on fire.

2. Cor. 7.

Adulterous
commixtion
of Indulg. and
Dispens.

Greg. de Valent.
de Indulg. vid.
Spal. l. 5. c. 8.

Vid. Gesta Dei
per Francos.

G. Malm. l. 4.
Baronius hath
the same.
Iacob. de Vitri-
ac. hist. l. 1.
W. Tyr. hist. l. 1.

* Matth. Paris
his very words
are in Pope
Gregories In-
dulgence
granted Anno
1234. and be-
fore that in
Celestine and
Innocent.

N n n n n

In

See of all
these Mat. Pa-
ris and the Re-
lations before
recited.

In following times, this Expedition and Indulgences thereof, were followed by the opinions of satisfying God for former sinnes or imputations (as in *Henry* the Second for *Becket's* murder) to be expiated by this Warre. Secondly, of freeing of others soules hereby out of Purgatory. Thirdly, of freedome from Oathes, as is before mentioned out of the Councell of *Lions*. Fourthly, of Immunity of persons and goods, as of Priests to be absent, and yet taking the profits of their Livings for three yeares present, and to be free from payments; Laymen freed from Collections, Taxations and other publike grievances. Fifthly, against priuate Sutes, their persons and goods after the Crosse receiued, to be vnder Saint *Peters* and the Popes protection, and the defence of the Church, by speciall Protectors appointed, that till their returne or death certainly knowne, none might meddle with them vnder paine of Excommunication (a good proviso for Bank-rupts.) Sixtly, the proportion of this Indulgence to the proportion of ayde or counsell (*concilium vel auxilium*) or money that way employed. Seuenthly, the Suffrage and Prayers of the Synod, that this Iourney might profit worthily to their saluation. Eightly, power for all whomsoever but Regulars to goe, though vnfit; redeeming, changing, or deferring it by the Popes grant. Likewise, they increased sinne by this meanes, Murtherers, Theeues, Adulterers, Bank-rupts, and others hauing the Holy Land for refuge against Law, and for safety of them and theirs, yea, for Merit and Indulgence; that becomming hereby the very sinke of sinne, confluence of all villaine, the heart and centre of abomination: as appeares in *Vitriacus* and others.

Hurts in Faith
and Manners
by these Expe-
ditions, and
Pilgrimages to
the Holy Land.

Pope grew
great by Holy
Land warres.

M. Paris, p. 535.

* Pag. 653. of
all Christen-
dome.
Pag. 485.

Pag 703.

* Pag. 1219.

* Spalat. de rep.
E. l. 5. c. 9.

M. Paris, pag.
302. & seq.

And as morally, so also doctrinally, Purgatorie, Merit, Supererogation, Superstitious Pilgrimages, and the like, tooke further rooting by these Holy Land Expeditions; but especially the Popes power hereby increased in and ouer Kings and Kingdomes, thus intermeddling, peruertering and preuenting courses of Iustice by his Indulgence-Bulls horned with Excommunication: by imposing this Expedition on Kings as Penance: by exhausting their Treasures, Souldiers and Forces; by busying them farre off, whiles he and his might take and make oportunitie to adulterate all at home: by pushing with these hornes of Indulgences against Kings themselues; without other force, employing the forces of one Prince against another, and of their owne subiects against their Soueraignes. So was King *John* forced to surrender his Crowne, and take it of the Pope in farme, the *French* and his owne being armed against him: so *Conrade*, *Memfred*, *Ladislaus*, and other Kings of *Sicily*; *George*, King of *Bohemia*, &c. By this was the Imperiall Eagle plucked and stripped, greater Indulgences being giuen, that more money might bee gathered to maintayne with Holy Land money, his warre against *Fredericke* the Emperour; sending simple Messengers with Legatine power, which by Commanding, Minacing, Excommunicating, Preaching, Praying, besides, his white Bull, which might moue stony hearts (melting out their metall) as to succour the Holy Land, indeed, to ruinate the Emperour. For which cause he had procured a Tenth, of Clergy and Laity in many Kingdomes; and that with strict Inquisition of the value to the Popes best commodite, euen of the fruits before the Haruest, present pay to bee made vnder paine of Interdicting and Excommunicating: which made the Prelates sell their Chalice and Church goods, that I mention not the vsurers his Chaplen, and Agent *Stephen* had to byte, flay and deuoure the flocke with further exactions. This was *Gregorie* the Compiler of the Decretals. These moneyes the Pope gaue to *John de Bresnes*, to warre against the Emperour then in the Holy Land, and forced thither by the Popes Excommunication. He extorted also a fifth of beneficed Forreiners for that purpose, & absolved his Subiects from their Allegiance. And when some expostulated with the King of *England*, for suffering his Kingdome to be made a prey, He answered, *I neyther will nor dare contradict the Lord Pope in any thing*: so that hee obtayned a fifth in *England*: and after that, sent *Peter Rubens* to new vn-heard of execrable exactions by lyes and cauations. What shall I tell * of *Rustandu*, which was sent to gather new Tenths, and to exchange the Kings Vow for the Holy Land, into a *Sicilian* Expedition against *Memfred*, with equall Indulgences? Yea, greater Indulgences are granted to such as would warre against Christians, if the Popes Enemies, as before you haue read, then in the Holy Land against the *Turkes*.

Contrary to Indulgences are Interdictments, as *Samsons* Foxes hauing a fierie coniunction in their tayles: of which *Hildebrand* is noted first Author; by which, if a Prince offended, his Subiects and whole Dominions were Interdicted, that is in Papall Interpretation, a publike Excommunication was denounced against him and his, and all externall publike Holies suspended. You shall haue it in *Mat. Paris* his words of King *John*, who being offended that the Pope had reiected from the Archbishopricke of *Canterburie*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom the greater and sounder part of the Monkes in due solemnity, by the Kings consent had chosen, obtruding one of his Cardinals *Stephen Langton* vpon him, whom he refused: the Pope caused the Bishop of *Ely* and *Worcester*, to denounce his Interdict, which was also contrary to Papall Priuiledges obserued. There ceased therefore in *England* all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments (except confession, and housell in danger of death, and Baptisme of children.) The bodies of the dead were carried out of Cities and Villages, and buried likes Dogges in by-ways, and Ditches without Prayers and Ministerie of the Priests: whereupon diuers Bishops forsooke his Land and such combustions followed, that the

the Pope excommunicated him (which was denounced by the former Bishops) after which hee absolved his Subiects from their Alleageance, and prohibited them in paine of Excommunication to auoyd his table, counsell, conference. All which yet were of no great force till the small sentence of deposition, nor that but by Indulgences and Crusados.

For the Pope writ to the *French King Philip* to vndertake the execution, for the remission of all his sinnes; and expelling the King of England, to hold the Kingdome of England to him and his Successors for ever. He wrote also to all great men, Knights and Warriors in diuers Nations, that they should signe themselves with the Crosse for the deiection of the King of England, following the French King in this Expedition, labouring to reuenge the quarrell of the vniuersall Church. Hee ordained also
 10 that whosoener should bestow his goods, or helpe to expugnate that obstinate King, they should remayne secure in the peace of the Church (euen as they which visit the Sepulchre of our Lord) in their goods and persons and suffrages of soules, (or deliuerance of soules out of Purgatory.)

The issue whereof was, that great prouisions were made on both sides, King Iohn hauing at *Barhamdowne*, threescore thousand armed men, besides, a strong Navy at Sea: the French on the other side was come to the Sea with his owne and the English, an innumerable Army, when *Pandulfus* the Popes Legate craftily sent to him to satisfie the Pope, which he could no way doe but by resigning his Crowne and Kingdome, to receiue it againe in fee farme of the Pope, doing him homage, and paying him rent: which when the King had granted, *Pandulfus* sought to periwade the French party to peace, and the English to returne. The French hereupon stormed, inuaded
 20 the Earle of *Flanders*, King Iohns Confederate, who now with his forces succored him with five hundred ships, which tooke three hundred French shippes richly prouided, and burned one hundred others: the French being crossed in a double sense, not without great effusion of Christian blood: the Pope ayming at his owne designed greatnesse, to vse the French against the English, and the Subiects against their Prince; as afterward taking the Kings part against his Subiects, and excommunicating the French, that as in the Fable, he might play with both, and pray on both; spending themselves in mutuall emulations.

Miserable warres and bloudshed of Christians by Papall procurement,

Yet would not his Subiects obey him, prouiding great forces to inuade France, till the Sentence were released: whereupon he entertayned *Stephen*, and the other Bishops falling at their feet with teares, desiring them to haue mercy on him, and the Kingdome of England, who
 30 thereupon absolved him, swearing to the conditions propounded: his Designes against France, through that delay prooued frustrate notwithstanding. In the Pope and his Bishops, he found so little certainty that he sent Embassadors to the King of *Morocco*, offering vassallage to him, if he would protect him; which being refused, knowing (saith the Author) that the Pope was above all mortall men ambitious and proud, and an insatiable thirster after money, and waxen, and prone to all villanies, for bribes or promises, he sent him Treasure, and promises of more, and alway to bee his Subiect, if hee would confound the Archbishop, and excommunicate the Barons whose parts he had before taken; that he might so imprison, disherit and slay them. *Innocent* was contented to be thus nocent, and released the Interdict, which had continued sixe yeares, three monethes and fourteene dayes, to the irreparable losse of the Church in Temporals and Spiritu-
 40 als. The Pope taking part now with the King, hee had opportunitie to reuenge himselfe of his Peeres, who hereupon raysed Ciuill Warres, and sware themselves to the French Kings Sonne, England remayning thus on fire, till the death of King Iohn, (which hapned amidst these flames) to the terrour of his Successors in so daring attempts against the Pope.

King abased to his subiects.

Interdict of six yeares and three moneths

And thus you see what Crusadoes and Indulgences could doe in those dayes, in and ouer this Kingdome: Interdicts can intend and pretend nothing, but raysing Discontents and Rebellions, as if God should impiously be depriued of his worship, and men vncharitably of the meanes of their saluation, for one mans fault, if a fault, if not the Popes only fault as well as tyrannicall punishment. For Gods Law forbids the fathers eating sower Grapes to set the childrens teeth on edge, and the sonne to beare the fathers fault, but the soule that sinneth shall dye: which the Venetian lately
 50 vnderstood, and nobly vindicated against the Pope, as King Iohn would haue done, if the times had beene answerable. But Indulgences you see heere, were the Executors and Executioners of the Popes fury, euen to the subiection of the most vnwilling Kings and Kingdomes, which is the Master-piece of Popery in the getting. And for the keeping and mayntayning this Monarchie, Crusadoes and Indulgences stayd not heere, but by the same *Innocent* (the first Decreeer also of Transubstantiation) was extended against the *Albigenses*, or *Waldenses*, then reputed Heretikes, (as wee now are by the Papists) and condemned for those Doctrines, which they had learned out of the Scriptures against the Papall Pride and Superstition. Other things are ascribed to them, as now to vs by the Iesuits, with like Truth and Charity, as out of their owne Authors which best knew, is euident. As *Vrbans* intent had beene
 60 against the Antipope, which his Successors after followed, so *Innocent* and other Popes disposed the Crosse and Indulgence against those which mayntayned the Truth of the Gospell, and in all likelihood had but for this opposition, ruined the Papacie. He sent Preachers (sayth *Matthew Paris* in whose steps we still insist) vnto all the Regions of the West, and enioyned Princes, and other Christian people for remission of their sinnes, that they should signe themselves with the Crosse to root out
 this

Interdicts; how vnjust.

Ex. 18.

Albigenses, or Waldenses. Pag. 322. A. 1213.

this pestilence, and opposing themselves to such mischiefs, by force and armes should defend the Christian people. He added also by authoritie of the Sea Apostolike, that whosoever to expugnate them, shall undertake the enioyned labour, should remayne secure aswell in their goods as persons from all incursions of enemies. At this preaching, so great a multitude of men which tooke the Crosse assembled, as is not beleaved at any time to haue met together in our Climate. But wee will learne this businesse of others which better knew it.

Pop. hist. Fran.
lib. 1. fol. 7.

Poplimerius saith, the Waldenses against the will of all Christian Princes (so did the Apostles against the will of Ethnike Princes, (and Princes called Christians, were now made drunke with the Whores cup) sowed their Doctrine, little differing from that which the Protestants now embrace, not only thorow all France, but almost all the Coasts of Europe. For the French, Spaniards, English, Scots, Italians, Germanes, Bohemians, Saxons, Polonians, Lithunians, and other Nations, haue stiffely defended it to this day. One of Innocents Decrees in the Councell of Lateran, which also decreed Transubstantion, is, that if a Temporall Lord being required and warned by the Church, shall neglect to purge his Countrey from hereticall filthinesse, the Bishops shall excommunicate him: if he continue so a yeare, let it be signified to the Pope, that he may free his vassals from their alleageance, and expose his Land to bee occupied of Catholikes, which may possesse it without contradiction, the Heretikes being rooted out, &c.

Tom. 4. Concil.
Edit. Rom. 1612.
pag. 44.

Vmbert. serm. p.
2. Ser. 64.
See D. Usher de
C. Ec. Stat. c. 8.
9. 10.
Sabel. En. 9. l. 6.

Indulgences were preached in this sort, the Text, Psal. 94. 16. *Who will rise up for mee against the euill doers, &c.* or the like applyed to the people: *You see beloued, how great the malice of Heretikes is, &c.* Therefore the holy Mother Church, though unwilling, calleth against them a Christian Armie. Whosoever therefore hath the zeale of the faith, whosoever is touched with the honour of God; whosoever will haue this great Indulgence, let him come and take the signe of the Crosse, and ioyne himselfe to the Christian Souldierie. Some thinke that the Crouched Order of *Crucigeri*, was then confirmed by this Innocent; many Crossed, and going to or returning from Syria, winning the Popes fauour by their Exploits against the *Albigenses*. I might adde the Orders of Militarie Knights, as Templars, Hospitulars, and others which hence had their originall, and were so potent in wealth and numbers, that they could beard Kings, and had their dependance and priuiledges of the Pope.

Military Orders, lay Fraternities and Friars.
See Usher, pag. 261.
Inquisition begun.
Inn. Ep. dec. l. 1.

Dominicke Author of the *Dominicans*, preached to conuert with the word, and had helpers with the Sword, to expugnate those which his word could not. These were called, *Fratres de militia B. Dominici*, and they and their wiues were a certaine guild, called the *Brethren and Sisters of Penance of Saint Dominicke*. Likewise, the Office of the Inquisition was instituted by this Innocent, charging the Bishops in remission of their sinnes, to receiue his Commissaries, and to assist them against Heretikes, drawing forth the Spirituall Sword against those which were by the Inquisitors named; and let the Laymen confiscate their goods, and cast them out of their possessions. And whosoever should deuoutly assist them, we grant that Indulgence of their sinnes which we grant to those which visit the staires of Saint Peter, or Saint Iames. This he wrote in behalfe of Rainer and Guido. But after this Inquisition was delegated to Dominicke, for the Countries of Prouence, who raysed this Dominican Order, (ordure) whose chiefe care should be against Heretikes: he somewhat verified the Popes Dreame, seeming to stay the Church of Laterane, beeing readie to fall, which the Franciscans apply to Saint Francis. And indeed, had not these in this Age vpheld the Lateran Babylon, together with the Schoolemen, * the best of which were Friars, and the Canonists; it is likely the *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, Pooremen of *Lions*, *Inzabbatati*, (other names they giue them) had then ruined it, they then with like Arts, Dispensations, and Reputation doing that, which since Luther and Caluine the Iesuites haue laboured.

a Most of the chiefe Schoolemen were Dominicans or Franciscans.
* Pet. de vin. l. 1. Ep. 27.

The new Locusts * supplanted the former Clergie, exercised Penances, Functions, Baptismes, and began two Fraternities, wherein they receiued men and women so generally, that scarcely any were free: the people being unwilling to heare others preach; that the Priests were defrauded of their Tithes, and had not to liue; the Churches now retayning nothing but a Bell, and old dustie Image. The Friars began at Cottages, and now haue Kings Houses and Palaces erected, and hauing no riches are richer then all rich men, whiles we begge, &c. These became acute Schoolemen, Sententaries, Questionists, Summists, Quodlibetists, and I know not what irrefragable, subtle, Angelical Doctors and Disputants, bringing in Oppositions of Science falsly called, languishing about Questions and strifes of words: these made Diuinitie a Linsey wolsey garment; not as their Master of Sentences, of Fathers and Scriptures; but admitted Aristotle free of the Diuinitie Schooles, and ploughed with an Oxe and an Asse, their Miscelan fields.

1. Tim. 6.

Sabel. En. 9. l. 6.

These Dominicans and Franciscans were appointed also, *Inquisitores heretice prauitatie*, and made many bloody Sacrifices, for their vnbloudy Sacrifice, and other Popish Heresies in pretence of Heretical prauitie: growing into such numbers, that Sabellicus numbred of Dominicans, one and twenty Prouinces; twentie foure thousand, one hundred forty three Couents, and in them Fryars entred, fiftene hundred Masters or Doctors of Diuinitie, in all twenty sixe thousand, foure hundred and sixtie. Of Franciscans, forty Prouinces deuided into Warden-ships, Couents, and Places; the persons innumerable, coniectured threescore thousand. Yea, the Generall promised to Pope Pius of bodies able to serue in his intended war against the Turke, thirty thousand

and *Franciscans*, thirtie thousand *Augustine* Friars, the *Carmelites* more, and other Orders I mention not, nor can I number these Locusts.

Matth. Paris inveigheth often against the insolencie of these Friars and their Papall priuiledges, odious to the Monkes and Secular Clergie. They were (saith he) Counsellors and Messengers of great men, Secretaries of our Lord the Pope, getting hereby Secular fauour: quarrelling about priuiledges of Order, that in three or foure hundred yeeres the Monkes had not so degenerated, as these within foure and twentie yeeres after their first Mansions in England, whose buildings now grow Royall Palaces. They wait on rich men dying, extort Confessions and secret Testaments, commending themselves and their owne Order alone, sollicitous to get Priuiledges; in the Courts of Kings and great men, Counsellors, Chamberlans, Treasurers, makers of Marriages, Executors of Papall exactions; in their Preachings buter or flattering, Reuealers of Confessions, Contemners of other Orders, accounting the Cistercians Semi-laikes and Rustikes, the blacke Monkes proud and Epicures, seeking to be enter-
 10 tained as Legats or Angels of God in their preaching. And if a man were confessed of his owne Priest, what say they, of that Idiot, ignorant of Theologie, the Decrees, Questions? they are blind Leaders of the blind: come to Vs, we know to distinguish leproie from leproie, know hard, difficult things and the secrets of God: whereupon Noble men and Ladies entertayned them, contemning their owne Priests and Prelates. And to returne to Indulgences, These were the Popes Publicans, preaching the receiuing of the Crosse
 20 (gining notice of such preaching before-hand, and entertayned by the Clergie in Vestments with Banners and Proceession) to all Ages, Sexes, Conditions, to the Sicke and Aged, the next day for money absolving them from their vowed Pilgrimage. But I am wearie of this stinking linke of hypocrisie, which for the World denyed the World, the Flesh for the Flesh, and obeyed to such enormous rebellions.

Yet let vs examine the Indulgences against the *Waldenses*, in the yeere 1208. innumerable multitudes receiued the Crosse in their breasts; the Pope writ to King *Philip* and all his Princes, to inuade *Narbonne*, *Tholouse*, and other parts. The next yeere, from all parts of *France*, *Flan-*
 ders, *Normandie*, *Aquitane*, *Burgundie*, the Bishops, Earles, and Barons, with an infinite number, met at *Lions* and came to *Byterra*, where they slue sixtie thousand, promiscuously *Papists*
 30 and *Waldenses*, by aduise of the Popes Legat, who said, The Lord knoweth who are his: some say an hundred thousand, not sparing Sexe or Age, burning the dead bodies. Thence they went to *Carcasson*, where they spared onely the mens liues, not leauing them their apparell. *Simon Mont-*
 fort, Earle of *Leicester*, was made Generall, who tooke *Roger* the Lord of the Countrey, and all the Countrey with an hundred Castles, and many others rendred themselves. In the yeer 1210, was a new Expedition of these crossed Votaries out of *France*, *England*, and *Lorraine*, which tooke *Minerbia*, where an hundred and fourescore chose rather to burne then turne: entred *To-*
 40 *louse*, wasting all, taking Cities and Castles, burning such as would not turne. They tooke *Raimund* and his Castle of *Therma*, his Wife and Daughter; he dyed in prison, they with other Ladies in the fire. *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, *Adolph* Earle of *Monte*, *William* Earle of *Iuliers* went thither out of *Almaine*. An. 1211. a new Armie from many parts, tooke many Cities and Castles, burning and hanging many, committing the conquered Countrey to *Simon Montfort*. *Lan-*
 50 *uallis* was taken, and choise giuen to turne or burne, three hundred and fiftie choosing this. The Ladie was cast in a Well and stones throwne on her.

Raimund * Earle of *Tholouse* had aide of the King of *Arragon*, and was an hundred thousand strong (*Armoricanus* hath two hundred thousand) but was ouer-throwne by the Crosses and *Montfort*, and the King of *Arragon* slaine, and the certayne number, saith *Paris*, of the slaine, could not be certainly numbred: some say two and thirtie thousand. Hence new crossed Knights which serued for Indulgence and spoile, in the yeeres 1214. and 1215. *Simon* possessing himselfe of the great Countries of Earle *Raimund*, by the Popes procurement, and King *Philips* grant. The Warres continued 1216. 1217. 1218. in which *Simon* was slaine. The Warres were prosecuted by *Amalricus* his sonne, and *Lewis* sonne to King *Philip*. These tooke *Miramon-*
 60 *da* and slue Man, Woman and Child.

Anno 1219. *Tolouse* was besieged in vaine, Famine and Mortalitie plaguing the Armie. The Warre continued 1220. 1221. In the yeere 1223. the Pope sent his Legat, a Cardinall, with twentie Bishops. King *Philip* died and appointed twentie thousand pounds to helpe *Amalricus* against the *Albigenses*, which grew now strong in *Dalmatia*, *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*. Anno 1225. King *Lewis* made an Expedition to besiege *Auinion*, seuen yeeres excommunicate by the Pope, with an Armie of *Crusado's*. But Earle *Raimund* had plowed the grounds and preuented all prouision, that Sword, Famine and Pestilence dismayed that huge Armie, wherein the King himselfe died, and aboue two and twentie thousand of the Assailants. Loth to wearie you with such bloudie spectacles, effects of Antiphrasticall Indulgences, this Warre is said to continue about
 70 seuentie yeeres. The *Waldenses* encreased notwithstanding daily, and the Warre, saith *Thuanus*, was of no lesse weight then that against the *Saracens* (which occasioned this whole discourse) and they were rather in the end spoiled then conuerted or conuicted, some remayning close in *Prouence*, some in the *Alpes*, some in *Calabria* to our times, and some in *Brisaine*.

The *Bohemians* also were their issue, against whom the Pope vsed like courses of Indulgences,

Pag. 561.

Pag. 823.

Pag. 921.

Pag. 1017.

See Vsh. de
Christ. Eccles.
Stat. c. 19.

* R. Earle of
Tolouse had the
Countrey of
Saint Giles,
Prouence, Dau-
phine, Venasme,
Rutben, Cadure,
Albig. &c.

Bertrand. Gest.
Tolos.

Thu. Prefat.
bist.

An. Syl. bist.
80. Dubr. vi. 23.
24. & seqq.

Matt. Par.

Pag. 977.

See Act. and
Mon. of Tho.
Cromwell.

one hundred and fiftie thousand at one time crossed vnder *Sigismund* to the war, being out of diuers Kingdomes, not to mention the *Crusado's* by the Cardinals of *Winchester* and *Iulian*, with innumerable bloudshed. But I am loth to lothe and wearie you with such cruell Indulgentiall morsells, the Popes feast of mans flesh to the blinded World. Those *Bohemian* warres had first originall from *Hus* his preaching, and that also against Indulgences preached against the King of *Naples*: they were long and bloudie, but more long and bloudie haue those of this last and worst Age beene from like originall, which I leaue to other Authors, to reckon the many many hundreds of thousands of Christians, which one neighbour Countrey, yea one little piece of her neighbour Countrey (not to mention others still bleeding, crying, dying) haue lost in quarrels, died in the blood of Religion. Money is the life of merchandise, Sinowes of warre, and vphol-
 der of Greatnesse, without which, *Peters succession*, *patce Oues*, *I haue prayed for thy Faith*, *Constantines supposed donation*, and the *keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen*, had not preuailed to a Papall earthly Monarchie. And Indulgences and *Crusado's* haue heene his best both Mine and Mint for Money: first, in sharing with Kings which tooke the Crosse, and by Papall power imposed Tenths that he might haue a Twentieth, as he did to Saint *Lewis* of *France*. Secondly, in letting out his Indulgences to Kings at a Rent, whereby at this day some get more then by some Kingdomes. Thirdly, by redeeming the Vowes by such meanes as you haue now heard of the Friars, one binding to the Vow, another for money loosing, like a blacke and white Deuill witching and vnwitching the superstitious vulgar. Fourthly, Kings taking the Crosse to oppresse their Subiects for the charge, with part of the purchase purchasing a Papall Absolution. Fifthly, agreeing with Kings to fleece the Church for the Holy Land, that he might doe as much against the Emperour. Sixtly, letting out these *Crusado's* to ferme, by which *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, in *Matt. Paris*, daily so enriched himselfe, how much more the Pope? the Popes preacher (playing the haruest man, to bring into his Barnes or *Treasurie*) that the same of his money made him to be chosen Emperour. He of one Archdeaconrie reaped six hundred pounds. *William Longspat* got by the like gift of the Pope, aboue a thousand marks. Seuenthly, giuing Indulgences, that is, the money which might be made of them in recompense of friendship, labours, expenses. Eightly, selling Indulgences to Churches, Images, Altars, Graines, Prayers, &c. thorow the Christian world. Ninthly, by Iubilees, whereof *Crusado's* were Fore-runners and Apparitors. Tenthly, by dispensations the *Iuno*, sister and wife of this Indulgent *Ioue*, or *Pluto* rather. Eleuenthly, by instituting Offices; Penitentiaries, Notaries, and I know not what rabble for these purposes and his Exchequer Receits, and then selling those multiplied Offices for the greatest summe. But who can summe vp these Accounts? especially being workes of Darknesse, mystie mysteries, which yet are thus farre reuealed, enough to proue the Author the *Man of sinne*, which by his owne verie sinne, and supposed pardon of others, hath let the raines of the World loose to Sinne, and hereby ruled the World holding the raines in his owne hand. Once; his temporall Monarchie, Collations of Benefices, Dispensations had neuer vnder-propped this mysticall Monarchie, had not *Crusado's* and Indulgences awed Kings, excited and incited furious Armies, armed furies; depopulated and ruined Kingdomes, and by mayne force bett downe all Opponents abroad, and filled his Coffers at home.

But for this of money, *Sixtus* or *Xistus* the fourth, was wont to say, that hee should neuer want money so long as he wanted not a Hand and a Pen. And *Xistus* the fifth, in five yeeres and a halfe had gathered five millions of treasure, notwithstanding his magnificent and admirable expenses, in Palaces, Churches, Obeliskes, Conduits, and the like. So much could Friars Minors skill of getting both Papacie and Money. And that you may know of what vse prohibited marriages to Priests and religious Orders are, you may consider how the Pope may make Armies of their numbers in extremitie; and of their purses at pleasure make sponges. *Pius* the fourth leuied at one time of the Religions foure hundred thousand Ducats; and if he would haue admitted Resignations of Benefices with Regresses, as he was aduised, he might that way haue made a million. *Paul* the third maintayned twelue thousand foot and five hundred horse at his pay, vnder *Charles* the fift against the *Lutherans*, and yet raysed his house as you see: *Clement* the seuenth hath notwithstanding his captiuitie done more for his House. *Pius* the fift sent foure thousand foot and one thousand horse, to aide *Charles* the ninth against the Protestants. But I haue wearied the Reader in obseruing the effects of this Pope holy Expedition to *Ierusalem*, and the Papall aduancement thereby. I will adde the vertues of those Holy Land Inhabitants, and then you shall see it the Holy Land indeed, so termed by *Antiphrasis*, *Dignum patella operculum*, Lettice sutable to the lips of His Holinesse, who may also haue that Title for the selfe same cause.

p. V.

*Superstition aduanced in and by the Holy Land Expeditions, and the Christians
Christianitie in those parts worse then in other. Diuers Sects
of Christians in the East.*

10 **F**irst for superstition, this voyage proued a Mart for Reliques, as is before in part ob-
serued of the multiplyed Crosse, of the Speare, of the Bloud of Christ, solemnely car-
ried by King Henrie to Westminster, of our Ladies haire, &c. Of the Crowne of
Thornes, *Matth. Paris* tells, that *Baldwin*, Emperour of *Constantinople* before men-
tioned, sold it to the French King for money, to pay his Armie. *Peter* the pilgrime Bishop of
Winchester, bequeathed inestimable summes of money to Religious Houses by him founded at
Hales, *Tikeford*, *Seleburne*, *Portsmouth*: and whereas two Churches had beene dedicated to Saint
Th. Becket at *Acon*, he remoued one of them to a more conuenient place, and changed their Or-
der into a more competent, subiect to the Templars, and gaue besides by Will fise hundred marks
to it. But *Vitriacus*, the Bishop of *Acon*, will best acquaint vs with their conditions, who ha-
uing reckoned the Peeres of that Kingdome, the Earle of *Tripolis*, Lords of *Berith*, *Sidon*, *Cas-*
phas or *Porphyria*, *Casarea*, *Mount Royall*, of *Assur*, of *Ibelim*, with some others; the Prince of
20 *Galilee*, Lord of *Tiberias*; Earle of *Ioppe* and *Ascalon*, &c. tells vs of the flourishing state of Re-
ligion by the odor of holy and venerable places there, sorted and fitting to mens deuouter hu-
mours; some choosing to liue in the Desart called *Quarantena*, where our Lord was tempted, li-
uing Heremiticall liues in petie Cells; others, in imitation of *Elias* in Mount *Carmell* neere
Caiphas, in Hives of small Cells, foure miles from *Acon*: others, in the Desarts of *Iordan*; o-
thers liuing solitarie in the Desart of *Galilee*, where Christ preached. In *Thabor* was a Monaste-
rie builded, and in diuers other places. Others chose rather to liue in Cities, especially *Ierusa-*
lem, *Nazareth*, and *Betleem*.

Ierusalem was the Mother of the Faith, as *Rome* is of the faithfull; it stands on a high Hill,
is on both sides Mountaynous, abounding with Wheat, Wine, and Oile, and all temporall good
30 things: yet hath but one Fountayne, called *Saloe*, flowing out of *Sion*, sometimes hauing little or
no Waters. And as it is more holy then any place, so it hath drawne to it more religious Per-
sons. In it is a Temple of huge quantitie, whence the Templars haue their name, called *Sal-*
mons Temple. Whatioeuer places (in all that Countrey) our Lord trod on, are esteemed holy and
consecrated, and for precious Reliques by the faithfull; whence Religious both Clerks and Lay-
men, as well militarie as of other condition, haue beene drawne thither: namely, the Brethren
of the Hospitall of Saint Iohn, the Templars, and the Brethren of the Hospitall of Saint Marie of the
Dutch. The Hospitalars were from the time of the *Surians*, hauing a Latine Church of Saint
Marie, the Abbot whereof built an Hospitall in honor of Saint Iohn Eleemon. After the *Franks*
Expedition, Gerard the Master, adioyning some others to him tooke a religious habit and white
40 Crosse, whom Agnes the Abbess followed. These buried their dead in *Acheldama*, and whiles
they were poore obeyed the Abbot, and payed their Tithes, and called the poore to whom they
ministred, their Masters and Lords, but after became as Princes of the Earth. The Templars also
were at first Lions in battell, Lambs at home, Eremites and Monkes in the Church, hauing Ban-
ners blacke and white (as mild to Christians, terrible to the Infidels) seuer in their owne socie-
tie, obsequious to the Patriarke, beloued for their Religion and humilitie, as the former, inso-
much that Dukes and Princes denied the World and followed them.

And because a threefold Cord is not easily broken, that of the *Dutch Knights* was added, from a
small beginning increasing into a swelling streame. For one *Dutch* man with his family dwelling
at *Ierusalem*, many of his Countrey Pilgrimes, which knew not the language, were glad of his
50 entertainment in a small Hospitall by him therefore builded, to which also he added a Chappel
in honour of our Lady, and partly procured of his owne goods, partly by almes, to the poore and
sicke Pilgrimes. Some *Dutchmen* liking the intent, gaue all they had thereto, binding them-
selues by vow; and when some of Gentle and Noble blood had adioyned themselves, they be-
came both followers of the Hospitalars in their care of the poore, and of the Templars in Mili-
tary Deuotion.

The Holy Land also flourished with Regulars, Religious, Anchorites, Monkes, Canons, Nuns,
Inclosed persons, *Virgins*, *Widowes*. It was also full of peoples, *Genuois*, *Pisans*, *Venetians*, men fit
for the Sea, and sage Counsels; *Frankes*, *Almans*, *Britons*, *Englishmen*, lesse ordered or circum-
spect, more impetuous, more superfluous in Dyet, prodigall in Expenses, deuout in the Church,
6 feruent in Charity, more couragious in Battell, and formidable to the *Saracens*: which yet for
the vanitie of some, are by the *Pollans*, called the *Sonnes of Hemaudius*. They which descended
of the Conquerors are called *Pollans*, eyther because they were *Pulli*, in respect of the *Surians*, or
because their Mothers were most of them *Apulians*; the Army wanting women enough, and pro-
curing from *Apulia*, the neereſt place of the Westerne Church. There are besides in the Holy
Land,

Pag. 731.

* By English-

men.

Pag. 634.

Peeres of the

Kingdome of

Ierusalem.

Quarantena, nw

Ierusalem de-

scribed.

Templars, so

called of a

Temple buile

by Mahume-

tans.

Hospitalars.

Acheldama.

Templars.

Dutch Knights

originall.

Holy Land

Inhabitants.

Colts, Chic-

kens or young

things.

Land,

Land, Greekes, Iacobites, Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians and Georgians, of much seruice for husbanding the Earth and other commodities.

The Authour
doth heape
more senten-
ces of Scrip-
ture to disco-
uer their abo-
minations,
then here are
mentioned, to
shew them de-
plorate and de-
perate: espe-
cially confide-
ring their sins
out of measure
sinfull, and
their Holies
so leauened
with manifold
superstitions.

But when the Deuill (I still follow our Author) had found no rest in the first poore Pilgrims; hee found the house empty, swept and garnished (men idle and dwelling securely, abounding with temporall goods) and taking seven spirits worse then himselfe (the seven deadly sinnes, for their ingratitude worse) hee entred againe, and the last state was worse then the former. They were proud, high-minded, contumelious, seditious, malicious, sorcerers, sacrilegious, couetous, slouthfull, drunkards, gluttons, adulterous, thaeues, robbers, homicides, traitors, men of bloud, disobedient to Parents and Elders, without affection, truce breakers, mercileffe: Reproach and lying man-slaughter, and theft, and adulterie over-flowed, and bloud touched bloud. So was the imagination of wicked mens intent to euill at all times, so farre was all vertue and religious honestie decayed, that there was scarcely any found which made difference betwixt the holy and profane; or separated the precious from the vile. All were gone head-long to confusion; from the sole of the foot to the crowne of the head there was no soundnesse: and as was the People, such was the Priest.

For when all the World in manner had made it selfe tributarie in Almes, Gifts, Oblations, the Pastors fed themselves, minding the Wooll and Milke, not the Soules of the Flocke; yea, became examples of Treason, rich by Christs pouertie, proud by his humilitie, glorious by his ignominie, fattened and grosse by the patrimonie of him Crucified; howsoeuer Christ had said, *Feede my Sheepe*, not, *Sheare my Sheepe*. They sought their owne, not the things of Christ, became blinde guides of the blinde, dumbe Dogs not able to barke; entring the Lords House pompously, wanting the Key of knowledge, polluted with Gehezis leprosie, erecting the Chayres of Done-sellers and Money-changers, which our Lord ouer-threw, in the Churches euery-where, saying with Iudas, *What will you giue mee? and I will betray him to you*. All of them loued Gifts and followed Rewards, taking the Keyes from Simon Peter, and deliuering them to Simon Magus: manifold wayes luxurious, idle; feeding not with crummes from the Lords Table, but with whole Loaves and delicate Meates, their Whelps which of filthy Concubines they themselves more filthy had procreated.

Regular Or-
ders, Masters
of misse-rule
and disorder.

The Regulars also infected with the poyson of Riches, and increased with possessions beyond measure, contemned their Superiours, and not onely became irksome to the Ecclesiasticks, but enuied and detracted each other to the grievous scandall of Christendome, to contumelies, open hatreds, conflicts, violences, battells. For hauing begunne to build the Tower of Babel, with diuided Tongues, they not onely disagreed amongst themselves, but bandying factions procured discords amongst others. And howsoeuer many of them as graines of Corne amongst Chaffe, and Lillies amongst Thornes, as the times gaue leaue, obserued their rules, and sate not downe in the Chayre of pestilence; yet the impietie of the worse preuailed, and their iniquitie superabounded, that in contempt of Ecclesiasticall Discipline, they receiued to their Holies those which by name had beene excommunicated: Abbots, Priors, Monkes, their miserable and mercenarie Chaplens, thrust their Sickles into others Haruests, made vnlawfull marriages, visited and houselled the sicke for gayne, not for godlinesse; binding and loosing against God and holy Canons, the Soules which belonged not to their charge; admitted the dead to burials (their Pastors contradicting, and vsurped Parochiall right. Nannes also leaped out of their Cloysters, frequenting publike Baths with secular persons. And as any were greater amongst the Lay-men, so much more perniciously corrupted they their wayes: a corrupt Generation, as Lees of the Wine, Cockle of Wheat, and Rust of Siluer.

Pullani, wicked
and abomi-
nable.

These Pullani, delicate, wanton, effeminate, more accustomed to Baths then Battells, giuen to vncleanness and leacherie, curiously dressed after womens wont, were contemned of the Saracens, and (if they had none of the Western people with them) more vilipended then Women. They made league with the Saracens, and quarrelled with themselves, for light matters raising ciuill warres, and often borrowing aide of the Infidells, spending the Treasure and Stocke of Christians against Christians. They were deepe Dissemblers, not easie to be perceived in their fallacies till they had deceived; iealous mewers vp of their wiues, that their owne Brethren and neere Kindred might scarcely haue access; and keeping them from the Churches, and Sermons, and other things necessarie to their soules, hardly once in the yeere admitting them the Church. The richer sort erected Altars neere their wiues beds, and by some wretched Chaplens and vnlearned Sir Iohns, procured Masses to be said, that they might seeme Christians. And how much closer their wiues are kept, so much more they whet their wits with a thousand deuises and infinite plots to finde starting holes; furnished by the Surians and Saracen women, with sorceries, mischiefs, and innumerable abominations. They are ingratefull, and many wayes irksome to those Pilgrims, which come from remote parts to their aide, with great labours and intolerable expenses, liking better their ease and carnall pleasures, then warres with the Saracens. These Pilgrims they entertayne at immoderate charge, defrauding and impouering them in buying, and bartering to their owne

Per miseros Ca-
pell. & imperios
presbyteros.

exceeding enriching; afflicting them with reproaches and wrongs, and calling them *Sonnes* a Before *filios* of *Hernaud*, as it were Fooles and Ideots. *Hernaud*, one is false printed

There are others, continuing from ancient times vnder diuers Lords, *Romanes*, *Greekes*, *Saracens* and *Christians*, called *Surians*, vnfit for Warre, men for the most part Vnfaithfull, Double-dealing, Lyers, Inconstant, Fortune-fawners, Traytors, Gift-takers, esteeming Theft and Robbery for nothing, Spyes to the *Saracens*, imitating their Language and Condition. These shau not, but nourish their beards, as doe the *Greekes* with great care, attributing thereto much virilitie, grauitie, authoritie and glorie. Whereupon, when *Baldwin* Earle of *Edeffa*, hauing married the Daughter of a rich *Armenian*, suffered his Beard to grow; to extort money from his Father in law, he said, he had impawned his Beard for a great summe to certaine Creditors; who gaue him thirtie thousand Bizantines, to prevent that disgrace to his Family, and on condition neuer to engage his Beard againe. These *Syrians* vse the Tongue and manner of writing of the *Saracens* in contracts, and all sauing their Diuinitie and Holies, for which they haue the *Greeke* Letter; so that their Laity vnderstand not their seruice, as the *Greekes* doe, whose Rites they wholly obserue. They obey the *Latine* Prelates, for feare of the Princes, otherwise not hauing *Greeke* Bishops of their owne, nor would regard their censures, but that our Lay-men in contracts and other businesse, would not haue to doe with them being excommunicated. For they say amongst themselves, that the *Latines* are all excommunicated, and therefore cannot excommunicate. The *Surians* and *Greekes* admit not fourth Marriages. Their Priests marry not after their Orders, but vse their wiues which before they married. They account not Sub-deaconship in holy Orders. Their simple Priests confirme with Chrisme, which with the *Latines* is not lawfull but to Bishops. They keepe Saturday holy, nor esteeme Saturday Fast lawfull but on Easter Euen. They haue solemne Seruice on Saturdayes, eate flesh, and feast it brauely like the *Iewes*.

The Westerne Church for many Ages vsed much shauing, as in old pictures is seen Beards of price.

Force of Excommunication against contracts.

There are also in the Holy Land and the East parts *Iacobites*, so called of one *Iames* a Disciple of the Patriarke of *Alexandria*. These of long time haue inhabited the greater part of *Asia*, some amongst the *Saracens*, and some, as in *Nubia*, and great part of *Ethiopia*, possessing whole Countries. They Baptise and circumcise their children, and obserue not Auricular Confession: some make Crosses with fire in their cheekes or temples; and they mayntaine but one nature in Christ. Some of them vse the *Chaldee* Letter, others the *Arabike*, that is, the *Saracenicall*. There are in the Holy Land, and by themselves in *India*, *Nestorians*, especially, in the Countrey of *Presbyter* *John*. These, with the *Iacobines*, are said to be more then the *Latines* and *Greekes*: and besides those which dwell by themselves entyre, there are said to be more of these Christians subiect to the Infidels, then are of *Saracens* themselves. They diuide the person of Christ, making the Virgin *Mary* Mother of the humane Person, & the Son of God another diuine Person. *Nestorius* and this his Heresie were condemned in the *Ephesine* Councell. They vse the *Chaldee* Letter, and leauened Hosts as the *Greekes* doe.

Iacobites.

See of this our former *Abassine* Relations.

Nestorians.
b Not the *Abassine*, but in *Asian India*, where the *Portugals* found Bishops and other Christians, called *S. Thomas* Christians.

The *Tartars* caused much alteration in these parts.

Maronites.

About *Libanus* are some called *Maronites*, many in number which acknowledged (*Maro* was their Master) but one nature in Christ. These *Monothelites* were condemned in the sixth generall Councell at *Constantinople*. They vsed Sacraments by themselves fve hundred yeares, and after by *Aimerike*, Patriarke of *Antiochia*, were reduced to the *Roman* Faith, whose Traditions they follow; insomuch, that when all the *Easterne* Prelates except the *Latines*, vse no Rings, *Miters*, nor *Pastorall* Stauas, nor *Bels*, (but Boords on which they knocke with a Sticke or Hammer to call the Assembly) the *Maronites* vse all; and their Patriarke was present at the Councell of *Laterane*, vnder *Innocent* the Third. They vse the *Chaldee* Letter and *Saracen* Language.

Armenians.

The *Armenians* are diuided from all other Christians in Rites; hauing a Primate of their owne, whom they call *Catholicon*, obserued by all of them as another Pope. They haue Letters and Language proper, and Lyturgies in the vulgar. At Christmasse they fast, and at Twelveday they solemnize our Lords Baptisme, and his Spirituall Natiuitie, as they improperly speake.

Lent they fast so strictly, that they not only abstayne from Flesh, Egges, Whit-meates, but also from Filh, Oyle, and Wine, yet fast not but eate frutes, and as often as they please. On some Fridayes they eate flesh. They mixe no water with Wine in the Sacrament. The *Armenians* promised obedience to the Pope, when their King receiued of *Henry* the Emperor his Land, and the Crown of the Archbishop of *Mentz*: but retayne their old Rites notwithstanding. There is also a warlike people dreadfull to the *Saracens*, called *Georgians*, of Saint *George*; whom they haue for their Patrone, and worship as their Ensigne bearer aboue other Saints, vling the *Greeke* Holies. Their Priests haue round crownes, the Lay-men square: and when they come to *Ierusalem* on Pilgrimage, they enter with Banners displayed and without Tribute: the *Saracens* forbearing them, lest they should after their returne bee reuenged on other *Saracens*. Their noble women vse Armes in Battels, as *Amazons*.

Georgians.

The *Mosarabes* are *Latine* Christians, and obserue the *Romish* Rites, dwelling amongst the *African* and *Spanish* *Saracens*. Yet some of them diuide the Sacrament into seuen parts, others into nime, whereas the *Romane* Church doth it into three. There are other miserable *Easterne* people, as *Esses* of *Iewish* descent, and *Assasines*, and *Saducees*, and *Samaritans*.

Mosarabes, or *Moxarabes*.

They

The Holy Land and the receptacle of all Impietie and Impuritie from other parts of Christendome.

* The Temples, &c.

They which haue best knowne the Holy Land Affaires and Changes, affirme, that no greater plague hath hapned then flagitious and pestiferous men, Sacrilegious Theeues, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Periured, Adulterers, Traytors, Pirates, Drunkards, Iesters, Dicers, Players, Runnagate Monkes, and Nunnes become common Whores, and such women as leauing their Husbands haue followed Bawdes, or such as haue forsaken their Wiues and marryed others. These Monsters haue runne away, and flying to the Holy Land, haue so much more boldly perpetrated there their former euils without shame, as they haue beene further from those which knew them; neither fearing God nor respecting men. The easinesse of escaping, and impunitie of sinning haue loosed the reines to their Impietie: because that after villanies committed, they runne to the *Saracens*, and deny Christ, or else by ship flye to some Ilands, or getting to the houses of Regulars, * which euery where they found, by their pernicious libertie of Priuiledges, defending the wicked, they escaped without punishment. Some Murderers also condemned to mutilation or death in their owne Countries, by praying or paying obtayned often to bee condemned to perpetuall Exile in the Holy Land; and neuer altering their manners, haue there preyed on Pilgrimes and Strangers, kept Bawdie-houses and Gaming-houses, and Receptacles for Theeues and Murthers, paying a yeerely Pension to the potent and rich, to patronize them in these exorbitancies; extorting the same with greater summes from Whores and Gamesters. Many also came to the Holy Land, not for Deuotion, but Curiositie and Noueltie.

Thus you haue had a view of the Inhabitants, both Clergie and Laitie, Natiue and accessorie: all flesh corrupting their way, and making it the most vnholly Sinke in the World, not the nauill of the Earth, as some call it, but the Knaue-ill, Slaue-uile, and base confluence of villanies; not the foundation of Religion, but the fundament of the Deuill and of Irreligion, as formerly in other Ages, so worse then all worsts in this, that it was inhabited by these *Pullans* and Pilgrimes. Neither haue I in this Relation augmented or exaggerated, but for breuitie haue fallen farre short of the Authors blacke pitchie colours, wherein hee describeth their Hellish darknesse. And howsoeuer he much commends the first Pilgrimes (as comparatiuely they deserued) yet euen that their righteoufnesse was but *pannus menstruata*, dyed in a deepe graine of Superstition, besides their other pollutions which the former Storie hath related. The best was a Popish pietie, the worst was farre farre worse then Heathenish Impietie (*Corruptio optimi pessima*) so little good did Religion & Christianity hereby receiue euen here. And as for the hurt it receiued in the West, we haue declared and proued at large; Religion comming to the West and worst, and that bright Sunne almost set in a darke misty mysticall Cloud, and darknesse from the bottomlesse Pit, principally by this meane and occasion.

Let none traduce me, as if I held it wholly vnlawfull to visit holy places, or to warre against Infidels, or that I enuy the Pope himselfe, his Temporalities: (howsoeuer gotten at first, as you haue heard) or absolutely deny Absolutions, Dispensations, Indulgences: the abuses I taxe, and historically haue shewed how by corruptions, confusions, combustions, the face and body of the Church hath beene empayred, weakned, and sicke (so neere to death in so many many members and limmes) of the *Antichristian* or *Romish* Disease. As *Christ* is the name not of the Head alone, but of the whole mysticall body, which is *one Seed, one City, one Temple, one Vine, one New man, one* CHRIST: * So is *Antichrist* both the head & mysticall body; the name howsoeuer it be most properly due to the Popes in their successions, as the head, yet competible also to the whole body of the Popish Church, which together makes vp that *mysticall Babylon*, which thus by the carnall *Ierusalem*, and *Iewish* Opinions and Rites, hath so impouerished the new, spirituall and heauenly *Ierusalem*, and her Celestiall Priuiledges, whereof we are *children* by Regeneration, and *enfranchised citizens* in manifold Priuiledges. Neyther perhaps, did any one stratageme so farre reduce *Iudaisme*, or induce Poperie, or seduce the Christian world, as this Holy Land vnholly degeneration. Christianity, is to *liue by faith and not by sight*, and to haue a *conuersation heauenly*, and the exercise of a spirituall warfare against the World, the flesh, the Deuill, by the panoply of God, hope of Saluation for a Helmet, Brest-plate of Righteoufnesse, Girdle of Sincerity, Greaves of the Gospell, Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and Shield of Faith (the euidence of things not seene, the ground of things hoped for) with perseuerant Watching and Prayer. But these Expeditions first hapned in a tumultuary warring and spoyling Age; were begun for temporall respects in the first moouers; in many if not most of the followers apprehended to like purpose of spoyle (all being as you haue seene, the Souldiers owne, hee could get) which blanchd ouer with Honour, Religion, Merit; Once; being the seruice of two Masters at once, God and Mammon, (which in true Religion is incompetent) easily wonne entertaynment. And if men now will aduenture voluntarily to fight any quarrels of any Region or Religion, for foure shillings a week, (eight dayes to the weeke) in an Age more composed generally to words then workes: is it any maruell, if so many inducements, in such a mist and smoke could whet so many Swords and courages in those Martiall times, where earthly purchases were the guerdon of the liuing, with Fame, Nouelties, and many many sensuall Holies; and Martyrdome was the Crowne of the dead with God, Heauen and Eternitie.

To conclude, Hypocrisie was the beginning, Bloud was the proceeding, Superstitious Pietie that

* 1. Cor. 12. 12. Antichrist signifieth, in the head of Christ, against Christ, or emulous of Christ.

The Pope is all in profession his Vicar, in shew emulous by zeale, indeed an emulous Corruall, and close Enemy of Christ. Vid. B. Downham de Antichrist. l. 1. 1. Thes. 5. Ephes. 6. Heb. 11.

that is impietie or impious pietie, with impuritie and desolation were the end. This whole businesse was (as the Serpents seducing *Eue*, and was prophesied of Antichrist) not an open professed enmitie against Christ, but in coloured loue of Christ and his patrimonie, a more subtle deceitfull working, the *Deuill transformed into an Angell*, that hee might proue the worſe *Deuill*: this Expedition being *after the working of Satan with all power, and signes, and lying wonders*, and *with all deceiuablenesse of vnrightheousnesse*, as was foretold of that *Sonne of perdition* (which hereby and herein he hath proued, if euer by any one course, as is shewed, to the perdition of thousands and thousands of thousands, both bodies and soules) a strange *Chymera, headed like a Lion*, and in shew presenting a *Lionlike fortitude*, for the honor of that *Lion of the Tribe of Iuda*; yet after the *Goats belly* of various lusts, *tayled like a Dragon*, and enuenoming to manifold deaths with the poyson of the *old Serpent*: in shew kissing, indeed betraying, with *Indas*; in shew lifting Christ higher, indeed crucifying him; the Pope in shew crowning these Pilgrims, but with a *crowne of Thornes*, with manifold externall miseries, void of all internall consolation, his Indulgences notwithstanding; in shew presenting the *faces of men, and haire of women*, indeed the *tayles of Scorpions, which those Locusts had in their tayles*. Once; herein was Christ many wayes crucified betwixt two theeues, in *Vrban* and *Boamund* the first Founders; in *superstition and hypocrisie*, the principall Mouers; in *Reuelations of Peter the Heremite* and others, and *Papall Indulgences*, the chiefe Confirmers: in the *Greekes and Infidels*, the one by Treacherie, the other by open Violence, the mayne Confounders, (like two Mill-stones, grinding the Westerne Christians and this whole exploit, to poulder) in exposing Christian bodies to *blondie crueltie*, and their soules to *crueller impietie*; in *confusions* and manifold disorders in Families and Commonwealths, by absence of Ouer-seers at home, and *buying vanitie*, nothing, and lesse then nothing (for that was the end) with Seas of blood and heapes of carcases abroad; in abasing the lawfull power of Kings, and exalting (in manner as yee haue heard) the vsurped *Papall Monarchie*; that is, by Excommunications, Interdicts, Treasons, Crusado's, Votifrages, Perjuries, abolishing them which are called Gods; and Him by whom Kings reigne, both in this his Ordinance, and in the whole face of his Religion; that the *Man of sinne* might exalt himselfe above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that now, and principally hereby, *He as God sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe that he is God*. This was then a mysterie hidden from the wise and prudent: but now, and hereby, *that Wicked is reuealed*.

CHAP. VII.

Monuments of Antiquitie, taken out of ancient Records, to testifie the quondam commerce betwixt our Kings and their Subjects, and those Easterne Princes.

- 40 **R**Ex Coradino Illustri Soldano Damasci, salutem. De transmissis nobis à Nobilitate vestra muneribus per Anselmum de Ienua mallonum Soldani, gratiarum vobis re-
pendimus actiones; prompti ac parati in hijs qua licet, vestra placere voluntati. Hoc
quidem à Serenitate vestra pro ampliori petimus munere, ut, si quos terra nostra
Christianos captiuos tenetis, eos liberos & expeditos reddere, & intuitu nostri nobis
mittere velitis: certis datis indicijs, quod ad eorum liberationem noster eis profuit in-
terueniens. Quo intellecto ad condignam vicissitudinem Serenitati vestra merito teneamur. Teste me-
ipso apud Westmonasterium, Anno Regni nostri duodecimo.
- 50 Henricus Rex, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse, dilecto & fideli nostro Philippo de Albiniaco, quod si de
eo humanitus contigerit, antequam iter peregrinationis sue arripuerit versus terram Ierusalem,
quicquid ante obitum suum assignauerit, vel legauerit de terra de Periton, quam habet de dono nostro,
& de terris de Clyneton, Bamton, & Wytton, quas habet de Balliuo nostro ad debita sua acquie-
tanda, vel eleemosynas faciendas, vel ad mercedem militibus & seruientibus suis pro seruicio suo
retribuendam, nisi prius terras illas heredibus eorum, per voluntatem nostram, vel per pacem red-
diderimus, ratum habemus & stabile usque in tres annos à die obitus sui completos. In cuius &c. Teste
Rege apud Westmonasterium 14. Iulij, Anno Regni sui decimo septimo.
- 60 Rex concessit & licencianit Simonem de Wistlegray, quod peregrini de partibus istis euntes peregre
versus terram Ierusalem, Sanctum Iacobum, & alibi ad partes transmarinas, in Nave ipsius Si-
monis, qua vocatur Gladgyhyne saluo & secure transfretare possint. Et mandatum est omnibus Bal-
linis & fidelibus Regis, &c. Quod eidem Simoni & hominibus suis in ducendo Peregrinos in Nave
pradieta, sicut pradietum est, nullum faciant, nec fieri permittant damnum vel grauamen. Et
durant litera usq; ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Teste Rege apud Rading, quinto die Aprilis, Anno
Regni sui decimo nono.
- Rex omnibus, ad quos presentes litera peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis, quod concessimus dilecto Pro Oliuero de
& fideli nostro Oliuero de Sancto Georgio, quod in auxilium peregrinationis sue, quam facturum est
Sancto Georgio.

Literæ Henrici
tertij Regis
Angliæ Cora-
dino Soldano
Damasci, de
captiuis redi-
mendis. Dors
Claus. Anno 12.
Regni sui. &
An. Dom. 1228.
Patentes, Anno
17. Henrici
tertij.
Pro Philippo de
Albiniaco.

Patentes, Anno
19. Henrici
tertij.

huiusmodi sectam sordidam à seculo penitus abolendam, velitis perducere ad effectum. Ad hæc ad vestram accedunt presentiam Religiosi, honesti, & literati viri, ut populum vestrum ad fidem Catholicam, sine qua salus fieri nemo potest, diuina operante virtute, reducant, & instruant in eadem: Ac ad sumendum bellum contra detestabilem Machometi sectam habilitent & informant: venerabilis scilicet frater Willielmus Dei Gratia Lidden Episcopus, vir utique discretus, moribus & scientia præditus, cum sua venerabili comitiua: quem ob honorem omnipotentis Dei, & fauorem fidei Christianæ vobis quanto affectuosius possumus, commendamus. Rogantes ex corde quatenus eundem Episcopum & eius Comitiam Dei intuitu, sub cuius imperio cuncta consistunt, gratiose & curialiter admitte-
 10 to Episcopo, in his quæ vestra magnificentia pro augmentatione fidei Catholice eduxerit exponenda, fidem credulam exponendo. Datum apud Langley ultimo die mensis Nouembris, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Like Letters of commendation of the said Bishop William, to the King of Armenia, and others to the Prince Gentis Aatalorum in partib. orient. are vpon Record, but here for breuitie omitted. Another to the said King here followeth.

Serenissimo Principi, & amico suo charissimo, Leoni Dei Gratia Armenorum Regi illustri, Edwardus Rex Angliæ, &c. Salutem & felices ad vota successus. Literas vestras de credentia per discretos viros Theodorum, Cantorem Abbatia de Tresarco, Dominum Baudinium filium Domini de Negrino, consobrinum vestrum, & Dominum Leonem, Milites, familiares vestros & Nuncios speciales, super nouis periculis vobis & Regno vestro, cunctisque eiusdem Regni Christicolis emergentibus nobis missos recepimus. Et ea quæ idem Nuncij vestri vobis ex parte vestra per credentiam eis commissam exponere voluerunt, audiuius & intelleximus diligenter. Super quibus dolemus in intimis, & turbamur. Verum quia clara memoria Dominus Edwardus Rex Angliæ, pater noster, viam vniuersæ carnis est ingressus: quamobrem eiusdem Regni regimen suscepimus, & Coronacionis nostra solennia celebrari fecimus, non est diu; diuersaque & ardua ex his causis nobis incumbunt negotia his diebus: dictorum negotiorum requisitionibus ex parte vestra nobis factis annuere non possumus in presenti. Sed cum tempora nobis ad hoc aduenerint oportuna, libenter adhibebimus cum Dei præsidio super requisitionibus prædictis consilium quod poterimus bono modo. De xenio siquidem quod vestra munificentia nobis misit, vestra serenitati grates referimus speciales: parati semper ad ea faci-
 20 les, super nouis periculis vobis & Regno vestro, cunctisque eiusdem Regni Christicolis emergentibus nobis missos recepimus. Et ea quæ idem Nuncij vestri vobis ex parte vestra per credentiam eis commissam exponere voluerunt, audiuius & intelleximus diligenter. Super quibus dolemus in intimis, & turbamur. Verum quia clara memoria Dominus Edwardus Rex Angliæ, pater noster, viam vniuersæ carnis est ingressus: quamobrem eiusdem Regni regimen suscepimus, & Coronacionis nostra solennia celebrari fecimus, non est diu; diuersaque & ardua ex his causis nobis incumbunt negotia his diebus: dictorum negotiorum requisitionibus ex parte vestra nobis factis annuere non possumus in presenti. Sed cum tempora nobis ad hoc aduenerint oportuna, libenter adhibebimus cum Dei præsidio super requisitionibus prædictis consilium quod poterimus bono modo. De xenio siquidem quod vestra munificentia nobis misit, vestra serenitati grates referimus speciales: parati semper ad ea faci-
 30 cienda quæ vestris utilitatibus nouerimus conuenire. Datum apud Westmonasterium tertio die Martij, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Anno. i. Edwardi. 2.
The Kings Letters to the king of Armenia.

Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Religioso viro, & sibi in Christo charissimo, fratri Iohanni de ordine Minorum, Leonis quondam Regis Armenorum illustris filio primogenito, salutem cum delectatione sincera. Literas vestras de credentia, &c. ut supra.

Magnifico Principi ac potenti, David Dei gratia Regi Iurgianorum, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitania prosperorum incrementa successuum, cum augmento fidei Orthodoxæ. Creator & Redemptor humani generis Iesus Christus, qui omnes vult saluos fieri, & neminem vult perire, hominem ad suam factum imaginem, pro parentis Adæ lapsu à supernis exclusum sedibus, tanto dilexit caritatis affectu, ut pro ipsius redemptione perpetua, de intemerato Virginis nascens utero, nostræque humanitatis indutus velamine, tanquam Pastor optimus pro suis ouibus mortem pati, & suam dare animam non horreret, qui post passionem suam, secundum Scripturas, tertia die resurgens à mortuis, discipulis suis se vinum præbuit in multis argumentis, per dies quadraginta apparens eis, & loquens de Regno Dei, & eos spiritus Sancti virtute perlustrans & sapientia, misit in omnem Iudeam, & Samariam, & usque ad ultimum terræ, suæ resurrectionis gloriam & doctrinam Evangelicam predicare, ut in omnem terram sonus eorum exiret, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum credentibus panderent. Euntes, inquit, in mundum vniuersum predicate Evangelium omni creatura: Qui credit & baptizatus fuerit saluus erit: Qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur. Cum igitur vir religiosus & prouidus frater Guillelmus de Villa Noua, ordinis Minorum Episcopus, presentium maior, sanctæ fidei Orthodoxæ Professor & Zelator feruidus, de mandato Sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ ad partes Tartarorum, & aliorum, qui fidem non norunt Catholicam, una cum nonnullis Co-episcopis & fratribus eiusdem ordinis, ut vobis, & 30 ipsis Evangelium Christi, ve bumque salutis annunciet, & transferre proponat: vos rogamus & hortamur in Domino Iesu Christo, per vestra salutem animæ requirentes, quatenus præfatos Episcopos ceterosque Religiosos & Catholicos, eisque adherentes, & adharere volentes per loca vestra ditioni subiecta libere, salvo, & secure transire. Verbumque Dei, & sanctum Domini Iesu Christi Evangelium predicare audire volentibus per mittentes, ipsis faciatis ob Diuinæ Maiestatis reuerentiam, nostrorumque contemplatione rogarum securum præstari conductum, ipsosque malignantium incursum defendi. Datum apud Donarram vicissimo secundo die Maij, Anno Regni nostri sexto. Teste Regi.

Anno sexto Edwardi secundi.
De conductu pro Episcopis Samaritanis predicare volentibus, literæ Regis David Regi Iurgianorum: or of the Georgians.

60 Eodem modo mandatum est Imperatori Trapezandarium. Teste Rege, ut supra.

Rex potenti viro Imperatori Aquilonari, de posito Gentilitatis errore, lumen verum agnoscere quod est Christus Creator & Redemptor humani generis Iesus Christus, qui omnes vult saluos fieri, & neminem vult perire, &c. ut supra. Teste ut supra.

O o o o o

Eodem

Eodem modo mandatum est subscriptis : videlicet; Carpenta Persarum & Medorum Imp. Imperatori de Cathay.

Diuers others of *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Eight, &c. collected to this purpose. I haue omitted.

TO THE READER.

Like that Scribe which brings out of his Treasurie new and old; so haue I here done, and so our Author following. To those elder Stories and Records I haue added this later Voyage to Ierusalem and Constantinople: and He, besides his Travels, hath added his Studies, the Voyage of his Minds Industrie, as well as of his bodie's Peregrination; as a Learned Argus, seeing with the Eyes of many Authors, and comparing things old and new. Pardon me, that I haue here much pruned his sweet Poetrie, his farre-fet Antiquitie, and other fruits of his Learning: I would not haue his owne Worke out of request. I present men rather as Travellers, then as Scholers; and in this Historicall Stage produce them, telling what they haue seene; not what they can say, or what other Authors haue written: not that I disproue this (for what else is my whole Pilgrimage?) but that I hold on here another course; where if euery man should say all, no man could haue his part; and where euen breuitie it selfe is almost tedious (as you see) by Multitudes. The other parts of Master Sandys are not simply superfluous, yet are these to our present purpose sufficient.

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CHAP. VIII.

A Relation of a Iourney begunne, Anno Dom. 1610. written by Master GEORGE SANDYS, and beere contracted.

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§. I.

His iourney from Venice to Constantinople, and Obseruations by the way.

Marriage of
the Sea.



From Venice wee departed on the twentieth of August, 1610. in the *Little Defence* of London. The *Venetians* are Lords of this Sea, but not without contention with the Papacie. On Ascension day, the Duke accompanied with the *Clarissimos* of that Signiory, is rowed thither in the *Bucentoro*, a triumphall Galley, richly, and exquisitely gilded: aboue a roome (beneath which they row) comprehending the whole length and breadth of the Galley; neere the poope a throne, the rest accomodated with seates, where he solemnly espouseth the Sea: confirmed by a Ring throwne therein, the Nuptiall Pledge and Symbol of subiection. This Ceremonie receiued a beginning from that Sea-battell fought and wonne by the *Venetians*, vnder the conduct of *Sebastiano Zani*, against the forces of *Fredericke Barbarossa* in the quarrell of Pope *Alexander* the Third. Who flying his furie in the habit of a Cooke repayred to Venice, and there long liued disguised in the Monastery of *Charitie*. *Zani* returning in triumph with the Emperours Sonne, was met by the Pope, and saluted in this manner: Here take, O *Zani*, this Ring of Gold, and by giuing it to the Sea, oblige it vnto thee. A ceremonie that shall on this day bee yearly obserued, both by thee and thy Successors, that Posteritie may know how you haue purchast the Dominion thereof by your valours, and made it subiect vnto you, as a Wife to her Husband.

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Sclauonia.

We sayled all along in the sight of *Dalmatia*, at this day *Sclauonia*, of the *Sclani*, a people of *Sarmatia*. They dissent not from the *Greeke* Church in their Religion. Throughout the North part of the World their Language is vnderstood and spoken, euen from thence almost to the Confines of *Tartarie*. The men weare halfe-sleeued Gownes of Violet cloth, with Bonnets of the same. They nourish onely a locke of haire on the crowne of their heads; the rest all shauen. The women weare theirs not long; and dye them blacke for the most part. Their chiefe Citie is *Ragusa* (heretofore *Epidaurus*) a Common-wealth of it selfe, famous for Merchandize, and plentie of shipping. Many small Ilands belong therunto, but little of the Continent. They pay Tribute to the *Turke*, fourteene thousand Zecchins yearly: and spend as much more vpon them in gifts and entertainment, sending the Grand Signior euery yeare a ship loden with Pitch for

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for the vse of his Gallies. Whereby they purchase their peace; and a discharge of duties throughout the Ottoman Empire.

Corfu, the first Iland of note that we past by, lyeth in the *Ionian Sea*; stretching East and West in forme of a Bow: foure and fiftie miles long, foure and twentie broad, distant about twelue from the mayne of *Epirus*, called formerly *Corcyra*, adorned with Groues of Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Fig-trees, Oliues and the like: enriched with excellent Wines and abundance of Honey. Vpon the North-side stands a Citie that takes the name of the Iland, with a Castle strongly seated on a high Rocke, which ioyneth by an Isthmos to the Land, and impreguably fortified. The *Turkes* haue testified as much in their many repulses. It is the Chaire of an Arch-
10 bishop, inhabited for the most by *Grecians*, as is the whole Iland, and subiect to the *Venetians*.

Saint *Maura* lyeth next vnto this, once adioyning to the Continent, and separated by the labour of the Inhabitants: yet no further remoued then by a bridge to bee past into. Called it was formerly *Lencadia*, of a white Rocke which lyeth before it, toward *Cephalonia*. On which stood the Temple of *Apollo*. In this Iland they haue a Citie inhabited for the most part by *Iewes*: receiued by *Baiazet* the Second; at such time as they were expelled *Spaine* by King *Ferdinand*.

Val de Compare, a little beyond presenteth her rockie Mountaines, contayning in circuit about fiftie miles, now inhabited by Exiles and Pirates. Once called *Ithaca*, so celebrated for the birth of *Vlysses*: Betweene this and the mouth of the Gulph of *Lepanto*, (once named the
20 Gulph of *Corinth*) lye certaine little Ilands, or rather great Rockes, now called *Curzolari*, heretofore *Echinades*, made famous by that memorable Sea-battell there obtayned against the *Turke* by *Don Iohn* of *Austria*, in the yeare 1571. and sung by a crowned Muse.

Curzolari.

We sayled close by *Cephalonia*, triangular in forme, one hundred and sixtie miles in circumference: the Mountaynes intermixed with profitable Valleys, and the Woods with Champian. Vnwatered with Rivers, and poore in Fountaines, but abounding with Wheate, Honey, Corrents, Manna, Cheese, Wooll, Turkeyes, excellent Oyle, incomparable (though not long lasting) Muscadines, and Powder for the dying of Scarlet: This growes like a blister on the leafe of the holy Oke, a little shrub, yet producing Acornes: being gathered, they rub out of it a certaine red
30 dust, that conuerteth after a while into wormes, which they kill with Wine when they begin to quicken. Amongst her many harbours, *Argostoli* is the principall, capacious enough for a Nauie. The Inhabitants of this Iland are *Grecians*, the *Venetians* their Souereignes. Hauing past through the Streights, that diuide this Iland from the next, (vulgarly called *Canale del Zant*,) on the second of September we entred the Hauen of *Zacynthus*, and saluted the Castle with our Ordnance.

Muscadines.

Danger of rocks.

Zacynthus, or Zant.

This Iland (nine hundred miles distant from *Venice*) so called of *Zacynthus* the Sonne of *Dardanus*, and at this day *Zant*; contayneth in circuit not past threescore miles. On the South and South-east sides rockie and mountaynous, but plaine in the midst, and vnspeakably fruitfull, producing the best Oyle of the World, and excellent strong Wines, both white and red, which they call *Ribolla*. But the chiefe riches thereof consisteth in Corrents, which draweth hither much
40 trafficke (especially from *England* and *Holland*, for here they know not what to doe with them:) insomuch that wheras before they were scarce able to free themselves from importunate famine, they now (besides their priuate gettings, amounting to one hundred and fiftie thousand *Zechins*) doe yearely pay vnto Saint *Marke* fortie eight thousand Dollars for Customes and other Duties. It is impossible that so little a portion of Earth, so employed, should be more beneficiall, the mountaynous part being barren, and the rest comprized within two or three not very ample Valleys, but those all ouer husbanded like an entyre Garden. They sow little Corne, as employing their grounds to better aduantage: for which they sometimes suffer, beeing ready to starue, when the weather continueth for any season tempestuous: and they cannot fetch their prouision, which they haue as well of Flesh as of Corne, from *Morea*, being ten leagues distant. They haue Salt-pits of their owne, and store of fresh water, but little or no wood, though cele-
50 brated for the abundance thereof, by *Homer* and *Virgil*.

Store of Corrents.

Pratticke of health.

It is here a custome strictly obserued (as also else-where within the Streights belonging to the Christians) not to suffer any to trafficke or come ashore before they haue a Pratticke from the Signiors of Health, which will not be granted vntill fortie dayes after their arriual, especially if the ship come from *Turkie*, and bring not a Certificate, that the place from whence they came is free from the infection: if so, perchance their restraint may be shortned, during which time they haue a Guardian set ouer them. They will not suffer a Letter to be deliuered, if sealed with thred, before it be opened and ayred. If such as come to speake with them doe but touch one of the ship, or sometimes but a rope, they shall be forced to ascend, and remayne there for the time
60 limited; it being death to him that shall come ashore without licence. Notwithstanding, they vpon request will carrie you to the *Lazaretto* (which is the nature of a Pest-house) there to abide vntill the date be expired. But if any fall sicke amongst them in the meane-season, their Pratticke is accordingly prolonged. A great inconuenience to the Merchants, but at *Venice* intolerable, where when they haue Pratticke, they are enforced to vnlade at the *Lazaretto*. So

vnder pretence of ayring their goods are opened; their quantitie, qualitie and condition known; redounding much to their detriments. But for that we came from *Venice*, wee were freed from this mischiefe, and presently suffered to land.

The Towne, taking or giuing a name to the Iland, stretcheth along betweene the West side of the Hauen and the foote of the Mountayne: perhaps a mile in length, in breadth but narrow. The streets vnpaired, the building low, by reason of the often Earth-quakes whereunto this Iland is miserably subiect. Two hapned during my short abode heere, though of small importance. Although the seate of the Towne be excessive hot, yet is it happily qualified by a North-east gale that bloweth from Sea most constantly about the midst of the day.

The Great *Turke* hath yearly a present of Falcons from the Gouvernor (accompanied, as some say, with twelue hundred Zecchins) which he calleth a Tribute: it beeing in his power to distresse them at his pleasure, by restrayning the reliefe of victuals which they haue from *Morea*, and his adioyning Dominions. Whilest wee were here, the Captaine *Bassa* past by with sixtie Gallies; who yearly about this time sayleth in circuit, to receiue Tribute, suppress Pirates, and to doe some exploit vpon the *Malteses*, *Spaniards*, and *Florentines*, with whom they are one-ly in hostilitie. Diuers of their Gallies putting into the Hauen, were courteously entertaynd for the *Venetians* endeaour, as much as in them lyes to keepe good quarters with the *Turke*; not onely for the reason aforesaid, (which perhaps might extend as farre as their Citie: their Territories though large and fruitfull, too narrow to sustayne so populous a State, if vnrelieued from *Turkie*, and that their passage into the mid-land Sea were interrupted) not for the losse they should sustayne by the cessation of Trafficke with the *Mahometans*: but knowing him by deare experience too powerfull an Aduersary for them by Land, and though they are perhaps strong enough by Sea, yet should they lose a Nauie, their losse were vnrecoverable, whereas the *Turke* within the space of a year is able to set forth another.

Murtherers.

Danger of remissie Lawes.

The Inhabitants of this Iland are in generall *Grecians* (of whom wee will speake no more then concerns the particular customes of the place, reseruing the rest to our relation of that people: in habit they imitate the *Italians*, but transcend them in their reuenges, and infinitely lesse ciuill. They will threaten to kill a Merchant that will not buy their Commodities, and make more conscience to breake a Fast, then to commit a Murther. One of them at our beeing heere, pursued a poore Sailer (an *Englishman*) for offering but to carrie a little bagge of Corents aboard vncustomed, and killed him, running vp a paire of staires for succour. He is weary of his life that hath a difference with any of them, and will walke abroad after day-light. But cowardize is ioyned with their crueltie, who dare doe nothing but sodainly, vpon aduantages; and are euer priuately armed. Encouraged to Villanies by the remissnesse of their Lawes: for none will lay hands vpon an offender, vntill fourteene dayes after that hee bee called to the Scale, (an eminent place where one doth stand and publiely cite the offenders:) who in the meane-time hath leisure to make his owne peace, or else to absent himselfe: if then he appeare not, they banish him; and propound a reward according to the greatnesse of the offence, to him that shall either kill or take him aliue: and if it be done by one that is banished, his owne banishment (the least reward) is released. The Labourers doe goe into the fields with Swords and Partizans, as if in an Enemies Country, bringing home their Wines and Oyles in Hogs-skins, the in-sides turned outward. It is a custome amongst them to inuite certaine men vnto their Marriages, whom they call *Compeeres*. Euery one of these doe bestow a Ring, which the Priest doth put vpon the Bride and Bridegroomes fingers, interchangeably shifting them; and so hee doth the Garlands on their heads. Of these they are neuer ialous (an abuse in that kind reputed as detestable a crime, as if committed by a naturall Brother;) so that they lightly chuse those for their Compeeres that haue beene formerly suspected too familiar. The Bridegroome entring the Church, stickes his Dagger in the doore; held available against Inchantments. For heere it is a common practice to bewitch them: made thereby impotent with their Wiues, vntill the Charme be burnt, or otherwise consumed: insomuch that sometimes (as they say) the Mothers of the betrothed, by way of preuention doe bewitch them themselues, and againe vnloose them as soone as the Marriage is consummated. The Nuptiall sheets (as in some cases commanded by the *Mosaicall Law*) are publiely showne: and preserued by their Parents as a Testimonie of their vncorrupted Virginities.

There be here two Bishops, one of the *Greekes*, and another of the *Latines*. The *Greekes* haue diuers Churches, the principall that of S. *Nicolas*, (which giueth to the Hauen a name, and not far remoued) with a Monastery of *Caloieros*; for so are their Monkes called. On the other side of the Harbor, vpon the top of the Promontory, they haue another far lesse; with a Chappell dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, called *Madonna del Scopo*, reputed effectresse of Miracles, and much inuocated by Sea-faring men. As the Duke of *Venice* doth marrie the Sea, so yearly doth this Bishop vpon the Twelue day baptize it: although with lesse state, yet with no lesse Ceremonie. The *Venetians* heere (as in *Candy*) doe ioyntly celebrate the *Grecian* Festiuals: either to gratifie, or else to auoid occasions of tumult. As for the *Romane* Catholike Bishop, hee hath his Cathedrall Church and residence within the Castle: where there is a Couent of

of *Franciscans*. A mile and halfe off, in the sight of the Towne, on the side of a Mountaine, they haue another Monasterie, called the *Annuntiata*, where the *Latins* haue their burials, built in the yeere 1550. when vnder the ground there were found two Vrnes; one full of ashes, and the other of water, in an ancient Sepulchre. Vpon a square stone that couered the Tombe, was engrauen M. TVL. CICERO LAVE ET TV IEP TIA ANTONIA, and vnder the Vrne which containeth the ashes, AVE MAR. TVL. It being supposed that Cicero was there buried: peremptorily affirmed by a Traueller then present; reporting withall, that he saw this Epitaph:

Sepulchre of Cicero.

Iohannes Zualardus in lita. lib. 1.

10

Of Orators the Prince, of Speech the Pride,
Tullie, with his Wife in this Urne abide:
Tullie, that of himselfe thus writ; O Rome
Blest, in that I thy Consul, am become.

Ille oratorum princeps, & gloria linguæ
Romanæ, iacet hac, cum coniuge Tullius vrna:
Tullius ille, inquam, de se qui scripserat olim,
O fortunatam natam, me consule, Romam.
Adamus Tefellenius in suo lita.

The *Iewes* haue here a Synagogue, (of whom there are not many) one hauing married an *English* woman, and conuerted her to his Religion. They weare a blue riband about their hats for a distinction. The forraigne Merchants here resident, are for the most part *English*, who by their frequent deaths doe disproue the aire to be so salubrious as is reported; who haue their purchased interments in gardens: neither suffered by *Greekes* nor *Latines* to be buried in Churches. If a Stranger here take a fraught of a *Venetian*, and a *Venetian* ship be in Port, the Master thereof vpon a protestation, will enforce the Stranger to vnlode, and serue his owne turne therewith, if it be for his benefit. In this Iland there are fortie Villages.

20

On the fourteenth of September I embarked in another *English* ship, called the *Great Exchange*; first bound for *Chios*, and then for *Tripolis*. With a prosperous wind wee compassed a part of *Morea*: more famous by the name of *Peloponnesus*: shaped like a Plantan leafe, and embraced almost by the *Corinthian* and *Saronian* armes of the *Mediterraneum*: on the North adioyning by a narrow Isthmos to the rest of *Greece*; where stood that renowned Citie of *Corinth*. But I rather thinke, for their wholsome aduice, and expedite execution, in freeing the State of those monsters, called the Dogs of *Iupiter*, that is, internall Furies, and ministers of his vengeance. *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*, was wont to say merrily, that the *Harpyes* had left the *Strophades* to inhabite at *Rome*: intimating thereby the auarice of that Clergie. Wee left on the left hand two Rockes, at this day called the *Strinaily*: where onely liue a few *Greeke* *Coloieros*, that receiue their sustenance of almes from the neighbouring Ilands. There is in one a Spring of fresh water, supposed to haue his originall in *Peloponnesus*, and so to passe vnder the Sea, in regard of a certaine tree ouer-shadowing a little Lake, the leaues thereof (or like vnto those) being often found in this Fountaine, there growing none of that kind in the Iland. Wee thrust betweene Cape *Malio* and *Cerigo*, about fise miles distant; once *Porphyrus*, of his excellent *Porphyr*; but better knowne by the name of *Cythera*. An Iland consecrated vnto *Venus*. In the Towne rising two furlongs vp from the Hauen, stood her celebrated Temple (the most ancient that the *Grecians* had of that Goddesse,) and therein her Statue in complete armour. Out of this it is said, that *Paris* made a rape of *Helena*, or rather here first enioyed her in his returne from *Sparta*. The ruines are now to be seene, together with that of *Uranias*. The Iland is sixtie miles in compasse; it hath diuers Harbours, but those small and vn safe. A delightfull soyle, inhabited by *Grecians*, and subiect to the *Venetians*.

Morea.

Corinth.

Strophades.

Mare Aegæum.

This is the first of the *Aegean* Sea: the largest arme of the *Mediterraneum*, extending to the *Hellefont*, and diuiding *Greece* from the lesser *Asia*. A Sea dangerous and troublesome to sayle through, in regard of the multitude of Rockes, and Ilands, euery where dispersed. Inso-much, that a man is prouerbi ally said to sayle in the *Aegean* Sea, that is, encumbred with difficulties. The Ilands of this Sea were anciently diuided into the *Sporades*, and *Cyclades*. The *Sporades* are those that lie scattered before *Crete*, and along the coast of *Asia*: The *Cyclades*, so called in that they lie in a circle.

50

Amongst the rest of the last named wee sayled by *Delos*, (now *Diles*) hemd with sharpe Rockes. The ruines of *Apollus* Temple are here yet to be seene, affoording faire Pillars of marble to such as will fetch them, and other stones of price, both in their nature, and for their workmanship; the whole Iland being now vninhabited.

Delos.

Three dayes after our embarkment (as quicke a passage as euer was heard of) we arriued at *Sio*, a famous Iland, called formerly *Chios*. Sixscore and fise miles it containeth in circuit, extending from South vnto North: the North and West quarters extraordinarie hilly. In the midst of the Iland is the Mountaine *Aruis* (now *Amista*) producing the best *Greeke* Wines. But the Lenticke tree, which is well-nigh onely proper to *Sio*, doth giue it the greatest renowne and endowment. These grow at the South end of the Iland, and on the leasurely ascending hills that neighbour the shoare. In heighth not much exceeding a man, leaued like a *Seruire*, and bearing a red berrie, but changing into blacke as it ripeneth.

Chios.

60

In the beginning of August lanch they the rine, from whence the Masticke distilleth vntill

Masticke,

O o o o o o 3

the

the end of September, at which time they gather it. None suffered to come amongst them during the interim, it being death to haue but a pound of new Masticke found in their houses. The wood thereof is excellent for tooth-picks. By reason of these trees they haue the best Honie of the world, which intermingled with water, is not much inferiour in relish to the costly Shurbets of *Constantenople*. The Iland produceth Corne and Oyle indifferent plentie. Some Silke they make, and some Cottons here grow, but short in worth vnto those of *Smyrna*. It hath also quarries of excellent Marble, and a certaine Greene earth, like the rust of Brasse, which the *Turkes* call, *Terra Chia*: but not that so reputed of by the ancient Physicians. The coast, especially towards the South, is set with small Watch-towers, which with smoake by day, and fire by night, doe giue knowledge vnto one another (and so to the vp-land) of suspected enemies. 10
The enuironing Sea being free from concealed Rockes, and consequently from perill. On the East side of the Iland, foure leagues distant from the Maine of *Asia*, from that part which was formerly called *Ionia*, stands the Citie of *Sio*, hauing a secure Hauen (though daily decaying, yet with a something dangerous entrance, streightned on the North side by the sea-ruined wall of the Mould, incroching neerer the Diamond, which stands on the other side of the Mouth, so called of the shape, rising out of the Sea, and supporting a Lanterne, erected by the *Genoeses*,) insomuch that ships of the greatest size doe anchor in the channell: but ours thrust in, when going ashore, I was friendly entertayned of the *English* Consull. The Towne stretcheth along the bottome of the Hauen, backt on the West with a rockie Mountaine, the building meane, the Streets no larger then Allies. Vpon the Castle hill there is a Bannia, which little declines 20
from the state of a Temple; paved with faire tables of marble, and supported with Columnes, containyng seuerall roomes, one hotter then another, with Conduits of hot water, and naturall Fountaines. On the North side of the Citie stands the Castle, ample, double walled, and enuironed with a deepe ditch: manned and inhabited by *Turkes*, and well stored with munition. This not many yeeres since was sodainely scaled in a night by the *Florentines*, who choaking the Artillerie, and driuing the *Turkes* into a corner, were now almost masters thereof: when a violent storme of wind, or rather of feare, enforced their companions to Sea, and them to a composition; which was, to depart with ensignes displayed. But the Gouvernour hauing gotten them into his power, caused their heads to be stricke off, and to be piled in mortar on the Castle wall; where as they yet remayne, but not vnreuenged. For the Captaine *Bassa* vpon his coming, strangled the perfidious Gouvernour, either for dishonouring the *Turke* in his breach of promise, or for his negligence in being so surprised. Since when, a watch-word euery minute of the night goeth about the walls, to testifie their vigilancie. Their Orchards are here enriched with excellent fruits; amongst the rest, with Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Pomgranats, and Figs. Vpon these Fig-trees they hang a kind of vsauoury Figge: out of whose corruption certaine small wormes are ingendred, which by biting the other (as they say) procure them to ripen. Partridges here are an ordinarie food; whereof they haue an incredible number, greater then ours, and differing in hue, the beake and feete red, the plume ash-colour. Many of them are kept tame; these feeding abroad all day, at night vpon a call returne to their seuerall owners. 30
Solyman the Magnificent, picking a quarrell with the Gouvernour for the *Genoas*, for a suspected correspondencie with the great Master of *Malta*, during those warres, and discouery of his designs; hauing besides neglected accustomed presents, with the payment of two yeeres tribute, sent *Pial* the Captaine *Bassa* to seize on the Iland; who on Easter day in the yeere 1566. presenting himselfe before *Sio*, with fourescore Gallies, so terrified the Inhabitants, that before they were summoned, they quietly surrendered both it and themselves to his disposal. The Gouvernour, together with the principall families, intending to depart for *Italie*, hee sent vnto *Constantinople*; and suffered the common people to stay or remoue at their liking: So that the whole Iland is now gouerned by *Turkes*, and defiled with their superstitions: yet haue the Christians their Churches, and vnreproued exercise of Religion. Besides impositions vpon 50
the land, and vpon commodities arising from thence, the Great *Turke* receiues yeerely for euery Christian about the age of sixteene, two hundred Aspers: but the husbandmen are exempted vntill marriage. The Inhabitants for the most part, are *Turkes* and *Grecians*; those liuing in command, and loosely: the other husbanding the earth, and exceeding them infinitely in number. They are in a manner releast of their thraldome, in that vsensible of it: well meriting the name of Merrie *Greekes*, when their leasure will tolerate. Neuer Sunday or holiday passes ouer without some publike meeting or other: where intermixed with women, they dance out the day, and with full crownd Cups enlengthen their iollitie. Frequented by foraine Merchants, *Natolia* affording great store of Chamolets and Grogerams, made about *Angora*; and a part brought hither, before such time as the Goats (whose haire they pull, white, long, 60
and soft) were destroyed by the late Rebels, consistyng for the most part of the expelled Inhabitants of burned Townes; who hauing lost all that they had, knew not better how to recouer their losses, then by preying vpon others; and so ioyned with their vndoers, led by *Calender Ogly* and *Zid Arab*: and growne to so fearefull a head, that the Great *Turke* (some say) had once a thought to haue forsaken the Imperiall Citie, they being fiftie thousand, but destitute of Artillerie.

English Consul.

120. Aspers
amount to a
Sultanie.

Turkish Rebels.

Artillerie. After foyled by *Morat Bassa* the great *Vizer*, who for that service (but chiefly for the ouer-throw of *Ianballat* the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, and naturall Lord of the rich Valley of *Achille*) was called by him his *Father and Deliuerer*. They besieged this Citie, and were by certayne English ships that lay in the Roade, vnfriendly saluted. In the end, burnt a part thereof, and tooke a rancome for sparing the rest. But their principall commoditie is Cotton wooll, which here groweth in great quantitie. With the seeds thereof they doe sow their Fields, as wee ours with Corne. The stalke no bigger than that of Wheate, but tough as a Beanes: the head round and bearded, in size and shape of a Medler: hard as a stone; which ripening breaks, and is deliuered of a white soft Bombast intermixed with seeds, which they separate with an instrument. You would thinke it strange, that so small a shell should contayne such a quantitie, but admire if you saw them stie it in their ships: enforcing a Sacke as bigge as a Wooll-packe into a roome, at the first too narrow for your arme, when extended by their instruments: so that oft they make the very decks to stretch therewith.

English service.

Cotton.

Taking with me a *Greeke* that could speake a little broken *English*, for my Interpreter: on the twentieth of Nouember, I did put my selfe into a Barke, *Armado* of *Simo*, a little Iland hard by the *Rhodes* (the Patron a *Greeke*, as the rest) being laden with Spunges. That night we came to an anchor, vnder the South-west side of *Mitylen*. This Iland, not past seuen miles distant from the Continent of *Phrygia*, containeth eight score and eight miles in circuit. The South and West parts Mountaynous and barren, the rest leuell and fruitfull, producing excellent Corne.

Mitylen or Lesbos.

On the one and twentieth of September, the Windes grew contrarie: and the Seas (though not rough) too rough to be brooked by so small a vessell, no bigger, and like in proportion to a Grauel-end Tilt-boate, yet rowing vnder the shelter of the Land, we entred the Gulfe of *Calonius*, they hoping to haue found some purchase about a ship cast there away but a little before; diuers of them leapt into the Sea, and diuing vnto the bottome, stayed there so long as if it had beene their habitable element. And without question, they exceed all others in that facultie, trayned thereunto from their child-hood, and hee the excellentest amongst them that can best performe it. Infomuch, that although worth nothing, he shall be proffered in marriage the best endowed, and most beautifull Virgin of their Iland. For they generally get their liuing by these Spunges, gathered from the sides of Rocks about the bottome of the Streights; sometimes fifteene fathome vnder water. A happie people, that liue according to nature, and want not much, in that they couet but little. Their apparell no other then linnen breeches, ouer that a smocke close girt vnto them with a Towell; putting on sometimes when they goe ashore, long sleeuelesse Coates of home-spun Cotton. Yet their Backs need not enuie their Bellies: Biscot, Oliues, Garlick and Onions being their principall sustenance.

Cunning Divers.

Spunges.

Vpon the two and twentieth of September, the winds continuing contrarie, we but a little shortned our iourney. Descrying a small Saile that made towards vs, and thinking them to bee Pirats, we rowed backe by the shoare with all possible speed. In the euening we returned to the place that we fled from. When going ashore, one attyred like a woman, lay groueling on the Sand, whilst the rest skipt about him in a ring, muttering certayne words, which they would make me beleue were preualent Charmes to alter the weather to their purpose. On the three and twentieth wee continued weather-bound, remoouing after it grew darke vnto another anchorage; a custome they held, lest obserued by day from Sea or Shoare, they might by night be surprised. We lay in a little Bay, and vnder a Cliffe, where not one of vs but had his sleepe interrupted by fearfull dreames, he that watched affirming, that he had seene the Deuill, so that in a great dismay we put from shoare about mid-night. But whether it proceeded from the nature of the vaporious place, or that infested by some spirit, I leaue to decide. It is reported of a little Rockie Iland hard by, named formerly *Aex*, and sacred vnto *Neptune* (whereof we haue spoken something already) that none could sleepe vpon it for being disturbed with apparitions.

Charmes.

On the foure and twentieth the Sea grew calme, and wee proceeded on our voyage. Towards euening we went ashore on the firme of *Asia* for fresh water, and came that night vnto *Tenedos*. With the morning they renewed their labour, rowing along the chalkie shoare of the lesser *Phrygia*. Now against Cape *Ianizari* (desirous to see those celebrated fields, where once stood *Ilium* the glorie of *Asia*, that hath afforded to rarest wits so plentifull an argument) with much importunitie and promise of reward (it being a matter of danger) I got them to set mee ashore. When accompanied with two or three of them, we ascended the not high Promontorie, leuell aboue, and crowned with a ruined Citie, whose imperfect walls doe shew to the Sea their antiquitie. Wherein are many spacious Vaults and ample Cisternes for the receipt of water. The foundation hereof should seeme to haue beene laid by *Constantine* the Great, who intending to remoue the seate of his Empire, began here to build; which vpon a new resolution he erected at *Byzantium*. This is that famous Promontorie of *Sigeum*, honoured with the Sepulchre of *Achilles*, which *Alexander* (visiting it in his *Asian* expedition) couered with flowers, and ranne naked about it, as then the custome was in Funerals: sacrificing to the ghost of his Kinsman, whom he reputed most happy, that had such a Trumpet as *Homer*, to resound his virtues.

Tenedos.

C. Ianizari.

Sigeum.

tues. In the Playne beyond vs (for wee durst not straggle farther from the shoare) wee beheld where once stood *Ilium* by him founded, called *Troy* promiscuously of *Tros*. Afterward feigned to haue beene walled about by *Neptune* and *Phæbus*, in the dayes of *Laomedon*. Who hath not heard of this glorious Citie, the former taking, the ten yeeres warre; and later, finall subuersion? which befell according to *Eusebius*, in the yeere of the World 2784. and second of *Abdons* gouernment of *Israel*. The ruines at this day not more then coniecturally extant.

Troy.

These Riuers, though now poore in Streames, are not yet so contemptible, as made by *Bellonius*, who perhaps mistaketh others for them, (there being sundrie Riuelets that descend from the Mountaynes) as by all likelihood he hath done the site of the ancient *Troy*. For the ruines that are now so perspicuous, and by him related, doe stand foure miles South-west from the a- 10
foresaid place, described by the Poets, and determined of by Geographers: seated on a hanging Hill, and too neere the nauall station to afford a Field for such dispersed Encounters, such long Pursuites, interception of Scouts, (then when the *Troians* had pitched neerer the Nauie) and executed stratagems, as is declared to haue hapned betweene the Sea and the Citie. These reliques doe sufficiently declare the greatnesse of the later, and not a little the excellencie. The walls (as *Bellonius*, but more largely, describeth it) consisting of great square stone, hard, blacke, and spongie, in diuers places yet standing supported on the inside with Pillars, about two yards distant one from another, and garnished once with many now ruined Turrets, contayning a confusion of throwne-downe buildings, with ample Cisternes for the receipt of Raine, it being seated on a sandie soile, and altogether destitute of Fountaynes. Foundations here are of a Christian 20
Temple, and two Towers of Marble, that haue better resisted the furie of Time; the one on the top of the Hill, and the other neerer the Sea in the Valley. From the wall of the Citie, another extendeth (supported with Buttresses, partly standing, and partly throwne downe) well-nigh vnto *Ida*, and then turning, is said to reach to the Gulfs of *Satelia*, about twentie miles distant. Halfe a mile off, and West off these Ruines, opposing *Tenedos*, are the hot water Baths, heretofore adorned, and neighboured with magnificent buildings; the way thither inclosed, as it were, with Sepulchres of Marble (many of the like being about the Citie, both of *Greeks* and *Latins*, as appeareth by the seuerall Characters. Two Baths there be; the one choked with rubbidge, the other yet in vse, though vnder a simple couerture. But now the ruines beare not altogether that forme, lessened daily by the *Turkes*, who carried the Pillars and stones vnto *Constantinople*, to 30
adorne the buildings of the Great *Bassas*, as they now doe from *Cyzicus*. This notable remainder of so noble a Citie was once a small Village of the *Ilians*. For the *Ilians*, after the destruction of that famous *Ilium*, often shifting the seate of the new, here fixt it at last, as is said, by the aduice of an Oracle, contayning one onely contemptible Temple, dedicated to *Minerua*, at such time as *Alexander* came thither, who then offered vp his shield, and tooke downe another (that which he after vsed in his fights) enriching the Temple with gifts, and honouring the Towne with his Name, exempting it from tribute, and determining vpon his returne to erect in it a sumptuous Temple, to institute sacred Games, and to make it a great Citie. But *Alexander* dying, *Lysimachus* tooke vpon him that care, who immured it with a wall, contayning fortie furlongs in circuit, yet suffered it to retayne the name of *Alexandria*. After it became a Colonie, 40
and an Vniuersitie of the *Romanes*, of no meane reputation. *Fimbria* the Questor, hauing in a sedition slaine the Consul *Valerius Flaccus* in *Bithynia*, and making himselfe Captaine of the *Roman* Armie, the Citizens refusing to receiue him, as a Robber and a Rebell, besieged this Citie, and in eleuen dayes tooke it; who boasted, that he in eleuen dayes had done that, which *Agamemnon* with five hundred saile of ships and the whole *Greeke* Nation, could hardly accomplish in ten yeeres. To whom an *Ilian* answered, That they wanted a *Hector* to defend them. Pieces of ruines, throughout these Playnes, lye euery where scattered.

Lemnos.

Terra Sigillata.

Returning againe to our Barke, hard by on the left hand left we *Imbrius*, now called *Lembro*, once sacred to *Mercurie*; and not farre beyond *Lemnos*, famous for the fabulous fall of *Vulcan*. Whereupon, and no maruell, he euer after halted. The *Grecians* there now inhabiting, doe relate, that he brake his Thigh with a fall from a Horse on the side of a Hill, which at this day beareth his name: the Earth in that place thereupon receiuing those excellent vertues of curing of wounds, stopping of fluxes, expulsi- 50
ng poysons, &c. now called *Terra Sigillata*, in that sealed, and there onely gathered. This Hill lyeth South of the ruines of that ancient *Hephestia*, which gaue a name vnto *Vulcan*, and about three sight-shots remoued. Betweene which standeth *Sotira*, a little Chappell, frequented by the *Greeke Coloieros* vpon the sixt of August; where they begin their Orisons, and from thence ascend the Mountayne to open the veine from whence they produce it: which they doe with great preparations and solemnities, accompanied with the principall *Turkes* of the Iland. That which couereth it, being remoued by the labour of well-nigh fiftie Pioners, the Priests take out as much as the *Cadee* doth thinke for that yeere sufficient 60
(lest the price should abate by reason of the abundance) to whom they deliuer it; and then close it vp in such sort, as the place where they digged it, is not to bee discerned; the veine discovered, this precious Earth, as they say, doth arise like the casting vp of Wormes, and that only during a part of that day: so that it is to be supposed, that they gather as much as the same will afford

foord them. Certayne bags thereof are sent to the Great *Turke*, the rest they sell (of which I haue seene many Cups at *Constantinople*:) but that which is sold to the Merchants, is made into little Pellers, and sealed with the *Turkish* Character: the ceremonies in the gathering hereof were first inducted by the *Venetians*.

And now we entred the *Hellepont*, so called of *Helle*, the Daughter of *Athamas* King of *Thebes*, and Sister of *Phryxus*; who, flying the stratagems of their step-mother *Ino*, was drowned therein. Bounded on the left hand with the *Thracian Chersonesus* (vulgarly called *Saint Georges Arme*) a Peninsula pointing to the South-west, whereon stood the Sepulchre of *Hecuba*, called *Cynossoma*, slaine by them, and buried in the aforesaid Promontorie. On the right hand, the

10 *Hellepont* is confined with the lesser *Phrygia*, diuiding *Europe* from *Asia*, in sundrie places not about a mile broad, and in length about fortie, (now called the Channell of *Constantinople*) and hauing a Current that setteth into the *Egeum*: a trade-wind blowing either vp or downe, which when contrarie to the streame, doth exceedingly incense it. The Mountaynes on each side are clothed with Pines, from whence much Pitch is extracted. Three leagues about the entrance, and at the narrowest of this Streight, stand *Sestos* and *Abydos*; opposite to each other, formerly famous for the vnfortunate loues of *Hero* and *Leander*, drowned in the vncomp. sio- nate Surges, and sung by *Musaeus*. Here *Xerxes*, whose populous Armie drunke Rivers drie, and made Mountaynes circumnauigable, is said to haue past ouer into *Greece*, vpon a Bridge of Boats; which when broken by Tempests, he caused the Sea to be beaten (as if sensible) with three hun- dred stripes, and Fetters to be throwne therein; forbidding any to sacrifice vnto *Neptune*.

20 *Abydos* stands in *Asia*, which the *Milesians* first founded, by the permission of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, vnto whom all the Countrey was subiect. Taken by the *Turke* in the reigne of *Orchamus*. *Sestos* stands in *Europe*, though neuer great, yet strongly built, and once the principall Citie of *Chersonesus*: afterward defaced, a Castle was built in the roome thereof. *Abydos* is seated vpon a low leuell; and *Sestos* on the side of a Mountayne, yet descending to the Sea: both bordering the same with their Castles; whereof the former is foure square, the other triangular. These at this day are vulgarly called the Castles. All ships are suffered to enter, that by their multitude and appointment doe threaten no inuasion; but not to returne without search and permission, of which we shall speake in the processe of our Iournall. A little beyond wee past by the ruines of a Castle, which the *Turkish* *Carmasals* and Gallies still sayling by, salute with their Ordnance; 30 it being the first Fort by them taken in *Europe*, who call it *Zembenic*. That night wee came to *Callipoly*, some twentie miles distant, and thrust into a little Hauen North of the Towne, but only capable of small Vessels.

40 *Callipoly* is a Citie of *Chersonesus*, seated at the bottome of a Bay; so shallow, that ships doe there vsually anchor, as throughout the whole *Hellepont*. *Callipolis* maketh a faire shew a-farre off; but entred, is nothing lesse then it promised: a part thereof possessing the shoare, and the rest the rising of the Mountayne: vnwalled, and without either Citadell or Fortresse. Along the shoare, there are diuers drie stations for Gallies. On the South side of the Citie in a little Playne, are sundrie round Hills; the Sepulchres, as they say, of certayne *Thracian* Kings: for such was the ancient custome of buriall. The Countrey about is Champan, and not barren, but rarely inhabited. Here is a Ferrie for transportation into *Asia*. *Greekes* and *Iewes*, together with the *Turkes*, doe inhabit the Towne, and are admitted their Churches and Synagogues. Here also is a Monasterie of *Romish* Friars, of the Order of *Saint Augustine*; one of them being at this time (but not dwelling in the Couent) the *Franke* Consul; whose office is to dispatch, and discharge the dues of all Christians ships, not subiect to the *Grand Signior*, and admitted free trading below at the Castles. To his house I repayed, with hope of some refreshment after my wearisome voyage: but hee then from home, I was forced to returne to my water-bed; there being no Innes for entertainment throughout inhospitall *Turkie*: yet is this Towne well fur- nished with all sorts of prouision. What is here sold by the *Greeks*, you may agree for on a 50 price: but the *Turks* will receiue your money, and giue you a quantitie for it, according to their owne arbitrement; but truly enough, and rather exceeding, then short of your expectation. For two or three Aspers (whereof twentie are neere vpon a shilling) a Butcher will cut off as much Mutton (for they diuide it not into ioynts) as will well satisfie three, though hungrie; which they carrie to the Cookes, who make no more adoe, but slicing it into little Gobbets, pricke it on a Prog of Iron, and hang it in a Fornace. Derided and flurled at by diuers of the baser people, at night we returned to our Barke. And departing the next morning, were forthwith met with a contrarie winde, which droue vs to the shelter of a Rocke not farre from the Towne: where we abode all that day, and the night ensuing: they opening and washing part of their Sponges, which laid on the shoare, by the bulke you would haue thought to haue beene a freight for a Pin- nace; which stued into Sackes, when wet, were bestowed vnder the side Benches and crosse 60 Bankes of this little Vessell.

On the seuen and twentieth of September, before day wee left the shoare, and after a while entred the *Proponticke* Sea: confined with *Thrace* on the one side, and with *Bithynia* on the o- ther. Hauing climbed the Mountayne steepe towards the Sea, wee got to the Towne, and bought

Merrie Greekes.

Galata.
Sir T. Glouer.

bought vs some victuals, at night we returned to our Boate, which lay in an obscure Bay; where they spent the next day in washing the residue of their Sponges, whilst I and my Interpreter spent our times on the top of the Mountayne in the Vineyards, not well pleased with this their delay, now more affecting their ease then when without the *Hellepont*: being rid of that feare (for no Pirat dare venter to come within the Castles) which had quickned their expedition. In the euening we descended, where we found the Patron lying on his backe vpon a Rocke, all dropping wet: speechlesse, and struggling with death to our seeming. The *Greekes* together by the eares, euery one with his fellow; some in the Boate, and some vpon the Shoare. Amongst the rest there was a blinde man, who had married a yong wife, that would not let him lie with her; and thereupon had vnder-taken this iourney to complaine vnto the Patriarch: hee hearing 10 his brother crie out at the receipt of a blow; guided to the place by the noise, and thinking with his staffe to haue stricke the striker; laid it on with such a force, that meeting with nothing but Ayre, and not able to recouer himselfe, he fell into the Sea: and with much difficultie was preserued from drowning. The clamour increased with their contentions, and anon the Patrone starting vp, as if of a sodaine restored to life; like a mad man skips into the Boate, and drawing a *Turkish* Cymiter, beginneth to lay about him (thinking that his Vessell had beene surprized by Pirats,) when they all leapt into the Sea; and diuing vnder water like so many Diue-dappers, ascended without the reach of his furie. Leaping ashore, hee pursues my *Greeke*, whom feare had made too nimble for him; mounting a steepe Cliffe, which at another time hee could haue hardly ascended. Then turning vpon me onely armed with stones, as God would haue it, hee 20 stumbled by the way, and there laid like a stone for two houres together; that which had made them so quarrellsome being now the Peace-maker, hauing cast the fetters of sleepe vpon their distemperatures. For it beeing proclaimed death to bring Wine vnto *Constantinople*, and they loth to powre such good Liquor into the Sea, had made their bellies the ouer-charged Vessels. When the Patron awaked, and was informed by my *Greeke* how he had vsed me, and withall of my resolution (which was rather to retyre vnto the Towne, and there expect a passage, than to commit my safetie vnto such people) he came vnto me, and kissed me, as did the rest of his companions, (a testimonie amongst them of good-will and fidelitie) and so enforced mee aboard. The winds the next day blew fresh and fauourable. That night wee came to anchor a little below the seuen Towers: and betimes in the morning arriued at the Custome-house. Then cros- 30 sing the Hauen I landed at *Galata*, and so ascended the Vines of *Pena*; where by Sir *Thomas Glouer*, Lord Embassador for the King, I was freely entertayned: abiding in his house almost for the space of foure monethes. Of whom without Ingratitude and Detraction I cannot but make an honourable mention.

§. II.

Constantinople described, the Turkes Seraglio, Pera; the Turkish Empire and Government: Some Obseruations of the Turkish Religion.

His Citie by destinie appointed, and by nature seated for Soueraigntie, was first the seat of the *Romane* Emperors, then of the *Greeke*, as now it is of the *Turkish*: built by *Constantine* the Sonne of *Helena*, and lost by *Constantine* the Sonne of another *Helena* (a *Gregorie* then Bishop, whose first Bishop was a *Gregorie*) to *Mahomet* the second, in the yeare 1453. with the slaughter of her people, and destruction of her magnificent structures. The like may bee obserued of the *Romane* Emperours, whose first was *Augustus*, and whose last was *Augustulus*.

It stands on a Cape of Land neere the entrance of the *Bosphorus*. In forme triangular, on the East-side washed with the same, and on the North-side with the Hauen, adioyning on the West to the Continent. Walled with bricke and stone, intermixed orderly, hauing foure and twentie gates and posternes; whereof fise doe regard the Land, and nineteene the water, being about thirteene miles in circumference. Than this there is hardly in nature a more delicate Obiect, if beheld from the Sea or adioyning Mountaines; the loftie and beautifull Cypresse Trees so intermixed with the buildings, that it seemeth to present a Citie in a Wood to the pleased beholders. Whose seuen aspiring heads (for on so many hils and no more, they say it is seated) are most of them crowned with magnificent Mosques, all of white Marble, round in forme, and coupled aboue; being finished on the top with gilded Spires, that reflect the beames they re- 60 ceive with a maruellous splendor; some hauing two, some foure, some sixe adioyning Turrets, exceeding high, and exceeding slender; Tarraft aloft on the out-side like the mayne top of a ship, and that in seuerall places equally distant, from whence the *Tasilmanni* with elated voices (for they vse no Bels) doe congregate the people, pronouncing this *Arabicke* Sentence, *La Illah Il-*

lella

lella Muhemet re sul Allah: viz. There is but one God, and Mahomet his Prophet. No Mosque can haue more then one of these Turrets, if not built by an Emperour. But that of *Sancta Sophia*, once a Christian Temple, (twise burnt, and happily, in that so sumptuously re-edified by the Emperour *Iustinian*) exceedeth not onely the rest, by whose patterne they were framed, but all other Fabrickes whatsoeuer throughout the whole Vniuerse. A long labour it were to describe it exactly, and hauing done, my eies haue seene it, would but condemne my defectiue Relation. The

S. Sophia.

10 principall part thereof riseth in an Ouall, surrounded with Pillars, admirable for their proportion, matter and workmanship. Ouer those others, through which ample Galleries, curiously paved, and arched aboue, haue their prospect into the Temple, dignified with the presence of Christian Emperours at the time of Diuine Seruice, ascended by them on Horse-backe. The rooffe compact, and adorned with *Mosaike* Painting: an Antique kind of worke, composed of little square pieces of Marble; gilded and coloured according to the place that they are to assume in the figure or ground, which set together, as if embossed, present an vnexpressible stateliness, and are of a maruellous durance: numbred by *Pancirollus* amongst things that are lost, but diuers in *Italie* at this day excell in that kind, yet make the particles of Clay, gilt, and coloured before they be neiled by the fire. The rest of the Church, though of another proportion, doth ioyn to this with a certaine harmonie. The sides and floore all flagged with excellent Marble, vaulted vnderneath, and contayning large Cisternes, replenished with water from an Aquæduct. Before the entrance, there is a goodly Portico; where the Christians that visit it vpon curiositie, as well as the *Turkes*, doe leaue their shooes before they doe enter. Within on the left hand, there is a Pillar couered with Copper, euer sweating, (I know not why, vnlesse in beeing past through by some Conduit) which the *Turkes* wipe off with their Handkerchers, through a vaine Superstition perswaded, that it is of sacred and soueraigne vertue. The doores are curiously cut through, and plated; the wood of one of them fained to be of the Arke of *Noe*, and therefore left bare in some places to be killed by the deuouter people. *Enagrius* that liued a thousand yeares since, affirmeth this Temple to haue bene from East vnto West, two hundred and threescore feet long, and in height one hundred and fourescore: and *Antonius Menauinus*, that in the dayes of *Baiazet*, it contayned at once sixe and thirtie thousand *Turkes*. Perhaps the ancient Fabricke then standing entire, whereof this now remayning, was little more then the Chancell. Better to be beleued then *Bellonius* a moderne eye-witnesse, who reports that the doores thereof are in number equall to the dayes of the yeare: whereas if it hath five, it hath more by one, then by me was discerned. *Mahomet* the Great, vpon the taking of the Citie, threw downe the Altars, defaced the Images, (of admirable workmanship, and infinite in number) conuerting it into a Mosque. To euery one of these principal Mosques belong publike *Bagnios*, Hospitals, with lodgings for *Santons*, and Ecclesiasticall persons, beeing endowed with competent Reuenues. The interior are built for the most part square, many penthouse with open Galleries where they accustomed to pray at times extraordinarie: there being in all (comprehending *Pera*, *Scutari*, and the Buildings that border the *Bosphorus*) about the number of eight thousand.

Mosaike painting.

Sweating Pillar.

Suntq, in eo Templo (si liceat dicere tot portas quot in anno dies. Obser. lib. 2. cap. 76.

40 But of this *Sophia*, is almost euery other Friday frequented by the *Sultan*, beeing neere vnto the fore-front of his *Seraglio*, which possesseth the extremest point of the North-east Angle, where formerly stood the ancient *Byzantium*; diuided from the rest of the Citie by a loftie wall, contayning three miles in circuit; and comprehending goodly Groues of Cypresses intermixed with Plaines, delicate Gardens, artificiall Fountaines, all varietie of fruit-trees, and what not rare: Luxurie being the Steward, and the Treasure vnexhaustable. The proud Palace of the Tyrant doth open to the South, hauing a loftie Gate-house without lights on the out-side, and ingrauen with *Arabicke* Characters, set forth with Gold and Azure all of white Marble. This leadeth into a spacious Court three hundred yards long, and about halfe as wide, on the left side whereof stands the round of an ancient Chappell, contayning the Armes that were taken from the *Grecians*, in the subuersion of this Citie; and at the far end of this Court a second Gate, hung with Shields and Cymiters, doth leade into another full of tall Cypresse Trees, lesse large yet not by much then the former. The Cloysters about it, leade aboue, and paved with stone, the Rooffe supported with Columnes of Marble hauing Copper Chapters, and Bases. On the left hand the *Diuano* is kept; where the *Bassas* of the Port doe administer Iustice, on that side confined with humble buildings, beyond which Court on the right hand there is a street of Kitchens: and on the left is the Stable, large enough for five hundred Horse; where there is now to be seene a Mule so admirably streakt, and dappled with white and blacke, and in such due proportion, as if a Painter had done it, not to imitate Nature, but to please the Eye, and expresse li- Curiositie. Out of this second Court there is a passage into a third, not by Christians ordinarily to be entred, surrounded with the Royall Buildings, which though perhaps they come short of the *Italian*, for contriement and finenesse of workmanship; yet not in costely curiousnesse, matter, and amplitude. Betweene the East wall (which also serueth for a Wall to the Citie) and the water, a sort of terrible Ordnance are planted, which threat destruction to such as by Sea shall attempt a violent entrie or prohibited passage: and without on the North-side stands the *Sultans* Cabinet, in forme of a sumptuous Sommer House, hauing a priuate passage made for the time,

Turkes Palace, or Seraglio.

Streakt Mule, perhaps a Zebra, of which see the former Booke in *Andrew Battell*.

Ottoman Monuments.

time, of waxed Linnen, from his *Serraglio*: where he often solaceth himselfe, with the various Obiects of the Hauē, and from thence takes Barge to passe vnto the delightfull places of the adioyning *Asia*. This Palace howsoever enlarged by the *Ottomans*, was first erected by *Iustinus*, who named it *Sophia* of the Emperesse.

Now next to these the *Ottoman Mausoleas* doe require their regard, built all of white Marble round in forme, and coupled on the top; hauing stately Porches, within each is the Tombe of a seuerall *Sultan*, with the Tombes of his Children, that either haue dyed before him, or haue after beene strangled by their tyrannicall Brethren, according to the *Turkish* pietie. The Tombes nor longer, nor larger then fitting the included bodies, each of one stone; higher at the head then feet, and compact aboue: without other ornament then couers of Greene, and Tur- 10
bants laid vpon the vpper ends, at the foure corners of those of the *Sultans*, there stand foure Tapers of Waxe as bigge as a thigh, but not lighted. The floores of the Monuments are spread with Carpets: and some there are that doe continually liue therein, performing such duties of Prayers and Lamentations, as agreeth to their customes; at certaine times besprinkled also with the teares of their Off-spring.

The Tower.
Other Seraglios.

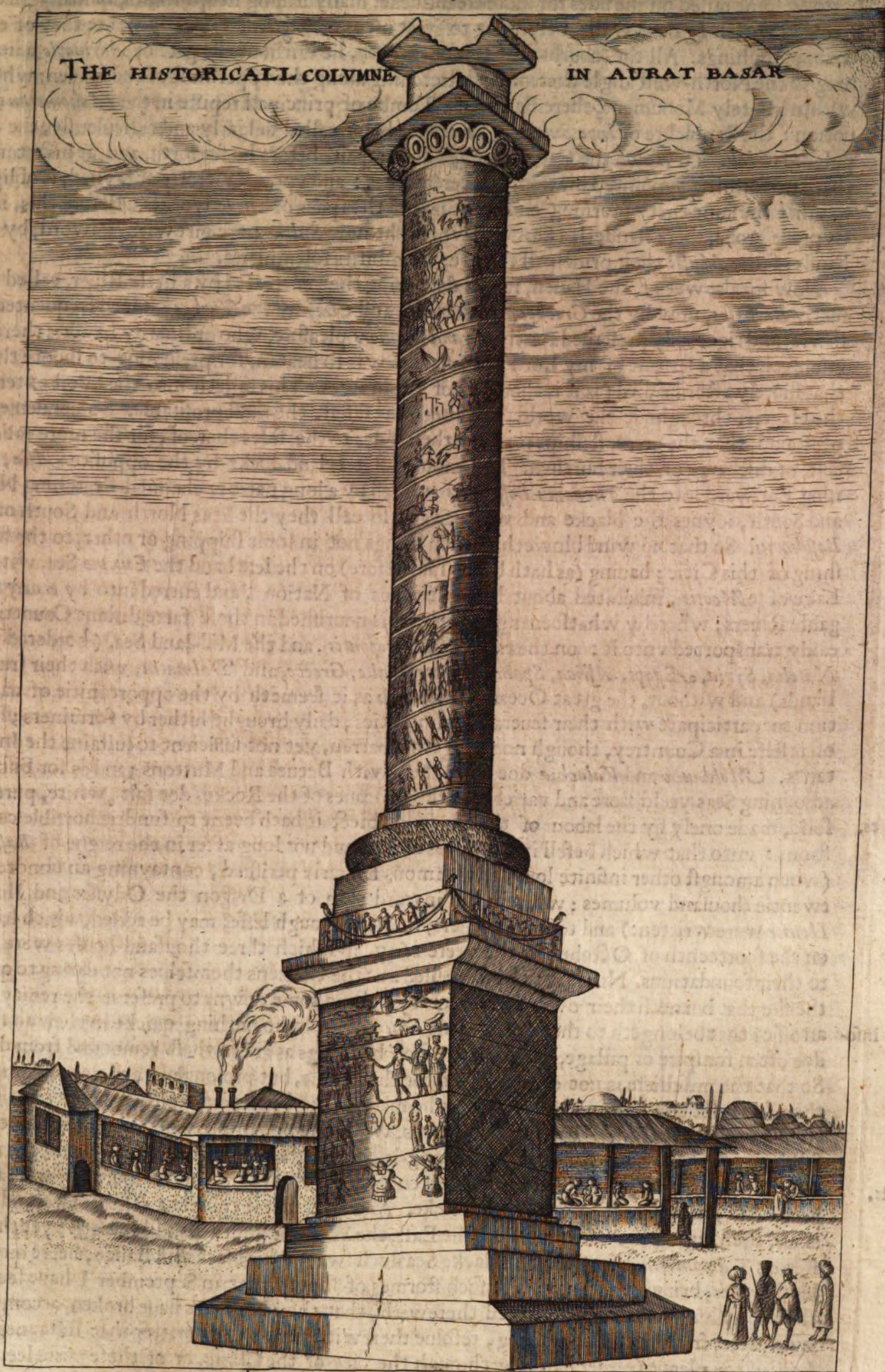
The South-east Angle of this Citie is taken vp by the seuen Towers, called anciently *Ianicula*: employed, as the Tower of *London*, for a Store-house of the *Sultans* Treasure, and Munition, being also a Prison for capitall Offenders. We omit to speake of the great mens *Serraglios*; that of the women belonging to the deceased Emperours; and that of the Virgins: the *Alberges* of *Ianizaries*; the seuerall Seminaries of *Spachies* and *Giamoglans*: the *Besestans* (where finer sorts of Commodities are sold,) Hospitals; Markets of men and women, &c. since hereafter we are to treat of most of their Orders; the buildings themselues not meriting a particular description: conuerting our Discourse to those few remainders of many Antiquities, whereof the Aquæduct made by the Emperour *Valentinian*, and retayning his name, doth principally challenge remembrance. This hath his heads neere to the Blacke Sea, not farre from a Village called *Domuz-dere*, of the abundance of wilde Hogges thereabout, the place being woodie and mountaynous, where many Springs are gathered together, and at sundry places doe ioyntly fall into great round Cisternes, from thence conueyed to conioyne with others (amongst which, as supposed, is the Brooke *Cydarius*) led sometimes vnder the Earth, now along the leuell, then vpon mightie Arches ouer profound Valleyes, from Hill to Hill, for the space wel-nigh of thirtie miles, vntill arriuing at the Citie, and surmounting the same, it falleth at length as from a head-long Cataract into an ample Cisterne, supported with neere two hundred Pillars of Marble; and is from thence by Conduits conducted vnto their publike vses. This was repayed by *Solyman* the Great, great-grand-father of this now reigning *Achmet*: whose wishes and endeauours are said to haue aymed at three things; which were, the re-edifying of *Ponte Piccolo*, and *Ponte Grande*, (which crosse two armes of the Sea, and the restoring of this Aquæduct; these he accomplished: but the third, which was the expugnation of *Vienna*, he could neuer accomplish. Not farre from the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*, there is a spacious place surrounded with buildings, like to that of Smith-field; and anciently called the *Hippodrom*, for that there they exhibited their Horse-races, as now *Atmidan* by the *Turkes*, a word of like signification, where the *Spachies* 40
of the Court play euery Friday at *Giocho di Canni*; which is no other then Prison Bace vpon Horse-backe, hitting one another with Darts, as the other doe with their hands; which they neuer throw Counter but at the backe of the Flyer. Nor is it the least contentment to the Christian to behold the terrible falls that they often get (not rarely costing them their liues) whilst by the wreathing of their bodies, or a too hastie turne, they seeke to auoide the Pursuer; and sometimes the Darts not lighting in iest on their naked neckes, and reuered faces. In this place there standeth a stately Hieroglyphicall Obeliske of *Theban* Marble.

A Brazen Columnne and an Obelisk are omitted.

And in *Aurathasar* (that is, the Market of Women) there is an Historiall Columnne to bee ascended within, farre surpassing both *Tartars*, and that of *Antoninus*, which I haue seene in *Rome*, the Workman hauing so proportioned the Figures, that the highest and lowest appeare of owne bignesse. 50

And right against the Mansion of the *Germane* Emperours Embassador (who onely is suffered to lodge within the Citie) stands the Columnne of *Constantine*, about the top whereof, you may reade this Distichon, ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΕΡΤΟΝ ΕΝΘΑΛΕ ΦΘΑΡΕΝ ΧΡΝΟΝ ΝΕΟΙ ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ. These are all the Remaines that are left (or all that are by the Christians to be seene, besides the Relikes of the Palace of *Constantine*, now made a Stable for wilde beasts) of so many goodly buildings, and from all parts congested Antiquities, wherewith this Soueraigne Citie was in times past so adorned: and with them are their memories perished. For not a *Greeke* can satisfie the Inquirer in the History of their owne Calamities. So supine negligent are they, or perhaps so wise as of passed euils to endeauour a forgetfulness. 60
But to say something of *Constantinople* in generall: I thinke there is not in the World an Obiect that promiseth so much a farre off to the beholders, and entred, so deceiueth the expectation. The best of their priuate buildings, inferiour to the more contemptible sort of ours. For the *Turkes* are nothing curious of their houses, not onely for that their Possessions are not hereditary; but

Base buildings.



but esteeming it an egregious folly to erect such sumptuous Habitations, as if hee were to live for euer. None being about two stories high, some of rough stone, some of timber, some of Sunne-dryed bricke: their Roofes but rising a little, covered with such Tiles as are layd on the Ridges of ours, one contrary to another; yet some part of some of them flat, (those belonging to men of principall degree) planted with flowers and trees of the rarest colours, and productions. Many vacant places there are in the Citie, and many rowes of buildings, consisting of shops onely, all belonging to the *Grand Signior*, who lets them out vnto Tradesmen; into which their wiues come not: prohibited by *Mahomet* that women should buy or sell (though now not seldome they doe) or shew themselves publikely. The streets for the most part are exceeding

Pppppp

nar-

The Suburbs.

Holy Sepulchre.

The Hauen.

Cruelty.

Terrible fires.

Janizaries insolence.

Tempests.

Plague.

Galata or Pera.

narrow; some raised on the sides for more cleanliness: many having steep ascents, in many places bounded with long dead walls, belonging to great mens *Serraglios*; so negligent are they of exterior garnishings. All the suburbs that this Citie hath, lie without the gate of *Adrinople*, adioyning to the North-west angle thereof, and stretching along the vppermost of the Hauen; where within a stately Monument, there standeth a Tombe of principall repute in the *Mahometan* deuotion: the Sepulchre of *Inpe Sultan* a *Santon* of theirs, called vulgarly and ridiculously, the Sepulchre of *Iob*. To which the Captaine *Bassa* doth repaire before he set forth, and at his returne, there performing appointed orations and ceremonies: and vpon a victorie obtayned, is obliged to visite the same euery morning and euening for the space of three weekes. Before this, in a Cypresse groue, there standeth a Scaffold, where the new *Sultans* are girt with a sword, by the hands of the *Mufti* their principall Prelate, with diuers solemnities.

Now speake wee of the Hauen, rather deuouring then encreased by a little Riuer, called formerly *Barbyzes*, now by the *Greekes*, *Chartaricon*, and *Chay* by the *Turkes*: much frequented by fowle, and rigorously preferred for the *Grand Signiors* pleasure, who ordinarily hawkes thereon; insomuch that a seruant of my Lord Embassadors was so beaten, for presuming to shoote there, that shortly after he died (as it is thought) of the blowes. This falleth into the West extent of the Hauen; throughout the world the fairest, the safest, the most profitable. So conueniently profound, that the greatest ships may lay their sides to the sides thereof, for the more easie receipt, or discharge of their burthen. The mouth of it is land-lockt by the opposite *Asia*, opening Eastward into the *Thracian Bosphorus*, which by a long narrow channell stretching North and South, ioynes the blacke and white Seas: so call they the Seas North and South of the *Bosphorus*. So that no wind bloweth, which brings not in some shipping or other, to the furnishing of this Citie; hauing (as hath beene said before) on the left hand the *Euxine* Sea, with the Lake of *Meotis*, inhabited about by multitudes of Nations, and entred into by many navigable Riuers; whereby whatsoever groweth, or is nourished in those farre distant Countries, is easily transported vnto it: on the right hand *Propontis*, and the Mid-land Sea, (bordered with *Natolia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Italie*, *Greece*, and *Dalmatia*, with their fruitfull Islands) and without, the great Ocean. Insomuch as it seemeth by the opportunitie of navigation to participate with their seuerall commodities, daily brought hither by forrainers; seated of it selfe in a Countrey, though not altogether barren, yet not sufficient to sustaine the Inhabitants. *Moldania* and *Valachia* doe serue them with Beeues and Muttons; and as for Fish, the adioyning Seas yeeld store and variety, as the concaues of the Rockes doe salt, white, pure, and solid, made onely by the labour of the surges. Subiect it hath beene to sundrie horrible combustions: vnto that which befell in the dayes of *Leo*, and not long after in the reigne of *Basilicus*, (when amongst other infinite losses that famous Librarie perished, contayning an hundred and twentie thousand volumes; wherein the inward skin of a Dragon the *Odysses* and *Iliads* of *Homer* were written:) and to diuers others, this last, though lesse, may be added, which hapned on the fourteenth of October, in the yeere 1607. in which three thousand houses were burnt to their foundations. Nor is it to be maruelled at: the Citizens themselues not daring to quench the fire that burneth their owne houses, or by pulling some downe to preserve the remaynder: an office that belongeth to the *Aga*, and his *Janizaries*; who nothing quicke in their assistance, doe often for spite or pillage, beate downe such buildings as are farthest remoound from danger. So that the mischiete is not onely wished for the bootie, but prolonged; and not seldome they themselues set the *Iewes* houses on fire: who made warie by the example, are now furnished of arched vaults, for the safeguard of their goods, which are not to bee violated by the flame. The fall of houses heretofore by terrible and long-lasting earthquakes, now by negligence in repaying, tempests, and the matter that they consist of, is heere also most frequent, many (as hath beene said) being built of Sun-dried bricke. And although it enioyes a delicate aire, and serene skies, euen during the Winter, when the East, the West, or South wind bloweth; yet the boysterous *Tramontana*, that from the blacke Sea doth sweepe his blacke substance, heere most violently rages, bringing often with it such stormes of snow, that in September I haue seene the then flourishing trees so ouercharged therewith, that their branches haue broken, accompanied with bitter frosts, which dissoluing, resolute therewith the vnfirm matter that sustaynes them. Lastly, the plague (either hapning through the vice of the Clime, or of those misbeleeuers, or hither brought by the many frequenting Nations) for the most part miserably infesteth this Citie, encreased by the superstition of the *Mahometans*.

On the other side of the Hauen (continually crossed by multitudes of little Boats, called *Permagies*, and rowed for the most part by *Egyptians*) stands the Citie of *Galata*, so called, as some write of the *Gauls*, once the masters thereof, or as others will haue it, of *Galac*, which signifieth *Milke*, for that there the *Greekes* kept their cattell; as *Pera* (another name thereof,) which signifieth *Beyond*, in that on the other side of the Hauen; but more anciently *Cornu Byzantium*. Infirmely walled, yet great, if you comprehend the suburbs therewith, extending from along the shoare to the vpper tops of the Mountaines, surpassing *Constantinople* in her loftie buildings built by the *Genoas*; who bought it of the *Greeke* Emperours (in their declining estate, posselt of little

little more then the regal Citie, and title; for the most part sustayned by forraigne contributions) and by them surrendred vnto *Mahomet* the Great, the day after the sacking of *Constantinople*. At the West end thereof the *Grand Signiors Gallies* haue a drie station: and at the East end right against the point of his *Serraglio*, called *Tophana* and *Fundacle*, lies a number of great Ordnance vnplanted; most of them the spoyle of Christian Cities and Fortresses, as may appeare by their inscriptions, and Impreses; and many of them of an incredible greatnesse.

Now, right against the mouth of the Hauens, on the other side of the *Bosphorus*, stands *Scutari*, a Towne of *Bythinia*. *Scutari* sometimes belonged to *Chalcedon*, once a free Citie, and lea-
 10 ted a little below it: so called of a Brooke, now without a name, that runs into *Propontis*; called also, The Citie of the Blind; because of the foolish *Megarians* that built it. Famous for the fourth generall Councell there holden; and now onely shewing a part of her ruines.

The blacke Sea is distant some fiftene miles from *Constantinople*, so named of his blacke ef-
 20 fects, or for the thicke mists that vsually hang ouer it.

Here the *Turke* prohibiteth forrainers to trafficke, there being no other passage there into but by Riuers: neither this passage of *Bosphorus*, as some coniecture; hath beene alwayes: but forced by the violence of streames that fell into the ouer-charged *Euxine*. Where it rusheth into the *Bosphorus* there are two Rockes, that formerly bare the names of *Cyanea* and *Sympligades*: which for that so neere, as many times appearing but as one, they were fayned by the Poets vnstable, and at sundry times to iustle each other. Here vpon the top of a Rocke, supposed by
 30 some to be one of these, yet too farre remoued from a fellow to be so, stands a Pillar of white marble, called vulgarly, The Pillar of *Pompey*. Vpon the shoare there is an high Lanterne, large enough at the top, to contayne about threescore persons, which by night directeth the Saylor into the entrance of the *Bosphorus*.

The *Bosphorus* setteth with a strong current into *Propontis*, and is in length, about twentie
 40 miles; where broadest, a mile; and in two places, but halfe a mile ouer. So called, for that Oxen accustomed to swim from the one side to the other. One of those two fore-mentioned Streights lies before *Constantinople*; the other, fife miles aboue and a halfe, where on *Europe* side there standeth a Castle, called formerly *Damalis*, and now, The *Blacke Tower*.

The *Turkish Empire* is the greatest that is, or perhaps that euer was from the beginning. For
 50 first, the *European* part thereof extendeth westward vnto the Archdukes of *Austria*, Dominions, stretching to the *Adriatick Sea* by the confines of *Ragusa*, bounded on the South with the *Mediterraneum*; on the East, with *Aegeum*, *Propontis*, and *Pontus*, euen to *Theodosia*, a Citie of the *Scythian Chersonesus*; and on the North almost to *Russia* and *Polonia*; contayning *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, *Serua*, *Rascia*, the tributarie principalities of *Valachia* and *Moldania*; the greater part of *Hungary*, *Bosna*, *Albania*, *Macedon*, *Epirus*, all *Grecia* and *Peleponnesus*; all the fruitfull Ilands of the *Aegean Sea*: *Ragusa* payes for her libertie; nor is *Candie*, *Zant*, or *Cephalania* held without Presents. But what is this, compared to her *Asian Territories*: within which, all *Natolia* is comprised; on three sides embraced with the *Aegean*, *Euxine*, and *Cilician Seas*; contayning the Prouinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and the les-
 60 ser *Armenia*; beyond which, *Colchis* stretching Northward to *Cataie*, and bounded on the East with the Countrey of the *Georgians*, whereof the *Turkes* possesse not a little. A great part it also contayneth of the greater *Armenia*: all *Syria* (in which *Celosyria*, *Phoenicia*, and *Palestine*;) *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*: *Arabia felix*, which stretcheth out into the South Sea, interposing the *Persian* and *Arabian Gulfes*, doe bow to that Soueraigntie: so doe the Inhabitants of *Petrea*, and *Deserta*; such I meane, as haue knowne habitations. In *Africa* it extendeth all along the coasts of the *Mediterraneum*, euen from the red Sea to *Acrath*, a Citie of *Mauritania* (except some few places posselt by the *Spaniard*) wherein is the Countrey of the *Troglodites*, the miraculously fertile Kingdome of *Egypt*, *Tripoly* in *Barbarie*, the Kingdome of *Tunis*, and Citie of the *Argers* with her Territories, with the tributarie Kingdomes of *Fesse* and *Morocco*.
 70 To this adde *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and all the fertile Ilands of the mid-land Sea, that lie East of *Candie*. Thus great at this day is the *Ottoman Empire*: but too great for it are their assumed Titles: as God on earth, Shadow of God, Sole Monarch of the World, King of Kings, Commander of all that can be commanded, Soueraigne of the most noble Families of *Persia* and *Armenia*, Possessor of the holy Cities of *Meccha* and *Ierusalem*, Lord of the blacke and white Seas, *Sultan* of *Babylon*, and so proceeding with a repetition of their seuerall Kingdomes. Like swelling attributes gaue this now reigning *Sultan* to our Soueraigne, in a Letter writ lately, which I will insert for the strangenesse: Vnto the most glorious and most mightie King *Iames*, one of the great Lords of the creation of *Iesus*, and most laudable amongst all the Princes of the Nation of *Messia*, a Iudge of all debates and differences of the people of *Nazarets*, Possessor of great Maiestie, riches, and of glorie,
 80 a Iudge of the most great Kings of *England*. &c. farcing his Letter with like fustian, calling his owne Court, Our most happie and shining Port, a Port of refuge for the World: and subscribing, From our Imperiall residence of *Constantinople*, most strongly and mightily guarded: Yet in his owne stile more modest, contayning no more then *Sultan Achmet Chan*, Sonne to *Mahomet Chan* most innincible.

HONDIVS his Map of the Turkish Empire.



But the barbarous policie whereby this tyrannie is sustayned, doth differ from all other : guided by the heads, and strengthened by the hands of his slaves, who thinke it as great an honour to be so, as they doe with vs that serue in the Courts of Princes : the Naturall Turke (to be so called a reproach) being rarely employed in command or seruice : amongst whom there is no Nobilitie of blood, no knowne parentage, kindred, nor hereditary possessions, but are as it were of the Sultans creation, depending vpon him onely for their sustenance and preferments. Who disposeth, as well of their liues as their fortunes, by no other rule then that of his will ; although sometime for forme he vseth the assent of the neuer gain-saying Musli. These are the sonnes of Christians (and those the most compleatly furnished by nature) taken in their childhood from their miserable Parents, by a leuie made euery fve yeeres (or oftner, or seldomer, as occasion requireth) throughout the whole Empire, (excepting certaine priuiledged places, amongst which are Sio and Constantinople,) who are bestowed in seuerall Seminaries, instructed in the Mahometan Religion (changing their names vpon their circumcision) taught the vse of their seuerall weapons, and made patient of hunger and labour, with inured abstinence, and continuall exercise. These they call *Iemoglans*, who haue their faces shauen (the token of seruitude,) wearing long Coats and copped Caps, not vnlike to our Idiots. The choicest of them for spirit and feature, are after a while receiued into the Grand Signiors *Serraglio* ; distinguished by chambers like to those in Hospitals, according to their seniorities ; where all are brought vp in the discipline of warre ; and not a few, acquainted with the secrets of State : such as by the excellency of their gifts doe assure the expectation of a future eminency. Those of the first chamber, are the first preferred : yet not in order, but according to the worth of the place, and worthinesse of the person. Of these come the *Beglerbeks*, (the name signifying, a Lord of Lords) of whom there be onely two, the one of Greece, and the other of Natolia : who command all the horse-men in those Countries vnder the Generall) the Great Bassas, (whereof some are Generals of Armies, some Vizers of the Port, the rest Vice-royes of Prouinces) the *Sanziaks* Gouvernours

lanizaries.

nours of Cities, for so the name signifieth, with their Territories and Forces, and other Officers both of Warre and Peace; with those of the Court, of principall place and attendance. Of the other *Iemoglans* some come to bee *Chaufes*, who goe of Embassies, execute Commandements, and are Pursuants, and vnder-Sheriffs; attending the imployment of the Emperour, who mounted on horse-backe, carrie Dabuzes (a weapon like a Mace) before him, and on the Courts of Iustice: soliciting also the causes of their Clients. But the *Spachies* and *Ianizaries* which are made of these *Iemoglans* (the principall cause of their institution) are the nerves and supporters of the *Turkish* Monarchy. The *Spachies* are Horse-men, weaponed for the most part at once, with Bow, Mase, Lance, Harquebuss, & Cymiter: whereof they haue the seuerall
10 vses, agreeing with their fights, their flights or pursuements. For defence, some weare Bucklers, and shirts of Male. The skirts of their coats, when they ride, are gathered within long Stammell broges, that reach to their ankles, and there doe ioyne to their Buskins; shod with Iron, and supplying the want of Spurres, with their large and sharpe Stirrops. Their Saddles are placed behind & before, the seate deep and hard: and for Caparison, vse for the most part the skins of Leopards, Lions, Tygres, Panthers, and the like. In Cities when on foot, they weare Gownes of Stammell with long hanging sleeues, and are distinguished from others by the folding vp of their Shashes. Of these there be two sorts; the *Vleffigi*, which is to say, stipendarie, who are almost altogether made of these *Iemoglans*; and the *Timariots*, who consist of all sorts of people. The first as yet vnpreferred, vnder the command of seuerall Captaines, do attend vpon the
20 immediate imployment of the Emperour: who alloweth vnto each the daily pension of ten Aspers, paid them euery quarter. Of these there be 32000. the one halfe of them are called *Spacheioglans*, who weare red Pendants on their speares, & when in the field, march on the right hand the *Sultan*: as the other on the left, who are called *Siliktarspacheis*, bearing yellow & white Pendants. The other dispersed throughout the whole Empire, do liue vpon their particular Tenements for terme of life assigned them, and thereupon so called. It being the policy of this State, to erect in the conquered Countries a number of *Timariots*, answerable to the greatnesse thereof: whereby the principall part of the souldiery is provided for, and the Empire strengthened, both against foraine
30 inuasions, and reuolts of the subdued. Of these, as they say, there are vpward of seauen hundred thousand: euery one being to find as many Horse, as his Farme doth double the yearly value of fixtie *Sultanies*, ready to be commanded by their seuerall *Sanziacks*, as they by their *Bassas*: these beare on their Lances white and red Pendants. But the *Ianizaries* (a name that signifieth *New Souldiery*) are those that beare such great sway in *Constantinople*: insomuch, that the *Sultans* themselves haue beene sometimes subiect to their insolencies. They are diuided into seuerall Companies vnder seuerall Captaines, but all commanded by their *Aga*, a place of high trust; and the third in repute through the Empire: howbeit, their too much loue is to him an assured destruction. These are the Flower of the *Turkish* Infantry, by whom such wonderfull victories haue beene atchieued. They call the Emperour *Father*, (for none other is there for them to depend on) to whose valour and faith in the time of warre hee committeth his person, they hauing their stations about the Royall Pauillion. They serue with Harquebusses, armed
40 besides with Cymiter, and Hatchets. They weare on their heads a Bonnet of white Felt, with a flap hanging downe behind to their shoulders; adorned about the browes with a wreath of Metall gilt, and set with stones of small value, hauing a kind of sheathe or socket of the same erected before, wherein such are suffered to sticke Plumes of Feathers as haue behaued themselves extraordinary brauely. They tucke vp the skirts of their coats when they fight or march, and carry certaine daies prouision of victuals about with them, nor is it a cumber, it being no more then a small portion of Rice, and a little Sugar and Hony. When the Emperour is not in the field, the most of them reside with him in the Citie: euery at hand vpon any occasion to secure his person, and are as it were the *Pretorian* cohorts with the *Romanes*. They are in number about fortie thousand, whereof the greater part (I meane of those that attend on the Court)
50 haue their being in three large *Serraglios*, where the Iuniors doe reuerence their Seniors, and all obey their seuerall Commanders (as they their *Aga*) with much silence and humilitie. Many of them that are married (a breach of their first institution) haue their priuate dwellings: and those that are busied in foraine imployments, are for the most part placed in such Garrison Townes as doe greatly concerne the safetie of the Empire; some are appointed to attend on Embassadours; others, to guard such particular Christians as will be at the charge, both about the Citie, and in their Trauels, from inciuities and violences, to whom they are in themselves most faithfull: wary and cruell, in preuenting and reuenging their dangers and iniuries, and so patient in bearing abuses, that one of them of late being stricken by an *English*-man, (whose humorous swaggering would permit him neuer to reuiew his Countrey) as they trauelled along
6 through *Morea*, did not onely not reuenge it, nor abandon him to the pillage and outrages of others, in so vnknowne and sauage a Countrey; but conducting him vnto *Zant* in safetie, saying, *God forbid that the villany of another should make him betray the charge that was committed to his trust.* They are of one Trade or other: The pay that they haue from the *Grand Signior*, is but fixe Aspers a day; yet their eldest Sons as soone as borne, are inrolled, and receiued into pension,
but

but his bountie extendeth no further vnto his Progeny, (the rest reputed as naturall *Turkes*) nor is a *Janizarie* capable of other preferments then the command, of ten, of twentie, or of an hundred. They haue yearly giuen them two Gownes apeece; the one of Violet cloath, and the other of Stammell, which they weare in the Citie, carrying in their hands a great tough Reede, some seuen foote long, tipped with Siluer, the weight whereof is not seldome felt by such as displease them. Who are indeed so awfull, that Iustice dare not proceed publikely against them (they being onely to be iudged by their *Aga*) but being priuately attached, are as priuately throwne into the Sea in the night time. But then are they most tumultuous (whereto they doe giue the name of affection) vpon the dangerous sicknesses of their Emperours, and vpon their deaths commit many out-rages. Which is the cause that the great *Bassas* as well as they can, do 10
conceale it from them, vntill all things be provided for the presentment of the next for them to salute. Whereupon (besides the present larges) they haue an Asper a day increase of pension: so that the longer they liue, and the more Emperours they out-liue, the greater is their allowance.

But it is to be considered, that all these before named, are not onely of that tribute of children. For not a few of them are captiues taken in their child-hood, with diuers Renegados, that haue most wickedly quitted their Religion and Countrey, to fight against both, who are to the Christians the most terrible Aduersaries. And withall they haue of late infringed their ancient customes, by the admitting of those into these orders that are neither the Sonnes nor Grand-sonnes of Christians; a naturall *Turke* borne in *Constantinople*, before neuer knowne, being now 20
a *Bassa* of the Port.

Tartars.

Achingi.

Azapi.

Ouer and aboue these, and besides the auxiliary *Tartars*, whereof there are lightly threescore thousand (who liue on spoile, and serue without pay) that are euer assistant; the *Grand Signior* hath other Forces, whom they call *Achingi*, who haue nothing but what they can get by foraging, being Hindes of the Countrey, and tyed to serue on Horse-backe, for certaine priuiledges that they hold, in number about thirtie or fortie thousand: but small in value, as are the *Azapi*, who serue on foote (yet properly belonging to the Gallies) better acquainted with the Spade then Sword; thrust forward with purpose rather to weary, then to vanquish the enemy, whose dead bodies doe serue the *Janizaries* to fill vp ditches, and to mount the walls of assaulted Fortresses; besides many voluntaries, who follow the Army in hope to succede the slaine *Spahis* 30
and *Janizaries*, now nothing curious at such a time to receiue those that bee not the Sonnes of Christians into the Order. Such are the *Turkish* Forces, both in qualitie and proportion, and hee that shall see three hundred thousand of these in an Armie (as he might haue done this last Sommer in *Bithynia*) so disciplined, so appointed, and so daringly resolute: whose onely repute consists in their valours; and whose deteats are punished in their Commanders as offences, furnished with such abundance of great Ordnance (much whereof they cast according to their occasions, carrying with them the Metall vpon the backes of Camels) will not onely not wonder at their victories, but rather how the rest of the yet vnuanquished world hath withstood them. I haue heard a Prince (and he of no small experience) impute the sundry ouerthrowes giuen them, by a small number of Christians, to the paucitie of Commanders, and their want of experience, 40
some one *Sanziack* hauing vnder his conduct five thousand *Timariots*; and he perhaps but newly crept out of the *Sultans Serraglio*, exercised onely in speculatiue conflicts. So that their numbers proue often but cumbers, and the aduantage losse, encountred by the many expert Directors of few, who are also farre better defensiuely armed. But he that hath bounded the Sea, hath also limited their furies. And surely it is to bee hoped, that their greatnesse is not onely at the height, but neere an extreame precipitation: the body being growne too monstrous for the head, the *Sultans* vnwarlike, and neuer accompanying their Armies in person; the Souldier corrupted with ease and libertie, drowned in prohibited Wine, enfeebled with the continuall conuerse of Women, and generally lapsed from their former austeritie of life, and simplicitie of manners. Their valours now meeting on all sides with opposition, hauing of late giuen no in- 50
crease to their Dominions, and Empire so got, when it ceaseth to increase, doth begin to diminish. Lastly, in that it hath exceeded the obserued period of a Tyrannie, for such is their Empire. Now when they march, the *Tartars* doe scoure the Countrey two daies iourney before, then follow the *Achingi*, after them the *Timariots*, next those few *Iemoglans* that be, next them the *Janizaries*, the *Chauses* follow on horse-backe, (who carrie Bowes and Arrowes, besides their Mases and Cymiters) then comes the *Sultan* with the Officers of his Court, and Archers of his Guard, who are foot-men: the stipendarie *Spahis* marching on either side of him. An hundred Coaches couered with red, with foure Horses apeece, are drawne after, which carrie the *Hichoglans* (his Pages) and Eunuchs; about these the *Iemoglans*, called *Baltagies*, are placed. The 60
carriages of the Army ensue, followed by voluntaries, who goe in hope (as before said) to bee entertained in the roomes of the slaine, with the Seruants of the *Spahis* of the Court, and certaine *Janizaries Att-oglans Lepzlers* and *Denigilers*. The *Janizaries* haue the models of Elephants, Boots, Swords of Wood, and the like, borne before them for their Ensignes; and the Royall Standard is no other then a Horse taile tied to the end of a staffe.

Colours.
Royall Stan-
dard.

As for their forces at Sea, they are but small in comparison of what they haue beene, and compared to those of particular Christian Princes, but contemptible. Approued by the *Florentine*, who with fixe ships onely hath kept the bottome of the Streights for these three yeeres past in despite of them: insomuch as they haue not dared to hazard the reuenue of *Egypt* by Sea, but haue sent it ouer Land with a Guard of Souldiers, to their no small trouble and expences: the whole *Armado* comming often in view, yet not so hardie as to aduenture the onset. The Admirall hauing thought it a safer course to employ the Pirats of *Tunis* and *Algiers* in that seruice, who haue many tall ships (the spoile of Christian Merchants) and warlikely appointed: now growne expert in Nauigation, and all kind of Sea-fights, by the wicked instruction of our fugitive Pirats, and other Renegados. But those Pirats haue no heart to such an enterprife, where the victorie would proue so bloudie, and the bootie so worthlesse. The Nauie that is yearly set forth in the beginning of May, to annoy the Enemie, suppress Pirats, collect Tribute, and reforme disorders in the Maritime Townes that belong to the Admiraltie, consists of not aboue threescore Gallies, which are all that can be spared from their other places of imployment. During the Winter the *Armado* is dispersed, and the Gallies are drawne into their drie stations. In which time the Pirats, both *Christian* and *Mahometan*, doe rob on the *Aegean* and *Mediterranean* Seas vncontrolled, but by the defensive strength of the Assailed. So much the continuance of honors in Families are auoided, that when a *Bassa* is giuen (for so I may terme it) to the Sister or Daughter of a *Sultan* for an husband, the children begotten on them, doe most rarely rise about the degree of a priuate Captaine. But more seuerer are these Tyrants to their owne, who lop all the Branches from the Bole; the vnnaturall Brother solemnizing his Fathers funerals, with the slaughter of his Brothers. So fearfull are they of riuallitie, and so damnably politike; making all things lawfull that may secure the perpetuities of their Empire. Yet they mourne for those being dead, whom they murdered; honoring them with all dues of buriall, and customarie lamentations. Now if the *Ottoman* Line should faile, the *Crim Tartar* is to succeed (both being of one Familie, and of one Religion) as the *Turke* the *Tartar*; who hath at this day the election of the *Tartarian* Emperours: but with this limitation, that hee is to bee one of the sonnes of the decessed.

They are commanded seuen times a day to resort vnto publike Prayers: the first assembling is called *Timgil-namas*, which is two houres before day: the second *Sabah-namas*, at day breakes: the third *Vyle-namas*, at noone: the fourth *Kyndy-namas*, at three of the clocke: the fift *Aksham-namas*, after Sunne-set: the sixth *Ghagic-namas*, two houres within night: and the seuenth *Giuma-namas*, at ten of the clocke in the morning: the last also on Fridayes obserued by all, at other times but by the more religious. Congregated (as aforesaid) by the chanting of the Priests from the tops of steeples: at which times lightly, though they be in the fields, they will spread their vpper garments on the earth, and fall to their deuotions. Moreover, I haue seene them conioyntly pray in the corners of the streets, before the opening of their shops in the morning. Friday is their Sabbath; and yet they spend but a part thereof in deuotion, and the rest in recreations: but for that time they obserue it so rigorously, that a *Turke* here lately had his eares nayled to his shop-boord for opening it too timely. Before they pray, they wash all the Organs of their senses; their legs to their knees, and their armes to their elbowes: their priuities after the purgings of nature; and sometimes all ouer from top to toe: for which there are houses of office with conduits belonging to euery principall Mosque. Where water is wanting, they doe it with dust. At the doore of the Mosque they put off their shooes; and entring, sit crosse legged vpon rewes of Mats, one behind another, the poore and the rich promiscuously. The Priest in a Pulpit before them, not otherwise distinguished in habite but by the folding vp of his Turbant. When they pray, they turne their faces towards *Meccha*: first standing vpright, without any motion of their bodies, holding the palmes of their hands vppward; sometimes they stop their eyes and eares, and oft pull the haire on the sides of their faces: then thrice they bow, as in their salutations; and as often prostrating themselues on the earth, doe kisse it. Doing this sundrie times, they will looke backe vpon no occasion, vntill they come vnto the salutation of *Mahomet*: at which time they reuerse their faces, first ouer the right shoulder, and then ouer the left; beleeuing that his comming will be behind them when they are at their deuotions. The Priest doth sometimes reade vnto them some part of the *Alcoran* (holding it, in reuerence to the booke, as high as his chin) sometimes some of their fabulous Legend, intermixing Expositions and Instructions, which they hearken vnto with heedie attention, and such steadie positures of body, as if they were intranced. Their Seruice is mixed with Songs and Responses: and when all is done, they stroke downe their faces and beards with lookes of deuout grauitie. If they finde a Paper in the streets, they will thrust it in some Crevice of the adioyning wall; imagining that the name of God may be contayned therein, and then prophane to be trod vnder foot, or otherwise defiled. They number their often repetition of the Names of God and his Attributes (with other short ejaculations of Prayer and Praise) vpon Beades: some shaking their heads incessantly, vntill they turne giddie: perhaps in imitation of the supposed trances (but naturally infirmitie) of their Prophet. And they haue an Order of Monkes, who are called *Dervises*, Monkes,

Sea force.

Their Sabbath

Their Prayers.

Lyturgie.

whom

whom I haue often seene to dance in their Mosques, on Tuesdayes and Fridayes, many together, to the sound of barbarous musicke; dances that consist of continuall turnings, vntill at a certayne stroke they fall vpon the earth, and lying along like beasts, are thought to be rapt in spirit vnto celestiaall conuersations. Now the Women are not permitted to come into their Temples (yet haue they secret places to looke in through Grates) partly for troubling their deuotions, but especially for that they are not circumcised, as are the women of *Persia* and *Ethiopia*. Nor circumcise they the Males vntill they be able to answere the Priest, and promise for themselves, which is for the most part at the age of eight. They are circumcised in the houses of their Parents, at a festiuall meeting, and in the midst of the Assembly, the Child holding vp his fore-finger, in token that he is a *Mahometan*. As soone as cut, the Priest washeth the wound in water and salt, and bindeth it in linnen. Who changeth not his name, but is from thenceforth called a *Musselman*, which is, a true Beleuer. This done, he is carryed vnto the *Bannia*, where his haire (before that time worne at full length) is shauen, and so kept euer after, all sauing a locke on the top of his crowne; by which they dreame that they shall be assumed by *Mahomet* into Paradise: then put they on him a white Turbant; and so returning with Drums and Hoboys, is with great solemnitie conducted to the Mosque, and presented with gifts according to his qualitie.

Lent.

The *Turkes* doe fast one moneth in the yeere, which they call *Ramazán*: which changeth yeerly (so that in thirteene yeeres they fast one) wherein, they say, that the *Alcoran* was deliuered vnto *Mahomet* by the Angell. Obserued by all but the Infirmes and Trauellers: who are to fast for as long a time, when so they recouer, or come to the end of their iourney. But they fast but during the day, in the night they feast, and then are all their steeples sticke round with Lamps, which burne till the morning, affording an obiect of great solemnitie. Such as in stead of abstayning from meates, doe abstayne at that time from their Mosques, they carrie about in scorne, and seuerely chastise; but such as then drinke wine, they punish with death. Vpon the discouerie of the new Moone (which they superstitiously gratulate, esteeming him happy that discouereth it first, and by the course thereof doe reckon their yeere) falling out this yeere on the seuenth of December, the feast of the great *Byram* did begin, which doth continue for three dayes together, obserued by them as Easter is with vs. On the first day the *Grand Signior* riding to *Sancta Sophia*, in all the pompe and glorie of Empire (of which we shall speake hereafter) vp-

Desperate impietie.

on his returne we saw a sort of Christians, some of them halfe earth alreadie, crooked with age, and trembling with palsies; who by the throwing away of their Bonnets, and lifting vp of their fore-fingers, did proffer themselves to become *Mahometans*. A sight full of horror and trouble, to see those desperate wretches that had professed Christ all their life, and had suffered no doubt for his sake much contumely and oppression; now almost dying, to forsake their Redeemer, euen then when they were to receiue the reward of their patience. To these the Tyrant a little inclined his body, who before not so much as cast his eye aside, but sate like the adored statue of an Idoll. For they hold it a great grace, and an act of singular pietie, to draw many to their Religion, presenting them with money, change of rayments, and freeing them from all Tribute and Taxes. Infomuch, that if a Christian haue deserued death by their Law, if hee will conuert, they will many times remit his punishment. But they compell no man. During this festiuall they exercise themselves with various pastimes, but none more in vse, and more barbarous, then their swinging vp and downe, as Boyes doe in Bell-ropes: for which there bee Gallowses (for they beare that forme) of an exceeding height, erected in sundrie places of the Citie; when by two ioyning Ropes that are fastned aboue, they will swing themselves as high as the transome: perhaps affected in that it stupifies the senses for a season: the cause that *Opium* is so much in request, and of their fore said shaking of their heads, and continued turnings. In regard whereof, they haue such as haue lost their wits, and naturall Idiots, in high veneration, as men rauished in spirit, and taken from themselves, as it were to the fellowship of Angels. These they honour with the Title of Saints, lodge them in their Temples, some of them going almost starke naked; others clothed in shreds of seuerall colours, whose necessities are supplied by the peoples deuotions, who kisse their Garments as they passe through the streets, and bow to their benedictions; yea, many by counterfeiting the Idiot haue auoided punishment for offences which they haue vnwittingly fallen into. Whilst the *Byram* lasteth, you cannot stirre abroad but you shall be presented by the *Dervises* and *Ianizaries*, with tulips and trifles, besprinkling you with sweet water; nor cease so to doe, till they haue drawne Rewards from you.

Whether are the most Fooles and Mad?

The *Turkes* are encouraged to almes by their *Alcoran*, as acceptable to God, and meritorious in it selfe, if giuen without vaine-glorie, and of goods well gotten, alledging it to be a temptation of the Deuils, to abstayne from Almes, for feare of impouerishment. Their more publike Almes consist in sacrifices (if not so wrongfully termed) vpon their festiualls, or performance of vows: when Sheepe and Oxen are slaine by the Priest, and diuided amongst the Poore, the Owner not so much as retayning a part thereof. They say, they giue much in priuate: and in truth, I haue seene but few Beggars amongst them. Yet sometimes shall you meet in the streets with couples chained together by the necke, who beg to satisfie their Creditors in part, and are

at the yeeres end released of their Bonds, provided that they make satisfaction if they proue afterward able. At their deaths they vsually giue Legacies for the releafe of Prisoners, the freeing of Bond-slaves, repaying of Bridges, building of Canes for the reliefe of Passengers; and the great men, to the erecting of Mosques and Hospitals, which they build not seldome in their life time. But *Mahomet* the Great, and *Solyman* the Magnificent, haue in that kind exceeded all others: whose stately and sumptuous structures doe giue a principall ornament to the Citie; where the sicke and impotent are provided for, and the stranger entertayned (for here bee no Innes) the reuenue of that of *Mahomet's*, amounting to an hundred and fiftie thousand *Sultantes*. To these therebelong Physicians, Chyrurgions, Apothecaries, the charge thereof committed vnto their Priests, who bring vp a certayne number of youths in the *Mahometan* Law, and frequently pray for the departed soules of the Founders in the Chappels of their Sepulchres. They extend their charitie to *Christians* and *Jewes*, as well as to them of their owne Religion; nay, Birds and Beasts haue a taste thereof. For many onely to let them loose, will buy Birds in Cages, and bread to giue vnto Dogges; for most haue in this Citie no particular owners, being reputed an vncleane Creature, and therefore not suffered to come into their houses, thinking it neuerthelesse a deed of pietie, to feede and provide them kennels to litter in, most of them repairing to the Sea side nightly, where they keep such a howling, that if the wind sit South-ward, they may be easily heard to the vpper side of the Citie of *Pera*.

With the *Steicks* they attribute all accidents to destinie, and constellations at birth. Since death can be neither hastned nor auoided, being withall perswaded, that they die brauely that die fighting: and that they shall be rewarded with Paradise that doe spend their blood vpon the enemies of their Religion, called *Shahids*, which is Martyrs, by them. For although they repute murder to be an execrable crime, that cries to Heaven for vengeance, and is neuer forgiven: yet are they commanded by their law, to extend their profession by violence, and without compassion to slaughter their Opposers. But they liue with themselves in such exemplary concord, that during the time that I remained amongst them (it being about three quarters of a yeare) I neuer saw *Mahometan* offer violence to a *Mahometan*, nor breake into ill language; but if they to chance to do, a third will reprove him, with, *Fie, Mussel-men, fall out!* and all is appeased. He that giues a blow hath many gashes made in his flesh, and is led about for a terror, but the man-slayer is deliuered to the kindred or friends of the slaine, to bee by them put to death with all exquisite torture.

Mahometans may in this be examples to *Christians*.

§. III.

The Mustie, Cadileschiers, Diuans: Manners and attire of the Turkes. The Sultan described, and his Customes and Court. The Customes of the Greekes. SIR THO: GLOVER.

THE dignitie of the *Chaliph* amongst the *Turkes*, with much abatement, doth now remaine in the *Musties* (which name doth signifie *An Oracle, or Answerer of doubts*) as Successors to *Ebbubecher, Omar* and *Ozman*; the other being both High-Priests and Princes; these Patriarchs, as it were, and Soueraignes of their Religion. Throughout the whole *Turkish* Territories, there is but one, who euer resideth in the Royall Citie, or followes the person of the Emperour. He is equall to the ancient Popes, or rather greater both in repute and authoritie. The *Grand Signior* doth rise at his approach to salute him, and sets him by him, and giues him much reuerence. His life is onely free from the Sword, and his fortunes most rarely subiect to subuersion. The Emperour vndertaketh no high designe without his approuement. He hath power to reuerse both his sentence, and the sentence of the *Diuan*, if they be not adiudged by him conformable to the *Alcoran*, but his owne is irrenocable. In matters of difficultie they repaire to him, and his exposition standeth for a Law. To conclude, he is the supreme Iudge, and rectifier of all actions, as well Ciuill as Ecclesiasticall, and an approuer of the Iustice of the Militarie. The place is giuen by the *Grand Signiors*, to men profoundly learned in their Law, and of knowne integritie. He seldome stirres abroad, and neuer admits of impertinent conuersation. Graue is his looke, graue is his behaviour; *Highly affecting silence, and most spare of speech*. For when any come to him for iudgement, they deliuer him in writing the state of the question, who in writing briefly returnes his oraculous answer. He commonly weareth a vest of greene, and the greatest Turbant in the Empire: I should not speake much out of compasse, should I say as large in compasse as a bushell. I oft haue beene in this mans *Serraglio*, which is neither great in receipt nor beautie, yet answerable to his small dependancie, and infrequencie of Sutors. He keepeth in his house a Seminarie of Boyes, who are instructed in the mysteries of their Law. He is not restrained, nor restraineth himselfe from pluralitie of Women. His incomes are great, his disburseings little, and consequently his wealth infinite; yet he is a bad pay-master

The Mustie.

The Mustie.

master of his debts, though they be but trifles. He much delighteth in Clockes and Watches, whereof, as some say, he hath not so few as a thousand.

Cadilechiers.

Next in place to the *Mustie*, are the *Cadilechiers*, that are Iudges of the Armies, (but not to meddle with the *Ianifarie*) and accompany the *Beglerbegs* when they goe into the field. Of these there are onely two; one of the *European* part of the Empire, and another of the *Asian*. These are also elected by the *Grand Signior*, as the *Cadies* by them, (yet to bee allowed by the other, and to kisse his Vest:) of whom there is one in euery Towne, who besides their spirituall Functions, doe adminster Iustice betweene partie and partie, and punish offenders. Of inferior Priests, there be some particularly appointed to sing at the tops of their steeples, and to congregate the people; some to looke to the Ceremonies, and some to reade and interpret the *Alcoran*.¹⁰ There are also other religious Orders, which I omit to speak of, being of their owne taking vp, neither commanded nor commended, and rather to be esteemed Vagabonds then religious persons, consider we either their life or their habits.

Testimonie.

Among the *Turkish* Commandements, one is that drawne originally from our Sauours, *Thou shalt not doe what thou wouldst not haue done to thee*: whereupon for the most part their Ciuill Iustice is grounded, not disagreeing greatly from the Lawes of *Moses*. All euictions there, as elsewhere depend vpon Witnesses: yet will not the oath of a Christian or a *Iew* be receiued against a *Turke*, as will a *Turkes* against them, and theirs one against another. But the kindred of *Mahomet* haue their single testimonies in equall value with the testimonies of two others: notwithstanding the oath of a *Mahometan* will not be taken, if impeached for a drinker of Wine, or ea-²⁰

The Diuan.

ter of Swines flesh. Euery *Bassa* keepes a *Diuan* (so they call the Court of Iustice) within his Prouince: but the highest of all, and to which they may appeale from all other, is that, which is kept foure daies of the weeke in the *Grand Signiors Serraglio*, from whence no appeale is admitted but to the person of the *Mustie*. Here the *Vizier Bassas* of the Port, who are nine in number (or as many as then are not otherwise employed) doe sit in Iustice (where also they consult of matters of State, and that publikely, not excepting against Embassadors Drogermen, lightly alwaies present: so presume they of strong hand) assisted by the * *Admirall*, and

They were formerly but foure, to whom *Mahomet* the third added five.

* *Caputain Bassa*.
* *Ricekitab*.
* *Testedar*.

* *Chancellor*, (the * *Treasurer* in the same roome keeping his Court) where all causes whatsoever that are heard, within the space of three daies are determined, the Great *Viziers Bassa* being President of the rest. But Briberie, not knowne vntill lately amongst them, hath so corrupted³⁰ their integritie, that whose causes (if they beare but a colour of right) doe seldome miscarrie where gifts are the Aduocates: yet this is the best of the worst, that they quickly know their successes. But many times when the oppressed subiects can haue no Iustice, they will in troupes attend the coming forth of the Emperour, and by burning Straw on their heads, or holding vp Torches, prouoke his regard: who brought vnto him by his Mutes, doth receiue their petition, which oftentimes turnes to the ruine of some of those great ones. For assurances of Purchases, they haue no Indentures, no fines and recoueries. The omitting of a word cannot frustrate their estates; nor Quirks of Law preuaile against Conscience. All that they haue to shew, is a little Scedule, called a *Hodget* or *Sigil*, onely manifesting the possession of the Seller, as his of whom he bought it, or from whom it descended vnto him, which vnder-written by the *Cadie*⁴⁰ of the place, doth frustrate all after-claimes whatsoever.

Assurances and writings.

Punishments.

Now the punishments for offenders, be either Pecuniarie or Corporall. To imple the former, they will forge all the slanders that they can, to eate vpon the lesse circumspect Christians, but the other are seldome vniustly inflicted. Their formes of putring to death, (besides such as are common elsewhere) are impaling vpon stakes, ganching (which is to be let fall from on high vpon hookes, and there to hang vntill they die by the anguish of their wounds, or more miserable famine,) and another inuented (but now not here vied) to the terror of mankind, by some deuillish *Perillus*, who deserued to haue first tasted of his owne inuention, viz: they twitch the offender about the waste with a Towell, enforcing him to draw vp his breath by often pricking him in the body, vntill they haue drawne him within the compasse of a spanne; then tying it hard, they cut him off in the middle, and setting the body on a hot plate of Copper, which seareth the veines, they so vp-propping him during their cruell pleasure: who not onely retaineth his sense, but the faculties of Discourse, vntill hee be taken downe, and then departeth in an instant. But little faults are chastised by blowes, receiued on the soles of the feet with a bastinado, by hundred at a time, according to the qualitie of the misdemeanor. A terrible paine that extendeth to all the part of the body, yet haue I seene them taken for money. The Master also in this sort doth correct his Slaue; but Parents their Children with stripes on the belly. The *Subashie* is as the Constable of a Citie, both to search out, and punish offences.⁵⁰

Their persons and Manners.

It remayneth now that we speake of the persons of the *Turkes*, their dispositions, manners and fashions. They be generally well complexioned, of good statures, and full bodies, proportionably compacted. They nourish no haire about them, but a Locke on the crowne, and on their faces onely; esteeming it more cleanly, and to bee the better prepared for their superstitious washings. But their Beards they weare at full length, the marke of their affected grauitie, and

- and token of freedome, (for slaues haue theirs shauen) insomuch that they will scoffe at such Christians as cut, or naturally want them, as if suffering themselves to be abused against nature. All of them weare on their heads white Shashes and Turbants, the badge of their Religion, as is the folding of the one, and size of the other, of their vocations and qualitie. Shashes are long Towels of Callico woound about their heads: Turbants are made like great Globes of Callico too, and thwarted with Rols of the same; hauing little copped Caps on the top, of Greene or Red Veluet, being onely worne by persons of ranke, and he the greatest that weareth the greatest, the *Muslies* excepted, which ouer-sizes the Emperours. And though many Orders haue particular Ornaments appointed for their heads, yet weare they these promiscuously. It is an especiall fauour in the *Turke* to suffer the Christian Tributarie Princes and their chiefe Nobles to weare white heads in the Citie: but in them, what better then an Apostaticall Insinuation? But to beginne from the skinne, the next that they weare is a Smock of Callico, with ample sleeues, much longer then their Armes: vnder this a paire of Calfsouns of the same, which reach to their ancles, the rest naked; and going in Yellow or Red Slip-shoes, picked at the toe, and plated on the sole: ouer all they weare a halfe-sleeued Coate girt vnto them with a Towell: their necke all bare, and this within doores is their Sommer accoutrement. Ouer all when they goe abroad they weare Gownes, some with wide halfe sleeues, (which more particularly belong to the *Grecians*,) others with long hanging sleeues, and the Gownes buttoned before, and a third sort worne by the meaner sort, reaching but a little below the knee, with hanging sleeues not much longer then the arme, and open before; but all of them yngathered in the shoulders. In the Winter they adde to the former, Calfsouns of Cloth, which about the small of the legge are sewed to short smooth Buskins of Leather without soles, fit for the foote as a Gloue for the hand, lining their Gownes with Furre, as they doe their Coats; hauing then the sleeues (or quilted Waist-coats vnder them) reaching close to their wrists. They weare no Gloues. At their Girdles they weare long Handkerchers, some of them admirable for value and workmanship. They neuer alter their fashions, not greatly differing in the great and vulgar, more then in the richnesse. Cloth of Tissue, of Gold and Siluer, Veluet, Scarlet, Sartin, Damaske, Chamolets, lined with Sables, and other costly Furies, and with Martins, Squerrils, Foxes and Cony-skins; worne according to their seuerall qualities. But the common weare is Violet Cloth. They retainne the old Worlds custome in giuing change of Garments, which they may aptly doe, when one Vest fitteth all men, and is of euery mans fashion.
- The Clergie goe much in Greene, it being *Mahomets* colour; and his Kinsmen in greene Shashes, who are called *Emers*, which is Lords: the women also weare something of Greene on their heads, to be knowne. There liues not a Race of ill-fauoured people; branded perhaps by God for the sinne of their seducing Ancestor, and their owne wicked assuming of hereditary holinesse. But if a Christian out of ignorance weare Greene, hee shall haue his clothes torne off from his backe, and perhaps be well beaten. They carrie no Weapons about them in the Citie; onely they thrust vnder their Girdles great crooked Knives of a Dagger-like size, in sheathes of Metall; the Hatts and Sheathes of many beeing set with stones, and some of them worth fye hundred Sultanies. They beare their bodies vpright, of a stately gate, and elated countenance. In their familiar salutations they lay their hands on their bosomes, and a little decline their bodies: but when they salute a person of great ranke, they bow almost to the ground, and kisse the hemme of his Garment. The ornaments of their heads they neuer put off vpon any occasion. Some of them perfume their Beards with Amber, and the in-sides of their Turbants: and all of them affect cleanness so religiously, that besides their customarie Lotions, and daily frequenting of the *Bannias*, they neuer so much as make water, but they wash both their hands and priuities: at which businesse they sequester themselves, and couch to the Earth; reuiling the Christian whom they see pissing against a wall, and sometimes striking him. This they doe to preuent that any part of either excrement should touch their Garments, esteeming it a pollution, and hindering the acceptation of Prayer, who then are to bee most pure in heart and habite.
- So slothfull they be, that they neuer walke vp and downe for recreation, nor vse any other exercise but shooting, wherein they take as little paines as may bee, sitting on Carpets in the shadow, and sending their Slaues for their Arrowes. They also shoote against Earthen wals, euer kept moyst in shops and priuate houses for that purpose, standing not aboue sixe paces from the marke, and that with such violence, that the Arrow passes not seldome through: nay, I haue seene their Arrowes shot by our Embassadour through Targets of Steele, pieces of Brasse two inches thicke; and through wood, with an Arrow headed with wood, of eight inches. Their Bowes are for forme and length, not vnlike the Lath of a large Crosse-bow, made of the hornes of Buffoloes, intermixed with sinewes, of admirable workmanship, and some of them exquisitely gilded. Although there bee Wraistlers amongst them, yet they bee such as doe it to delight the people, and do make it their profession; as do those that walke vpon Ropes, wherein the *Turkes* are most expert; going about when they haue done, to euery particular Spectator for his voluntary beneuolence. Of Cards and Dice they are happily ignorant; but at Chesse they will play all the

Their Tur-
bants.
Shashes.

Callico
smockes.

Gownes.

Clergie attyre.
Emers de-
formed.

Their Knives.
Gate.

Cleannesse.

Offices of na-
ture.

Sloth.

Shooting.

Bowes.

Wraistlers.

Games.

the

the day long : a sport that agreeth well with their sedentarie vacancie ; wherein notwithstanding they auoyde the dishonest hazard of money.

Horses. The better sort take great delight in their Horses, which are beautifull to the eye, and well ridden for seruice, but quickly iaded if held to a good round trot (for amble they doe not) in an indifferent Iourney. But the *Turkes* doe not lightly ride so fast as to put them vnto eyther. Their Saddles be hard and deepe, though not great, plated behind and before; and some of them with Silver, as are their massie Stirrops, and the Reines of their Bridles, suted vnto their costly Caparisons. When they stand in the Stable they feed them for the most part, if not altogether, with Barley; being heere of small value, and onely seruing for that purpose. They litter them in their owne dung, first dried in the Sunne and puluerated, which keepe their skinnes cleane, 10 smoth, and shining.

Reuerence to Superiors. Left hand before right. The *Turkes* doe greatly reuerence their Parents, (so commanded to doe by their Law) as the Inferiour his Superiour, and the young aged, readily giuing the prioritie to whom it belongeth, (the left hand as they goe in the streets preferd before the right, in that made Masters thereby of the Sword of the other, and the chiefeft place the farthest from the wall) liuing together as if all of a Brother-hood. Yet giue they no entertaynment vnto one another, nor come there any into their houses but vpon speciall occasion, and those but into the publike parts thereof; their women being neuer seene but by the Nurses and Eunuches which attend on them. Yea, so iealous they are, that their Sonnes when they come to growth are separated from them. As their houses are meane, so are their furnitures: hauing nothing on the in-side but bare white walls, vnlesse it 20 be some especiall roome, in the house of some of high qualitie. But the Roofes of many of them are curiously seeled with in-laid wood, adorned with Gold and Azure of an excessiue costlinesse; the greater part of the floore, and that a little aduanced, beeing couered with *Turkie* Carpets, whereon when they tread they doe put off their slip-shooes. Many of their roomes haue great out windowes, where they sit on Cushions in the heate of the day. They lye vpon Mattresses, some of Silke, some of stayned Linnen, with Bolsters of the same, and Quilts that are sutable, but much in their clothes, the cause perhaps that they are so lousie. Nor shame they thereat, many shall you see sit publikely a lousing themselues in the Sunne; and those no meane persons.

Sit crosse-legged. They haue neither Tables nor stooles in their houses, but sit crosse-leg'd on the floore at their 30 victuals, all in a Ring. In stead of a cloth, they haue a Skinne spread before them; but the better sort sit about a round boord, standing on a foot not past halfe a foot high, and brimd like a Charger. Their Dishes haue feet like standing Bolls, and are so set one vpon another, that you may eat of each without the remoouing of any. Their most ordinarie food is Pillaw, that is, Rice which hath beene sod with the fat of Mutton. Pottage they vse of sundry kinds, Egges fryed in Honey, Tansies, (or something like them) Pasties of sundry Ingredients: the little flesh which they eate is cut into gobbets, and either sod, or tosted in a Furnace. But I thinke there is more in *London* spent in one day then is in this Citie in twentie. Fish they haue in indifferent quan- titie. But the Commons doe commonly feed on Herbes, Fruits, Rootes, Onions, Garlicke, a

Dyce. beastly kind of ynpressed Cheese that lyeth in a lumpe; hodge-podges made of Flower, Milke, 40 and Honey, &c. so that they liue for little or nothing, considering their fare, and the plentie of all things. They are wayted vpon by their slaues giuen them, or purchased with their Swords, or Money: of these to haue many it is accounted for great Riches. When one hath fed suffici- ently he riseth, and another taketh his roome, and so continue to doe vntill all be satisfied. They eate three times a day, but when they feast they sit all the day long, vnlesse they rise to exone- rate Nature, and forth with returne againe. They abstaine from Hogs-flesh, from bloud, and from what hath dyed of it selfe, vnlesse in cases of necessitie. Their vsuall drinke is pure water, yet haue they sundry Sherbets, (so call they the Confections which they infuse into it) some made of Sugar and Limons, some of Violets, and the like, (whereof some are mixed with Am- ber) which the Richer sort dissolue thereinto. The Honey of *Sio* is excellent for that purpose, 50 and they make another of the iuyce of Raisins, of little cost, and most vsuall drunke of. Wine is prohibited them by their *Alcoran*, they plant none, they buy none: but now to that libertie they are growne (the naturall *Turke* excepted) that they will quaffe freely when they come to the house of a Christian: insomuch, as I haue seene but few goe away vnled from the Embassa- dors Table. Yet the feared disorders that might ensue thereof, haue beene an occasion that di- uers times all the Wine in the Citie hath beene staued (except in Embassadors houses) and death hath beene made the penaltie vnto such as presumed to bring any in. They preferre our Beere aboue all other drinkes. And considering that Wine is forbidden, that water is with the rawest (especially in this Clime) the dearenesse of Sherbets, and plentie of Barley (being here sold not for aboue nine pence a bushell) no doubt but it would proue infinitely profitable to such as should 60 bring in the vse thereof amongst them.

Coffa-houses. Although they be destitute of Tauernes, yet haue they their Coffa-houses, which something relemble them. There sit they chatting most of the day; and sippe of a drinke called Coffa (of the Berrie that it is made of) in little *China* dishes, as hot as they can suffer it: blacke as foote, and

and tasting not much vnlike it (why not that blacke broth which was in vse amongst the *Lacedaemonians*?) which helpeth, as they say, digestion, and procureth alacritie: many of the *Cosfamen* keeping beautifull boyes, who serue as stales to procure them customers. The *Turkes* are also incredible takers of *Opium*, whereof the lesser *Asia* affoordeth them plentie: carrying it about them both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them courageous: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what hath beene said, religiously affected. And perhaps for the selfe-same cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that haue ioyned vnto them great heads of wood to contayne it, I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the *Englisb*: and
 10 were it not sometimes lookt into (for *Morat Bassa* not long since commanded a Pipe to bee thrust through the nose of a *Turke*, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,) no question but it would proue a principall commoditie. Neuerthelesse, they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in *England* is not saleable, doth passe here amongst them for most excellent.

Opium.

Tobacco taking punished.

They are by their law in generall exhorted to marrie, for the propagation of their Religion: and hee ill reputed of, that forbeareth so to doe vntill the age of fve and twentie. Euery man is allowed foure wiues, who are to be of his owne Religion, and as many Concubine slaues as hee is able to keepe, of what Religion soeuer. For God (sayth the *Alcoran*) that is good and gracious, exacteth not of vs what is harsh and burdensome; but permits vs the nightly companie of women, well knowing that abstineney in that kind is both grieuous, and impossible.
 20 Yet are they to meddle with none but their owne peculiars: the offending woman they drowne, and the man they gash. They buy their wiues of their parents, and record the contract before the *Cadi*, which they after solemnize in this manner. Many women are inuited by the mother of the Bride, to accompanie her the night before the marriage day, whereof they spend a great part in feasting; then leade they her into a Bath, where they anoint and bathe her: so breaking companie they depart vnto their feuerall rests, and in the morning returne to her chamber, where they tricke her in her richest ornaments, tying on her silken Buskins with knots easily not vnknit. The Bridegroom hauing feasted a number in like manner, in the morning they also repaire to his house, in their best apparell, and gallantly mounted, from whence they
 30 set forward by two and by two, to fetch home the Bride, accompanied with Musike, and conducted by *Sagdich*, who is the neereft of his kindred; vnto whom the Bride is deliuered, with her face close couered. Who set astride on horse backe, hath a Canopie carried ouer her, in such sort as no part of her is to bee discerned. So the troope returning in order as they came, after them are carried in Serpets (a kind of baskets) their presents and apparell; then followeth she, and lastly her slaues, if any haue beene giuen her. The Bride-groome standeth at his doore to receiue her, who is honoured by his guests (yet goe they not in) with sundrie presents before their departure. If shee be of qualitie, shee is led to the Bride chamber by an Eunuch, where women stand prepared to vndresse her. But the Bride-groome himselte must vntye her Buskins (as amongst the *Romanes* they did their Girdles) to which hee is fayne to applie his
 40 teeth. Now, he is to entertaine his wiues with an equall respect, alike is their diet, alike is their apparell, alike his beneuolence (for such sweet stufte is contayned in the precepts of their Doctors) vnlesse they consent to giue or change turnes; or else they may complaine to the *Cadi*, and procure a diuorcement. But the husband may put away his wife at his pleasure: who may marrie vnto another within foure moneths after, provided shee proue not with child, and then not vntill so long after her deliury. But if he will haue her againe, hee must buy her: and if after the third diuorce, another is first to lie with her, as a punishment inflicted for his leuitie: They giue him the reuerence of a master; they are at no time to denie him their embracements, whom he toucheth not againe vntill they haue beene at the *Bannias*. They receiue chastisement from him, and that they hold to be an argument of his affection. They feed apart, and intermeddle not with household affaires. All that is required at their hands, is, to content their husbands, to nurse their owne children, and to liue peaceably together: which they doe (and which is strange) with no great ieaousie, or enuie. No male accompanies them aboue twelue yeeres old, except they be Eunuchs: and so strictly are they guarded, as seldome seene to looke out at their doores. They be women of elegant beauties, for the most part ruddie, cleere, and smooth as the polished Iuorie; being neuer ruffled by the weather, and daily frequenting the *Bannias*, but withall by the selfe-same meanes they sodainly wither. Great eyes they haue in principall repute: affected both by the *Turks* and the *Grecians*, as it should seeme, from the beginning. For *Mahomet* doth promise women with such, (nay as big as Egges) in his imaginarie Paradise. And of those the blacker they be, the more amiable: insomuch that they put betweene the eye-lids and the eye a certaine blacke powder with a fine long pensill, made of a minerall brought from the Kingdome of *Fez*, and called *Alcohole*; which by the not disgracefully stayning of the lids doth better set forth the whitenesse of the eye; and though it trouble for a time, yet it comforteth the sight, and repelleth ill humours. Into the same hue (but likely they naturally are so) doe they die their eye-breies, and eye-browes (the later by Arte made high, halfe circular, and

Marriage.

Punishment of Adulterie.

After the first, sayth Laonic. Chalcocon. l. 3. pag. 237.

Ieaousie.

to meet, if naturally they doe not) so doe they the haire of their heads, as a foyle that maketh the white seeme whiter, and more becomming their other perfections. They part it before the midft, and plaite it behind, yet sometimes wearing it disheueled. They paint their nayles with a yellowish red. They weare on the top of their heads a Cap not vnlike a Sugar-loafe, yet a little flat, of paist-board, and couered with Cloth of siluer or Tissue. Their vnder-garments (which within doores are their vppermost) doe little differ from those that bee worne by the men, which wee will present to the eye to auoide repetition.



Women kept
close.

Baths and
manner of
bathing.

The better sort about the vpper part of their armes, and smalls of their legs weare bracelets, and are elsewhere adorned with Iewels. When they goe abroad they weare ouer all long Gowns of violet cloth, or scarlet, tyed close before, the large sleeues hanging ouer their hands; hauing Buskins on their legs, and their heads and faces so mabbed in fine linnen, that no more is to be seene of them then their eyes: nor that of some, who looke as through the sight of a Beuer. For they are forbidden by the *Alcoran* to disclose their beauties vnto any, but vnto their fathers and husbands. They neuer stirre forth, but (and then alwayes in troupes) to pray at the graues, 50 and to the publike *Bannias*: which for excellency of buildings are next to their Mosques. But hauing in part already described some of their formes, I will a little treat of their vse; which haue beene in times past, and are at this present, in such request with these Nations (as once with the *Romanes*, as may appeare by their regardable ruines) that few but frequent them twice in the weeke, as well for their health, as for delight and cleanness. For the stomackes crudities, proceeding from their vsuall eating of fruits, and drinking of water, is thereby concocted: which also after exercise and trauell restoreth to the wearied bodie a wonderfull alacritie. The men take them vp in the morning, and in the afternoone the women. But both amongst the *Romanes* did ordinarily frequent them together: a custome, as they say, continu'd in *Switzerland* at this day, and that amongst the most modest. The men are attended vpon by men, and the women by women; in the outermost roome they put off their clothes, and hauing Aporns of stayned linnen tyed about their waistes, then entring the Baths to what degree of heate that they please, (for seuerall roomes, and seuerall parts of them are of seuerall temperatures, as is the water let in by cocks to wash the sweat and filth of the bodie) the seruitors wash them, rub them, 60

them, stretch out their ioynts, and cleanse their skins with a piece of rough Grogeram; which done, they shauē the heads and bodies of men, or take away the haire with a composition of *Rusma* (a minerall of *Cyprus*) and vnslak't Lime; who returning to the place where they left their clothes, are dried with fresh linnen; and for all this they pay not aboue three or foure Aspers: so little, in that endued with reuenues by their Founders. But the women, doe anoint their bodies with an oyntment made of the earth of *Chios*, which maketh the skin soft, white, and shining; extending that on the face, and freeing it from wrinkles. Much vnnaturall and filthie lust is said to bee committed daily in the remote closets of the darke some *Bannias*: yea, women with women; a thing vncredible, if former times had not giuen thereunto both dete-

Vnnaturall lust

10 ction and punishment. They haue generally the sweetest children that euer I saw; partly proceeding from their frequent bathings, and affected cleanness. As wee beare ours in our armes, so they doe theirs astride on their shoulders.

Children.

Now, next to their wiues wee may speake of their slaues: for little difference is there made betweene them: who are Christians taken in the Warres, or purchased with their Money. Of these there are weekly Markets in the Citie, where they are to be sold as Horses in Faires: the men being rated according to their faculties, or personall abilities; as the Women for their youths and beauties, who are set out in best becoming attires, and with their aspects of pitie and affection, endeouour to allure the Christians to buy them, as expecting from them a more easie seruitude, and continuance of Religion: when being thrall to the *Turke*, they are often 20 inforced to renounce it for their better entertainment. Of them there bee many of excellent outward perfection; and when the buyer hath agreed of the price (but yet conditionally) they are carried aside into a roome, euen to the search of her month, and assurance (if so she be said to be) of her virginity. Their Masters may lye with them, chastise them, exchange, and sell them at their pleasure. But a Christian will not lightly sell her whom he hath layne with, but giue her her libertie. If any of their Slaues will become *Mahometans*, they are discharged of their bondage: but if a Slaue to a *Turke*, he onely is the better intreated. The *Turkes* doe vse their Bond-women with little lesse respect then their Wiues, and make no difference betweene the Children begotten both of the one and the other: who liue together without ielousie, it being allowed by their irreligious Religion. Notwithstanding, their Wiues doe onely receiue, 30 as propertie vnto them, their Sabbaths beneuolence. The old and most deformed, are put to most drudgerie.

Slaues.

Sale of them in Markets.

Their condition.

The Men-slaues may compell their Masters before the *Cadie*, to limit the time of their bondage, or set a price of their redemption, or else to sell them vnto another: but whether of the two, they lightly referre to the Slaues election. If they bee onely fit for labour, they will accept of the time; but if skilfull in any craft, of the price: which expired or payed, they may returne into their Countries. But Gally-slaues are seldome released, in regard of their small number, and much employment which they haue for them; nor those that are Slaues vnto great ones, to whom the *Cadies* auctoritie extends not. Many of the Children that the *Turkes* 40 doe buy (for these Markets doe afford of all Ages) they castrate, making all smooth as the backe of the hand, (whereof diuers doe dye in the cutting) who supply the vses of Nature with a Siluer Quill, which they weare in their Turbants. In times past, they did but onely geld them, but being admitted to the free conuerse of their women, it was obserued by some, that they more then befittingly delighted in their societies.

Gelded Eunuchs.

But others say, that *Selymus* the second, hauing seene a Gelding couer a Mare, brought in amongst them that inhumane custome. The first that euer made Eunuch, was *Semiramis*. They are heere in great repute with their Masters, trusted with their States, the Government of their Women and Houses in their absence; hauing for the most part beene approoued faithful, wise, and couragious; insomuch as not a few of them haue come to sit at the sterne of State, (the second Vizer of the Port being now an Eunuch,) and others to the Government of Armies.

50 But now speake we of their Funerals. After their death, the Men by the Men, and the Women by the Women, are laid out in the midst of the roome. When diuers of their Priests do assemble, and hauing performed certaine idle ceremonies, as in wrapping their beades about it, and in the often turning it, inuoking God to haue mercy on the depatted: which done, they wash it, shauē it, and shroud it in Linnen, which they leaue vnried both at the head and feet. Then lay they the Corse on a Beere, placing a Turbant at the vpper end, and carrying it to the Graue with the head forward: some of the *Deruies* going before with Tapers, the Priests after singing, and lastly, his friends and acquaintance. But persons of principall qualitie haue their Horses led before them, with Ensignes trailed on the earth, and other rites of that nature; diuers of the San- 60 tons going before, naming of God, and shaking of their heads, and turning about vntill they fall downe giddy. The sides and bottome of the graue are boorded, and a boord laid ouer the Corse, to keepe the earth from it, leauing a sufficient compasse to kneele in. For they are of opinion, that two terrible Angels, called *Mongir* and *Guanequir*, doe presently repaire vnto the graue, and

Funerals.

put the soule againe into the body, as if (saith the *Alcoran*) a man should put on a shirt, and raising him on his knees, with his head vncovered, (the winding-sheete being left vnknit for that purpose) demand of him in particular, how he hath behaued himselfe in this life: which if not well, the one strikes him on the head with a hammer nine fathoms into the earth, the other tearing him with an Iron hooke; and so continue to torment him vntill the day of Iudgement. A Purgatory so feared, that in their Mattins they petition God to deliuer them from the examinations of the blacke Angels, the tortures of the Graue, and their euill iourney. But if he haue satisfied them in his reply, they vanish away, and two white Angels come in their places; the one laying his arme vnder his head; the other sitting at his feet, and so protect him vntill doomes day. The Emperors, and some of the great *Bassas* (whereof we haue spoken sufficiently before) 10 haue their particular *Mausoleums*. Those of a second condition are buried in their Gardens, in Sepulchers without couers, filled within with earth, and set with varietie of Flowers: But the common sort are buried by the high-way sides, and fields of most frequency, adioyning to the Citie, hauing a stone of white Marble more then a foote broad, and foure foote high, ingrauen with *Turkish* Characters, erected at the head, and another at the feete, the graue betweene lying low like a trough. To these the women flocke euery Thursday in multitudes, weeping ouer their Children, Husbands, Kinsfolkes, and dead Progenitors, often kissing the stones, and praying for their deliuey from the aforesaid blacke Torturers: many times leauing bread and meate on their graues, (a custome also of the Pagans) for Dogges and Birds to deuoure, as well as to relieue the poore, being held an auailable almes for the deceased. The better sort doe mourne 20 in white (as for blacke, I neuer saw it worne by a *Turke*) and but for a little season. And the Women are not to marry by their law, vntill foure moneths and ten daies after the death of their Husbands.

White and
Blacke.

Phyicke.

Poetry.

Musicke.

Liberall Arts.

Printing reie-
cted.

Language.

Paper.

Painters.

Euery man
hath a Trade.

To speake a word or two of their Sciences and Trades: some of them haue some little knowledge in Philosophie. Necessitie hath taught them Phyicke, rather had from experience then the grounds of Art. In Astronomy they haue some in-sight; and many there are that vndertake to tell fortunes. These frequently sit in the streetes of the Citie, resorted vnto by such as are to take a iourney, or goe about any businesse of importance. They haue a good gift in Poetry; wherein they chant their Armour in the *Persian* tongue to vile Musicke; yet are they forbidden so to doe by their Law: Citternes, Harpes and Recorders, being their principall In- 30 struments. But their lowd Instruments doe rather affright, then delight the hearing. On a time the *Grand Signior* was perswaded to heare some choise *Italian* Musicke; but the foolish Musicians (whose wit lay onely in the ends of their fingers) spent so much time in vnseasonable tuning, that he commanded them to auoid, belike esteeming the the rest to be answerable. They studie not Rhetorick, as sufficiently therein instructed by Nature; nor Logick, since it serues as well to delude as informe, and that wisdome (according to the opinion of the Epicures) may be comprehended in plaine and direct expressions. Some there be amongst them that write Histories, but few reade them, thinking that none can write of times past truly, since none dare write the truth of the present. Printing they reiect, perhaps for feare lest the vniuersalitie of learning, should subuert their false grounded religion and policie, which is better preserved by an ignorant 40 obedience: Moreouer, a number that liue by writing would bee vndone, who are for the most part of the Priest-hood. The *Turkish* tongue is loftie in sound, but poore of it selfe in substance. For being originally the *Tartarian*, who were needie ignorant Pastors, they were constrained to borrow their Termes of State and Office from the *Persians*, (vpon whose ruines they erected their Greatnesse) of Religion (being formerly *Pagans*) from the *Arabians*; as they did of Maritime Names (together with the skill) from the *Greekes* and *Italians*. In *Natolia* it is most generally spoken. They vse (as the *Persians*) the *Arabique* Character. In writing they leaue out the vowels, vnlesse it be in the end of a word, so that much is contriued in a little roome. They curiously sleeke their Paper, which is thicke, much of it being coloured and daped like Chamolets, done by a tricke they haue in dipping it in the water. They haue 50 Painters amongst them, exquisite in their kind, (for they are not to draw by their Law, nor to haue the figure of any thing liuing) yet now many priuately begin to infringe that precept, and the *Grand Signior* himselfe hath a fanne, whereon the battels of *Hungarie* are painted. Colours also they haue, nor lesse faire then durable.

Euery one hath some Trade or other, not so much as the *Grand Signior* excepted. Their Trades are lightly such as serue for their owne vses, neither much supplying foraine Marts, nor frequenting them. A lazy people, that worke but by fits, and more esteeme of their ease then their profit, yet are they excessiue couetous. And although they haue not the wit to deceiue (for they be grosse-headed) yet haue they the will, breaking all compacts with the Christians that they find discommodious, so that they seldome will deale with them. But with one another they 60 buy and sell onely for ready Money, wherein the most of their substance consisteth: the occasion that few suites doe happen amongst them. I haue spoken sufficiently, at least what I can of this Nation in generall, now conuert we to the Person and Court of this *Sultan*.

He

He is, in this yeare 1610. about the age of three and twentie, strongly limmed, and of a iust stature, yet greatly inclining to be fat: insomuch as sometimes he is ready to choake as he feeds, and some doe purposely attend to free him from that danger. His face is full and duly proportioned, onely his eyes are extraordinary great, by them esteemed (as is said before) an excellency in beauty. Fleame hath the predominancy in his complexion. He hath a little haire on his vpper lip, but lesse on his chin, of a darksome colour. His aspect is as haughty as his Empire is large, he beginneth already to abstaine from exercise; yet are there pillars with inscriptions in his *Serraglio*, betweene which he threw a great Iron Mace, that memorize both his strength and actiuitie. Being on a time rebuked by his Father *Mahomet*, that he neglected so much his exercises and studies, he made his reply: That now he was too old to beginne to learne, intimating thereby, that his life was to determine with his Fathers, whereat the *Sultan* wept bitterly. For he then had two elder Brothers, of whom the eldest was strangled in the presence of his Father vpon a false suspicion of treason, and the other by a naturall death did open his way to the Empire. Perhaps the consideration thereof hath made him keepe his younger Brother aliue, contrary to their cruell custome; yet strongly guarded, and kept within his *Serraglio*. For hee is of no bloody disposition, nor otherwise notoriously vicious, considering the aulteritie of that gouernment, and immunities of their Religion. Yet is he an vnrelenting punisher of offences, euen in his owne Houshold: hauing caused eight of his Pages, at my being there, to be throwne into the Sea for Sodomy (an ordinary crime, if esteemed a crime in that Nation) in the night time, being let to know by the report of a Canon, that his will was fulfilled. Amongst whom, it was giuen out that the Vice-royes naturall Sonne of *Sicilia* was one, (a youth lately taken Prisoner, and presented vnto him) yet but so said to be, to dishearten such as should practise his escape. His valour rests yet vntried, hauing made no war but by disputation, nor is it thought that he greatly affects it, despairing of long life in regard of his corpulency. Whereupon he is now building a magnificent Mosque, for the health of his soule, all of white Marble; at the East end, and South-side of the Hippodrom, where he first broke the Earth, and wrought three houres in person. The like did the *Bassas*, bringing with them presents of Money, and Slaues to further the building. His occupation (for they are all tyed to haue one) is the making of Iuory Rings, which they weare on their Thumbs when they shoote, whereupon he workes daily. His Turbant is like in shape to a Pumpion, but thrice as great. His vnder and vpper garments, are lightly of white Sattin, or cloath of Siluer Tissued with an eye of Greene, and wrought in great branches. Hee hath not so few as foure thousand persons that feede and liue within his *Serraglio*, besides *Capagies*, of whom there are five hundred attired like *Janizaries*, but onely that they want the socket in the front of their Bonnets, who waite by fifties at euery gate. The chiefe Officers of his Court are the *Master* (as we may terme him) of the *Requests*, the *Treasurer*, and *Steward* of his *Houshold*, his *Cup-bearer*, the *Aga* of the *Women*, the *Controller* of the *Iemoglans*: who also steereth his Barge, and is the principall Gardiner. Diuers of these *Iemoglans* marching before the *Grand Signior* at solemne shewes, in a vaine ostentation of what they would vndergoe for their Lord, gathering vp the skinned of their Temples to thrust Quills through, and sticke therein Feathers for a greater brauery, so wearing them to their no small trouble, vntill the place putrifie; some when the old breakes out, cutting new holes close to the broken. Yea the Standard-bearers of this Crue, thrust the staues sometimes of their Sandards through the skinned and fat of their bellies, resting the lower end on a stirrop of Leather, and so beare them through the Citie. Fiftly, *Mutes* he hath borne deafe and dumbe, whereof some few be his daily companions; the rest are his Pages. It is a wonderfull thing to see how readily they can apprehend, and relate by signes, euen matters of great difficultie. Not to speake of the multitude of *Eunuchs*, the Foot-men of his Guard, Cookes, Sherbet-men, (who make the foresaid beurance) Gardiners and Horse-keepers. Relate we now of his Women, wherein we will include those as well without as within his *Serraglio*.

And first begin we with his *Virgins*, of whom there seldome are so few as five hundred, kept in a *Serraglio* by themselves, and attended on onely by Women, and Eunuches. They all of them are his Slaues, either taken in the warres, or from their Christian Parents, and are indeed the choicest beauties of the Empire. They are not to be presented to the Emperour, vntill certaine moneths be expired after their entrance, in which time they are purged and dieted, according to the custome of the ancient *Persians*. When it is his pleasure to haue one, they stand ranckt in a Gallery, and she prepareth for his bed to whom he giueth his Handkerchiefe, who is deliuered to the aforefaid *Aga* of the *Women*, (a *Negro* Eunuch) and conducted by him into the *Sultans Serraglio*. She that beareth him the first Sonne, is honoured with the Title of *Sultana*. But for all his multitude of Women, he hath yet begotten but two Sonnes and three Daughters, though he be that way vn satiably giuen, (perhaps the cause that he hath so few) and vseth all sorts of foods that may inable performance. He cannot make a free Woman his Concubine, nor haue to doe with her whom he hath freed, vnlesse hee doe marry her, it being well knowne to the wickedly witty *Roxolana*: who pretending deuotion, and desirous for the health, forsooth, of her soule to erect a Temple, with an Hospitall, imparting her mind to the *Musis*, was told

by him that it would not be acceptable to God, if built by a Bond-woman. Whereupon she put on a habite of a counterfeit sorrow, which possessed the doting *Solyman* with such a compassion, that he forth-with gaue her her freedome, that she might pursue her intention. But hauing after a while sent for her by an Eunuch, shee cunningly excused her not comming, as touched in Conscience with the vnlawfulnessse of the fact; now being free, and therefore not to consent vnto his pleasure. So he whose soule did abide in her, and not able to liue without her, was constrained to marrie her. The onely marke that shee ayimed at, and whereon she grounded her succeeding Tragedies. This also hath married his Concubine, the mother of his younger Sonne, (she being dead by whom hee had the eldest) who with all the practises of a politicke Stepdame, endeouours to settle the succession on her owne, adding, as it is thought, the power of Witch-craft to that of her beautie, she being passionately beloued of the *Sultan*. Yet is she called *Casck Cadoun*, which is, the Lady without haire: by Nature her selfe, both graced and shamed. Now when one *Sultan* dieth, all his women are carried into another *Serraglio*, where those remaine that were his predecessors, being there both strictly lookt vnto, and liberally prouided for. The *Grand Signior* not seldome bestowing some of them (as of his Virgins, and the women of his owne *Serraglio*) vpon his great *Bassas* and others, which is accounted a principall honour. But for his Daughters, Sisters, and Aunts, they haue the *Bassas* giuen them for their Husbands: the *Sultan* saying thus, *Here Sister, I giue thee this man to thy Slaue, together with this dagger, that if he please thee not, thou maist kill him*. Their husbands come not vnto them vntill they be called: if but for speech onely, their shooes which they put off at the doore, are there suffered to remaine: but if to lye with them, they are laid ouer the bed by an Eunuch, a signe for them to approach, who creep in vnto them at the beds feete. *Mustapha* and *Hadir*, (two of the *Viziers* of the Port) haue married this *Sultans* Sister, and Neece; and *Mahomet Bassa* of *Cairo*, his daughter, a child of sixe yeares old, and he about fiftie, hauing had presents sent according to the *Turkish* solemnities, who giueth two hundred thousand *Sultanies* in dowry. Not much in habite doe the Women of the *Serraglio* differ from other, but that the Fauourite weares the ornament of her head more high, and of a particular fashion, of beaten Gold, and inchaced with Gems; from the top whereof there hangeth a veile that reacheth to her anckles, the rest haue their Bonets more depressed, yet rich; with their haire disheueled.

When the *Sultan* entertayneth Embassadors, hee sitteth in a roome of white Marble, glistering with Gold and Stones, vpon a low Throne, spred with curious Carpets, and accommodated with Cushions of admirable workmanship; the *Bassas* of the Bench being by, who stand like so many Statues without speech or motion. It is now a custome that none doe come into his presence without presents, first fastned vpon his *Bassas*, as they say, by a *Persian* Embassador; who thereupon sent word to the *Sophy* his master that hee had conquered *Turkie*. The stranger that approacheth him is led betweene two: a custome obserued euer since the first *Amurath* was slaine by the *Seruan Cobelitz*, a common Souldier, who in the ouerthrow of *Cossana*, rising from among the dead bodies, and reeling with his wounds, made towards the *Sultan* then taking a view of the slaine, as if hee had something to say; by whom admitted to speech, hee forthwith stabd him with a Dagger, hid vnder his Cassocke for that purpose. They goe backward from him, and neuer put off their Hats; the shewing of the head being held by the *Turke* to bee an opprobrious indecency. Now, when hee goeth abroad, which is lightly euery other Friday. (besides at other times vpon other occasions) vnto the Mosque: and when in state, there is not in the world to be seene a greater spectacle of humane glorie, and (if so I may speake) of sublimated manhood. For although (as hath beene said) the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*, which he most vsually frequenteth, is not aboue a stones cast from the out-most gate of the *Serraglio*, yet hath he not so few as a thousand Horse (besides the Archers of his Guard, and other Footmen) in that short procession; the way on each side inclosed, as well within as without, *Capagies* and *Ianizaries*, in their scarlet Gownes, and particular head-ornaments. The *Chausers* ride formost with their gilded Maces; then the Captaines of the *Ianizaries* with their *Aga*, next the Chieftaines of the *Spachies*, after them their *Sanziaks*; those of the soulderie wearing in the fronts of their Bonnets the Feathers of the Birds of Paradise, brought out of *Arabia*, and by some esteemed the Phoenix. Then follow the *Bassas* and *Beglerbegs*: after them the Pretorian foot-men, called the *Solacchi*, whereof there be in number three hundred; these are attired in Calfouns and Smockes of Callico, wearing no more ouer them then halfe-sleeued Coates of Crimson Damaske, the skirts tuckt vnder their girdles: hauing Plumes of Feathers in the top of their copped Bonnets; bearing Quiuers at their backes, with Bowes ready bent in their left hands, and Arrowes in their right, gliding along with a marvellous celeritie. After them seuen or nine goodly Horses are led, hauing Caparisons and Trappings of inestimable value, followed by the idolized *Sultan* gallantly mounted. About whom there runne fortie *Peichi* (so called in that they are naturally *Persians*) in high-crowned brimlesse Caps of beaten Gold, with Coats of Cloath of Gold girt to them, with a girdle called *Chochiach*: the Pages following in the reare, and other Officers of the Household. But what most deserueth admiration amongst so great a concourse of people, is their generall silence: insomuch, as had you but onely eares, you might suppose

Husbands of
his Sisters and
Daughters,

Entertainment
of Embassadors

Going to the
Mosque.

Generall
silence.

suppose (except when they salute him with a soft and short murmur) that men were then folded in sleepe, and the World in mid-night. He that brings him good newes (as vnto others of inferiour condition) receiueth his reward, which they call *Mustolooke*. But this *Sultan* to auoid abules in that kind, doth forth-with commit them to Prison, vntill their reports bee found true or false; and then rewards or punisheth accordingly. Although he spends most of his time with his women, yet sometimes he recreates himselfe in hawking, who for that purpose hath (I dare not name) how many thousand Faulkners in pension, dispersed throughout his Dominions: and many of them euer attendant. Their long-winged Hawkes they whittle not off as wee doe, but putting a bridle about their neckes, they make them couch to their fists, and so galloping to the Brooke, sling them off at the fowle, being reared sodainly by the noyse of a Drumme that hangs at their Pummels, by vse made cunning in that kind of preying. They carrie them on the right hand. A hardie Hawke is highly esteemed; and they haue a kind of them called *Shahans*, much lesse then a Falcon: yet so strangely couragious, that nothing flyeth in the Ayre that they will not bind with. They also hawke at the field, for I haue seene them carrie Spaniels with them: yet those in beautie not like vnto ours, but of a bastard Generation. They feed their Hawkes with hard Egges when flesh is wanting, and seldome bestow of them the mewing. Although he affects not hunting, yet entertaynes he a number of Huntsmen. Their Dogs they let goe out of slips in pursuit of the Wolfe, the Stagge, the Bore, the Leopard, &c. Those that serue for that purpose are stickle haired, and not vnlike to the *Irish* Grey-hounds.

Hawking and
Hawkes.

Huntsmen.

Now the yearely Reuenue which he hath to defray his excessiue disbursements, such a World of people depending vpon him, amounts not aboue fifteene Millions of *Sultanies*, (besides the entertaynement for his *Timariots*) which is no great matter, considering the amplitude of his Dominions: being possessed of two Empires, aboue twentie Kingdomes, beside diuers rich and populous Cities; together with the Red, most of the Mid-land, the *Aegean Euxine*, and *Proponticke* Seas. But it may be imputed to the barbarous wastes of the *Turkish* Conquests, who depopulate whole Countries, and neuer re-edifie what they ruine. So that a great part of his Empire is but thinly inhabited, (I except the Cities) and that for the most part by Christians, whose pouertie is their onely safetie and protectresse. But his casuall in-comes doe giue a mayne accession to his Treasurie: as Taxes, Customes, Spoiles, and Extortions. For as in the Sea the greater fishes doe feed on the lesse, so doe the Great ones here on their Inferiours, and hee on them all: being, as afore-said, the Commander of their liues, and generall Heire of their substances. He hath diuers Mines of Gold and Siluer within his Dominion, that of *Siderocapsa* in *Macedon*, hauing beene as beneficiall vnto him as the largest Citie of his Empire, called anciently *Chrysites*: and not vnknowne to *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*; who had the Gold from thence wherewith he coyned his *Philips*, as also from those of *Cranider*, from whence he yearely extracted a thousand Talents. He hath onely two sorts of Coine, the *Sultanie* and the *Asper*. The *Sultanie* is equall in value to the *Venice Zecceene*, and sixe score *Aspers* amount to a *Sultanie*, called rather *Aspro*, of the whitenesse thereof, in that consisting of siluer.

Constantinople is said to contayne seuen hundred thousand persons: halfe of them *Turkes*, and the other halfe *Iewes* and *Christians*, and those for the generall *Grecians*. But *Pera* hath three *Christians* for one *Mahometan*: for no *Iew* dwels in *Pera*, though they haue their shops there. We omit to speake of the *Iewes* vntill we come into *Iewrie*; and now will bend our discourse to the *Grecians*: a Nation no lesse scattered then they, but infinitely more populous. For not onely three parts of the Inhabitants of all *Greece* and *Romania* are *Grecians*, but almost all that dwell in the Ilands of the Mid-land Sea, *Propontis* and *Aegeum*. Infinite numbers there are of them both in the Lesse, and the Greater *Asia*, and in *Africa* not a few. For (besides diuers Colonies by them formerly planted) when *Antipater*, *Perdiccas*, *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, and the rest of the Successors of *Alexander* had shared his Empire among them, they endeououred as much as they could to plant their new-got Kingdomes with their Countrey men: whose Posteritie in part remayneth to this day, though vassalled to the often changes of forraine Governours: supplied by the extension of the latter *Greece* Empire, who yet retayne wheresoeuer they liue, their Name, their Religion, and particular Language. A Nation once so excellent, that their Precepts and Examples doe still remayne as approoued Canons to direct the mind that endeauoureth vertue. Admirable in Arts, and glorious in Armes; famous for gouernment, affectors of freedome, euery way noble: and to whom the rest of the World were reputed *Barbarians*. But now their knowledge is conuerted, as I may say, into affected ignorance, (for they haue no Schooles of Learning amongst them) their libertie into contented slauery, hauing lost their minds with their Empire. Now they delight in ease, in shades, in dancing and drinking: and no further for the most part endeauour their profit, then their bellies compell them. They are generally taxed by the stranger *Christians* of perfidioufnesse, insomuch, as it is growne into a Prouerbe, *Chi side in Grego, sara intrigo*, in them more anciently noted. There be diuers rich men of them in *Pera*, but those I thinke were descended of the *Genoes*; who were as hath beene said, the owners of that Citie. Many of them exercise Merchandize in Vessels called *Carmasals*, and haue of late gotten the vse of the Compasse, yet dare they not aduenture into the Ocean. They are

Greekes.

are of diuers Trades in Cities, and in the Countrey doe till the Earth (for the *European Turkes* doe little meddle with Husbandry) and dresse their Vines, by them onely planted. They haue a Ceremonie of baptizing of their Wines, which is the reason that the *Jewes* will not drinke thereof: performed in the memorie, and on that day wherein Christ conuerted water into wine: the Priest in the midst of his Oraisons powring thereinto a small quantitie of water.

Drinkings.

And although the *Greekes* doe now for the most part imitate the *Turkes*, (I meane heere in *Turkie*) in sitting at their meate, yet retaine they still that vice of immoderate drinking. They pledge one another in order; and he that cals for wine out of his turne, is reputed vnciuill. Their Glasses are little, but at euery draught emptied; and when they haue once drunke hard, they obserue no Rule, but prouoke one another to excesse. Neuer silent; and euer and anon kisse those that sit next them on the cheek and fore-head: and so likewise they doe in their salutations after a long absence, and to those to whom they would giue an assurance of their good will. Vsed of long, as appeareth by the Scriptures, amongst these Easterne Nations. But to kisse their women is an vnluiferable wrong; vnlesse it be betweene the Resurrection and Ascension; vsing also this greeting, that, *Our Sauour is risen*. The women for the most part are browne of complexion, but exceedingly wel-fauoured, and excessiuely amorous. Their Garments differ little from theirs amongst whom they liue. They couer not their faces (the Virgins excepted) vnlesse it bee with Painting; vsing all the suppliment of a sophisticate beautie. And not without cause, for when they grow old, they most grow contemptible, beeing put to doe the drudgeries of the house, and many times to waite on their children. They are costly in their attyre, and will complaine to the Patriarke, if their Husbands maintayne them not according to their substances. The *Greekes*, as the *Turkes* doe vse little household stufte; and lye vpon Mattresses.

Women.

Their language.

Now the *Grecians* themselves, (except some few) are ignorant in the ancient *Greeke*, it being called the *Latine Greeke*, and is a Language peculiar to the Learned. Yet the vulgar *Greeke* doth not differ so farre from the same, as the *Italian* from the *Latine*, corrupted not so much by the mixture of other Tongues, as through a supine wretchednesse. In some places they speake it more purely than in others. For the Boyes of *Pera* will laugh, when they heare the more barbarous Dialect of other maritime *Grecians*. And there be yet of the *Laconians* that speake so good *Greeke*, (though not Grammatically) that they vnderstand the Learned; and vnderstand not the vulgar. Their Liturgie is read in the ancient *Greeke*, with not much more profit perhaps to the rude people, then the *Latine* Seruice of the *Romish* Church to the illiterate Papists.

The foure Patriarkes.

They haue foure Patriarchs: One of *Constantinople*, another of *Alexandria*, the third of *Ierusalem*, and the fourth of *Antioch*. He of *Constantinople* hath vnder his Iurisdiction all *Peloponnesus*, *Grecia*, *Thracia*, *Dacia*, *Moesia*, *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, *Albania*, *Dalmatia*, *Illyria*, a great part of *Polonia*, *Russia*, the Ilands of the *Adriaticke* Sea, and of the *Archipelagus*, with *Candie*, *Rhodes*, *Coos*, almost all the lesser *Asia*, *Colchis*, not a few that inhabit about the Fennes of *Mæotis*, and Northerne shoare of *Euxinus*: as *Sicilia* and *Calabria* were, vntill they returned vnto the Sea of *Rome*. Vnder the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, are those of *Egypt* and *Arabia*. The *Greekes* of *Palestine*, and of the Countries thereabout, doe obey the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*. And he of *Antioch*, who hath his seate in *Damascus*, (for *Antiochia* is now desolate) hath subiect vnto him the *Grecians* of the lesser *Armenia*, *Celicia*, *Beritus*, *Tripoly*, *Aleppo*, and other places of the greater *Asia*. In all these parts they haue the free exercise of their Religion: with publike Temples, and numbers of strong Monasteries. If a Patriarch dye, another is elected by a Synod of Bishops. But the Patriarch of *Constantinople* hath the Supremacie of the rest assigned him by the Councell of *Chalcedon*, as Metropolitan of the Imperiall Citie: whose Diocesse exceedeth the other so much, in that most of those Northerne Nations were wonne to Christianitie by the Industry of his Predecessors, and reduced to their Gouvernement. So if we doe consider it, the *Grecian* Religion both in extent and number exceedeth the *Romane*. And as the Papists attribute an extraordinarie holinesse to *Rome*, so doe the *Greekes* vnto *Athos*, a Mountaine of *Macedonia*; so named of *Athon* the Sonne of *Neptune*, deckt with still-flourishing Trees, and abounding with Fountaines: called also the Holy Mountayne by the Christians. A place from the beginning dedicated to Religion; lying directly West from *Lemnos*: and so high, that though it be seuen hundred furlongs distant; yet is it said a little before the setting of the Sunne, to cast a shadow on that Iland.

This stretcheth out into the Sea, and ioynes vnto the Continent by an Isthmos, about a mile and halfe broad: which was cut through by *Xerxes*, (as hath beene intimated before) and made circumnauigable. But time hath left now no impressions of his barbarous labour. It is well nigh three dayes iourney in length, considering the difficultie of the way; and halfe a dayes ouer. The top thereof resembleth the forme of a man, stretched on his backe from West vnto East; and formed (according to *Strabo*) to the similitude of *Alexander*. This Mountayne is onely inhabited by *Grecian* Monkes, whom they call *Caloieros*, vn-intermixed with the Laitie: of whom there are there residing not so few as fixe thousand, that liue in Monasteries strongly munit against the Incurious of Robbers and Pirates. Of these there be in number twentie foure. The

Caloieros.

Caloieros

Coloieros weare Gownes of blacke, of a homely stufte, with Hoods of the same; and their haire at full length. They neuer marrie, abstaine from flesh, and often (especially during their Lents) from fish that hath blood in it. They liue hardly, feeding on Biscot, Onions, Oliues, Herbs, and such fish as they take in the adioyning Seas. For they all of them labour for their sustenance, leauing their Monasteries betimes in the mornings; and imploying the day, some in tillage, some in the Vineyards, some in making of Boats, some in fishing, others at home spinne, weaue, sew, and doe all the Offices that belong vnto women: so that none but are busied about one thing or another, to the behoofe of their particular Couents: and men they bee that are onely meete for such Drudgeries. For amongst so many, not past three or foure can write or reade, throughout a

10 whole Monasterie: insomuch, that at their Lyturgies, that is read to them first, which they are to sing after. In these Monasteries many excellent Manuscripts haue benee preserved, but those that now are, be onely of Diuinitie, all other Learning (as amongst the *Turkes*) at this day detested by the Religious. The *Coloieros* of this place haue a repute aboue all others: and for their strictnesse of life, and obseruance of Ceremonies, are in their seuerall Monasteries relieved from seuerall Nations. The Patriarch of *Constantinople* is said to pay yearly for the Priests and *Coloieros*, that are vnder his Iurisdiction within the *Turkish* Dominions, twelue thousand *Sultanies*.

The Patriarchs of *Constantinople* were heretofore men of singular grauitie and learning; but now nothing lesse: rather chosen for temporall respects, then either for their knowledge or deuotion; admitted not seldome to the place at the age of fortie, though prohibited, if vnder threescore, by an ancient Canon. Although elected by their owne Bishops, yet often appointed, and euer to be allowed by the *Grand Signior*: frequently displanted, and banished vnto the *Rhodes*, by the briberie of their Successors. Some few of their Priests are learned. For them it is lawful to marrie, but Bigamie is forbidden them, and Trigamie detested in the Laitie. There are no other Orders amongst them besides the foresaid *Coloieros*, and certaine Nunnes whom they call *Coloieras*. Yet of the last but a few, who are for the most part poore old Widdowes, that exercise themselves in sweeping of the Churches, attending on the sicke, and actions of like nature. Their Churches are many of them well set forth and painted, with the represents of Saints, but they haue no carued nor imbossed Images. Lampes they haue continually burning. Their ordinarie

30 Lyturgie is Saint *Chrysostomes*; but on Festiuall Dayes they doe reade Saint *Basils*, and then attired in their Pontificals. Their behauiour therein expresseth there, to my vnderstanding, no great either decencie or deuotion. They administer the Eucharist in both kinds: if the bread bee not leauened, they thinke it not auailable; and they drinke of the cup very liberally. One Article they hold against the Catholicke Creed; which is, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father.

Four Lents they haue in the yeare, and then a damnable sinne it is to eate flesh, or fish that hath blood in it (except in the Lent before Easter, when all sorts of fish may bee eaten by the Laitie:) but shel-fish they eate, and the Cuttle: whose blood, if I may so tearme it, is like Inke; a delicate food, and in great request. They fast on Wednesdaies, Fridaies, and on holy Eeues: but on Saturdaies they feast, in regard that it was the old Sabbath. They compute the yeare as we doe. They yeeld no Supremacie to the *Romane* Papacie, but hold that Church for Schismaticall. And although many times out of the necessitie of their Affaires, and to purchase reliefe, they haue treated of a Conciliation; and sometimes it hath benee by their Agents concluded: yet what they haue done hath benee generally reiected vpon their returne, both by the *Greekes* and those other Nations that professe their Religion. Of their Marriages I haue else-where spoken, and now conclude wee will with their Funerals: wherein they retayne not a few of their ancient and Heathen Ceremonies. Their lamentaions are the same that they were, and beyond all ciuitilie.

50 The women betimes in the morning doe meete at appointed places, and then cry out mainely; beating of their breasts, tearing their haire, their faces and garments. And that the clamour may be the greater, they hire certaine *Jewish* women, that haue lowdest voyces, ioyning therewith the prayses of the dead, from the houre of his Natiuitie vnto the houre of his dissolution: and keeping time with the melancholicke Musicke. Nor want they store of Spectators, partly drawne thither to delight their eyes, and partly by ielousie. For then the choice, and prime women of the Citie (if the deceased were of note) doe assist their Obsequies; with bosomes displayed, and their haire dis-sheueled: glad that they haue the occasion to manifest their beauties, which at other times is secluded from Admirers.

60 The reason why the *Grecians* did burne their dead, was, because that part which was diuine in them, should as it were in a fierie Chariot againe re-ascend to the Celestiall Habitations, as vnto Earth the Earthly returned. They vsed to quench the fire with Red Wine, and gathering the bones together to include them in Vrnes as the Vrnes in Sepulchres, (which had no tittle, vnlesse they were slaine in fighting for their Countrey) exhibiting games, and prizes for the Victors in honour of the deceased. Notwithstanding all were not burnt, but some buried in their apparell, as now being Christians they are: who vse Extreme-vnction, as inducted by S. *James*;

yet

English Em-
bassador.

* Sir Thomas
Glouer.

yet not onely denie the *Romane* opinion of Purgatorie, but furthermore erroneously maintayne, that neither the soules of the blessed nor damned doe suffer either ioy or torment, or shall till the generall Iudgement. But enough of the *Grecians*.

The *Germane* Emperour, the Kings of *England* and of *France*, haue heere their Liedger Embassadors: as the *Venetians* their Bailly, and diuers tributarie Princes their Agents. Some meertly employed about State Affaires; others together therewith, about the trafficke of their Nations. But the *English* onely negotiates for the Merchants, hauing two in the hundred vpon euerie ship, besides a large Pension: with the name of a great proportion of prouision from the *Grand Signior*. The *English* Consulship of *Chios* is in his disposing, and accountable to him; and out of that of *Alexandria* hee hath no small share, though serued by a *French* man. There hath bin some contention between him and the *French*, about the protection of the *Dutch* Merchants: but now they doe diuide the profits. The *English* Consul of *Aleppo* is absolute of himselfe, yet hath from hence his redresses of iniuries: whole chiefe employment is to protect the persons and goods of our Nation, to labour a reuenge of wrongs, and a restitution of losses. And to giue this no more then his due, for this place none can be more sufficient; expert in their Language, and by a long experience in their natures and practises: being moreover of such a spirit, as not to be danted. And surely, his chiefe fault hath beene his misfortune; in the too violent, chargeable, and successelesse solliciting of the restitution of the Prince of *Moldavia*, (whom aduerlitie hath rather made crafty then honest;) whose house doth harbour both him and his dependents; beeing open also to all of our Nation: a Sanctuary for poore Christian slaues, that secretly flye hither, whom hee causeth to bee conueyed into their Countries, and redeemeth not a few with his money.

§. IIII.

The Holy Land described, the Countrey, Cities, Inhabitants, holy Places, and memorable Rarities of Ierusalem.

* His Iourney
out of Egypt
thither, you
haue before l. 6
c. 8. For leauing
Constantinople in
January, in the
Trinitie of Lon-
don, he sailed
by Samos, Pat-
mos, Coos, Rhodes
&c. to Egypt.
The Inhabi-
tants.
Iewes.

Their patience

Thriftinesse.

Of the Iewish
people and
their Sects
and Rites,
you may reade
this Author, &
more fully my
Pilgrimage, l. 2.

NOW are we in the Holy Land, confined on the North with the Mountaynes of *Libanus*, and a part of *Phoenicia*: on the East it hath *Cælosyria* and *Arabia Petrea*: on the South the same together with *Idumea*, the West is bounded a part with *Phoenicia*, and the rest with the Mid-land Sea. Distant from the Line one and thirtie degrees, extending vnto thirtie three, and something vpwrd. So that in length from *Dan* (the same with *Cæsarea Philippi*;) vnto *Bersheba*, (now *Gabelin*;) it containeth not more then an hundred and fortie miles; where broadest not fifty. A Land that flowed with Milke and Honey: in the midst as it were of the habitable World, and vnder a temperate Climate. Adorned with beautifull Mountaynes, and luxurious Valleyes; the Rockes producing excellent Waters: and no part empty of delight or profit.

It is for the most part now inhabited by *Moores* and *Arabians*: those possessing the Valleyes, and these the Mountaynes. *Turkes* there be few, but many *Greekes*, with other Christians, of all Sects and Nations, such as impute to the place an adherent holinesse. Here be also some *Iewes*, yet inherit they no part of the Land, but in their owne Countrey doe liue as Aliens; a people scattered throughout the whole World, and hated by those amongst whom they liue; yet suffered as a necessary mischiefe: subiect to all wrongs and contumelies, which they support with an inuincible patience. Many of them haue I seene abused; some of them beaten: yet neuer saw I Iew with an angry countenance. They can subiect themselues vnto times, and to whatsoever may aduance their profit. In generall they are worldly wise, and thrive wheresoeuer they set footing. The *Turke* employes them in Receit of Customes, which they by their policies haue inhaunced, and in buying and selling with the *Christian*: beeing himselfe in that kind a Foole and easily coozened. They are men of indifferent stature, and the best complexions. Throughout the *Turkes* Dominions they are allowed their Synagogues: so are they at *Rome*, and elsewhere in *Italie*; whose Receit they iustifie as a retayned testimonie of the verity of Scriptures; and as being a meanes of their more speedie conuerions: whereas the offence that they receiue from Images, and the losse of goods vpon their conuerions, oppugne all perswasions whatsoever. Their Synagogues (for as many as I haue seene) are neither faire without, nor adorned within more then with a Curtayne at the vpper end, and certaine Lampes (so farre as I could perceiue) not lightned by day-light. In the midst stands a Scaffold, like those belonging to Queresters, in some of our Cathedrall Churches: wherein he stands that reades their Law and sings their Lyturgie: an Office not belonging vnto any in particular, but vnto him (so hee bee free from deformities) that shall at that time purchase it with most money; which redounds to their publike Treasurie. They reade in sauage Tones, and sing in Tunes that haue no affinitie with Musicke: ioyning voyces at the seuerall closes. But their fantastickall gestures exceed all Barbarisme,

risme, continually weauing with their bodies, and often iumping vp-right (as is the manner in Dances) by them esteemed an action of zeale, and figure of spirituall eleuation. They pray silently, with ridiculous and continuall noddings of their heads, not to bee seene and not laught at. During the time of Seruice their heads are veyled in linnen, fringed with knots; in number answerable to the number of their Lawes: which they carrie about with them in procession; and rather boast of then obserue. They haue it stucke in the iambes of their doores, and couered with glasse: written by their *Cacams*, and signed with the names of God, which they kisse next their hearts in their goings forth, and in their returnes. They may not print it, but it is to bee written on Parchment, prepared of purpose (the Inke of a prescribed composition) not with a Quill, but a Cane. They doe great reuerence to all the names of God, but especially to *Iehoua*; insomuch that they neuer vse it in their speech. And whereas they handle with great respect the other Bookes of the old Testament, the Booke of *Hester* (that part that is Canonically, for the other they allow not of) writ in a long Scroll they let fall on the ground as they reade it, because the name of God is not once mentioned therein; which they attribute to the wildome of the Writer, in that to be perused by the Heathen. Their other books are in the *Spanish* Tongue and *Hebrew* Character. Although they agree with the *Turke* in Circumcision, detestation of Images, abstinency from Swines-flesh, and diuers other Ceremonies: neuertheless, the *Turkes* will not suffer a *Jew* to turne *Mahometan*, vnlesse hee first turne a kind of Christian. As in Religion they differ from others, so doe they in Habite, in Christendome enforcedly, here in *Turkie* voluntarily. Their vnder-garments differing little from the *Turkes* in fashion, are of purple cloth; ouer that they weare Gownes of the same colour, with large wide sleeues, and clasped beneath the chin, without band or collar: on their heads high brimlesse Caps of purple, which they moue at no time in their salutations. They shauie their heads all ouer; not in imitation of the *Turke*: it being their ancient fashion. Their familiar Speech is *Spanish*: yet few of them are ignorant in the *Hebrew*, *Turkish*, *Morisco*, vulgar *Greeke*, and *Italian* Languages. Their onely studies are Diuinitie and Physicke: their occupations Brocage and Vsurie; yet take they no interest of one another, nor lend but vpon pawnes; which once forfeited, are vnredeemable.

Doctors of their Lawe

Their attire

They marrie their daughters at the age of twelue, not affecting the single life, as repugnant to societie, and the law of creation. The Sabbath (their deuotions ended) they chiefly employ in nuptiall beneuolencies, as an act of charitie, befitting well the sanctitie of that day. Although no Citie is without them throughout the *Grand Signiors* Dominions, yet liue they with the greatest libertie in *Salonica*, which is almost altogether inhabited by them. Eaery male aboue a certaine age, doth pay for his head an annuall tribute. Although they be gouerned by the *Turkish* Iustice; neuertheless, if a *Jew* deserue to die by their law, they will either privately make away, or falsly accuse him of a crime that is answerable to the other in qualitie, and deseruing like punishment. It is no ill turne for the *Franks* that they will not feed at their Tables. For they eate no flesh, but of their owne killing; in regard of the intrals, which being dislocated or corrupted, is an abomination vnto them. When so it falls out, though exceeding good (for they kill of the best) they will sell it for a trifle. And as for their Wines, being for the most part planted and gathered by *Grecians*, they dare not drinke of them, for feare they be baptized: a ceremonie whereof we haue spoken already. They sit at their meate, as the *Turks* doe. They burie in the fields by themselves, hauing onely a stone set vpright on their Graues, which once a yeere they frequent, burning of incense, and tearing of their garments. For certaine dayes they fast and mourne for the dead, yea euen for such as haue bene executed for offences. As did the whole Nation at our being at *Constantinople* for two of good account that were impaled vpon stakes; being taken with a *Turkish* woman, and that on their Sabbath. It was credibly reported, that a *Jew*, not long before, did poyson his sonne, whom he knew to be vnrestrainably lasciuious, to preuent the ignominie of a publike punishment, or losse by a chargeable redemption. The flesh consumed, they dig vp the bones of those that are of their families; whereof whole bark-fuls not seldome doe arriue at *Ioppa*, to be conueyed, and againe interred at *Ierusalem*: imagining that it doth adde delight vnto the soules that did owe them, and that they shall haue a quicker dispatch in the generall iudgement. To speake a word or two of their women. The elder mabble their heads in linnen, with the knots hanging downe behind. Others doe weare high Caps of plate, whereof some I haue seene of beaten Gold. They weare long quilted Waistcoats, with Breeches vnderneath; in Winter of cloth, in Summer of linnen; and ouer all when they stirre abroad, loose Gownes of purple flowing from the shoulders. They are generally fat, and ranke of the fauours which attend vpon sluttish corpulency. For the most part, they are goggle-eyed. They neither shun conuersation, nor are too watchfully guarded by their husbands. They are good work-women, and can and will doe any thing for profit, that is to be done by the Art of a woman, and which suites with the fashion of these Countries. Vpon iniuries receiued, or violence done to any of their Nation, they will crie out mainly at their windowes, beating their cheekes, and tearing of their garments. Of late they haue bene blest with another *Hester*, who by her fauour with the *Sultan*, prevented their intended massacre,

Salonica.

The Iewes iustice.

Diet.

Burials.

Women.

massacre, and turned his furie vpon their accusers. They are so well skilled in lamentations, that the *Greekes* doe hire them to crie at their funerals.

Gaza.

But now returne we vnto *Gaza*. It stands vpon a hill surrounded with valleyes; and those againe wel-nigh enuironed with hills, most of them planted with all sorts of delicate fruits. The building meane, both for forme and matter: the best but low, of rough stone, arched within, and flat on the top including a quadrangle: the walls surmounting their roofes, wrought through with pot-sheards to catch and strike downe the refreshing winds, hauing spouts of the same, in colour, shape and sight, resembling great Ordnance. Others couered with mats and hurdles; some built of mud; amongst all, not any comely or conuenient. Yet there are some reliques left, and some impressions, that testifie a better condition: for diuers simple roofes are supported with goodly Pillars of *Parian* marble, some plaine, some curiously carued. A number broken in pieces doe serue for thresholds, iambs of doores, and sides of windowes, almost vnto euery beggarly Cottage. On the North-east corner, and summitie of the hill, are the ruines of huge arches sunke low in the earth, and other foundations of a stately building. From whence the last *Sanziack* conueyed marble Pillars of an incredible bignesse; enforced to saw them asunder ere they could be remoued: which hee employed in adorning a certaine Mosque below in the valley. The Castle now being, not worthie that name, is of no importance: wherein lieth the *Sanziack* (by some termed, a *Bassa*) a sickly young man, and of no experience, who gouernes his Prouince by the aduice of a *Moore*. His Territories begin at *Arisa*. On the West side of the Citie, out of sight, and yet within hearing, is the Sea, seuen furlongs off; where they haue a decayed and vn safe Port, of small auaille at this day to the inhabitants. In the valley on the East side of the Citie, are many stragling buildings; beyond which, a hill more eminent then the rest, on the North side of the way that leadeth to *Babylon*; said to be that (and no question the same described in Scriptures) to which *Samson* carried the gates of the Citie; vpon whose top there standeth a Mosque, enuironed with the Graues and Sepulchres of *Mahometans*. In the Plaine betweene that and the Towne, there stand two high Pillars of marble, their tops much worne by the weather: the cause of their erecting vnknowne, but of great antiquitie. South of this, and by the way of *Egypt*, there is a mightie Cisterne, filled onely by the fall of raine, and descended into by large staires of stone: where they wash their clothes, and water their Cartell.

Reason of low doores.

Slavery of the Inhabitants.

Saturday sorrow.

The same day that wee came, wee left the Carauan, and lodged in the Citie, vnder an Arch in a little Court, together with our Asses. The doore exceeding low, as are all that belong vnto Christians, to withstand the sodaine entrance of the insolent *Turkes*. For they heere doe liue in a subiection to be pitied; not so much as daring to haue handsome houses, or to employ their grounds to the most benefit: so dangerous is it to be esteemed wealthy. During our abode here, there came a Captaine with two hundred *Spahes*, sent by *Morat Bassa* to raise thirtie thousand Dollars of the poore and few Inhabitants of this Citie. The *Grecians* haue certaine small Vineyards: but that they haue Wine, they dare not be acknowne, which they secretly presse in their houses. They burie their Corne vnder ground, and keepe what they are to spend in long vessels of clay; in that it is subiect to bee eaten with wormes (as throughout *Egypt*) and will not last if not so preserued. In the principall part of the Citie they haue an ancient Church, frequented also by the *Copties*. The *Greekish* women (a thing elsewhere vnseene) here couer their faces, dying their hands blacke; and are apparelled like the *Moore*s of *Cairo*. Euery Saturday in this Church-yard vpon the Graues of the dead, they keepe a miserable howling; crying of custome, without teares or sorrow. The *Subassee* would haue extorted from vs wel-nigh as much money as wee were masters of: which wee had hardly auoyded, had not the sicke *Sanziack* (in that administred vnto by our Physician) quitted vs of all payments. So that there is no travelling this way for a *Frank*e, without speciall fauour.

Hebron.

Thrust out of our lodging (as we were about to leaue it) by the vnciuill *Spahes*, who seized on diuers of our necessities: on the eighteenth of March wee returned to the Carauan. Wee payed halfe a Dollar apiece to the place for our Camels: and for their hire from *Cairo*, for those of burthen, fixe Sultanies; for such as carried passengers, eight. Wee gaue them more, two Sultanies apiece to proceed vnto *Ierusalem*. Here the Carauan diuided: not a small part thereof taking the way that leadeth vnto *Babylon*. The next day wee also dislodged: leauing the *Jewes* behind vs, who were there to celebrate their festiuall. The Captaine of the Carauan departed the night before, taking his way through the mountainous Countrey by *Hebron*: out of his deuotion to visite the graues of the Patriarchs; a place of high esteeme amongst them, and much frequented in their pilgrimages. The ancient Citie (the seat of *Dauid* before he tooke *Sion* from the *Iebusites*) is vtterly ruinated. Hard by there is a little Village, seated in the field of *Mechapelah*, where standeth a goodly Temple, erected ouer the Caue of their buriall, by *Helena* the mother of *Constantine*; conuerted now into a Mosque. Wee past this day through the most pregnant and pleasant valley that euer eye beheld. On the right hand a ridge of high Mountaines, (whereon stands *Hebron*;) on the left hand the Mediterranean Sea, bordered with continued hills, beset with varietie of fruits: as they are for the most part of this dayes journey. The Cham-

Champaine betweene about twentie miles ouer full of flowry hills ascending leasutely, and not much surmounting their ranker valleys, with groues of Oliues, and other fruits disperfedly adorned. Yet is this wealthy bottome (as are all the rest) for the most part vninhabited, but only for a few small and contemptible Villages, possessed by barbarous *Moores*; who till no more then will serue to feed them: the Grasse waite-high, vnmowed, vneaten, and vselessly withering. Perhaps so desolate in that infested by the often recourse of Armies, or masterfull *Spahes*: who before they goe into the field (which is seldome vntill the latter end of haruest, lest they should starue themselves by destroying of the Corne) are billeted in these rich pastures, for the benefit of their Horses, lying in Tents besides them; committing many outrages on the adioyning Townes and distressed passengers.

Pleasant champaine.

10 Ten miles from *Gaza*, and neere vnto the Sea, stands *Ascalon*, now a place of no note; more then that the *Turke* doth keepe there a Garrison. Ten miles North of *Ascalon* along the shoare stands *Azotus*: and eight miles beyond that *Acharen*, now places of no reckoning. About two of the Clocke wee pitched by *Cane Sedee*; a ruinous thing, hard by a small Village, and not a quarter of a mile from the Sea: the Carauan lying in deepe pastures without controlment of the Villagers. The next day we departed two houres before Sun-rise: descending into an ample valley, and from that into another; hauing diuers Orchards towards the Sea. The Countrey such (but that without trees) as wee past through before. No part so barren, but would proue most profitable, if planted with Vines, and fruits; made more then probable, by those that grow about *Gaza*. Passing through a spacious field of Oliues, about noone wee pitched on a little hill, lying East, and within a furlong of *Rama*, called *Ramula* by the *Moores*; which signifieth sandy. It is seated in a plaine, on a little rising of the earth, stretching North and South, built of free-stone, the streets narrow, the houses contemptible. Yet are there many goodly ruines, which testifie farre better building, especially those of the Christian Churches. Here is a Monasterie, much of it standing; founded by *Philip* the good Duke of *Burgundie*, in that place where sometimes stood the house of *Nicodemus*; built for the reliefe and safety of Pilgrims in their passage to *Ierusalem*: and although quitted by the Friers, yet at this day seruing to that purpose, called *Sion-houise*, and belonging to the Monasterie of Mount *Sion*.

Ascalon.

Cane Sedee.

Ramula.

Sion house.
Ioppe.

30 *Ioppe* was called the Port of *Iury*; the only one that it had. Then more conuenient then now: much of it choked with sand, and much of it worne with the continual assaults of the waters. Of the City there is no part standing, more then two litle Towers, wherein are certain harquebuses acrosse, for the safe-guard of the harbour. Vnder the cliffe, and opening to the Hauen are certaine spacious Caues, hewen into the rock: some vsed for Ware-houses, and others for shelter. The merchandizes here embarked for Christendome are only Cottens, gathered by certaine *Frenchmen*, who reside at *Rama* in the house of *Sion*. The Western Pilgrims doe for the most part arriue at this place, and are from hence conducted to *Ierusalem* by *Attala*, a *Greeke* of *Rama*; and Druggaman to the *Pater-guardian*, paying seuen Sultanies a piece for his Mules, his labour, and discharge of *Caphar*. The like rate he hath for bringing them backe againe: a great expence to poore Pilgrims for so small a iourney; which must be payed although they accept not of his conduct. Yet by this meanes they doe passe securely: hee being in fee with the *Arabians* that possesse the Mountaines. Now the Carauan did againe diuide, the *Moores* keeping on the way that leadeth to *Damascus*. Here wee should haue payed two Dollars a piece for our heads to a *Sheck* of the *Arabs*. But the *Sanziack* of *Gaza* had sent vnto him that it should be remitted.

Charges of Pilgrims.

40 He came vnto our Tent, and greedily fed on such viands as we had set before him. A man of a tall stature, clothed he was in a Gambalocke of scarlet, buttoned vnder the chin with a bosse of gold. He had not the patience to expect a present, but demanded one; wee gaue him a piece of Sugar, and a paire of Shooes, which he earnestly enquired for, and cheerfully accepted. On the twentieth of March with the rising Sunne wee departed. A small remainder of that great Carauan; the *Nostraines* (so name they the Christians of the East *) that rode vpon Mules and Asses, being gone before. Amongst whom were two *Armenian* Bishops: who footed it most of the way, but when (alighting themselves) they were mounted by some of their Nation. Before wee had gone farre we were stayed by the *Arabs*, vntill they had taken *Caphar* of the rest. The *Subassee* of *Rama* besides had two *Mednes* vpon euery Camell. The day thus wasted did make vs misdoubt that we should not get that night vnto *Ierusalem*: but the misfing of our way (for the *Arabs* had left vs contrarie to their custome) turned our feare to despaire. Some fixe miles beyond *Rama* the hills grew bigger and bigger, mixed with fruitfull valleyes. About two miles further wee ascended the higher Mountaines: paying by the way two Mednes a head; but at seuerall places. The passage exceeding difficult; streightned with wood, and as it were pauered with broken rockes: which by reason of the raine then falling, became no lesse dangerous to our Camels. At length wee came to a small Village, where we first discovered our erring. Some counselled to stay, others to proceed; both dangerous alike, the way vnkowne, vn safe, the inhabitants theues, as are all the *Arabians*. Whilest we thus debated, the night stole vpon vs, and bereft vs of the election. The much raine enforced vs to flee for shelter vnto a ruinous Chappell, where distrust set the watch, which we carefully kept till the morning. Betimes

So call they their Leaders for the most part *Santons*. A kind of riding Gowne: * Perhaps because most of them are *Nestorians*.

Rrrrr

we

Partridges.

Ierusalem.

Monasterie of
Franciscans.

Turks knauery.
Knights of the
Sepulchre.
Ioannes Cotani-
cus Doctor of
both Lawes,
was made one
of those Knigh.
then whom I
know nor any
more exact
and copious
in description
of these parts,
both in dis-
course and pi-
ctures: his
Booke printed
at Antwerp,
A. 1619. Our
Authors pi-
ctures also
would much
haue illustra-
ted these Re-
lations: but I
remit the
more curious
to his owne
Booke, too
long for our
purpose, who
intend longer
journeys.

wee forooke the Village, descending the way wee had ascended, guided by the chiefe of the Towne, who for a summe of money had vndertaken our conduct to the top of the Mountaines, hauing hired Asses for our more expedition: yet others crossing vs as wee returned along the Valley, with shewes of violence, would haue extorted more money. Our passage for five houres together lay through a narrow streight of the Mountaines; much of our way no other then such as seemed to haue beene worne by the winters torrent. We past by a ruinous Fort, seated neere a Fountaine, sufficient when it stood, to haue made good that passage. In the way wee sprang a number of Partridges; others on each side running on the Rocks; like in colour vnto those of *Chios*. Ascending by little and little, at length wee attained to the top, which ouertopt and surueyed all the Mountaynes that wee had left behinde vs. From hence to *Ierusalem* the way is indifferent euen. On each side round Hills, with ruines on their tops, and Valleyes, such as are figured in the most beautifull Land-skips. The soyle, though stonie, not altogether barren, producing both Corne and Oliues about inhabited places. Approaching the North Gate of the Citie, called in times past the Gate of *Ephraim*, and now of *Damascus*; we onely of all the rest were not permitted to enter. When compassing the wall vnto that of the West, commanded by the Castle, we were met by two *Franciscan* Friers, who saluted and conueyed vs to their Couent. Wee entred, as afore-said, at the west Gate, called the Gate of *Ioppa*. On the right hand, and adioyning to the Wall, there standeth a small ill-fortified Castle: yet the onely Fort that belongeth to the Citie; weakly guarded, and not ouer-well stored with Munition; built by the *Pisans* at such time as the Christians inhabited this Citie. Turning on the left hand, and ascending a part of Mount *Gihon*, we came to the Monasterie of the *Franciscans* (being now in number betweene thirtie and fortie) who in the yeere 1561. thrust out of that which they had on Mount *Sion*, had this place assigned them. But of the Founders name I am ignorant: nor is hee much wronged by being forgotten: since so meane a building can giue no fame to the builder.

The *Pater-guardian* with due complement entertained vs: a reuerent old man, of a voluble tongue, and winning behauiour. His name *Gaudentius*: his Nation, *Italy*. Euery third yeere they are remoued; and a Successor elected by the Pope, from whom they haue a part of their exhibition: the rest from the *Spaniard* and *Florentine*. Nor is it a little that they get by the resort of the Pilgrims of Christendome. For all that come must repaire to their Couent; otherwise they shall be accused for Spies, and suffer much trouble: the *Romane* Catholikes rewarding them out of deuotion, and the rest out of curtesie: which, if short of their expectations, they will repine at as losers. Wee foure, for eight dayes entertainment bestowed little lesse amongst them then an hundred Dollers; and yet they told vs wee had hardly payed for what wee had eaten. A costly rate for a monasticall diet. But the *Turke* is much more fierce vpon them: awayting all aduantages that may giue a colour to extortion. A little before our comming, a *Turke* being denied by a Friar of some trifle that hee requested, gaue himselfe such a blow vpon the Nose that the bloud gushed forth: and presently exclayming as if beaten by the other, complained to the *Sanziacke*; for which *Anania* they were compelled to part with eight hundred Dollers. Brought much behind hand, as they alledge, with such losses, they vse oft to rehearse them as motiues vnto charitie.

The Couent hath also another in-come by the Knights of the Sepulchre; who pay thirtie *Sultanies* apiece to the *Pater-guardian*: who by vertue of his Patent doth giue them that dignitie. The Kings of *France* were Soueraignes of that Order, by whom it was instituted in the yeere 1099. who granted them diuers Immunities. They bare five Crosses Gules, in forme of that which is at this day called the *Ierusalem* Crosse; representing thereby the five wounds that violated the Bodie of our Sauour. None were to bee admitted if of a defamed life, or not of the Catholike Religion. They are to bee Gentlemen of Bloud, and of sufficient meanes to maintayne a port agreeable to that calling, without the exercise of Mechanicall Sciences. But now they will except against none that bring money, insomuch that at our being there they admitted of a *Romane*, by Trade an Apothecarie, late dwelling in *Aleppo*. They take the Sacrament to heare euery day a Masse, if they may conueniently. If warres bee commenced against the Infidels, to serue here in person, or to send other in their steads no lesse seruiceable: To oppugne the Persecutors of the Church, to shunne vniust Warres, dishonest Gain, and priuate Duells: Lastly, to bee Reconcilers of dissentions, to aduance the common good, to defend the Widdow and Orphane, to refrayne from Swearing, Periurie, Blasphemie, Rapine, Vsurie, Sacriledge, Murder, and Drunkennesse: to auoide suspected Places, the companie of infamous Persons; to liue chastly, irreproueably, and in Word and Deed to shew themselues worthy of such a Dignitie. This Oath taken, the *Pater-guardian* layeth his hand vpon his head, as hee kneeleth before the entrance of the Tombe: bidding him to bee Loyall, Valiant, Vertuous, and an vndaunted Souldier of Christ and that holy Sepulchre. Then giues hee him the Spurs, which hee puts on his heeles; and after that a Sword (the same, as they say, which was *Godfroyes* of *Bullein*) and bids him vse it in defence of the Church, and himselfe; and to the confusion of Infidels: sheathing it againe,

again, he girts himselfe therewith. Who then arising, and forth-with kneeling close to the Sepulcher, enclining his head vpon the same; he is created by receiuing three strokes on the shoulder, and by saying thrice, *I ordaine thee a Knight of the holy Sepulcher of our Lord Iesus Christ, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost*; then kisses he him, and puts about his necke a chaine of Gold, whereat hangeth a *Ierusalem Crosse*: who arising, kisses the Sepulcher, and restoring the afore said Ornaments, departeth.

From the top of this Monasterie, suruey you may the most part of this Citie: whereof much lies waste; the old buildings (except some few) all ruined, the new contemptible. None exceed two stories: the vnder no better then Vaults; the vpper arched aboue, and standing vpon Arches, being well confirmed against fire, as hauing through out no combustible matter: the Roofes flat, and couered with Plaister. Inhabited it is by Christians out of their deuotion; and by *Turks*, for the benefite receiued by Christians, otherwise perhaps it would be generally abandoned.

After a little refreshment, the same day we came (which was vpon Maundie-Thursday) we went vnto the Temple of the Sepulcher, euery one carrying with him his Pillow and Carpet. The way from the Monasterie continues in a long descent, (the East side of *Gihon*) and then a little ascendeth to Mount *Caluary*. Mount *Caluary* a rocky hill, neither high nor ample, was once a place of publicke execution: then without, but now wel-nigh within the heart of the Citie, whereupon the Emperour *Adrian* erected a Fane vnto *Venus*; but the vertuous *Helena* (of whom our Countrey may iustly glorie) ouerthrew that receptacle of Paganisme, and built in the roome thereof this magnificent Temple, which not onely possesseth the Mount, but the Garden below, together with a part of the *Valley of Carcaffes*, (so called, in that they threw there into the bodies of the executed) which lay betweene Mount *Caluary*, and the Wall of the old Citie. The Frontispice opposing the South, of an excellent structure; hauing two ioyning doores; the one now walled vp, supported with Columnes of Marble, ouer which a transome ingrauen with Historicall figures; the Walls and Arches crested, and garnished with Floritry. On the left hand there standeth a Tower, now something ruined, (once, as some say, a Steeple, and depriued by *Saladine*, of Bels vn sufferable to the *Mahometans*:) on the right hand, by certaine steps a little Chappell is ascended, coupled aboue, and sustained at the corners with pillars of Marble: below through a Wall, which bounds the East side of the Court, a paire of staires doe mount to the top of the Rocke, (yet no Rocke eident) where is a little Chappell built (as they say) in the place where *Abraham* would haue sacrificed *Isaac*; of much deuotion, and kept by the Priest of the *Abissines*. This ioyneth to the top of the Temple, leuell, and (if I forgot not) floored with plaister. Out of the Temple there arise two ample coupulos: that next the East (couering the East end and Iles of the Chancell) to bee ascended by steps on the out-side: the other, ouer the Church of the Sepulcher, being open in the middle. O who can without sorrow, without indignation behold the enemies of Christ to be the Lords of his Sepulcher! Who at feastiuall times sit mounted vnder a Canopie, to gather Money of such as doe enter: the profits arising thereof, being farmed at eight thousand Sultanies. Each *Franke* payes foureteene, (except he be of some religious Order, who then of what Sect soeuer, is exempted from payments) wherein is included the Impost due at the gate of the Citie; but the Christians that be subiect to the *Turke*, doe pay but a trifle in respect thereof. At other times the doore is sealed with the Seale of the *Sanziacke*, and not opened without his direction: whereat there hangs seuen Cords, which by the Bels that they ring, giue notice to the seuen seuerall Sects of Christians (who liue within the Temple continually) of such as would speake with them, which they doe through a little Wicket, and thereat receiue the prouision that is brought them. Now to make the foundation euen in a place so vneuen, much of the Rocke hath bene hewne away, and parts too low, supplied with mightie Arches: so that those naturall formes are vtterly deformed, which would haue better satisfied the beholder, and too much regard hath made them lesse regardable.

The rooffe of the Temple is of a high pitch, curiously arched, and supported with great pillars of Marble: the out Iles gallered aboue; the vniuersall Fabricke stately and sumptuous. After we had disposed of our luggage in a part of the North-gallery, belonging to the *Latines*, the Confessor offered to shew vs the holy and obseruable places of the Temple: which wee gladly accepted of; he demanding first if deuotion or curiositie had posselt vs with that desire. So that for omitting *Pater Nosters*, and *Aue Maries*, wee lost many yeeres Indulgences, which euery place doth plentifully afford to such as affect them, and contented our selues with an Historicall Relation. Which I will not declare in order as shewne, but take them as they lye from the first entrance of the Temple. Right against the doore, in the midst of the South Ile, and leuell

cher, where by vertue of his death, our *Old Man mortified*, & of his Resurrection, whereby we liue not, but he liues in vs. Yet is this complaint iust, because In iustice and superstitions of Christians haue made Infidels, Lords of that holy place. Pilgrimages are good, when we are thereby made Pilgrimes from the world and our selues. Thy selfe is the holiest place thou canst visit, if with faith and repentance made the Lords Temple, which the *Iewish* signified; and to which the Fathers did, and wise men still doe visite these places, by folly peruered to superstition (as in the former Discourse is obserued) when Place hath more place then Grace, or religious imitation of those whose holinesse had made the places esteemed holy.

Let his friends
enjoy him, and
Heauen where
is his glory: as
for his Sepul-
cher, He is ri-
sen, he is not
there. And
what then
haue his ene-
mies, but what
himselfe would
nothold, and
which could
not hold him?
Which it
hath pleased
him to permit
to them, that
his followers
might follow
him to heauen
in their affecti-
ons and con-
uersation, Col.
3. Phil. 3. their
hearts being
both the place
of his Sepul-

Place of anointing Christs body.

with the pauement, there lyeth a white Marble in forme of a Graues-stone, enuironed with a raile of Brasse, about a foote high: the place (as they say) where *Ioseph of Aramathia*, and *Nicodemus*, anointed the body of our Sauour with sweete ointments. This they kisse, and kneele to, rubbing thereupon their Crucifixes, Beades, and Handkerchiefes; yea, whole webs of Linnen, which they carrie into farre Countries, and preserue the same for their shrouding sheetes. Ouer this there hang seuen Lamps, which burne continually. Against the East end of the stone, there is a little Chappell. Neere the entrance on the right hand, stands the Sepulcher of *Godfrey of Bulleins*: with a Latine Epitaph, thus Englished.

Hic iacet inclitus Godefridus de Buglion
qui totam istam terram acquisiuit cultui
Christiano, cuius anima requiescat in
pace, Amen.

Here lieth the renowned Godfrey of Bulleins, who won all this Land to
the worship of Christ. Rest may his soule in peace, Amen.

On the left hand stands his Brother *Baldwins*, with this inscription.

Rex Balwinus, Iudas altar Machabeus,
Spes Patriæ, vigor Ecclesiæ, virtus vtriusque:
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,
Cedar, Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus:
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

Baldwine the King, another Macabie,
The Churches, Countries, strength, hope, both their glory;
Whom Cedar, Ægypt's Dan, Damascus fraught
With Homicides, both fear'd, and tribute brought;
O griefe! within this little Tombe doth lie.

Legend of Adam.

Chappels of Mount Caluary.

Place of the Passion.

Rocke rent.

Georgians.

Place of anointing.

The first and second Kings of *Ierusalem*. The farre end of this Chappell, called the Chappell of Saint *John*, (and of the Anointing, by reason of the stone which it neighbourereth) is confined with the foote of *Caluarie*, where on the left side of the Altar there is a cleft in the Rocke: in which, they say, that the head of *Adam* was found, as they will haue it, there buried, (others say in *Hebron*) that his bones might bee sprinkled with the reall and precious blood of our Sauour Iesus Christ; which he knew should bee shed in that holy place, by a propheticall fore-knowledge. Ouer this are the Chappels of Mount *Caluarie*: Ascended on the North side thereof by twentie steppes; the highest hewne out of the Rocke, as is a part of the passage, obscure, and extraordinarily narrow. The floore of the first Chappell, is checkered with diuers coloured Marbles, not to bee trod vpon by feete that are shod. At the East end vnder a large arched concave of the Wall, is the place whereon our Sauour did suffer, and may assuredly be thought the same: and if one place bee more holy then another reputed of, in the world the most venerable. Hee is void of fence that sees, beleues, and is not then confounded with his Passions. The Rocke there ariseth halfe a yard higher then the pauement, leuell aboue in forme of an Altar, ten foote long, and sixe foote broad, flagged with white Marble, as is the Arch and Wall that adioyneth. In the midst is the place wherein the Crosse did stand, lined with Siluer, Gilt, and Imbossed. This they creepe to, prostrate themselues thereon, kisse, salute, and such as vse them, sanctifie therein their Beades and Crucifixes. On either side there standeth a Crosse; that on the right side, in the place where the good Theefe was crucified; and that on the left, where the bad, diuided from Christ by the rent of the Rocke, (a figure of his spirituall separation) which cloue asunder in the houre of the Passion. The in-sides doe testifie that Art had no hand therein: each side to other being answerably rugged, and there where vnaccessable to the Worke-man. That before spoken of, in the Chappell below is a part of this, which reacherth (as they say) to the Centre. This place belongeth to the *Georgians*, whose Priests are poore, and accept of Almes. No other Nation say Masse on that Altar: ouer which there hang fortie sixe Lamps, which burne continually. On the selfe-same floore, of the selfe-same forme is that other Chappell, belonging to the *Latines*, diuided onely by a Curtaine, and entered through the former. In the midst of the pauement is a square, inchaced with stones of different colours, where Christ, as they say, was nailed vpon the Crosse. This place is too holy to be trod vpon. They weare the hard stones with their soft knees, and heate them with their feruent kisses; prostrating themselues, and tumbling vp and downe with such an ouer-actiue zeale, that a faire *Greeke* Virgine, ere aware, one morning shewed more then intended, whom the Frier that helpt the Priest to say Masse so tooke at the bound, that it ecchoed againe, and disturbed the mournfull sacrifice with a mirthfull clamor; the poore Maid departed with great indignation. Ouer the Altar which is finely set forth, three and thirtie Lampes are maintined. These two Chappels looking into the Temple, are all that possesse the summit of the Rocke, excepting that of the Immolation of *Isaac* without, and spoken of before, and where they keepe the Altar of *Melchisedech*. Opposite to the doore of the Temple, adioyning to the side of the Channell, are certaine Marble Sepulchers, without Titles or Epitaphs. Some twentie paces directly West from Mount *Caluarie*, and on that side that adioyneth to the Tower, a round white Marble, leuell with the pauement, retaineth the memorie (as they say) of that place, where the blessed Virgine stood, and the Disciple whom Christ loued, when from the Crosse hee commended each to other, ouer which there burneth a Lampe. A little on the right hand of this, and towards the West, you passe betweene certaine pillars into that part of the Church, which is called,

the Temple of the Resurrection, and of the holy Sepulcher. A stately round, cloystered below, and above: and supported with great square pillars, flagged heretofore with white Marble; but now in many places deprived thereof by the sacrilegious Infidels. Much of the neather Cloyster is divided into sundry Chappels belonging vnto severall Nations and Sects, where they exercise the rites of their severall Religions. The first, on the left hand to the *Abissines*; the next to the *Iacobites*; the third, to the *Copties*, (close to which, on the left side of another, there is a Cave hewne out of the Rocke, with a narrow entrance, the Sepulcher of *Ioseph of Aramathia*;) the fourth, to the *Georgians*; and the fifth, to the *Maronites*. The Chappell of the *Armenians* possesseth a great part of the Gallery above, and the rest lying towards the North, belongeth to the

Temple of the Sepulcher.

Chappels of severall Sects.

Pillar whereon Christ was bound

Temple

Chappell of the Angles

The Altar.

Chappell of the Armenians

Chappell of the Apparition

- 10 *Latines*, though not employed to religious vses. Now betweene the top of the vpper Gallerie, and extreme of the vpright Wall, in severall concaues, are Pictures of diuers of the Saints in Mosaicke work, full faced, and vnheightned with shaddowes according to the *Grecian* painting, but much defaced by malice, or continuance. In the midst on the South side, is the Emperour *Constantines*, opposite to his Mothers, the memorable Foundresse. This Round is couered with a Cupolo, sustained with Rafteres of Cedar, all of one piece, open in the midst like the Pantheon at *Rome*, whereat it receiueth the light that it hath, and that as much as sufficeth. Just in the midst, and in the view of heauen, stands the glorified Sepulcher, a hundred and eight feet distant from Mount *Caluarie*; the naturall Rocke surmounting the sole of the Temple, abated by Art, and hewne into the forme of a Chappell, more long then broad, and ending in a Semi-circle, all
- 20 flagged ouer with white Marble. The hinder part being something more eminent then the other, is surrounded with ten small pillars adioyning to the Wall, and sustaining the Cornish. On the top (which is flat) and in the midst thereof a little Cupolo couered with Lead, is erected vpon sixe double, but small *Corinthian* Columnes of polished Porphyre. The other part being lower then this by the height of the Cornish, smooth above, and not so garnished on the sides, seruing as a Lobby or Portico to the former, is entred at the East end, (hauing before the doore a long pauement, erected something above the floore of the Church included betweene two white Marble walls, not past two foot high) consisting of the selfe-same Rocke, doth containe within a Concaue about three yards square, the rooffe hewne compasse, all flagged throughout with white Marble. In the midst of the floore there is a stone about a foot high, and a foot and a halfe
- 30 square; whereon, they say, that the Angell sate, who told the two *Maries* that our Sauior was risen. But Saint *Matthew* saith, he sate vpon the great stone, which he had rolled from the mouth of the Sepulcher; and which, it is said, the Empreffe caused to bee conueyed to the Church of Saint *Sauior*, standing where once stood the Palace of *Caiphas*. Out of this a passage through the midst of the Rocke, exceeding not three feet in height, and two in breadth, hauing a doore of gray stone, with hinges of the same, vndiuided from the naturall, affoordeth a way to creepe through into a second Concaue, about eight foote square, and as much in height, with a compact rooffe of the solid Rocke, but lined for the most part with white Marble. On the North-side a Tombe of the same, which possesseth one halfe of the roome, a yard in height, and made in the forme of an Altar: insomuch, as not aboue three can abide there at once; the place no larger then
- 40 affoordeth a libertie for kneeling. It is said, that long after the Resurrection, the Tombe remained in that forme, wherein it was when our Sauior lay there; when at length, by reason of the deuouter Pilgrimes, who continually bore away little peeces thereof, (Relikes whereunto they attributed miraculous effects) it was inclosed within a Grate of Iron. But a second inconueniency which proceeded from the tapers, haire, & other offerings throwne in by Votaries, which defiled the Monument, procured the pious *Helena* to inclose the same within this Marble Altar, which now belongeth to the *Latines*: whereon they onely say Masse, yet free for other Christians to exercise their priuate deuotions; being well set forth, and hauing on the farre side an Anticke and excellent Picture, demonstrating the Resurrection. Ouer it, perpetually burneth a number of Lamps, which haue filled the rooffe like the in-side of a Chimney, and yeelds vnto the roome an immoderate feruour. Thousands of Christians performe their vowes, and offer their teares here
- 50 yearly, with all the expressions of sorrow, humilitie, affection, and penitence. It is a frozen zeale that will not bee warmed with the sight thereof. And, o that I could retaine the effects that it wrought with an vnfaunting perseuerance! who then did dictate this Hymne to my Redeemer:

Sauior of Mankind, Man, Emmanuel:
Who sin-lesse dyed for sinne, who vanquishd Hell,
The first fruits of the graue. Whose life did giue
Light to our darknesse: in whose death we liue.
O strengthen thou my Faith; correct my will,
That mine may thine obey: protect me still.

So that the latter Death may not deuoure
My Soule seal'd with thy Seale. So in the houre
When thou whose Bodie sanctified this Tombe,
Vniustly indg'd, a glorious Iudge shalt come
To indge the World with Iustice; by that signe
I may be knowne, and entertaind for thine.

- 60 Without, and to the West end of this Chappell, another very small one adioyneth, vsed in common by the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*. Now on the left hand as you passe vnto the Chappell of the Apparition, there are two round stones of white Marble in the floore: that next the Sepulcher couering the place where our Sauior, and the other where *Mary Magdalen* stood (as they

ad 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Pillar whereto
Christ was
bound.

Templers.

Chappell of
the Angels.

Chappell of S.
Helena.

say) when he appeared vnto her. On the North-side, and without the limits of the Temple, stands the Chappell of the Apparition: so called (as they say) for that Christ in that place did shew himselfe to his sorrowfull Mother, and comforted her, pierced with anguish for his cruell death, and ignominious sufferings. This belongeth to the *Latines*, which serueth them also for a Vesterie; from whence they proceed vnto their pompous Processions. On the East-side there stands three Altars, that in the midst in a Closet by it selfe, dedicated to God and our Lady. That on the right hand is called the Altar of the holy Crosse, whereof a great part was there (as they say) reserved.

But when *Sultan Solymán* imprisoned the Friars of Mount *Sion*, (whom hee kept in durance for the space of foure yeares) the *Armenians* stole it from thence, and carryed it to *Sabastia*, 10 their principall Citie. That on the left hand in the corner, and neere vnto the entrance, is called the Altar of the Scourging; behind which there is a piece of a Pillar, of that (as they say) whereunto our Sauour was bound when they scourged him. This stood on Mount *Sion*, and there supported the Portico to a Church in the dayes of Saint *Ierome*; when broken by the *Saracens*, the pieces were recollected, and this part here placed by the Christians. The rest was distributed by *Paul* the Fourth, vnto the Emperour *Ferdinand*, *Philip* King of *Spaine*, and the Signorie of *Venice*; in honour whereof they celebrate the sixt of Aprill. It is (as I remember) about three foot high, of a duskie black-veind Marble, spotted here and there with Red; which they affirme to be the markes of his bloud wherewith it was besprinkled. Before it there is a grate of Iron, insomuch as not to be toucht but by the mediation of a sticke prepared for the purpose; be- 20 ing buttend at the end with Leather, in manner of a Foyle, by which they conuey their kisses, and blesse their lips with the touch of that which hath touched the Rlike. Through the aforelaid Vesterie, a passage leades into certaine Roomes, heretofore a part of the Colledge of the Knight-Templers: by a generall Councell held in *Vienna*, in the yeare 1312. this Order was extinguishd, and their Lands for the most part conferred vpon the Knight-Hospitallers of Saint *Iohns* of *Ierusalem*, of whom wee shall speake when wee come vnto *Malta*. The Temples in *London* belonged vnto them, wherein the Church (built round in imitation of this) diuers of their Statues are to be seene, and the posture vsed in their Burials. Here the *Franciscans* entertayned vs during our abode in the Temple. Returning againe through the Chappell of the Apparition, a little on the left hand there is a concaue in the wall, no bigger then to con- 03 tayne two persons besides the Altar; which is called the Chappell of the Angels: belonging also to the *Latines*, but lent by them to the despised *Nestorians*, during the celebration of Easter. Winding with the wall along the outward North-alley of the Chancell, at the farre end thereof there is a Grot hewne out of the Rocke, where they say, that the *Iewes* imprisoned our Sauour, during the time that they were a prouiding things necessary for his crucifying. This is kept by the *Georgians*; without other ornament then an vngarnished Altar: ouer which hangeth one onely Lampe, which rendreth a dimme light to the Prison. Vntreading a good part of the fore-said Alley, we entred the Ile (there but distinguished by Pillars) which bordes on the North of the Chancell: and turning on the left hand, where it beginnes to compasse with the East end thereof, wee passed by a Chappell contayning an Altar, but of no regard: wherein they 40 say, the Title was preserved, which was hung ouer the head of our Sauour: now shewne at *Rome* in the Church of the holy Crosse of *Ierusalem*. Next to this in the same wall, and midst of the Semi-circle, there is another, the place where they say, the Souldiers cast lots for his garments, of which the *Armenians* haue the custodie. A little beyond you are to descend a paire of large staires of thirtie steps, part of the passage hewne out of the Rocke of *Caluary*, which leadeth into a Lobby, the rooffe supported with foure massie pillars of white Marble, which are euer moist through the darknesse of the place (being vnder ground) and sometimes dropping, are said to weepe for the sorrowfull passion and death of Christ. At the farre end, containing more then halfe of the roome, is the Chappell of Saint *Helena*: hauing two great Altars erected by Chri- 50 stian Princes in her honour. On the South thereof standeth a seate of stone, ouer-looking a paire of staires which descend into the place of the Inuention of the Crosse: where, they say, that she fate whilst the Souldiers remoued the rubbidge that had couered it. These staires (eleuen in number) conduct into an obscure vault, a part of the Valley of *Carcasses*. There threw they our Sauours Crosse, and couered it with the filth of the Citie, when after three hundred yeares, the Empreffe *Helena* traouelling vnto *Ierusalem*, in the extremitie of her age, to behold those places which Christ had sanctified with his corporall presence, threatned torture and death to certaine of the principall *Iewes*, if they would not reueale where their Ancestours had hid it. At last, forsooth, they wrested the truth from an old old *Iew*, one *Indas*, first almost famished, who brought them to this place. Where after he had petitioned Heauen for the disco- 60 uery; the earth trembled, and breathed from her Cranies Aromaticke odours. By which miracle confirmed, the Empreffe caused the rubbidge to be remoued, where they found three crosses, and hard by, the superscription. But when not able to distinguish the right from the other, they say that *Macarius*, then Bishop of *Ierusalem*, repairing together with the Empreffe vnto the house of a noble woman of this Citie, vncurably diseased, did with the touch of the true Crosse

Crosse restore her to health. At sight whereof the Jew became a Christian, and was called there-
vpon *Quiriacus*. Being after Bishop of *Ierusalem*, in the Reigne of *Julian* the Apostata, hee was
crowned with Martyrdome. At which times it was decreed, that no Malefactor should thence-
forth suffer on the Crosse; and that the third of May, should be for euer celebrated in memoriall
of that *Inuention*. In this Vault are two Altars, the one where the Crosse of Christ was found,
and the other where the other. Ascending againe by the aforesaid staire into the Temple, on
the left hand betweene the entrance, and Mount *Caluarie*, there is a little Roome which is cal-
led the Chappell of the *Derision*. Where vnder the Altar is reserued a part (as they say) of that
Pillar to which Christ was bound, when *Pilates* Seruants crowned him with Thornes, clothed
10 in an old Purple Robe, placing a Reed in his hand, in stead of a Scepter, and crying, *Haile King*
of the Iewes: with other opprobrious Taunts, and Reuilings. This is kept by *Abissens*. Now nothing
remayneth to speak of but the Quire, not differing from those in our Cathedrall Churches. The
West end openeth vpon the Sepulcher: the East ending in a semicircle, together with the Iles,
is couered with a high Cupolo: on each side stand opposite doores which open into the North &
South Alleyes; all ioyntly called the Temple of *Golgotha*. A partition at the vpper end excludeth
the halfe round (behind which their high Altar) which riseth in the manner of a loftie Screene,
all richly gilded (as most of the sides of the Chancel) and adorned with the Pictures of the Saints
in Antike habits: flat and full faced, according to the manner of the *Grecians*, to whom this place
is assigned. Towards the West end from each side equally distant there is a little Pit in the Pave-
ment, which (they say) is the *Nauell of the World*, and endeauour to confirme it with that saying
20 of the Scripture, *God wrought his Saluation in the midst of the Earth*: which they fill with holy Wa-
ter. The vniuersall Fabricke, maintayned by the *Greeke* Emperors during their Soueraigntie, and
then by the Christian Kings of *Ierusalem*, hath since bene repayred in the seuerall parts by
their particular Owners. The whole of so strong a constitution, as rather decayed in beautie
then substance.

Inuention of
the Crosse.Nauell of the
World: if you
list to beleue.

Having visited these places (which bestow their seuerall Indulgences, and are honoured with
particular Oraisons) after Euen-song, and Procession, the *Pater-guardian* putting off his Pon-
tificall Habit, clothed in a long Vest of Linnen girt close vnto him, first washed the feet of his
fellow Friers, and then of the Pilgrimes: which dried by others hee kissed, with all outward
shew of humilitie. The next day, being Good-friday, amongst other Solemnities, they carried
30 the Image of Christ on a sheete supported by the foure corners, in Procession, with Banners of
the Passion: first, to the place where he was imprisoned, then in order to the other, performing
at each, their appointed Deuotions. Laying it where they say he was fixed on the Crosse, the
Friar Preacher made ouer it a short and passionate Oration: who acted his part so well, that hee
begot teares in others with his owne; and taught them how to be sorrowfull. At length they
brought it to the place where they say, he was embalmed: where the *Pater-guardian* anoint-
ed the Image with sweet Oyles, and strewed it with Aromaticke Powders, and from thence
conueyed it to the Sepulcher. At night the Lights put out, and company remoued, they whip-
ped themselues in their Chappell of Mount *Caluarie*. On Saturday their other Solemnities per-
40 formed, they carryed the Crosse in Procession, with the Banners of the Buriall, to the afore-said
Chappell: creeping to it, kissing, and lying groueling ouer it. On Easter day they said solempne
seruice before the doore of the Sepulcher. The whole Chappel couered on the out side with cloth
of Tissue, the gift (as appeareth by the Armes embroydered thereon) of the *Florentine*. In this
they shewed the varietie of their Wardrobe, and concluded with a Triumphant Procession,
bearing about the Banners of the Resurrection. Those Ceremonies that are not locall, I willing-
ly omit. At noone wee departed to the Monasterie, hauing laine on the hard stones for three
nights together, and fared as hardly.

Washing of
feet.Good-friday
Ceremonies
with an Image.

The other Christians (excepting such as inhabit within, of each sort a few, and that of the
Clergie) entred not vntill Good-friday. Viz. *Grecians*, *Armenians*, *Copties*, *Abissines*, *Iaco-*
50 *bites*, *Georgians*, *Maronites*, and *Nestorians*.

Of these reade
before *Vitria-*
cus, sup. c. 6. §. 5.

The *Abissens* on the Passion weeke forbore to say Masse, putting on mournfull Garments,
and countenances sutable. They vse no Extreme vnction, but carrie the dead to the Graue,
with the Crosse, the Censer, and holy Water, and say Seruice ouer them. To conclude, they
ioyne with the *Copties* for the most part in substance of Religion, and in Ceremony; one Priest
here seruing both: an *Ethiopian*, poore, and accompanied with few of his Nation; who fan-
tastically clad, doth dance in their Processions with a skipping motion, and distortion of his bo-
die, not vnlike to our Antickes. To which their Musicke is answerable; the Instruments no o-
ther then Snappers, Gingles, and round-bottomed Drummes, borne vpon the backe of one, and
beaten vpon by the followers.

60 The *Iacobites* had two Patriarkes; one resident in the Mountaine *Tur*, the other in the Mo-
nasterie of *Gifran*, neere vnto the Citie of *Mordin*, seated (they say) on so high a Mountayne
that no Bird flyeth ouer it. But now they haue but one Patriarke, and that hee of *Gifran*; al-
wayes a Monke of the Order of Saint *Anthony*, and named *Ignatius*; stiling himselfe the Pa-
triarke of *Antioch*; who for the more conueniencie is remoued to *Carmis*. They haue a Bishop
still residing in *Ierusalem*, of which the Patriarke is also a *Iacobite*. The

The *Georgians* differ not much from the *Grecians* in their opinions: not called (as some write) of Saint *George* their selected Patrone, but of their Countrey, so named long before the time wherein hee is supposed to haue liued; lying betweene *Colchos*, *Caucasus*, the *Caspian Sea*, and *Armedia*; heretofore *Iberia*, and *Albania*. A warlike people, infested on both sides with the *Turkish* and *Persian* Insolencies. They haue a Metropolitan of their owne; some say, the same that is resident in Mount *Sina*. They say, that they marrie within prohibited degrees, they are diuided into eighteene Bishopricks; and are not here to be distinguished from the *Sorians*, nor they from them, being almost of one Religion: and called *Melchites*, heretofore of their Adversaries, which signifieth a King in the *Syrian* Tongue; for that they would not embrace the Heresies of *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus*, but obeyed the Edict of the Emperour, and Councell of *Chalcedon*. Their Patriarke is the true Patriarke of *Antioch*, who abides in *Damasco*, for that *Antioch* lyes now wel-nigh desolate. Their Bishop is here poore, so are his ornaments; in their Processions, for State, or in regard of his age, supported on both sides. Their Musicklese Instruments are Fannes of Brasse, hung about with Rings, which they gingle in stops according to their marchings.

* See of them,
sup.c.6.S.5.
long since
wonne by Ai-
metike.

Fire from Hea-
uen See before
in Fulcherius,
sup.c.2.

The *Maronites* are Christians inhabiting Mount *Lybanus*, so called of *Marona*, a Village adioyning, or of *Maro* their Abbot. They vse the *Chaldean* Tongue, and *Syrian* Character in holy matters. A limme they weare of the *Iacobites*, and once subiect to the Patriarke of *Antioch*: but wonne to the Papacie * by *Iob. Baptista* a Iesuite, in the dayes of *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, who sent them a Catechisme printed at *Rome* in the *Arabian* Language: so that now they doe ioyne with the *Latines*. An ignorant people, easily drawne to any Religion, that could not giue a reason for their owne: poore in substance, and few in number.

But the *Greekes* doe here surpasse all the rest in multitude; and the *Armenians* in brauerie, who in stead of Musicall Instruments, haue Sawcers of Brasse (which they strike against one another) set about with gingles. All differ in habit, and most in Rites; yet all conioyne (the *Latines* excepted) in celebration of that Impostury of fetching fire from the Sepulcher vpon Easter Eue. The *Turkes* deride, yet throng to behold it: the Galleries of the round Temple beeing pestered with Spectators. All the Lampes within the Church are at that time extinguished; when they often compassing the Sepulcher in a ioynt Procession, are fore-runne and followed by the people with Saunge clamours (the women whistling) and frantiecke behauiours, besitting better the solemnities of *Bacchus*; extending their bare armes with vnlighted Tapers. At length the chiefe Bishops approach the doore of the Sepulcher; but the *Ethiopian* Priest first enters (without whom, they say, the Miracle will not fadge) who after a long stay (meane-while the people hurrying about like mad-men) returnes with the sacred flame, supposed at his Prayers to burst out of the Sepulcher; whereat confusedly they fire their Lights: and snatching them one from another, strue who should first conuey it to their particular Chappels; thrusting the flame amongst their clothes, and into their bosomes, (but swiftly with-drawing it) perswading strangers that it will not burne them: kindling therewith all their Lampes, vnlighted with other fire vntill that day twelue-moneth.

Nestorians.

But I had almost forgot the *Nestorians*, so called of *Nestorius*, by birth a *Germane*, who lived in the dayes of *Theodosius*, and by him made Bishop of *Constantinople*. Theie hated of the rest, in an obscure corner, without Ceremonies or Pontificall habit, full of seeming Zeale and Humility, doe reade the Scriptures, and in both kinds administer the Sacrament, denying the Reall Presence: the Priest (not distinguished from the rest in habit) breaking the bread, and laying it in the palme of the Communicants hand; they sipping of the Cup, which is held betweene his. They kisse the Crosse, but pray not before it, nor reuerence they Images. They will not haue *Marie* to be called the Mother of God. Their chiefe Heresie is, that they diuide the Diuinitie of Christ from his Humanitie. Their Doctrin dispersed throughout all the East, by meanes of *Cosro* the *Persian* King, who enforced all the Christians within his Dominion (out of a mortall hatred that he bare to the Emperour *Heraclius*) eyther to forsake his Empire, or to become *Nestorians*; as through a great part of *Cataia*. It is now embraced, but by few; most of that Sect inhabiting about *Babylon*. Their Patriarkall seate is *Muzal* in *Mesopotamia*, seated on the banks of *Tygris*: their Patriarke not elected, but the dignitie descending from the Father to the Sonne. For Marriage is generally allowed in their Clergie; and when Widdowers, to marry againe at their pleasure. They haue the Scriptures, and execute the Ministerie in the *Chaldean* Tongue. They allow not of the Councell of *Ephesus*, nor any that succeeded it. All this while there were no lesse then a thousand Christians, men, women and children, who fed and lodged vpon the pauement of the Temple. On Easter day about one of the clocke in the morning, the Nations and Sects aboue mentioned, with ioyfull clamours, according to their seuerall customes, circled the Church, and visited the holy places in a solemne Procession; and so for that time concluding their Ceremonies, departed.

Easter Solemnitie.

§. V.

Visiting of Emaus and Bethlehem, and other places: Also other obseruations
of the Hierosolymitan Holies.

Pon Easter Munday wee hired certaine Asses to ride to *Emaus*, accompanied with a Guard, and certaine of the Friers. About the mid-way, at the foot of a hill, there are the ruines of a Monasterie, built by Saint *Helena*: they say, in that place where *Iesus* appeared to the two Disciples. Here the *Latines* performed certaine deuotions, and tooke of the stones (as generally they did from all such like places) preserued as precious. *Emaus* stands seuen miles off, and West of *Ierusalem*. The way thither mountainous, and in many places as if paved with a continuall rocke; yet where there is earth, sufficiently fruitfull. It was seated (for now it is not) vpon the South side of a hill, ouer-looking a little valley, fruitfull in Fountaines. Honoured with the presence of our Sauour, who there was knowne by the breaking of bread in the house of *Cleophas* his Cousin-german, and afterward the second Bishop of *Ierusalem*. In the selfe-same place a Temple was erected by *Paula* (a Roman Ladie, of whom we shall speake hereafter) whose ruines are yet extant, neere the top of the Mountaine; vnto which the *Arabians* would not suffer vs to ascend, who inhabite below in a few poore Cottages, vntill we had payed *Caphar* they demanded. This Citie was burnt in the *Iewish* warres, by the commandement of *Varus*; and vpon the destruction of *Ierusalem*, re-edified by the *Romanes*; who in regard of their victorie, called it *Nicopolis*. In the yeere 131. throwne downe by an earth-quake, it was fourescore and twelue yeeres after restored by the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*; and afterward dignified during the gouernment of the Christians with an Episcopall Sea, being vnder the Metropolitan of *Casarea*. *Nicephorus*, and the *Tripartite* historie report of a miraculous Fountaine by the high-way side, where *Christ* would haue departed from the two Disciples: who when he was conuersant vpon earth, and wearied with a longer iourney, there washed his feet; from thenceforth retayning a curable vertue against all diseases. But relations of that kind, haue credite onely in places farre distant. In our returne, wee inclined a little to the left hand, and after a while ascended the top of a Mountaine, (whose Westerne valley was the field, they say, of that battell, when the Sunne and Moone stood still at the commandement of *Iosua*.) Out of the ruines of an ancient building, a small Mosque is aduanced; where they hold that the Prophet *Samuel* was buried, who had his Sepulchre in *Rama* on Mount *Ephraim*; though diuers other Townes so seated, are so called, which signifieth *High* in their Language. But our guides were well practised in that precept:

Of Streames, Kings, Fashions, Kingdomes askt, there shewne;

Answer to all: th'unknowne relate as knowne.

Atque aliqua ex illis dum regum nomina quærun
Quæ loca, qui mores, quæue feruntur aquæ:
Omnia responde; nec tantum si qua rogabit,
Et quæ nesciris, vt bene nota refer. *Ouid.*

who endeauour to bring all remarkable places within the compasse of their processions. The *Mahometans* either deceived with this tradition, or maintayning the report of their profite, would not suffer vs to enter but at an excessiue rate; which wee refused to part with. The next Mountaine vnto this, doth weare on his Crowne, the ruines of a Castle that belonged to the *Machabees*. Another more humble, and neerer the Citie, presenteth a pile of stones, square, flat, and solid: the Sepulchre, they say, of the seuen brethren who were tortured to death by *Antiochus*, whom I rather iudge to haue beene buried at *Moden*, the ancient seat of that Familie; which stands on the vttermost confines of the Mountaines of *Iudea*, where were to be seene seuen Sepulchres of white marble, each bearing a Pyramis on his square; said by *Iosephus* to haue serued in his time for Sea-markes. From hence we approached the North-west side of the Citie, where in the Vineyards are sundry places of buriall hewen out of the maine rocke; amongst the rest, one called the Sepulchre of the Prophets. The first entrance large, and like the mantle-tree of a chimney, cut curiously on the out-side: through which we crept into a little square roome, (euery one carrying a light in his hand) the sides cut full of holes (in manner of a Dove-house;) two yards deepe, and three quarters square. Out of that roome wee descended by two streight passages into two other roomes, likewise vnder ground: yet more spacious, and of better workmanship, but so rounded with the Sepulchres as the former; neighboured with a Vault, which serues for a Cisterne, and filled with a liuing Fountaine. A little beyond, vpon the West side of a large square Court, hewen into the rocke some three fathoms deepe, and entered vnder an arch of the same, there is another mansion for the dead, hauing a porch like to that of the Prophets: and garnisht without (amongst other figures) with two great clusters of Grapes, in memoriall of those, as they say, which were brought by the spies into the host of the *Hebrewes*. On the left hand you creepe through a difficult descent, which leadeth into faire roomes vnder the ground, and one within another, benched about with coffins of stone bereaft of their couers, there being some bones yet remayning in some of them. This is famed to bee the

Sepulchres.

the household Monument of certaine of the Kings of *Juda*. In which there is nothing more admirable, then is the artificiall contriuing of the doores, the hinges and all, of the selfe-same stone, vnseperated from the rocke without other suppliment. Hitherto (if not further) by all likelihood the old Citie extended. From hence we returned to the Couent.

Bethshebas Bath.

Turpentine tree.

Simeons house.

Starre of the wise-men.
Abacuck.

Elias.

Jacob.

Rachels Sepulchre.

Dead Sea.

Davids Cisternes.

Bethlehem.

Adonis.

Saint Maries.

The day following wee rode towards *Bethlehem*, which stands about fixe miles South from *Ierusalem*. Going out from the gate of *Ioppa*, and turning on the left hand by the foot of Mount *Sion*. Aloft on whose vttermost angle stood the Tower of *David*, (whose ruines are yet extant) of a wonderfull strength, and admirable beautie, adorned with shields, and the armes of the mightie. Below on the right hand of the way in our passage, they shewed vs a Fountaine at the Southside of a square *Serraglio*; deliuered to be that wherein *Bethsheba* bathed. North of 10 which, the valley is crossed with a ruinous Aquaduct, which conueyed water vnto the Temple of *Salomon*. Ascending the opposite Mountaine, we passed through a Countrey, hilly and stony: yet not vtterly forsaken of the Vine, though onely planted by Christians, in many places producing Corne, here shadowed with the fig-tree, and there with the Oliue. Sundry small Turrets disperfed about, which serue for solace as well as for safe-guard. Some two miles from the Citie, on the left hand, and by the high-way side, there groweth a Turpentine-tree yet flourishing, which is said to haue afforded a shelter to the Virgin *Marie*, as shee passed betweene *Bethlehem* and *Ierusalem*. This tradition how euer absurd, is generally beleeued by those Christians: a place of high repute in their deuotions. Towards the West about two miles off, on a little hill stands an ancient Tower: which is said, to haue beene the habitation of *Simeon*. A mile 20 beyond the foresaid Tree, in the midst of the way there is a Cisterne, vast within, and square at the mouth; which is called the Cisterne of the Starre. For that (as they say) the wise-men of the East, there first againe did see that conducting Starre, which went before them to the place of our Sauours natiuitie. A little on the right hand there are the small remaynes of an ancient Monasterie, built, they affirme, in that place where the Angell tooke vp *Abacuck*, by the haire of the head, and conueyed him to *Babylon*. Halfe a mile further, on the left side of the way, there is another Religious house, but in good repaire, in forme of a Fortresse, and enuironed with high walls, to withstand the insolencies of the Infidels; possessed by the *Greeke Coloieros*, and dedicated to *Elias*. Hard by there is a flat rocke, whereon they told vs that the Prophet accustomed to sleepe; and that it beares as yet the impressiō of his bodie. Indeed there are certaine 30 hollowes in the same, but not by my eyes apprehended to retayne any manly proportion. As farre beyond are the decayes of a Church, which stood (as they say) in the place where the Patriarch *Jacob* inhabited. About a mile further West of the way, and a little off, stands the Sepulchre of *Rachel*, (by the Scripture affirmed to haue beene buried here about) if the entirenesse thereof doe not confute the imputed antiquitie: yet kept perhaps in repaire by her offspring, as a Monument of venerable memorie. The Tombe it selfe resembleth a great Trunke, couered with a Cupolo mounted on a square, which hath on each side an ample arch sustayned onely by the corners. This is enuironed with a foure-square wall; within which stand two other, little, but of the same proportion; kept, and vsed for a place of prayer by the *Mahometans*. Below it on the side of a Mountaine stands the ruines of that *Rama*, whereof the 40 Prophet: *A voyce was heard in Rama, Rachel weeping for her children, &c.* From this ridge of the hills, the Dead Sea doth appeare as if neere at hand: but not so found by the traeller, for that those high declining Mountaines are not to be directly descended. Within halfe a mile of *Bethlehem*, separated from the same by a valley, and a little on the left hand of the way, are the Cisternes of *David*, whereof he so much desired to drinke, and when they brought him of the water, refused it: a large deepe Vault, now out of vse, hauing onely two small tunnels at the top, by which they draw vp the water.

And now wee are come to *Bethlehem*, where in a Grot at the East side of the Citie, employed for a Stable (the Inne being pestred with strangers) the Virgin fell in trauell, and produced vnto the world a Sauour. In this Caue from the time of *Adrian*, vnto the raigne of *Constantine*, 50 they celebrated the impious lamentation of *Adonis* (much honoured by the *Syrians*) who aboue had his Statue shadowed with a groue of Myrtles: which the vertuous *Helena* subuerted, and erected thereupon this goodly Temple yet entire, and possesed by the *Franciscans* of *Ierusalem*, of whom some few are here continually resident; called *Saint Maries* of *Bethlehem*: in forme representing a Crosse, the stalke whereof compriseth the bodie; entred at the lower end through a Portico sustayned with sixteene Pillars. The rooffe, in the midst, is lofty, flat, and (if I forget not) of Cedar: the Sides, of the same fabricke, but much more humble, are vpheld with foure rankes of Pillars (ten in a row) each of one entire marble, white, and in many places beautifully speckled; the largest, and fairest that euer I saw, whose vpper ends doe declare that they haue in part beene exquisitely gilded: The walls are flagged with large tables of white 60 marble, wel-nigh to the top; the rest adorned with *Mosaique* painting, although now greatly defaced. It is both here reported, and recorded by historie, that a *Sultan* of *Egypt* allured with their beautie, set certaine *Masons* aworke, to take downe those Tables, with intent to haue transported them vnto his Castle of *Cairo*; when a dreadfull serpent issued out of the wall, and brake

brake in pieces such as were removed : so that terried therewith, he desisted from his enterprife. The three vpper ends of the Crosse, doe end in three Semi-circles, hauing in each an Altar. In the midst the Chancell, roofed with a stately Cupolo, couered without with Lead, and garnished within with Mosaique figures.

This Church is left for the most part desolate, the Altars naked, no Lamps maintained, no Monasterie of Service celebrated, except at times extraordinary : yet are there a few poore *Greekes* and *Armenians*, who inhabite within on the right hand of the entrance, and in the opposite corners. Adioyning on the left hand, stands the Monastery of the *Franciscans*, entred through the Church, sufficiently spacious, but of no commendable building ; accommodated with diuers Gardens, and enuironed with defencible walls ; at whose North-west corner a tottered Tower doth challenge regard for the waste receiued in that places protection. They brought vs into their Chappell, not slightly set forth, and dedicated to Saint *Katherine*, hauing Indulgences conferred thereupon from Mount *Sina*. From which wee descended with Lights in our hands, and then were led by a narrow long entry into a little square Caue, supported in the midst with a Pillar of the *Rocke*. On the left hand, an Altar, and vnder that a passage into a Vault ; wherein, they say, that the *Infants* slaine, by the bloody Edict of *Herod*, were buried. Out of this Caue or Chappell, there are two other entries : in that on the right hand, stands the Sepulcher of *Eusebius* the Confessor, and Disciple vnto Saint *Ierome* : this directeth into another Grot, wherein are two Tombes, in forme not vnlike vnto Altars : the farther contained the body of *Paula* a *Romane* Ladie, descended of the ancient families of the *Gracchi* and *Cornelij*. She built foure Monasteries neare adioyning to this Temple, (whose ruines do yet giue testimony of her pietie,) one she planted with men ; the three other with Virgins, who neuer past the bounds of their Couents but on Sundayes onely, (and then attending on their seuerall Gouverneses) to performe the Orasons in the Church, and Caue of the Natiuitie : her selfe the Abbesse of one of them, and so for the space of twentie yeares did continue. She likewise built an adioyning Hospitall for Pilgrims, whose ruines declare it to haue beene no meane Fabricke. The other Tombe did couer the body of Saint *Ierome*, who lived in her time, and in the Monasterie which shee had founded : his bones, together with the bones of *Eusebius*, were translated to *Rome*, and shrined in the Church of *Santa Maria Maggiore* ; ouer which, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* hath erected a sumptuous Chappell. Out of this we past into another Grot, which they call his Cell ; wherein hee lay (as they say) full fiftie yeares and sixe moneths, and there twice translated the Bible. Returning into the aforeseid Chappell of the *Innocents*, by the other entry we passed into a Vault or Chappell, twelue foote wide, fortie long, and fiftene in height : the sides and floore all lined with faire white Marble : the compassed rooffe adorned with Mosse-worke, and Mosaique Gilding, though now much perished. At the vpper end, in an arched Concaue, stands an Altar garnished with a Table of the Natiuitie. Vnder this a Semi-circle ; the sole set forth with stones of seuerall colours, in the forme of a Starre : and in the midst a Serpentine, there set to vphold the memory of that place where our Sauour was borne : the credite whereof I will neither impeach, nor inforce. In this Citie it was, and in a stable ; nor is the report by the site refuted, though vnder ground, hewne out of the liuing *Rocke*, as is the rest before spoken of. For he that trauels through these Countries, will not wonder to see such Caues employed to like vses. Neither is it likely, that they that succeeded those times so neerely, should erre in the place so celebrated in their deuotions, and beautified with such cost. On either side of this Altar in the Corners, there are two equall ascents, which Land on the opposite out-sides of the Chancell, closed with doores of Brasse cut through, through which they passe in their solemne Procession. Now on the South side, and neere vnto the foote of the staires, you descend by three steps into a lesser Grot : separated onely from the former, by three fine Columnnes of discoloured Marble, which seeme to support the ouer-hanging *Rocke*. On the West side there is a Manger hewne out in a Concaue, about two foote high from the floore, and a little way hallowed within : wherein, they say, that our New-borne Sauour was laid by the Virgine ; now flagged about with white Marble, as the *Rocke* that roofes it ; at the left end sustained with a short Serpentine. In the bottome of this Manger, and iust in the middle, a round Serpentine is set, to denote the place where he lay, which retaineth, as they would make vs beleue, the effigies of Saint *Ierome*, miraculous framed by the naturall veines of the stone, in reward of his often and affectionate kisses. But surely, they bee the eyes of Faith that must apprehend it : yet present they it in Picture. On the opposite side of this Grot, there is a Bench in the *Rocke*, not vnlike to an Altar : where the *Magi* of the East, that were conducted hither by the Starre, disposed, (as they say) of their Presents.

These places be in the keeping of the *Franciscans*, and not lesse reuerenced then *Caluarie*, or the Sepulcher, visited also by the *Mahometan* Pilgrimes. Where Lamps still burning do expell the naturall darknesse ; and giue a greater State thereunto ; then the light of the day could afford it. *Baldwine* the second did honor this place with an Episcopall See (being before but a Priorie) adioyning thereunto, together with the Church of *Ascalon*, many Townes and Villages. In the place where this Citie stood, there are now but a few poore Cottages standing. Most of

Monasterie of
Franciscans.

Innocents Se-
pulcher.

Paulas Sepul-
cher.
Much diffe-
rence was be-
twixt the anci-
ent and later
Monasteries
and Monkes.
Thoseliker our
Vniuersities,
free from vow,
and fitted with
arts and sancti-
tie, as Semina-
ries of the
Church : The
Nuns and Pil-
grimes also
much differed
from the later
more degene-
rate. S. *Ierome*
himselfe, this
Noble *Paula*
and her daughte
ter *Eustochium*
are witnesses
hereof.
Place of the
Natiuitie.

Saint *Ieromes*
natural Image
Magi.

of the few Inhabitants *Greekes* and *Armenians*, who get a beggerly liuing by selling vnto strangers the Models of the Sepulcher, and of the Grot of the Natiuitie; cut in wood, or cast in stone, with Crosses, and such like Merchandizes, and in being seruiceable vnto Pilgrims.

Jacobs filde.

Angels apparition to the Shepheards.

Our Ladies Well.

After dinner we descended a foote into the Valley which lyeth East of the Citie, fruitfull in pasturage; where *Iacob* fed his flocke (at this day called his field) neere the Tower of *Adar*; but more famous for the Apparition of the Angels, who there brought to the Shepheards the glad-tidings of our Saluation. In the midst of the field, on the selfe-same place, as is supposed, and two miles distant from *Bethlehem*, *Saint Helena* erected a Church, and dedicated it to the Angels; now nothing but ruines. Returning from thence, and turning a little on the left hand, we came to the Village where those Shepheards dwelt, as yet so called: in the midst whereof there standeth a Well; the same, as the rumor goeth, that the blessed Virgine desired to drinke of, when the churlish Villagers refusing to draw her vp water, it forth-with miraculously flowed to the brim; greedy to passe through her blessed lips, and satisfie her longing. Of this the *Arabs* would not suffer vs to drinke before we had giuen them Money. Neerer to *Bethlehem*, and at the foote of the hill, are the ruines of a Chappell, where *Ioseph* (as they say) had his dwelling, at such time as the Angell commanded him to flie into *Egypt*. Neere the top, and not farre from the backe of the Monasterie, there is a Caue containing two roomes, one within, another descended into by a narrow entrance, and in some places supported by Pillars. In this it is said, that *Ioseph* hid our Saviour and his Mother, whilst he prepared things necessarie for his iourney. The stone thereof puluerated, and often washed, of much a little will remaine, and not vnlike to refined Chalke; which taken in drinke, is said to haue a Soueraigne vertue, in restoring Milke both to Women and Cattell, much vsed by the *Moores*, themselves for that purpose. Ouer which stood one of the Nunneries built by *Paula*, now onely shewing the foundation, and wherein she dyed. These places seene, we re-entred the Monasterie, and there reposed our selues the night following.

Each of vs bestowing a piece of Gold on the Vicar, betimes in the morning we departed, bending our course to the Mountaines of *Judea*, lying West from *Bethlehem*: neere to which, on the side of the opposite hill, we past by a little Village, called (as I take it) *Bexec*; inhabited onely by Christians: mortall (as they say) to the *Mahometans*, that attempted to dwell therein. About two miles further we passed by *Bethsur*, seated in a bottome betweene two rocky Mountaines,

once a strong Fort: first built by *Rhoboam*, and after repaired by the *Machabees*: famous for sundry sieges; being in the vpper way betweene *Ierusalem* and *Gaza*, where wee saw the ruines of an ample Church; below that, a Fountaine not vnbeholding by Art, whose pleasant Waters are forth-with drunke vp by the earth that produced them. Heere, they say, that *Philip* baptized the Eunuch; whereupon it retaineth the name of the *Ethiopian* Fountaine. And no question, but the adioyning Temple was erected out of deuotion to the honour of the place, and memorie of the fact. Yet seemeth it strange vnto me, that a Chariot should be able to passe those rocky and declining Mountaines, where almost a Horse can hardly keepe footing. Having trauelled about a mile and a halfe further, we came to the Caue where *Iohn* the Baptist is said to haue liued from the age of seuen, vntill such time as hee went vnto the Wildernesse by *Jordan*, sequestred

from the abode of men, and feeding on such wilde nourishment as these vninhabited places afforded. This Caue is seated on the Northerne side of a desert Mountaine (onely beholding to the Locust tree) hewne out of the precipitating Rocke, so as difficultie to be ascended or descended to: entred at the East corner, and receiuing light from a window in the side. At the vpper end there is a Bench of the selfe-same Rocke, whereon (as they say) he accustomed to sleepe; of which, who so breakes a piece off, stands forth-with excommunicate. Ouer this, on a little flat, stands the ruines of a Monasterie, on the South side naturally walled with the steepe of the Mountaine: from whence there gusheth a liuing Spring, which entreth the Rocke, and againe bursteth forth beneath the mouth of the Caue; A place that would make solitarinesse delightful, and stand in comparison with the turbulent pompe of Cities. This ouer-looketh a profound Valley, on the far side hem'd with aspiring Mountaines; whereof some are cut (or naturally so) in degrees like Allies, which would bee else vnaccessably fruitlesse, whose leuels yet beare the stumps of decayed Vines, shadowed not rarely with Oliues and Locusts. And surely I thinke, that all, or most of those Mountaines haue beene so husbanded, else could this little Countrey haue neuer sustained such a multitude of people. After wee had fed of such prouision as was brought vs from the Citie, by other of the Fraternitie that there met vs, wee returned towards *Ierusalem*, leauing the way of *Bethlehem* on the right hand, and that of *Emas* on the left. The first place of note that wee met with, was there where once stood the dwelling of *Zacharie*, seated on the side of a fruitfull hill, well stored with Oliues and Vineyards. Hither came the blessed Virgine to visite her Cousin *Elizabeth*. Here died *Elizabeth*, and here in a Grot on the side of a Vault or Chappell, lies buried: ouer which a goodly Church was erected, together with a Monasterie; whereof now little standeth but a part of the Wals, which offer to the view some fragments of painting, which shew that the rest haue beene exquisite. Beyond, and lower is our Ladies Fountaine, (so called of the Inhabitants) which maintaineth a little current through the

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the neighbouring valley. Neere this, in the bottome, and vttermoſt extent thereof, there ſtandeth a Temple, once ſumptuous, now deſolate; built by *Helena*, and dedicated to Saint *Iohn Baptist*, in the place where *Zacharie* had another houſe where the Prophet was borne, in a roome hewen out of the rocke; of principall deuotion with thoſe Chriſtians: poſſeſt, as the reſt, by the beaſtly *Arabians*, who deſile it with their Cattell, and employ it to the baſeſt of uſes. Tranſcending the leſſe ſteepe hills, and paſſing through valleyes of their Roſes voluntarily plenti- full; after a while wee came to a Monaſterie ſeated in a ſtreight betweene two rockie Moun- taines, enuironed with high walls, and entred by a doore of Iron; where a Biſhop of the *Geor- gians* hath his reſidence, who curteouſly entertayned vs. Within they haue a handſome Chap- pell, at the vpper end an Altar, and vnder that a pit, in which they ſay that the Palme did grow (but rather, if any, the Oliue, whereof that place hath ſtore) of which a part of the Croſſe) was made: for it was framed (as they report) of foure ſeueral woods; the foot of Ce- dar, the bole of Cypreſſe, the tranſome of Palme, and the title of Oliue. This is called there- vpon the Monaſterie of the holy Croſſe. Where in ſtead of Bells they ſtrike on a hollow beame (as the *Grecians* doe in the Temple of *Golgotha*) to ſummon their aſſemblies. Betweene this and *Ieruſalem*, we ſaw nothing worth noting, that hath not bene ſpoken of already.

Rose valleyes.

Monaſterie of the holy Croſſe.

Chappell vn- lucky to *Mahometans*.

Laſt Supper.

Davids Se- pulchre. Engliſhmen murdered by Friers.

Palace of Caiphas.

Peters Deniall.

Graue-ſtone.

Gehinnon.

Aceldama.

The day following, wee went to reuiue the remarkable places about the Citie. Paſſing by the Caſtle of the *Piſans*, on the left hand entring at a little ſquare paſſage, wee were ſhewed a ſmall Chappell, the doore and windowes rammed vp; for that (as they ſay) the *Mahometans* became mortally ſicke, that, though but by chance did come into it, ſtanding where ſtood the Temple of Saint *Thomas*. From hence wee were brought to the Palace of *Annas*, deſtroyed by the Seditious in the time of the ſiege, where now ſtandeth a Church dedicated to the bleſſed Angels, and belonging to the *Armenians*, who haue their dwellings about it. Within the Court there is an old Oliue tree, enuironed with a low wall; vnto which, it is ſaid, that they bound our Sauour. Turning on the right hand, wee went out at a Port of *Sion*. South and not farre from thence, on the miſt of the mount is the place, as they ſay, where Chriſt did eate his laſt Supper; where alſo after his reſurrection, the doores being ſhut, hee appeared to his Apoſtles; where they receiued the holy Ghoſt; where *Peter* conuerted three thouſand; and where, as they ſay alſo, they held the firſt Councel, in which the Apoſtles Creed was decreed. Here *Helena* built a moſt ſumptuous Temple including therein a *Canaculum*, where that marble Pillar was preſerued that ſtood before in the Palace of *Pilate*, to which they tyed our Sauour when they whipped him. This Church ſubuerted by the *Saracens*, in the ſelfe ſame place the *Franciſcans* had a Monaſterie erected, who in the yeere 1561. were remoued by the *Turkes*: they building here a Moſque of their owne, into which no Chriſtian is permitted to enter. Yet not in the reſpects aforeſaid, ſo reuerenced by the Infidels, but in that it is deliuered by tradition (and not vnlikely) that *David* had there his Sepulchre. Betweene this, and the walls of the Citie, the *Franches* haue their buriall, where lie fixe Engliſh-men, ſent (as may bee ſuſpected) vnto their long-homes not many yeeres ſince, though coloured by the *Franciſcans*, in whoſe Monaſterie they lay, with pretence of Diuine vengeance for the ſuppoſed murder of their *Drogaman*. Se- uen they were in all, all aliue and well in one day, fixe dead in the other; the out-liuer becom- ing a conuert to their Religion. Turning a little on the left hand, we came to a ſmall Church, incloſed within a ſquare wall, arched within, with a walke on the top in manner of a Caue; the habitation of the *Armenians*, who haue of this Church the cuſtodie. Heere flouriſhed the proud Palace of *Caiphas*, in which our Sauour was buffeted, ſpit vpon, and ſo ſpitefully reuiled. Here *Helena* built a faire Church to Saint *Peter*; but that deſtroyed, in the roome thereof this leſſe was erected, and dedicated to Saint *Sauour*. On the right hand in the Court, they vn- dertake to ſhew where the fire was made, by which *Peter* ſtood when he denied his Maſter: and at the ſide of the Church doore, the chapter of a Pillar, whereon the Cocke crowing did moue him to contrition. At the vpper end of the Church, vpon a large Altar lieth a Stone, that (as they ſay) which was rolled againſt the mouth of the Sepulchre.

From hence we deſcended into the valley of *Gehinnon*, which diuideth Mount *Sion* from the Mountaine of *Offence*, ſo called for that *Salomon* by the perſwaſion of his wiues there ſacrificed to *Chamock* and *Molech*; but now by theſe Chriſtians called the Mountaine of *Ill counſell*, where they ſay, the Pharifees tooke counſell againſt *Ieſus*; whoſe height yet ſhewes the reliques of no meane buildings. This valley is but ſtreight, now ſeruing for little uſe; heretofore moſt delight- full, planted with Groues and watered with Fountaines; wherein the *Hebrews* ſacrificed their children to *Molech*. On the South ſide of this valley, neere where it meeteth with the valley of *Iehofaphat*, mounted a good height, on the ſide of the Mountaine is *Aceldama*, or the field of bloud; purchaſed with the reſtored reward of Treason, for a buriall place for ſtrangers. In the miſt whereof a large ſquare roome was made by the mother of *Conſtantine*: the South ſide wal- led with the naturall rocke; flat at the top, and equall with the vpper leuell. Out of which ari- ſeth certaine ſmall Cupolos open in the miſt to let downe the dead bodies. Through which we might ſee the bottome all couered with bones; and certaine Corſes but newly let downe: it being now the Sepulchre of the *Armenians*. A greedy Graue; and great enough to deuoure

Flesh deuouring Earth.

Caue.

Valley of Iehosaphat.

Cedron.

Esay sawne.

Siloe.

Zacharies Sepulcher.

Absolons Pillar.

Stone throwing.

Gethsemani.

the dead of a whole Nation. For they say, (and I beleue it) that the Earth thereof within the space of eight and fortie houres, will consume the flesh that is laid thereon. The like is said of Saint *Innocents* Church-yard in *Paris*: and he that sees the multitude of bones, that are there piled about it, the daily burials (it being a generall Receptacle for strangers) and smalnesse of the circuit, may be easily induced to credit. And why might not the Earth be transported from hence, as well as that at *Rome* in *Campo Sancto*, brought thither in two hundred and seuentie ships by the commandement of the aforesaid Empresse: which though changing soyles retayneth her vertue: it being also a place of buriall for Forreiners. In the Rocke about there are diuers Sepulchers, and some in vie at this day: hauing great stones rolled against their mouthes according to the ancient custome. Beyond on the point of the Hill, a Caue hewne out of the 10 Rocke, consisting of seuerall Roomes, is said to haue hidden sixe of the Apostles in the time of Christs Passion: first made without doubt for a Sepulcher; and after seruing for an Hermitage: the Roofe of the larger Roome retayning some shew of gilding. Below, where the Valley of *Gehinnon* and *Iehosaphat*, like two conioyning streames doe trent to the South, there is a dry Pit; where the Priests are said to haue hid the sacred fire when the *Iewes* were carried captiue into *Babylon*: and seeking it after their returne did find it conuerted into water. But *Nehemiah* caused it to be sprinkled on the Altar: when forth-with with the beames of the Sunne it miraculously flamed. This Valley of *Iehosaphat* (so called of that good King) from hence extendeth full North, and then enclineth a little to the West, first presenting (though naturall) no other then a large dry Ditch to the East of the Citie contracted betweene it, and the ouer-pearing Hills of 20 the opposite *Oliuet*. It is said to be about two miles long, and if it be so, but short ones: where broadest fruitfull; watered by the Torrent *Cedron*, which runneth no longer then fedde with showres: losing his intermitted streames in the Lake of *Asphaltis*. It was also called the Valley of *Cedron*, and of the King: where the generall Iudgement shall be, if the *Iewes* or *Latines* may be beleued; who ground their opinions vpon the Prophecie of *Joel*: which I will not gain-say, since some of our Diuines haue of late so laboured to approue it. Of the same opinion are the *Mahometans*. In the wall aboue it, there is a window not farre from the Golden Gate: where they say, that *Mahomet* shal sit whilst Christ doth execute Iustice. Passing to the Citie side of the Valley, at the foot of the Hill, and East of the South-east corner, is the place where the Prophet *Esay* was sawne in sunder by the Commandement of *Manasses* his Grand-father by the 30 Mother: and there buried, where there is a little Pauement vsed for a place of Prayer by the *Mahometans*. Close below this stood the Oke *Roguel*, where now a white Mulbery is cherished. North of it, in a gut of the Hill (aboue which in the wall stood the Tower) was the fish-pool of *Siloe*: contayning not aboue halfe an Acre of ground, now dry in the bottome: and beyond the Fountayne that fed it: now no other then a little Trench walled in on the sides, full of filthy water: whose vpper part is obscured by a Building (as I take it a Mosque) where once flourished a Christian Church built by Saint *Helena*. Deprived of those her salubrious streames; yet held in honour for their former vertues. Passing along wee came to our Ladies Fountayne (vpon what occasion they so call it, is not worth the relating) in a deepe Caue of the Rocke, descended into by a large paire of staires, and replenisht with pleasant waters. Here the Valley 40 streightning, and a little beyond no broader then serues for a Channell to the Torrent, on the other side stands the Sepulcher of *Zacharie*, who was slaine betweene the Temple and the Altar: all of the naturall Rocke, eightene foot high, foure square, and beautified with Doricke Columns of the same vnseparated stone, sustayning the Cornish, and topt like a pointed Diamond. Close to this there is another in the vpright Rocke; the Front like the side of an open Gallerie, supported with Marble Pillars, now betweene rammed vp with stones. Within a Grot, whither *Iames* retyred (as they say) after the Passion of our Sauour, with purpose neuer to haue receiued sustenance vntill he had seene him: who in that place appeared vnto him after his Resurrection. In memoriall whereof the Christians erected a Church hard by; whose Ruines are now ruined. A little farther there is a stone Bridge of one Arch, which passes the Torrent. In a Rocke 50 at the foot thereof, there are certayne Impressions: made (as they say) by our Sauours feet when they led him through the water. At the East end of this Bridge, and a little on the North, stands the Pillar of *Absolon*; which he here erected in his life time, to retayne the memorie of his name, in that his Issue Male fayled, (but he was not buried therein) being yet entyre and of a goodly Fabricke: rising in a loftie square; below adorned with halfe Columnes, wrought out of the sides and corners of the Doricke forme: and then changing into a round, a good height higher doth grow to a point in fashon of a Bell: all framed of the growing stone. Against this there lyeth a great heape of stones which increaseth daily. For both *Iewes* and *Mahometans* passing by, doe throw stones against it: yet execrating *Absolon* for his Rebellion against *Dauid*. Adioyning there is a large square, but lower by far, which hath an entrance like the Frontispice 60 of a Porch cut curiously without; the earth almost reaching to the top of the entrance: hauing a Grot within hewne out of the Rocke: some say, a Kingly Sepulcher; perhaps appertayning to the former. A little more North and vp the Torrent, at the foot of *Oliuet*, once stood the Village *Gethsemani*; the place yet fruitfull in Oliues: and hard by the delightfull Garden wherein our Sauour was betrayed.

They

They point out the place where he left two of his Disciples, and a little higher the third when he went to pray, and with all the place where he was taken. In this Garden there is also a stone, whereon they say that our Lady sate, and beheld the Martyrdome of Saint *Steuens*, who suffered on the side of the opposite Hill. Without the said Garden, in the ioyning of two wayes, they shewed vs the place, as they will haue it, where Saint *Thomas* stood, when incredulous forsooth of our Ladies Assumption, she let fall her Girdle to informe his beliefe.

Sepulchers of
the blessed
Virgin and her
Parents.

And now we are come to the Sepulcher of the blessed Virgin, made thus, as it is, by the Mother of *Constantine*. Before it a Court; the building aboue ground, a square pile onely, flat at the top, and neatly wrought, like the largest Portico to a Temple. You enter at the South-side, and
10 forth-with descend by a goodly paire of staires of fiftie steps: about the midst of the descent, are two small opposite Chappels; in that on the right hand are the Sepulchers of *Ioachim* and *Anna*; in that on the left of *Ioseph*: the Parents and Spoule of the Mother of Iesus. These staires doe leade you into a spacious Church, stretching East and West, walled on each side, and arched aboue with the naturall Rocke. Vpon the right hand in the midst there is a little square Chappell, framed of the eminent Rocke, but flagged both within and without with white Marble, entred at two doores. At the far side her Tombe, which taketh vp more then the third part of the Room, now in forme of an Altar: vnder which, they say, that she was decently buried by the Apostles; and the third day after assumed into Heauen by the Angels. In this there burneth
20 eighteen Lamps continually; partly maintained by the Christians, & partly by the *Mahometans*, who haue this place in an especiall veneration. Neere the East Semicircle of the Church, there standeth a great Altar (ouer which the little light that this darke place hath, doth descend by a Cupolo.) neere the West another, but both vnfurnished; and by the former a Well of excellent Water. In a Canton of the Wall, right against the North end of the Sepulcher, there is a Clift in the Rock, where the *Turkes* do affirme, that our Lady did hide her selfe, when persecuted by the *Jewes*; into which I haue seene their women to creepe, and giue the cold Rocke affectionate kisses. The opposite Canton is also vsed for an Oratory by the *Mahometans*, who haue the keeping of the whole, and will not suffer vs to enter of freecost. Remounting the same staires, not farre off on the left hand, towards the East, and not aboue a stone cast from the Garden of *Gethsamani*, a strait passage descendeth into a vast round Caue, all of the naturall Rocke, the
30 Roofe confirmed with Arches of the same, receiuing a dimme light from a little hole in the top, in times past all ouer curiously painted. The place, they say, where Christ did pray, when in that bloudie agonie he was comforted by the Angels. From hence wee bent our course to the Citie. High on the Hill, where three wayes meete, and vpon the flat of a Rocke, is the place where Saint *Steuens* (who bore the first Palme of Martyrdome) was stoned to death. The stones thereabout haue a red rust on them; which, they say, giue testimonie of his blood-shed. A little about, we entred the Citie at the gate of Saint *Steuens*, (where on each side a Lion Retrograde doth stand) called in times past the Port of the Valley, and of the flocke; for that the Cattell came in at this gate, which were to be sacrificed in the Temple, and were sold in the Market place adioyning. On the left hand there is a stone bridge, which passeth at the East end of the
40 North wall into the Court of the Temple of *Salomon*: the head to the Poole *Bethesda*, vnderneath which it hath a conueyance, called also *Probatium*, for that the Sacrifices were therein washed ere deliuered to the Priests. It had five Ports built thereto by *Salomon*; in which continually lay number of diseased persons. For an Angell at certaine seasons troubled the water; and he that could next descend thereinto was perfectly cured. Now a great square profunditie, Greene, and vneuen at the bottome, into which a barren Spring doth drill from betweene the stones of the North-ward Wall, and stealeth away almost vndiscerned. The place is for a good depth hewne out of the Rocke, confined aboue on the North-side with a steepe Wall, on the West with high Buildings (perhaps a part of the Castle of *Antonia*) where are two doores to descend by, now all that are, halfe choked with Rubbidge; and on the South with the Wall of the Court of the Temple: whereof it is fit that something bee spoken; although not suffered to
50 enter without the forfeiture of our liues, or renouncing of our Religion.

Bethesda.

I will not speake of the former forme, and magnificencie thereof, by sacred Pens so exactly described. First built by *Salomon*, destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, re-edified by *Zerubabel*, (yet so far short of the first in glory, that those wept to behold it, who had beheld the former) new built or rather sumptuously repayed by *Herod* the Great; and lastly, vtterly subuerted by *Titus*. The *Jewes* assayed to re-edifie it in the Reigne of *Adrian*, of whom he slue an infinite number, leuelled it with the floore, and threw the Rubbidge into the Valley of *Iehosaphat*, to make it lesse steepe, and the place lesse defenceable, planting in the Roome thereof a Grove, which hee consecrated vnto *Iupiter*. Afterward *Iulian* the Apostata, to disprooue the Prophecie of our Saviour, did licence the *Jewes* to re-build it, furnishing them with mony out of his Treasurie: when loe,
60 a terrible Earth-quake shooke downe what they had begun; and a flame bursting forth, deuoured the Workmen, reported by *Amianus Marcellinus* a Pagan, and living in those times. But who built this that now standeth, is doubtfull. Some doe attribute it to the Christians; others to a Prince of the *Arabians*, (which is confirmed by the Christians of these Countries) and hee

Salomons Temple.

Mount Moria.

Golden Gate.

Turkish Prophecie.

Iacobims house.
Pilates Palace.Iudgement
place.Sanctum San-
ctorum.

Dolorous way.

the *Saracen Omer*, next Successor vnto *Mahomet*. Seated it is vpon Mount *Moria*, in the South-east corner of the Citie; without doubt in the very place where *Salomons* stood: the more eminent building consisting of an eight square round of a blewish stone, adorned with adioyning Pillars, and Tarrast aboue. In the midst of the sheluing Roofe, another vpright aspieth, though lesse by far, yet the same in forme and substance with the former, being couered ouer with a Cupolo of Lead. To the West of this a long building adioyneth, like the bodie of a Church, compact aboue, and no higher then the vnder Tarras of the other, but like it in colour. Now the Court (the same with that of the old Temple) is iust foure square every way, about a flights shoot ouer. In the East Wall, which is also a Wall to the Citie, stands the *Golden Gate*, (so called in that it was gilded) which belonged onely to the Temple, through which Christ passed twice; 10 first in triumph, and after a Captiue. It is said that the Emperour *Heraclius* returning from his *Persian* Victory, attempted to haue entred thereat in all his glory; but was miraculously prohibited, vntill he had put off all his Princely Ornaments; in a simple habite bearing that part of the Crosse of Christ on his shoulders, which he had recovered from the *Persians*. This Gate is now rammed vp by the *Turkes*, to preuent as some say, a Prophecie: which is, that the Citie should there be entred by the Christians. A part of the South-side, is also inclosed with the wall of the Citie. The rest not inferiour in strength, surrounded with a deepe Trench hewne into the Rocke: though now much choaked, heretofore inhabited in the bottome like a street. In the midst of this out-court, there is another; wherein the aforesaid Mosque doth stand, raised some two yards aboue it, and garnished on the sides with little Turrets, through which ascended; all paved 20 with white Marble (the spoile of Christian Churches) where the *Mahometans*, as well as within, doe performe their particular Oraysons. Sundry low buildings there are adioyning to the wall: as I suppose, the Habitation of their *Santons*. In the midst of that, on the South-side, there is a handsome Temple couered with Lead; by the Christians called the Church of the *Purification of the Virgine*: now also a Mosque. *Godfrey of Bullein*, with the rest of the Citie tooke this place by assault, and slue within the circuit thereof tenne thousand *Saracens*. By him then made a Cathedrall Church: erecting Lodgings about it for the Patriarch and his Canons. Into which there are now but two entrances: that on the West; and this Gate ouer the head of the Poole *Bethesda* (called of old the Horse-gate, for that here they left their Horses, it beeing not lawfull to ride any further) resembling the Gate of a Citie. One thing by the way may bee no- 30 ted: that whereas our Churches turne to the East. The Temple of *Salomon* regarded the West, perhaps in respect of Mount *Caluarie*.

Repassing the aforesaid Bridge, (seeing we might proceed no farther) on the North-side of the street that stretcheth to the West, now in a remote corner, stood the House of *Iacobim*, where a goodly Church was built to the honour of Saint *Anna*, with a Monasterie adioyning: of which some part yet remayneth, but polluted with the *Mahometan* Superstition. Turning backe, we tooke vp the said street to the West: not far onward, at the left hand stood the Palace of *Pilate*, without all question the Castle of *Antonia*, neere adioyning to the wall of the Temple, where now the *Sanziacke* hath his Residence; deprived of those lofty Towers, and scarce appearing a- 40 boue the wals that confine it. On the right hand, at the far end of a street that pointeth to the North, stood the stately Mansion of *Herod*: of which some signe there are left, that witnesse a perished excellency. Now at the West corner of that of *Pilates*, where the wall for a space doth turne to the East, there are a paire of high staires which leade to the place of Iustice, and Throne of the *Romane* President, where the Sauour of the World, was by the World condemned. The staires that they say then, were called *Scala Sancta*, I haue seene at *Rome* neere Saint *Iohns* in the *Lateran*; translated thither by *Constantine*. Three paire there are in one Front, diuided but by wals: the middlemost those: being of white Marble, and eightene in number; ascended and worne by the knees of the Suppliants, who descend by the other. At the top there is a little Chappell called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where they neuer say Masse: and vpon this occasion. A 50 holy Father in the Roome adioyning, hauing consumed most part of the night in his Deuotions, is said, an houre before the dawning, to haue seene a procession of Angels passe by him, some singing, and others perhaps that had worse voyces, bearing Torches: amongst whom Saint *Peter* with the Eucharist; who executed there his Pontificall Function: and that done returned. This rumored the day following about the Citie, numbers of people flockt thither; who found the Roome all to bedropt with Torches in confirmation of this Relation. Whereupon decreed it was, that not any (as not worthy) should say Masse on that Altar. Now the way betweene the place of those staires and Mount *Caluarie*, is called the *Dolorous way*: alongst which our Sa- 60 uour was led to his Passion: in which they say, (and shew where) that hee thrice fell vnder the weight of his Crosse. And a little beyond there is an ancient Arch that crosseth the street, and supporteth a ruined Gallerie: in the East-side a two arched window, where *Pilate* presented Christ to the people. An hundred paces farther, and on the left hand there are the Relikes of a Church, where they say that the blessed Virgin stood when her Sonne passed by, and fell into a trance at the sight of that killing Spectacle. Sixtie sixe paces beyond (where this street doth meete with that other which leadeth to Port *Ephraim*, now called the Gate of *Damascus*) they say,

say, that they met with *Simon of Cyrene*, and compelled him to assist our Saviour in the bearing of his burthen. Turning a little on the left hand, they shewed vs where the women wept, and he replied; *Weepe not for me you Daughters of Ierusalem, &c.* Then turning againe on the right, we passed vnder a little arch, neere which a house ascended by certain steps; the place where *Veronica* dwelt, who gaue our Saviour, as they say, a Napkin as he passed by the doore, to cleanse his face from the blood which trickled from his Thorne-pierst browes; and spittle wherewith they had despitefully defiled him: who returned it againe enriched with his liuely counterfeite, now to be seene at *Rome* vpon Festiuall dayes, in *Saint Peters Church* in the *Vatican*. Fronting the far end of this street, an ancient Gate which stood in the West wall of the old Citie, yet relists the sub-
10 uersions of time, called by *Nehemia*, the old Gate; by the *Iebusites* the Port of *Iebus*, and the Gate of Iudgement; for that the Elders there sate in Iustice: through which the condemned were led to execution vnto Mount *Caluarie*: then two hundred twentie paces without, and a little on the left hand; though now almost in the heart of the Citie. From hence we ascended the East-side of Mount *Caluarie* (eight hundred paces from the Palace of *Pilate*) and so descended into the Court of the Temple of the Sepulcher. Right against it are the ruines of lostie buildings, heretofore the *Alberges* of the Knight Hospitallers of *Saint Iohns*. Turning to the South we were shewed, where once stood the dwelling of *Zebedens*, in which *James* and *Iohn* were borne heretofore a Collegiat Church, but now a Mosque. A little higher wee came to the
20 *Iron Gate*, a passage in times past betweene the vpper Citie, and the neather (which gaue way vnto *Peter* conducted by the Angell) built by *Alexander the Great*: who hauing taken *Tyrus*, and the Sea-bordering Cities of *Phoenicia* and *Palestine*, begirt *Ierusalem* with his Armie: when on a sudden the Gates were set open, *Iaddus* the High Priest issuing forth, clothed in his Pontifi- call Habit, and followed with a long trayne in white Rayments: whom *Alexander* espying, aduanced before the rest of the company; and when he drew neere fell prostrate before him. For it came vnto his remembrance, how once in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, consulting with him- selfe about his *Asian* Enterprize, he had seene in a Vision one so apparelled, who bid him boldly proceed, and told him that the God whom he serued would protect his Armie, and make him Lord of the *Persian* Monarchie. Then hand in hand they entred the Citie, the High Priest con- ducting him vnto the Temple, where hee sacrificed vnto God according to the manner of the
30 *Hebrewes*: *Iaddus* expounding vnto him the Prophecies of *Daniel*, which foretold of his victo- ries. From thence we proceeded vnto the House of *Saint Marke*, of which an obscure Church in the custodie of the *Sorians* doth retayne the memory. And beyond, we came to the Church of *Saint James*, standing in the place where he was beheaded; erected by the *Spaniards*, together with an Hospitall, and now posselt by the *Armenians*. This seene, we returned to the Couent.
The day following, wee went out (as before) at the Port of *Sion*. Turning on the left hand along the wall, wee were shewed the place where *Peter* wept, when hee had denyed our Sau- our; dignified once with a Church, and whereof there now remayneth some part of the founda- tion. Right against it there is a Posterne in the wall, formerly called Port *Esqueline*; at which they bore forth the filth of the Citie. The foundation of this part of the wall is much more
40 ancient, and much more strong then the rest, consisting of blacke stones of a mightie size. Not farre beyond, we crossed the Valley of *Iehosaphat*, and mounted the South end of Mount *Oliuer*, by the way of *Bethania*. Hauing ascended a good height, on the right hand they shewed vs where *Iudas* hanged himselfe (the stumpe of the Sycamore, as they say, not long since extant) being buried in a Grot that adioyneth. Neerer the top where Christ cursed the fig-tree, many there growing at this present. Descending the East-side of the Mountaine, a little on the left hand, we came to a desolate Chappell, about which diuers ruines; the Houses heretofore of *Simon* the Leper. From thence we descended vnto the Castle of *Lazarus*, (whereof yet there is some- thing extant) the Brother to *Marie* and *Martha*: close vnder which lyes *Bethania*, (two miles from *Ierusalem*) now a tottered Village, inhabited by *Arabians*. In it the Vault where
50 Christ rayled *Lazarus* from death; square and deepe, descended into by certaine steps. Aboue are two little Chappells, which haue in either of them an Altar: where stood a stately Church erected by *Saint Helena*; and after that an Abbey, *Queene Milisend* the Foundresse. A little North of *Bethania*, we came to the ruines of a Monasterie, now leuell with the floore, seated in the place vnto which the penitent *Marie* retyred from the corrupting vanities of the Citie. South-ward of this, and not far off, stood the House of *Martha*, honoured likewise with a Temple, and ruinated alike. Equally distant from both, there is a stone, whereon, they say, that our Saviour sate, when the two Sisters intreated him to restore life to their Brother now foure dayes buried: the Pilgrime that breakes off a piece thereof, stands excommunicated. A little
60 aboue, there is a Fountayne of excellent water, deepe sunke into the Rocke, (by which were- freshed our selues with prouision brought with vs) called the Fountayne of the Apostles. Now we ascended Mount *Oliuet* againe, by another way more inclining to the North. Vpon the right hand, and not far from the top, stood *Bethfage*, whose very foundations are now confounded; from whence Christ past vnto *Ierusalem* in triumph vpon an Asses Colt: euery *Palme-sunday* by the *Pater-guardian* superstitiously imitated.

Simon of Cyrene

Veronica.

Zebedees houses

Saint James.

Sion Port.
Peters penance.

Iudas.

Bethania.

Lazarus.

Marthas house

Bethfage.

Quarantena.
Dead Sea.

Jordan.

Ierico.

Balme.

Mount Oliuet.

Chappell of
the Ascension.

Foot-print.

Cell of Pelagia.

Here looke we backe, and for a while suruey the high mountaine *Quarantania*, the low Plains of *Iericho*, *Jordan*, and the *Dead Sea*; which we could not goe to, by reason of our tardy arriual, the Pilgrims returning on the selfe-same day that wee came vnto *Ierusalem*. Vndertaken but once a yeere in regard of the charges, then guarded by a *Sheck* of the *Arabians*, to resist the wild *Arabs*, who almost famished on those barren Mountaines (which they dare not husband for feare of surprisall) rob all that passe, if inferiour in strength: yet payed wee towards that conduct, two Dollars apiece to the *Sanziack*. *Jordan* runneth wel-nigh thirtie miles from *Ierusalem*; the way thither by *Bethania*; made long and troublesome by the steepe descents and labyrinthian windings; being to the iudgement of the eye, not the fourth of that distance. In this the Pilgrims wash themselves, and bring from thence of the water, soueraigne (as they say) for sundry diseases. A great way on this side the Riuer, there stands a ruined Temple, vpon the winding of a crooked channell, forsaken by the streame, (or then not filled but by inundations) where Christ (as they say) was baptized by *Iohn*. On the right hand stood *Ierico*, a Citie of fame (and in the time of the Christians an Episcopall Sea) beautifull in her Palmes, but chiefly proud of her *Balsamum*, a Plant then onely thought particular vnto *Iurie*, which grew most plentifully in this valley, and on the sides of the Westerne Mountaines which confine it, being about two cubits high, growing vpright, and yeerely pruned of her superfluous branches. In the Summer they lanced the rine with a stone, (not to be touched with Steele) but not deeper then the inward filme; for otherwise it forthwith perished: from whence those fragrant and precious teares did distill, which now are onely brought vs from *India*; but they farre worse, and generally sophisticated. The bole of this shrub is of least esteeme, the rine of greater, the seed exceeding that, but the liquor of greatest, knowne to be right in the curdling of Milke, and not stayning of garments. Here remayned two Orchards thereof in the dayes of *Vespasian*; in defence of which, a battell was fought with the *Iewes* that endeauoured to destroy them. Of such repute with the *Romanes*, that *Pompey* first, and afterwards *Titus* did present it in their triumphs as an especiall glorie: now vtterly lost through the barbarous waste and neglect of the *Mahometans*. Where *Ierico* stood, there standeth a few poore Cottages inhabited by the *Arabians*. The valley about ten miles ouer, now producing but a spiny grasse; bordered on the East with the high *Arabian* Mountaines, on the West with those of *Iurie*; amongst which, *Quarantania* the most eminent, in that wilderness where Christ for fortie dayes was tempted by the Deuill, so high, that few dare attempt to ascend to the top; from whence the Tempter shewed him the Kingdomes of the earth; now crowned with a Chappell, which is yet vnruined. There is besides in the side an Hermitage, with a Cisterne to receiue raine-water; and another Grot, wherein the Hermites were buried. Here Saint *Ierome* (as they say) fulfilled his foure yeeres penance.

But now returne wee to the summit of *Mount Oliuet*, which ouer-toppeth the neighbouring Mountaines, whose West side doth giue you a full suruey of each particular part of the Citie, bedect with Oliues, Almonds, and Fig-trees; heretofore with Palmes: pleasantly rich when husbanded, and now vpbraiding the barbarous with his neglected pregnancy. So famous in sacred histories, and so often blest with the presence of Christ, and apparition of Angels. It is not much lesse then a mile in height, stretching from North to South, and hauing three heads. On the middlemost (and that the highest) there standeth a little Chappell, of an eight square fount, at euery corner a Pillar, mounted on three degrees, being all of white marble, and of an elegant structure: within it is not about twelve foot ouer, paved with the naturall rocke, which beareth the impression of a foot-step, they say, of our Sauours; the last that he set vpon earth, when from thence he ascended into Heaven: A place in honour inferiour vnto none, frequented by Christians, possesed by *Mahometans*, yet free to both their deuotions. Built it was by the mother of *Constantine*, and couered like the Sepulchre, with a sumptuous Temple (whose ruines yet looke aloft) together with a Monasterie. On the South-side of which, they shewed vs the Cell of *Pelagia*; a famous, rich, and beautifull Curtizan of *Antioch*, who conuerted by the Bishop of *Dimiata*, retired hither vnknowne, and here long liued in the habite and penurie of an Hermite, being not till dead, discovered for a woman. Descending, wee were shewed by the way, where our Sauour taught them the *Pater noster*, where hee fore-told of the destruction of *Ierusalem*, where the Apostles made the *Creede*, where hee wept ouer the Citie, (a paved square, now a *Mahometan* Oratorie) and such like traditions, not much worthy the mentioning. So crossing the valley by the Sepulchre of the blessed Virgin, we entred the Citie at the gate of Saint *Steuens*; returning the same way (as the day before) to the Monasterie.

Much of the day, and all the night following we spent in the Church of the Sepulchre: they then concluding the ceremonies and solemnities of that Festiuall. The next day wee prepared for our departure. Wee agreed with certaine *Muocermen* (so call they their Muliters) of *Alep-pa* (who had brought a *Portugall* hither with his *Ianizarie*, and interpreter then newly come from *India*) to carrie vs vnto *Tripoly*, and to defray all charges (our diet excepted) for fixe and twentie Dollars a man, and for halfe so much as if we went but to *Acre*, greatly to the displeasure of *Atala* the *Drogaman*; that would not vndertake our conuey vnder a greater summe: who

who found a time to effect his malice; yet his little paines wee rewarded with foure Dollars. *Caphar* and *Asse* hire about the Countrey had cost vs sixe Sultanies. We gaue money to the Friers, and that not niggardly, considering our light purses and long iourney; whereof the *Pater-guardian* particularly enquired, lest their vow of pouertie they should couetously infringe (or rather perhaps defraud his desire) by retayning what was giuen, to their priuate vses: A crime with excommunication punished: yet that lesse feared, I suppose, then detection. They vse to marke the armes of Pilgrims with the names of *Iesus*, *Maria*, *Ierusalem*, *Bethlehem*, the *Ierusalem Crosse*, and sundry other Characters, done in such manner as hath beene declared before. The *Pater-guardian* would needs thrust vpon vs seuerall Certificates, which returned him as many *Zecchines*: he desired that we would make their pouertie knowne, with the dignitie of those sanctified places: as a motiue to reliefe, and more frequent Pilgrimages.

¶ VI.

His returne. Observations of memorable places by the way. Of Mount Carmel, Acon, Sidon, Tyrus of Facardin, Emer of Sidon his Greatnesse.

- 20 **H**aving behind those friendly *Italians* that accompanied vs from *Cairo* (being now also vpon their returne) on the first of Aprill we departed from *Ierusalem*, in the companie of that Apothecarie (now Knight of the Sepulchre) and the *Portugall* before mentioned; together with an *Alman* and a *French-man*; all bound for *Tripoly*. Wee returned by the way which we strayed from in our coming; lesse difficult to passe; the Mountaines more pleasant and fruitfull, neere the Citie there are many Sepulchres and places of ruines, here and there dispersed. On the right hand, and in sight, is *Silo*, of a long time a station for the Arke of the Couenant; the highest Mountaine of *Iury*, bearing on the top some fragments of a Citie. North of it on another, the remaynes of that *Rama Sophim* (with more likelihood of the truth then the other) which was the habitation of *Samuel*: whose bones are said to haue
30 beene translated vnto *Constantinople*, by the Emperour *Arcadius*. After foure miles riding wee descended into the valley of *Terebinth*, famous, though little, for the slaughter of *Golias*. A Bridge here crosseth the Torrent, neere which the ruines of an ancient Monasterie, more worthie the obseruing for the greatnesse of the stones, then finenesse of the workmanship. Having rid foure miles further, they shewed vs *Moden*, the ancient seate of the *Macchabees*, toward the North, and seated on the top of an aspiring hill, which yet supporteth the reliques of a Citie: whereof there something hath beene spoken already. Beyond, by the high-way side there is another Monasterie, not altogether subuerted: of late inhabited by some of the *Franciscans*, who beset one night by the *Arabs*, and not able to master their terrour, quitted it the day following. About a stones cast off, there standeth a Church, now desolate, yet retayning the name
40 of the Prophet *Ieremie*. But whether here stood that *Anathoth* or no that challengeth his birth, I am ignorant. About three miles further, wee passed by a place, called *Sereb*, where by certaine ruines there standeth a pile like a broken Tower, engrauen with *Turkish* Characters, vpon that side which regardeth the way; erected as they say, by an *Ottoman* Emperour. Now hauing for a while descended those Mountaines that neighbour the *Champaine*, we came to the ruines of an ancient building, ouer-looking the leuell: yet no lesse excelling in commodious situation, then delicacie of prospect. They call it, *The house of the Good Thiefe*. Perhaps some Abbey erected in that place; or Castle here built to defend this passage. Vpon the right hand there standeth a handsome Mosque, euery way open, and supported with Pillars, the rooffe flat, and charged on the East end with a Cupolo, heretofore a Christian Chappell. This is ten miles from
50 *Rama*, whither we came that night; and wet as we were, tooke vp our lodgings on the ground in the House of *Sion*: nothing that day befalling, saue the violence done vs by certaine *Spahies*, who tooke our Wine from vs; and payments of head-money in sundry places, vnto which we were neither chargeable nor troublesome.
- Not vntill noone next day departed we from *Rama*: traouelling through a most fruitfull Valley. The first place we passed by was *Lydda*, made famous by Saint *Peter*, called after *Diospolis*, that is, the Citie of *Iupiter*, destroyed by *Cestius*; here yet standeth a Christian Temple, built, as they say, by a King of *England* to the honour of Saint *George*, a *Cappadocian* by birth, aduanced in the Warres to the dignitie of a Tribune, who after became a Souldier of Christ; and here is said to haue suffered Martyrdome vnder *Diocletian*. Others say, that there neuer was such a
60 man, and that the storie is no other then an allegorie. The *Greeks* haue the custodie of this Church, who shew a Scull, which they affirme to be Saint *Georges*. In the time of the Christians it was the seate of a Suffragan, now hardly a Village. Eight miles from *Rama* stands the Castle of *Augia*, built like a Caine, and kept by a small Garrison. A little beyond, the *Muccermen* would haue staid (which wee would not suffer, being then the best time of the day for trauell) that they

- they might by night haue auoided the next Village, with the payments there due: where wee were hardly intreated by the procurement of *Attala*, who holds correspondencie with the *Moors* of those quarters. They would not take lesse then foure Dollars a man (when perhaps as many Medeins were but due) and that with much iangling. They sought occasion how to trouble vs, beating vs off our Mules, because forsooth, wee did not light to doe homage to a sort of halfe-clad Rascals; pulling the white Shash from the head of the *Portugal* (whereby he wel hoped to haue past for a *Turke*) his Ianizarie looking on. Here detayned they vs vntill two of the clocke the next morning, without meate, without sleepe, couched on the wet earth, and washed with raine; yet expecting worse, and then suffered vs to depart. After a while wee entred a goodly Forrest, full of tall and delightfull Trees, intermixed with fruitfull and flowrie Launes. Perhaps the earth affoordeth not the like; it cannot a more pleasant. Hauing passed this part of the Wood (the rest inclining to the West, and then againe extending to the North) we might discouer a number of stragling Tents, some iust in our way, and neere to the skirts of the Forrest. These were *Spahis* belonging to the Host of *Morat Bassa*, then in the Confines of *Persia*. They will take (especially from a Christian) whatsoever they like; and kindly they vie him if he passe without blowes: nor are their Commanders at all times free from their insolencies. To auoid them, we stricke out of the way, and crossed the pregnant champaine to the foote of the Mountaynes, where for that day we reposed our selues: when it grew darke, wee arose, inclining on the left hand, mingling after a while with a small Carauan of *Moors*; enioyned to silence, and to ride without our Hats, lest discovered for Christians. The clouds fell downe in streames, and the pitchie night had bereft vs of the conduct of our eyes, had not the Lightning afforded a terrible light. And when the raine intermitted, the Aire appeared as if full of sparkles of fire, borne too and fro with the wind, by reason of the infinite swarmes of Flies that doe shine like Glow-wormes, to a stranger a strange spectacle. In the next Wood we out-stript that Carauan, where the theeuish *Arabs* had made sundrie fires; to which our footmen drew neere to listen, that we might passe more securely. An houre after mid-night the skie began to cleere, when on the other side of the Wood we fell amongst certaine Tents of *Spahis*; by whom we past with as little noise as we could, secured by their sounder sleepings. Not farre beyond, through a large Glade betweene two Hills, we leisurely descended for the space of two houres (a Torrent rushing downe on the left hand of vs) when not able longer to keepe the backs of our Mules, we laid vs downe in the bottome vnder a plump of Trees on the farre side of a Torrent. With the Sunne we arose, and found our selues at the East end, and North side of Mount Carmel.
- Mount Carmel. Mount Carmel stretcheth from East to West, and hath his vttermoost Basis walht with the Sea, steepest towards the North, and of an indifferent altitude: rich in Oliues and Vines when husbanded; and abounding with seuerall sorts of Fruits and Herbs, both medicinable and fragrant: now much ouer-growne with Woods and Shrubs of sweet saour: celebrated for the habitation of *Elias*, whose house was after his death conuerted into a Synagogue; where Oracles, it is said, were given by God; called by *Suetonius* the God *Carmelus*, whose words are these, intreating of *Vespasian*: *In Iudea consulting with the Oracle of the God Carmelus, the Oracle assured him, that whatsoever he under-tooke should be successfull.* Where then was nothing more to be seene then an Altar. From hence proceeded the Order of the Friar Carmelites, as successors to the children of the Prophets there left by *Elias*; who had their beginning in the Desarts of *Syria*, in the yeere 1180. instituted by *Almericus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and said to haue receiued their white habite from our Ladie, whom *Albertus* the Patriarke of *Ierusalem* transported first into *Europe*. There is yet to be seene the remaynes of their Monasterie, with a Temple dedicated to the blessed Virgin; vnder which a little Chappell or Caue, the ancient dwelling of *Elias*. This is inherited by an *Emir* of the *Arabians*, who after the ancient custome of that Nation doth liue in Tents, euen during the Winter, although posselt of sundrie conuenient houses; whose Signiorie stretcheth to the South, and along the Shoare. Within his Precinct stands the Castle of the *Perigrines*, vpon a cape, almost surrounded with the Sea, now called *Tortora*, built by *Raimond* Earle of *Tolosa* for their better securitie, and after fortified by the *Templers*. Ten miles South of this, stood that famous *Casarea* (more anciently called the Tower of *Strato*, of a King of *Aradus* the Builder so named, who liued in the dayes of *Alexander*) in such sort re-edified by *Herod*, that it little declined in magnificencie from the principall Cities of *Asia*; now leuell with the Floore, the Hauen lost, and situation abandoned.
- Chifon, Tabor, Hermon. We passed the Torrent *Chifon*, which floweth from the Mountaynes of *Tabor* and *Hermon*; and gliding by the North skirts of *Carmel*, dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. *Carmel* is the South bound to the ample valley of *Acro*; bounded on the North by those of *Saron*, on the West it hath the Sea, and it is inclosed on the East with the Mountaines of *Galile*. In length about fourteen miles, in bredth about halfe as much; the neerer the Sea the more barren. In it there arise two riuolets of liuing, but pestilent waters, drilling from seuerall marishes; the first is the Riuer of *Belus*, called by *Plinie* *Pagida* and *Palus*, and *Badas* by *Simonides*; whose sand affoordeth matter for Glasse, becomming fusable with the heate of the Fornace. *Strabo* reports the like

like of diuers places thereabout. And *Iosephus* speaking of this, declareth, that adioyning thereunto, there is a pit an hundred cubits in circuite, conered with Sand like Glasse; and when borne away (for there-with they accustomed to Ballace their ships) it forth-with filled againe, borne thitherby winds from places adiacent: And moreouer, whatsoeuer Minerall was contained therein, conuerted into Glasse; and Glasse there laid, againe into Sand. Neere to this pit stood the Sepulcher of *Memnon*, the Sonne of *Typhonius*.

10 Having rid seuen or eight miles along the skirts of the hils, we crossed the Valley, and anon that other Riulet a little aboue, where it falleth into the Road of *Acre*; where to our comfort, we espyed the Ship that brought vs to *Alexandria*, with another of *London*, called the *Elizabeth* *Confort*: when entring the Towne, we were kindly entertained by our Country-men. Here stayed we, the rest of our company proceeded vnto *Tripoly*; this being the mid-way betwene it and *Ierusalem*. But our *Muccerman* would not rest satisfied with halfe of his hire, according to our compact, whom we were glad to be rid of for twentie Dollers a man: our Oaths being bootlesse against a *True Beleener*, for so do they tearme themselves. *Memmons Sepulcher.*
Ship of London.
Turkish Musulman.

20 This Citie was called *Ace* at the first, a refuge for the *Persians* in their *Egyptian* warres: Then *Ptolomais* of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*: *Colonia Claudij*, of *Claudius Caesar*, who heere planted a Colony: Afterward *Acon*, and now *Acre*. Seated on a leuell, in forme of a Triangular Shield: on two sides washt with the Sea; the third regarding the Champaine. The carkasse shewes that the body hath beene strong, double immured, fortified with Bulwarkes and Towers; to each wall a ditch, lined with stone, and vnder those diuers secret Posternes. You would thinke by the 30 ruines, that the Citie rather consisted wholly of diuers conioyning Castles, then any way mixed with priuate dwellings; which witnesseth a notable defence, and an vnequall assault, or that the rage of the Conquerors extended beyond Conquest: the huge Walls and Arches turned topsie-turuey, and lying like Rockes vpon the foundation. On the South side lyes the Hauen, no better then a Bay; open to the West, North-west, and South-west winds, the bottome stony, and ill for their Cables. There are the ruines of a Palace, which yet doth acknowledge King *Richard* for the founder, confirmed likewise by the Passant Lion. An hundred yeares after, it remained with the Christians, and was the last receptacle in the Holy Land, for the Knights *Hospitalers* of Saint *Iohns* of *Ierusalem*, called thereupon Saint *Iohn de Acre*; to whom a goodly Temple neere the South side of the Citie was consecrated, which now ouer-toppeth the rest of the 40 ruines. In a Vault thereof a great masse of Treasure was hid by the Knights of the Order, which made knowne from time to time vnto their Successors, was fetcht from hence about forty yeares since by the Gallies of *Malta*, the Inhabitants abandoning the Towne vpon their landing. In the yeare 1291. besieged by an hundred and fiftie thousand *Mahometans*, *Acre* receiued an vtter subuersion, which the *Mamelucks* after in some sort repaired, and lost it at last with their name and Empire, vnto the *Turkish Selimus*. It is now vnder the *Sanziack* of *Saphet*, and vsurped with the rest of that Prouince, by the *Emer* of *Sidon*. In the Towne there are not aboue two or three hundred Inhabitants, who dwell heere and there in the patcht-vp ruines; onely a new Mosque they haue, and a strong square Cane (built, where once was the Arsenall for Gallies) in 50 which the *Francke* Merchants securely dispose of themselves and their Commodities: who for the most part bring hither ready Monies, (*Dutch* Dollers being, as generally throughout *Iury* and *Phoenicia*, equivalent with Royals of eight, else-where lesse by ten Aspers) fraughting their ships with Cottons that grow abundantly in the Countrey adioyning. Here haue they a *Cadee*, the principall Officer. The *English* are much respected by the principall *Meores*: insomuch, as I haue seene the striker stricken by his fellow, a rare example amongst the *Mahometans*, which I rather attribut to their policie then humanitie, lest by their quitting of the place they should be deprived of their profit, they being the onely men that doe maintaine that trading. Here wrestle they in Breeches of oyled Leather, close to their thighs, their bodies naked and anointed according to the ancient vse, who rather fall by consent, then by slight or violence. The Inhabitants doe nightly house their Goats and Sheepe for feare of Iaccals (in my opinion no other 60 then Foxes) whereof an infinite number doe lurke in the obscure Vaults, and reedy Marishes adioyning to the Brooke; the Brooke it selfe abounding with Tortesses.

Four daies we stayed at *Acre*; in which time we vainely expected the leisure of the Merchants to haue accompanied vs to *Nazareth*, distant from hence about fiftene miles: who goe by one way and returne by another, for feare of the *Arabs*. Now a small Village of *Galily*, seated in a little Vale betwene two hils, where are the remaines of a goodly Temple (once the Chaire of an Arch-bishop) erected ouer the house of the blessed Virgine: whereof there is yet one roome to be seene, partly hewne out of the lining Rocke; amongst those Christians of great veneration. But the *Romanists* relate, that the roome wherein she was borne, was borne by the 60 Angels (at such time as the Countrey was vniuersally possessed by the Infidels) ouer Seas and shores to a Citie of *Illyria*. But when those people grew niggardly in their Offerings, it was rapt from thence, and set in the Woods of *Picenum*; within the possessions of a Noble Lady, named *Lauretta*, frequented by infinite numbers of Pilgrimes. When many miscarrying by the ambushment of Theeues, who lurking in the Woods adioyning, the blessed Virgine commanded the

*Memmons Se-**pulcher.**Ship of London.**Turkish Musul-**man.**Acon See of it**King Richard**and his Ne-**phew Earle Ri-**chards Acts, sup**c. 4.**Respects of**English.**Wrestling.**Iaccals.**Blessed Vir-**gins house.**Lady of Lau-**retta.*

the Angels to remooue it vnto a certaine Mountaine belonging vnto two Brethren, where shee got much riches, and sumptuous apparell, by the beneuolence of her Votaries, and her charitable miracles. By which meanes the two Brethren grew also rich, and withall, dissensions about the deuision of their purchases. Whereupon it was once more transported by those winged Porters, and set in the place where as now it standeth, neere to the *Adriaticke* Sea, and not farre from *Ancona*, yet retaining the name of *Lauretta*. In which is her Image (made as they say, by Saint *Luke*) of the hue (though a *Iew*) of a *Blackamore* *. This Conclauē hath a couer of Marble, yet not touched by the same, included within a magnificent Temple, adorned with Armors and Trophies; and beset with Statues and Tables, representing her miraculous cures and protections; And well hath she beene paid for her labour: her Territories large, her Jewels inestimable; her apparell much more then Princely, both in cost and varietie; her Coffers full: of whom, though the *Pope* be a yearly borrower, yet are they doubly replenished by the first, and latter Spring-tides of deuotion. Now at *Nazareth*, no Christian is suffered to dwell by the *Moors* that inhabit it. Most of the old Citie seemeth to haue stood vpon the hill that adioyneth, which beares the decayes of diuers other Churches. *Nazareth* gaue the name of *Nazareans* vnto Christians, called here corruptly *Nostranes* at this present.

Vpon the eight of Aprill we went aboard the *Trinitie*, and hoised Sailes for *Sidon*: the winds fauourable, and the Seas composed; but anon they began to wrangle, and wee to suffer. Spouts of water were seene to fall against the Promontorie of *Carmel*, the tempest increased with the night; and did what it could to make a night of the day that ensued. But the distemperature and horror is more then the danger, where Mariners be *English*, who are the absoluteſt vnder heauen in their profession; and are by forreiners compared vnto Fishes. About foure of the clocke we came before *Sidon*, the Ship not able to attaine to the Harborage of the *Rocke*, which is enuironed by the Sea, and the onely protection of that rode for ships of good burthen: but some of vs were so sicke, that we desired to be set a shoare in the Skiffe, (a long mile distant) which was performed, but not without perill.

Phoenicia is a Prouince of *Syria*, interposing the Sea and *Galily*, stretching North and South from the Riuer of *Valanus*, to the Castle of the *Peregrines*, which is on the farre side of Mount *Carmel*. The chiefe Sea-bordring Cities of *Phoenicia*, are *Tripolis*, *Biblis*, *Beritus*, *Sidon*, *Tyrus*, and *Ptolomais*, now called *Acre*. *Tripolis* is so called, because it was ioyntly built by *Tyrus*, *Sidon* and *Aradus*. It is seated vnder *Libanus*, and commanded by a well-furnished Cittadell, manned with two hundred *Ianizaries*. Before it, there is an ill-neighbouring banke of Sand, which groweth daily both in greatnesse and neerenesse; by which they haue a Propheſie, that it shall in proceſſe of time be deuoured. The Towne and Territories are gouerned by a *Bassa*. Two miles off, and West from it, is the heauen, made by a round piece of Land adioyning to the maine by an Isthmos; the mouth thereof regarding the North. On each side a Bulwarke kept by an hundred *Ianizaries*, and planted with Ordnance to defend the entrance. Hither of late the *Grand Signior* hath remoued the Scale, which was before at *Alexandretta*, a Towne in the furthest extents of the Streights, beyond the Riuer *Orontes*, most contagiously seated by reason of the Marishes and loftie bordering Mountaines (towards the North, being part of *Taurus*) which deprive it of the rarifying Sunne, for no small part of the day; insomuch, that not many forreiners escape that there linger any season, who goe not a shoare before the Sunne bee high mounted, and returne againe ere too low declining: Notwithstanding, the Merchants doe offer great summes of Money to haue it restored vnto that place, as more conuenient for their Traffick with *Aleppo*, (the principall Mart of that part of *Asia* for Silkes, and sundry other Commodities) from thence but three daies iourney, being eight from *Tripoly*: which the *Turke* will not as yet assent to, for that diuers ships haue beene taken out of that Rode by Pirates, there being no Forts for protection, nor no fit place to erect them on. A thing vsuall it is betweene *Tripoly* and *Aleppo*, as betweene *Aleppo* and *Babylon*, to make tame Doues the speedy transporters of their Letters; which they wrap about their Legges like Iesses, trained thereunto at such time as they haue young ones, by bearing them from them in open Cages. A Fowle of a notable memory. *Sidon* is at this day contracted within narrow limits, and onely shewes the foundations of her greatnesse; lying Eastward of this that standeth, and ouer-shadowed with Oliues. There is nothing left of Antiquitie, but the supposed Sepulcher of the Patriarke *Zebulon*, included within a little Chappell amongst these ruines, and held (especially by the *Iewes*) in great veneration. The Towne now being, is not worth our Description; the Walls neither faire nor of force; the Hauen decayed, when at best but seruing for Gallies. At the end of the Peir, stands a paltry Blocke-house, furnished with sutable Artillery. The Mosque, the Bannia, and Cane for Merchants, the onely buildings of note.

The Inhabitants are of sundry Nations and Religions, gouerned by a succession of Princes, whom they call *Emers*: descended, as they say, from the *Druses*, the remainder of those *French* men which were brought into these parts by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, who driuen into the Mountaines aboue, and defending themselves by the aduantage of the place, could neuer be vtterly destroyed by the *Saracens*. At length they afforded them peace, and libertie of Religion; conditionally

- nally that they wrote the white Turbant, and paid such duties as the naturall subiect. But in tract of time they fell from the knowledge of Christ: nor throughly embracing the other, are indeede of neither. As for this *Emer*, he was neuer knowne to pray, nor euer seene in a Mosque. His name is *Faccardine*, small of stature, but great in courage and atchieuements: about the age of forty, subtil as a Foxe, and not a little inclining to the Tyrant. He neuer commenceth battell, nor executeth any notable designe, without the consent of his * mother. To his Towne hee hath added a kingly Segnioury, what by his sword, and what by his Stratagems. When *Morat Bassa* (now principall *Vizier*) came first to his gouernement of *Damasco*, he made him his, by his free entertainment and bounty: which hath conuerted to his no small aduantage, of whom he made
- 10 vse in his contention with *Frecke* the *Emer* of *Balbec*; by his authority strangled. After that he pickt a quarrel with *Ioseph Emer* of *Tripoly*, and dispossessed him of * *Barut*, with the territories belonging thereunto, together with *Gazer*, about twelue miles beyond it; a place by situation inuincible. This *Ioseph* hated of his people for his excessive tyranny, got to bee made *Seidar* of *Damasco* (which is Generall of the Souldiery) and by that power intended a reuenge. But in the meane season *Faccardine* sackt *Tripoly* it selfe, and forced the *Emer* to flie in a *Venecian* shippe vnto *Cyprus*: where againe he imbarqued in a *French-man*, and landed at the Castle of the *Paregrines*; and there by *Achmet* the *Arabian* (formerly mentioned) entertained, hee repayed to *Damasco*, entred on his charge, conuerting his whole strength vpon the *Sidonian*, now in the field, and ioyned with *Ali Bassa* his confederate. In a plaine some eight miles short of *Damasco*, the
- 20 armies met; the *Damascens* are foiled, and pursued to the gates of the City: The Conquerors lodge in the suburbs, who are remoued by the force of an hundred and fifty thousand *Sultanie*. This battell was fought about the midst of Nouember in the yere of our Lord 1606. Three months after a Peace is concluded amongst them. But the sommer following, *Morat* the Great *Vizier* hauing ouerthrowne *Ali Bassa* of *Aleppo*, that valiant rebell (who in three maine battels withstood his whole forces; hauing set vp an order of *Sedgmen* in opposition of the *Ianizaries*;) they fought by manifold complaints to incense him against the *Emer* of *Sidon*, as confederate with the traytor; which they vrged with gifts, receiued and lost: for the old *Bassa* mindfull of the friendly offices done him by the *Emer* (corrupted also, as is thought, with great summes of money) not only not molesteth, but declareth him a good subiect. Hauing till of late held good
- 30 correspondency with the City and Garrison of *Damasco*, they had made him *Sanziacke* of *Saphet*. Now, when according to the gouernement of *Turkie*, which once in 2 or 3 yeeres doth vse to remoue the Gouernours of Cities and Prouinces; and that another was sent by the *Damascens* to succede him, he refused to resigne it; notwithstanding tendring to the *Tefadar* or Treasurer the reuenue of that *Sanziackry*; this was the first occasion of their quarrell. Hee got from the improuident Peasants the Castle of *Elkisse*, which he hath strongly fortified, and made the receptacle of Treasure: And the Castle of *Banias* from the *Shecke* that ought it, by a wile (which standeth on a hill by it selfe, and is indeede by nature inuincible.) For the *Emer* in peaceable manner, pitching his tents not farre from the wall, was kindly visited and entertained by the *Sheck*: when desirous to see it, he conducted him vp, hauing not aboue twenty or thirty in
- 40 his company, but those priuately armed; leauing order that the rest should ascend by twoes and by threes, and so surprised it without bloud-shed, planting the inhabitants in other places within his Dominions, and strengthning this with a Garrison. Out of the Rock whereon it is mounted ariseth one of the two heads of *Iordan*. His Signiory stretcheth from the Riuer of *Canis* (which they call *Celp*) to the foote of mount *Carmel*. In which the places of principall note, are *Gazir*, *Barut*, *Sidon*, *Tyrus*, *Acre*, *Saffet* (which was *Tyberias*) *Diar*, *Camer*, *Elkisse*, *Banias*, the two heads of *Iordan*, the lake *Semochonthis* (now called *Houle*) and sea of *Tyberias*, with the hot bath adioyning; *Nazareth*, *Cana*, and mount *Tabor*. *Saffet* is his principall City, in which there abide a number of *Iewes*, who affect the place, in that *Iacob* had his being thereabout before his going downe into *Egypt*.
- 50 The *Grand Signior* doth often threaten his subuersion, which he puts off with a iest, that hee knowes he will not this yeare trouble him, whose displeasure is not so much prouoked by his incroching, as by the reuealed intelligence which he holds with the *Florentine*; whom he suffers to harbour within his Hauen of *Tyrus*, (yet excusing it as a place lying waste, and not to be defended) to come ashore for fresh-water, bayes of him vnderhand his prizes, and furnisheth him with necessaries. But designs of a higher nature haue been treated of betweene them, as is well knowne to certaine Merchants imployed in that businesse. And I am verily perswaded, that if the occasion were laid hold of, and freely pursued by the Christians, it would terribly shake, if not vtterly confound the *Ottoman* Empire. It is said for a certainty that the *Turke* will turne his whole forces vpon him the next Sommer: And therefore more willingly condescends to a
- 60 Peace with the *Persian*. But the *Emer* is not much terrified with the rumor (although he seeks to diuert the tempest by continuance of gifts, the fauour of his friends, and professed integritie:) for he not a little presumeth of inuincible forts, well stored for a long warre; and aduantage of the mountaines: hauing besides forty thousand expert souldiers in continuall pay; part of them *Moores*, and part of them Christians: and if the worst should fall out, hath the sea to friend, and the

* She is supposed skilfull in blacke Arts.

* Olim Betytus

His intelligence with the Florentine.

His strength.

Custome.

Iustice.

Iniustice.

Antilibanus very old.

Damascus.
See here Master Biddulph in the next Chapter.

Sarepta.

Sarapanta.

Palatyrus.

Rare Hospitalitie.

Tyrrus.

the *Florentine*. And in such an exigent intendeth, as is thought, to make for Christendome, and there to purchase some Signorie; for the opinion is that he hath a masse of Treasure, gathered by wiles and extortions, as well from the Subiect, as from the Forreiner. Hee hath coyned of late a number of counterfeit *Dutch* Dollers, which he thrusteth away in payments, and offers in exchange to the Merchant: so that no new *Dutch* Dollers, though neuer so good, will now goe currant in *Sidon*. He hath the fift part of the increase of all things. The *Christians* and *Jewes* doe pay for their heads two Dollers apiece yearly, and head money he hath for all the Cattell within his Dominions. A severe Iusticer, re-edifies ruinous, and replants depopulated places; too strong for his Neighbours, and able to maintayne a defensue warre with the *Turke*: but that it is to be suspected that his people would fall from him in regard of his tyrannie. Now as for the Merchants, (who are for the most part *English*) they are entertayned with all courtesie and freedome; they may trauell without danger with their Purfes in their hands, paying for custome by three in the hundred. Yet these are but Traines to allure them, and disguise his voracitie; for if a Factor dye, as if the Owner, and hee his Heire, hee will seize on the goods belonging to his Principals, and seeme to doe them a fauour in admitting of a Redemption vnder the value, so that they doe but labour for his Haruest, and reape for his Garners. For such, and such-like eatings they generally intend to forsake his Countrey. The Merchandizes appropriate to this place are Cottons, and Silkes, which here are made in the Mulberry Groues, in indifferent quantitie. Other Commodities (which are many, and not course) they fetch from *Damasco*: two dayes iourney from hence; interposed with the Snow-topt Mountaynes of *Antilibanus*, so exceeding cold, that a *Moore* at our being here, returning from thence in the company of an *English* Merchant, perished by the way: the heate then excessiue great in the Valleyes on both sides.

Damascus is seated in a Plaine enuironed with Hills, and watered with the Riuer *Chrysoras*: descending with a great murmure from the Mountaynes; but after awhile hauing entred the plaine becommeth more gentle; seruing the Citie so abundantly, that few houses are without their Fountaines, and by little Riulets let into their Orchards: then which the habitable earth affoordeth not more delicate for excellencie of fruits, and their varieties: yet subiect to both the extreames of weather; rich in Trades, and celebrated for excellent Artizans. We were desirous to haue seene it, but were aduised not aduenture, because of the lawlesse *Spahis* there then residing in great numbers. The people about *Sidon* are greatly giuen to the nourishing of Cattell, (hauing notwithstanding not many) insomuch as Beeffe and Veale are seldome here to bee had, but when by chance they doe breake their legges or otherwise miscarrie. They fother them in the Winter (for they cut no grasse) with straw, and the leaues of Trees, whereof many doe flourish continually.

Our ship returning to *Alexandria*, and carrying with her two of our fellow Pilgrimes; on the five and twentieth of Aprill we returned also towards *Acre* by Land in the company of diuers *English* Merchants: the Champaine betweene the Sea and the Mountaynes fruitfull though narrow; and crossed with many little Riulets. After five miles riding wee came to a small solitarie Mosque not far from the Sea; erected, as they say, ouer the Widdowes house that entertayned *Elias*; close by it are the foundations of *Sarepta*. It was the Seate of a Bishop, and subiect vnto *Tyrrus*. Right against it, and high mounted on the Mountayne, there is a handsome new Towne now called *Sarapanta*. Beyond on the left hand of the way are a number of Caues cut out of the Rocke, the Habitations, as I suppose, of men in the Golden Age, and before the foundation of Cities. These are mentioned in the Booke of *Iosua*, and called *Mearah*, (which is the Caues of the *Sidonians*, and afterward called the Caues of *Tyrrus*, a place then inexpugnable, and maintayned by the Christians, vntill in the year 1167. it was by the corrupted Souldiers deliuered to the *Saracens*.

Wee crossed a little Valley deuided by the Riuer *Eluthernus* (now called *Casmeir*) which deriues his originall from *Lybanus*, and glideth along with a speedie course through a strangely intricate Channell: guiltie of the death of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who falling from his Horse as hee pursued the Infidels, and oppressed with the weight of his Armour was drowned therein, and buried at *Tyrrus*. On the other-side of the Valley stands an ancient Cane, whose Port doth beare the pourtrayture of a Chalice. Five miles beyond wee came to a Village seated on a little Hill in the midst of a Plaine, the same by all likelihood that was formerly called *Palatyrus*, or old *Tyrrus*. Forget I must not the custome obserued by the Inhabitants hereabout, who retayne the old Worlds Hospitalitie. Be the Passenger Christian or whatsoeuer, they will house him, prepare him extraordinary fare, and looke to his Mule, without taking of one Asper. But the precise *Mabometans* will neither eate nor drinke with a Christian: onely minister to his wants; and when he hath done, breake the earthen Dishes wherein he hath fed, as defiled. Now through this Towne there passes a ruinous *Aquaduct*, extending a great way towards the South, and through the Champaine, seeming often to climbe aboue his beginning, and from hence proceedeth directly West vnto *Tyrrus*, which standeth about two miles and a halfe below it.

Tyrrus was said to be built by *Tyrus*, the seuenth Sonne of *Iaphet*; re-edified by *Phoenix*, made a Colony of the *Sidonians*, and after the Metropolis of *Phoenicia*. The Citie was consecrated to

Her-

Hercules, whose Priest was *Sichens*. The Citizens famous for sundry excellencies, and forreine Plantations.

But in the yeare 1289. it was subdued by the *Egyptian Mabometans*, and from them by the *Ottoman Selymus*. But this once famous *Tyrus*, is now no other then an heape of Ruines; yet haue they a reuerent respect, and doe instruct the pensive beholder with their exemplarie frailtie. It hath two Harbours, that on the North-side the fairest, and best throughout all the *Leuant*, (which the Cursours enter at their pleasure) the other choaked with the decayes of the Citie. The *Emer* of *Sidon* hath giuen it with the adiacent Territories, to his Brother for a possession, comprehending fixe miles of the Continent in length; two in breadth, and in some places three.

10 A leuell naturally fertill, but now neglected: watered with pleasant Springs; heretofore abounding with Sugar-canes, and all varietie of fruit Trees.

We passed by certaine Cisternes, some mile and better distant from the Citie: which are called *Salomons* by the Christians of this Countrey. I know not why, vnlesse these were they *Salomons Cisternes*, which he mentions in the *Canticles*. Square they are and large; replenished with living waters, in times past conueyed by the Aquaduct into the aforesaid Orchards: but now vlesse and ruined, they shed their waters into the Valley below, making it plashie in sundry places: where the Aire doth suffer with the continuall croking of Frogs. Within night, wee came vnto certayne Tents that were pitched in those Marishes, belonging to the *Emers* Brothers Seruants, who there pastured their Horses. Where by a *Moletto* the Master of his Horse (whose Sister

20 he had marryed) we were courteously entertayned. The next morning after two or three houres riding, we ascended the Mountaynes of *Saron*, high and woodie; which stretch with intermitted

Vallies, vnto the Sea of *Galilee*, and here haue their white Cliffes washt with the surges; called *Capo Bianco* by the Mariner: frequented (though forsaken by men) with Leopards, Bores, Iaccals, and such like sauage Inhabitants. This passage is both dangerous and difficult, neighboured by the precipitating Cliffe, and made by the labour of man: yet recompensing the trouble with fragrant Sauours, Bayes, Rosemary, Marioram, Hyslope, and the like there growing in abundance. They say, that of late a Thiefe pursued on all sides, and desperate of his safetie, (for rarely are offences here pardoned) leapt from the top into the Sea, and swum vnto *Tyrus*, which is seuen miles distant; who for the strangenesse of the fact was forgiven by the *Emer*. A little beyond

30 we passed by a ruinous Fort, called *Seandarone*, of *Alexander* the builder; heere built to defend this passage: much of the foundation ouer-growne with Oziers and Weeds, being nourished by

a Spring that falleth from thence into the Sea. A *Moore* not long since was heere assailed by a *Leopard*, that skulkt in the aforesaid Thicket; and iumping vpon him, ouerthrew him from his Asse: but the beast hauing wet his feet, and mist of his hold, retyred as ashamed without further violence: within a day or two after he drew company together to haue hunted him, but found him dead of a wound receiued of a Bore. The higher Mountaynes now comming short of the Sea, doe leaue a narrow leuell betweene. Vpon the left hand, on a high round Hill, wee saw two solitarie Pillars, to which some of vs rid, in hope to haue seene something of Antiquities; where we found diuers others laid along, with the halfe buried foundation of an ample building.

40 A mile beyond we came to a Fort maintayned by a small Garrison of *Moores*, to prohibit that passage if need should require, and to secure the Traueller from Theeues; a place heretofore vnpassable by reason of their out-rages. The Souldiers acquainted with our Merchants, freely entertayned vs, and made vs good cheere according to their manner of Diet: requited with a Present of a little Tobacco, by them greedily affected. They also remitted our *Caphar*, vsing to take

Tobacco

four Dollers apiece of the stranger Christians. From hence ascending the more eminent part of the Rockie and naked Mountaynes, which heere againe thrust into the Sea, (called in times past, the *Tyrian Ladder*) by a long and steepe descent we descended into the Valley of *Acre*. Diuers little hills being here and there dispersed, crowned with Ruines (the Couerts for Theeues) and many Villages on the skirts of the bordering Mountaynes. Ere yet night, we re-

90 entered *Acre*.

Now is our Author shaping his course for *England*; and we haue a further *Asian* Discoverie to make. Thankfull to him for his paines (which haue eased vs of further search in the many many Holy Land Pilgrimes, which I haue in diuers Languages) wee will seeke a new Pilgrime to be our Guide, both in *Syria*, and in the parts adioyning. And loe, *Ierusalem* so pleaseth vs, that once againe we will trauell thither with Master *Biddulph*, following him from *Constantinople* to *Aleppo*, and thence by Land to *Ierusalem*, the Nauill and Centre of many our Pilgrimes and Pilgrimages.

the *Saracen Omer*, next Successor vnto *Mahomet*. Seated it is vpon *Mount Moria*, in the South-east corner of the Citie; without doubt in the very place where *Salomons* stood: the more eminent building consisting of an eight square round of a blewish stone, adorned with adioyning Pillars, and Tarrast aboue. In the midst of the sheluing Roofe, another vpright aspireth, though lesse by far, yet the same in forme and substance with the former, being couered ouer with a Cupolo of Lead. To the West of this a long building adioyneth, like the bodie of a Church, compact aboue, and no higher then the vnder Tarras of the other, but like it in colour. Now the Court (the same with that of the old Temple) is iust foure square euery way, about a flights shoot ouer. In the East Wall, which is also a Wall to the Citie, stands the *Golden Gate*, (so called in that it was gilded) which belonged onely to the Temple, through which Christ passed twice; 10
 first in triumph, and after a Captiue. It is said that the Emperour *Heraclius* returning from his *Persian* Victory, attempted to haue entred thereat in all his glory; but was miraculously prohibited, vntill he had put off all his Princely Ornaments; in a simple habite bearing that part of the Crosse of Christ on his shoulders, which he had recovered from the *Persians*. This Gate is now rammed vp by the *Turkes*, to preuent as some say, a Prophecie: which is, that the Citie should there be entred by the Christians. A part of the South-side, is also inclosed with the wall of the Citie. The rest not inferiour in strength, surrounded with a deepe Trench hewne into the Rocke: though now much choaked, heretofore inhabited in the bottome like a street. In the midst of this out-court, there is another; wherein the aforesaid Mosque doth stand, raised some two yards aboue it, and garnished on the sides with little Turrets, through which ascended; all paved 20
 with white Marble (the spoile of Christian Churches) where the *Mahometans*, as well as within, doe performe their particular Oraysons. Sundry low buildings there are adioyning to the wall: as I suppose, the Habitation of their *Santons*. In the midst of that, on the South-side, there is a handsome Temple couered with Lead; by the Christians called the Church of the *Purification of the Virgine*: now also a Mosque. *Godfrey of Bullein*, with the rest of the Citie tooke this place by assault, and slue within the circuit thereof tenne thousand *Saracens*. By him then made a Cathedrall Church: erecting Lodgings about it for the Patriarch and his Canons. Into which there are now but two entranecs: that on the West; and this Gate ouer the head of the Poole *Betsaida* (called of old the Horse-gate, for that here they left their Horses, it beeing not lawfull to ride any further) resembling the Gate of a Citie. One thing by the way may bee noted: 30
 that whereas our Churches turne to the East. The Temple of *Salomon* regarded the West, perhaps in respect of *Mount Caluarie*.
 Repassing the aforesaid Bridge, (seeing we might proceed no farther) on the North-side of the street that stretcheth to the West, now in a remote corner, stood the House of *Iaachim*, where a goodly Church was built to the honour of Saint *Anna*, with a Monasterie adioyning: of which some part yet remayneth, but polluted with the *Mahometan* Superstition. Turning backe, we tooke vp the said street to the West: not far onward, at the left hand stood the Palace of *Pilate*, without all question the Cattle of *Antonia*, neere adioyning to the wall of the Temple, where now the *Sanziacke* hath his Residence; deprived of those lofty Towers, and scarce appearing aboue the wals that confine it. On the right hand, at the far end of a street that pointeth to the North, stood the stately Mansion of *Herod*: of which some signe there are left, that witnesse a 40
 perished excellency. Now at the West corner of that of *Pilates*, where the wall for a space doth turne to the East, there are a paire of high staires which leade to the place of Iustice, and Throne of the *Romane* President, where the Sauour of the World, was by the World condemned. The staires that they say then, were called *Scala Sancta*, I haue seene at *Rome* neere Saint *Iohns* in the *Lateran*; translated thither by *Constantine*. Three paire there are in one Front, diuided but by wals: the middlemost those: being of white Marble, and eightene in number; ascended and worne by the knees of the Suppliants, who descend by the other. At the top there is a little Chappell called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where they neuer say Masse: and vpon this occasion: A 50
 holy Father in the Roome adioyning, hauing consumed most part of the night in his Deuotions, is said, an houre before the dawning, to haue seene a procession of Angels passe by him, some singing, and others perhaps that had worse voyces, bearing Torches: amongst whom Saint *Peter* with the Eucharist; who executed there his Pontificall Function: and that done returned. This rumored the day following about the Citie, numbers of people flockt thither; who found the Roome all to bedropt with Torches in confirmation of this Relation. Whereupon decreed it was, that not any (as not worthy) should say Masse on that Altar. Now the way betweene the place of those staires and *Mount Caluarie*, is called the *Dolorous way*: alongst which our Sa- 60
 uour was led to his Passion: in which they say, (and shew where) that hee thrice fell vnder the weight of his Crosse. And a little beyond there is an ancient Arch that crosseth the street, and supporteth a ruined Gallerie: in the East-side a two arched window, where *Pilate* presented Christ to the people. An hundred paces farther, and on the left hand there are the Relikes of a Church, where they say that the blessed Virgin stood when her Sonne passed by, and fell into a trance at the sight of that killing Spectacle. Sixtie sixe paces beyond (where this street doth meete with that other which leadeth to Port *Ephraim*, now called the Gate of *Damascus*) they say,

Mount Moria.

Golden Gate.

Turkish Prophecie.

Iaachims house.
Pilates Palace.

Iudgement place.

Sanctum Sanctorum.

Dolorous way.

say, that they met with *Simon of Cyrene*, and compelled him to assist our Saviour in the bearing of his burthen. Turning a little on the left hand, they shewed vs where the women wept, and he replied; *Weepe not for me you Daughters of Ierusalem*, &c. Then turning againe on the right, we passed vnder a little arch, neere which a house ascended by certain steps; the place where *Veronica* dwelt, who gaue our Saviour, as they say, a Napkin as he passed by the doore, to cleanse his face from the blood which trickled from his Thorne-pierst browes; and spittle wherewith they had despitefully defiled him: who returned it againe enriched with his liuely counterfeit, now to be seene at *Rome* vpon Festiuall dayes, in *Saint Peters Church* in the *Vatican*. Fronting the far end of this street, an ancient Gate which stood in the West wall of the old Citie, yet relists the sub-
10 uersions of time, called by *Nehemia*, the old Gate; by the *Iebusites* the Port of *Iebus*, and the Gate of Iudgement; for that the Elders there sate in Iustice: through which the condemned were led to execution vnto Mount *Caluarie*: then two hundred twentie paces without, and a little on the left hand; though now almost in the heart of the Citie. From hence we ascended the East-side of Mount *Caluarie* (eight hundred paces from the Palace of *Pilate*) and so descended into the Court of the Temple of the Sepulcher. Right against it are the ruines of Ioseph buildings, heretofore the *Alberges* of the Knight Hospitallers of *Saint Iohns*. Turning to the South we were shewed, where once stood the dwelling of *Zebedeus*, in which *Iames* and *Iohn* were borne heretofore a Collegiat Church, but now a Mosque. A little higher wee came to the
20 *Iron Gate*, a passage in times past betweene the vpper Citie, and the neather (which gaue way vnto *Peter* conducted by the Angell) built by *Alexander* the Great: who hauing taken *Tyrrus*, and the Sea-bordering Cities of *Phoenicia* and *Palestine*, begirt *Ierusalem* with his Armie: when on a sudden the Gates were set open, *Iaddus* the High Priest issuing forth, clothed in his Pontifical Habit, and followed with a long trayne in white Rayments: whom *Alexander* espying, aduanced before the rest of the company; and when he drew neere fell prostrate before him. For it came vnto his remembrance, how once in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, consulting with himselfe about his *Asian* Enterprize, he had seene in a Vision one so apparelled, who bid him boldly proceed, and told him that the God whom he serued would protect his Armie, and make him Lord of the *Persian* Monarchie. Then hand in hand they entred the Citie, the High Priest conducting him vnto the Temple, where hee sacrificed vnto God according to the manner of the
30 *Hebrewes*: *Iaddus* expounding vnto him the Prophecies of *Daniel*, which foretold of his victories. From thence we proceeded vnto the House of *Saint Marke*, of which an obscure Church in the custodie of the *Sorians* doth retayne the memory. And beyond, we came to the Church of *Saint Iames*, standing in the place where he was beheaded; erected by the *Spaniards*, together with an Hospitall, and now posselt by the *Armenians*. This seene, we returned to the Couent.
The day following, wee went out (as before) at the Port of *Sion*. Turning on the left hand along the wall, wee were shewed the place where *Peter* wept, when hee had denyed our Saviour; dignified once with a Church, and whereof there now remayneth some part of the foundation. Right against it there is a Posterne in the wall, formerly called Port *Esqueline*; at which they bore forth the filth of the Citie. The foundation of this part of the wall is much more
40 ancient, and much more strong then the rest, consisting of blacke stones of a mightie size. Not farre beyond, we crossed the Valley of *Iehosaphat*, and mounted the South end of Mount *Oliuet*, by the way of *Bethania*. Hauing ascended a good height, on the right hand they shewed vs where *Iudas* hanged himselfe (the stumpe of the Sycamore, as they say, not long since extant) being buried in a Grot that adioyneth. Neerer the top where Christ cursed the fig-tree, many there growing at this present. Descending the East-side of the Mountaine, a little on the left hand, we came to a desolate Chappell, about which diuers ruines; the Houses heretofore of *Simon* the Leper. From thence we descended vnto the Castle of *Lazarus*, (whereof yet there is some thing extant) the Brother to *Marie* and *Martha*: close vnder which lyes *Bethania*, (two
50 miles from *Ierusalem*) now a tottered Village, inhabited by *Arabians*. In it the Vault where Christ rayled *Lazarus* from death; square and deepe, descended into by certaine steps. Aboue are two little Chappels, which haue in either of them an Altar: where stood a stately Church erected by *Saint Helena*: and after that an Abbey, *Queene Milisend* the Foundresse. A little North of *Bethania*, we came to the ruines of a Monasterie, now leuell with the floore, seated in the place vnto which the penitent *Marie* retyned from the corrupting vanities of the Citie. South-ward of this, and not far off, stood the House of *Martha*, honoured likewise with a Temple, and ruinated alike. Equally distant from both, there is a stone, whereon, they say, that our Saviour sate, when the two Sisters intreated him to restore life to their Brother now foure dayes buried: the Pilgrime that breakes off a peece thereof, stands excommunicated. A little
60 aboue, there is a Fountayne of excellent water, deepe sunke into the Rocke, (by which we refreshed our selues with prouision brought with vs) called the Fountayne of the Apostles. Now we ascended Mount *Oliuet* againe, by another way more inclining to the North. Vpon the right hand, and not far from the top, stood *Bethsage*, whose very foundations are now confounded; from whence Christ past vnto *Ierusalem* in triumph vpon an Asses Colt: euery *Palme-sunday* by the *Pater-guardian* superstitiously imitated.

Simon of Cyrene

Veronica.

Zebedees houses

Saint Iames.

Sion Port.

Peters penance

Iudas

Bethania.

Lazarus.

Marthas house

Bethsage.

CHAP. IX.

Part of a Letter of Master WILLIAM BIDDVLPH
from Aleppo.

* The former, part of this Letter is omitted: the later also pruned in some things to prevent tedious repetitions, of those things which you haue had in others. Fame of Q. Elizabeth.



He * dolefull and lamentable beginning of your last Letter made mee exceeding sorrowfull; for therein you acquainted me with the death of blessed Queene Elizabeth, of late and famous memory; at the hearing whereof, not onely I and our English Nation mourned, but many other Christians who were neuer in Christendome, but borne and brought vp in Heathen Countries, wept to heare of her death, and said, she was the most famous Queene that euer they heard or read of, since the World beganne. But the ending of your Letter comforted vs againe, and mitigated our mourning. And (as my dutie was) I appointed one day to bee kept holy, which wee spent in Prayer, and Preaching, and Thanksgiuing vnto God for the happie aduancement of so Noble, Wise, Learned, and Religious a King ouer vs. And in signe of ioy, we feasted and triumphed in such sort, that the very Heathen people were partakers with vs of our ioy. After my departure from Constantinople, the first place wee touched at, was the two Castles at the Hellespont, about two hundred and twentie miles distant from Constantinople, where the order is, for all ships to stay three dayes, to the end that if any slaues be run away from their Masters, or Theeues haue stolne away any thing, they may thither be pursued in three dayes, before the ships passe: And then at three dayes end, the ship must be searched for goods, *contra bando*, and the *Grand Signiors* Passe shewed for all the Passengers in the ship; and then (their vsuall duties payed) they may set saile and away. Yet if the Master of the ship pay extraordinarily, they may more speedily bee dispatched: and many giue very liberally (when they haue a good winde) rather than they will be stayed many houres. From thence we came to *Chios*, where we stayed a few dayes. From *Chios* wee set sayle with a very good wind, which brought vs amongst the fiftie three Iles in the *Arches*, called *Cyclades*, or *Sporades*: And then, by a contrary wind, wee were driuen to *Samos*, which is an Ile before *Ionia*, ouer against *Ephesus*, where we anchored vntill wee had a good wind, and then sayled by *Andros*, an Ile, one of the *Cyclades*, and had a very good wind vntill we came to *Rhodos*, commonly called *Rhodes*, which is an Ile in the *Carpathian* Sea, neere *Caria*, where we were becalmed. It is called the *Carpathian* Sea of *Carpathus*, an Ile in the midst betwixt *Rhodes* and *Creet*. From *Rhodes* we came to *Cyprus*, a famous and fruitfull Iland in the Sea *Carpathium*, betweene *Cilicia* and *Syria*, which was once conquered by *Richard the First*, King of England. In this Ile, *Venus* was greatly honoured. There is still a Citie therein called *Paphia*, built by *Paphus*, who dedicated it to *Venus*. But the chiefeest Cities in *Cyprus* are *Famagusta* and *Nicosia*. There is great store of Cotton-wooll growing in this Iland, and exceeding good Wine made here, and the best Dimetey, with other good Commodities. From hence a French Gentleman (who came in our ship from Constantinople,) imbarcked himselfe for *Ioppa*, with a purpose to goe to *Ierusalem*. *Ioppa* is not two dayes sayling from *Cyprus* with a good wind: and *Ioppa* is but thirtie miles from *Ierusalem* by Land. *Cyprus* was vnder the gouernment of the Signiorie of *Venice*; but now it is inhabited by *Greekes*, and gouerned by *Turkes*. But our ship from *Cyprus* went to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, a Citie on the mayne Land of *Syria*, neere vnto Mount *Lybanus*, which is a Mountayne of three dayes iourney in length, reaching from *Tripoly* neere to *Damascus*. Whilest our ship stayed in the Roade at *Tripoly*, I and some others road vp to Mount *Lybanus*, to see the Cedar Trees there, and lodged the first night at the Bishops house of *Eden*, who vsed vs very kindly. It is but a little Village, and called by the *Turkes*, *Anchora*; but most vsuall by the *Christians* there dwelling, it is called *Eden*, not the Garden of *Eden*, (which place is vnknowne vnto this day) but because it is a pleasant place, resembling in some sort the Garden of *Eden*, (as the simple Inhabitants thereof suppose) therefore it is called *Eden*. This Bishop was borne in the same Parish, but brought vp at *Rome*: his name was *Franciscus Amyra*, by whom I vnderstood, that the Pope of *Rome* many yeeres since, sent vnto the Christians inhabiting Mount *Lybanus*, to perswade them to embrace the *Romish* Religion, and yeeld themselves to the Church of *Rome*, making large promises vnto them if they would so doe: whereof they deliberated long, but in the end yeelded, vpon condition they might haue libertie to vse their owne Lyturgie, and Ceremonies, and Lents (for they strictly obserue foure Lents in the yeere) and other Customes. Euer since which time, the Pope hath and doth maintayne some of their Children at *Rome*. These Christians which dwell vpon Mount *Lybanus*, are called *Maronites*, they are very simple and ignorant people, yet ciuill, kinde, and courteous to Strangers. There are also many *Turkes* dwelling on the same Mountayne, and an *Emeer* or great Lord, called *Emeer Vseph*, who gouerneth all the rest, both *Christians* and *Turkes*, beeing himselfe a *Mahometan*, yet one who holdeth the gouernment of Mount *Lybanus*, in despite of the Great *Turke*, and hath done a long time.

From

Cedars were
plentifull in
Salomons time,
but now very
rare.

But now
there is
no more
of them
in all the
World which
I have
travell'd
in.

* The We-
sterne Chri-
stians are so
called thorow
all the East, e-
uer since the
Hierosolymitan
Expeditions by
Godfrey Bullen.
Sheb, signifieth
an ancient
man.

There is
a Village
called
Sharry.

There is
a Village
called
Sharry.

There is
a Village
called
Sharry.

There is
a Village
called
Sharry.

There is
a Village
called
Sharry.

That is, Lord
Ioseph.

From *Eden* we rode ten miles further vp the Mountayne, to see certayne Cedar Trees, where we saw foure and twentie tall Cedar Trees growing together, as bigge as the greatest Oakes, with diuers rowes of branches one ouer another, stretching straight out, as though they were kept by Art. Although we read of great store of Cedars which haue growne on Mount *Lybanus*, yet now there are very few, for we saw none but these foure and twentie, neither heard of any other but in one place more. At these Cedars many *Nostranes* met vs, and led vs to their Villages. From these Cedars wee returned toward *Tripoly*, another way, descending by the side of the Mount towards a Village of the *Maroniticall Christians*, called *Hatcheeth*, where (as we were descending downe the side of the Mountaine) all the men, women
10 and children, came out of their Houses to behold vs: And when we were yet farre off riding towards them, they gaue a ioyfull shout altogether ioyntly, to expresse their ioy for our comming. And when we came neere, their women with Chaffing-dishes of coles burnt Incense in our way, and their *Cassefes*, that is, their Church-men (with blue Shashes about their heads) made crosses with their fingers towards vs (as their manner is in signe of welcome) and blessed vs, giuing God thanks that he had brought *Christian Frankes*, * of such far Countries as they vnderstood we were of, to come to visit them.

So soone as we were dismounted from our Horses, the chiefe *Sheh*, with all the rest of their ancientest men, came and brought vs to the chiefe house of the Parish, called the Towne-house or Church-house, and there spread Carpets and Table-clothes on the ground (as their manner is)
20 and made vs all sit downe; and euery one that was able, brought Flaskets of such good cheere as they had, to welcome vs, which was many Bottles or Ingesters of exceeding good Wine, with Oliues, Sallets, Egges, and such like things, as on the sudden they had readie, and set them before vs, and both by the cheerefulness of their countenances, gestures of their bodies, and presents of such present things as they had, expresse their gladnesse for our comming; and would also haue prepared Hens, Kids, and other good cheere, but we would not suffer them. This was about eleuen or twelue of the clocke. They would haue had vs continue with them all night, and with great importunitie craued it; but we vnderstanding that the Patriarch was but three miles off, at a Village called *Sharry*, we went to salute him, who hearing of our comming (albeit he were at a Feast amongst all his Neighbours) came to meete vs, and saluted vs, and brought
30 vs all in amongst his Neighbours into a Roome foure square, and round about beset with Carpets and Table-clothes on the ground, and such cheere as the season of the yeere did afford, set thereon, and made vs all sit down, and conferred with vs of our Country, and many other matters, sauing matters of Religion, for the poore man had no *Latine*, and little Learning in any other Language; only he had the *Syracke*, (which was his naturall Language) with the *Turkish* and *Arabian* Tongue. After wee had spent one houre with him, we left him with his Neighbours at *Sharry*, where we found him, for he could not conueniently come from them: for their manner is, when they feast, to sit from mid-day vntill mid-night, and sometimes all night, neuer altogether rising from their good cheere, but now and then one by Inter-courses, as occasion requireth, returning againe speedily. Yet hee sent with vs three men to bring vs to his owne house, neere
40 vnto a Village (foure miles distant from *Sharry*) called *Boloxa*, but vulgarly *Blouza*, from whence we descended downe the side of another part of the Mountayne, and in the middle of the descending of this Mountayne was the Patriarkes house, called *Kanobeen Kadischa Mir-iam*, in the *Syracke* Tongue, but in *Latine*, *Coenobium Sancta Maria*; that is, *The Monasterie of Saint Marie*. Ouer against the Patriarkes house is an high steeple Mountayne, from whence the water runneth downe into a deepe Valley betwixt the Patriarkes House and the Hill, and in the fall, the water maketh an exceeding great noyse, like vnto that *Catadupa* in *Ethiopia*, where the fall of *Nilus* maketh such a noyse, that the people are made deafe therewith that dwell neere it. This place is some-what like vnto it in fall, but not in effect: for this water beeing not so great as *Nilus*, maketh not the like noyse, neither worketh the like effect. There is also an extraor-
50 dinarie Echo thereabout.

One side of the Patriarkes house is a naturall Rocke, the other of hewen stones and squared Timber: a very strong House, but not very large, nor specious to behold. So are also many of their Houses, in most of their Villages, built against a Rocke, as a Wall vnto one side of it, especially *Emeer Useph* his House, the greatest part thereof being hewed out of the liuely Rocke, and the passage or descending vnto it so narrow and dangerous, that it is counted inuincible, which maketh him to hold out against the *Turke*, and to domineere in this Mountayne, will he, nill he. It is a most intricate Mountayne with Hills and Valleyes, Woods and Riuers, and fruitfull Pastures, Oliues, Vines, and Fig-trees, Goates, Sheepe, and other Cattle. It is also exceeding hauing Snow on the top all the yeere long.

60 At this Monastery of Saint *Marie* (which is the Patriarkes House) wee lodged all night, and both on Saturday at Euening Prayer, and on Sunday at Morning Prayer, we both heard and saw the manner of their Seruice in the *Syracke* Tongue, both read and sung very reuerently, with Confessions, Prayers, Thankesgiuings, the Psalmes of *David* sung, and Chapters both out of the Old Testament, and the new distinctly read. It reioyced me greatly to see their Order: and I

Set formes of
Prayers.

But foure Pari-
shes in all the
World which
speake Syriack.

Mount Lyba-
nus.

Drusies.

Turcomanny.

Ianizaries, are
Souldiers.

A Mountayne
of Sand.

Tyrus & Sidon.

Sur, or Syria.

Scanderone.
Bottom and
border of all
the Streights.

observed in these ancient *Christians* called *Nazarites*, the Antiquitie of vsing set formes of Prayers in Churches, and also the necessitie thereof, that the people might haue something to say *Amen* vnto, beeing read in their Mother Tongue, that they may learne to pray priuately, by those Prayers which they daily heare read publikely. This is too much neglected in England, God grant reformation thereof.

There is no place in all the World, but foure Parishes or Villages on this Mountaine, where they speake the *Syriack* Tongue naturally at this day. And these are these foure Villages, which I named before; at all which places wee had kind entertainment, viz. First, *Eden*, called by the *Turkes*, *Anchora*. Secondly, *Hatcheeth*. Thirdly, *Sbarry*. Fourthly, *Bolozza*, called vulgarly *Blouza*. And these people are called *Nostranes*, quasi *Nazaritans*, as it were *Nazarites*, and none but they. But more generally they are called *Maronites*, but this name is common to them with others.

There are dwelling on one side of Mount *Lybanus*, towards the foot of the Mountayne (and in some other places in that Countrey) a kind of *Christians*, called *Drusies*, who came into the Countrey with King *Baldwine*, and *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, when they conquered that Countrey, (whose Predecessors or Ancestors are thought to haue beene *Frenchmen*) and afterwards when the *Saracens* recoured it againe, these men (whom they now call *Drusies*) fled into the Mountaynes to saue themselves; and there dwelling long, in the end their Posteritie forgot all *Christianitie*, yet vsed still Baptisme, & retained still the names of *Christians*, whom the *Turcomen* call *Rasies*, that is, *Infidels*, because they eate Swines flesh, which is forbidden by the *Turkes* Law.

These *Turcomanny* are kind, and simple people, dwelling alwayes in the fields, following their flockes, borne and brought vp, liuing and dying in Tents, and when their flockes and heards remooue, then all their men, women and children remoue with their household-stuffe, and houses too, which are but Tents made to remooue, after the manner of the ancient *Israelites*: & where they find good pasture, there they pitch their Tents; the men following their flocks of sheepe and heards of Cattle, the women keepe their Tents, and spend their time in spinning, or carding, or knitting, or some household huswiferie, not spending their time in gossiping and gadding abroad from place to place, and from house to house, from Ale-house to Wine-tauerne, as many idle Huswifes in England doe. Yet sometimes are these simple soules abused by *Ianizaries*, who in trauelling by them, take from them perforce victuals for themselves and for their horses, and giue them nothing but sore stripes, if they but murmur against them. But when *Christian* Merchants passe by them, they will (of their owne accord) kindly present them.

We returned from Mount *Lybanus* to *Tripoly*, by such an intricate way, that if we had not had a Guide with vs, wee should haue lost our selues. Neere vnto *Tripoly* there is a Plaine at least one mile in length, full of Olive-trees and Fig-trees. At the foot of this Mountayne, neere vnto *Tripoly*, there is a landie Mount which hath arisen (in the memorie of some olde men there yet liuing) where there was none before; and it groweth still bigger and bigger, and there is a Prophecie of it, that in time it shall ouerwhelme the Towne. *Tripoly* hath the Etimologie (as some say) of two Greeke words, viz. *τρεῖς* and *πολις*, because the Citie hath bin thrice built. First, on a Rockie Iland, where it was ouerwhelmed with water. Secondly, on the *Marine* neere vnto the Sea, where it was often sacked by *Carsares*. And now thirdly, a mile from the Sea, where it is annoyed with sand. Our ship being not readie to set saile at our returne from the Mount, but staying partly to dispatch their businesse, and partly for a good wind; we trauelled by Land two dayes journey, to see *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, hard by the Sea. And at *Sidon* we saw the Tombe of *Zabulan*, the Sonne of *Iacob*, held in great estimation and reuerent account at this present day.

Tyrus is now called (by the *Turkes*) *Sur*, because there beginneth the Land of *Syria*, which they call *Sur*; *Tyrus* is destroyed, and no such Citie now standing, onely the name of the place remaineth, and the place is still knowne where it stood. Eight miles from *Tyrus* towards the East, is the Citie *Sarepta*, of the *Sidonians*, where the Prophet *Elias* raised the Widdowes Sonne from death to life. We saw also *Baruta*, where sometimes was a great Trade for Merchants, but from thence they remoued it to *Damascus*, and from *Damascus* to *Tripoly*, and of late, from *Tripoly* to *Sidon*. *Ioppa* is not far from these parts, oftentimes Barkes come from the one to the other. At our returne we went abroad, and presently set saile for *Scanderone*, (as it is now called by *Turkes*;) otherwise called *Alexandretta* by the *Christians*, which is the very bottome and vtmost border of all the Streights. The Aire is very corrupt, and infecteth the bodies, and corrupteth the blood of such as continue there many dayes, partly by reason of the dregs of the Sea, which are driuen thither: and partly by reason of two high Mountaynes which keepe away the Sunne from it a great part of the day. And it is very dangerous for strangers to come on shoare, before the Sunne be two houres high, and haue dried vp the vapours of the ground, or to stay on shoare after Sun-setting. The water also neere vnto the Towne are very vnholosome, coming from a Moorish ground; but at the Fountayne, a mile off, there is exceeding good water to drink. It is far more healthfull to sleepe aboard then on the shoare. *Scanderone* is in *Cilicia*, and *Cilicia* is the Countrey *Caramonia*, (as it is now called) in the lesser *Asia*, and is diuided into two parts, viz. *Torcher* and *Campestris*. It hath on the East, the Hill *Amanus*: on the North, *Taurus*: on the West, *Pamphilia*: on the South, the *Cilician* Sea.

Scanderone is the Port for *Aleppo*, where all our Merchants land their goods, and send them vp to *Aleppo* vpon Camels. The Carauans vsually make three dayes iourney betwixt *Scanderone* and *Aleppo*. Whiles our Camels were preparing, wee tooke boat and went to an ancient Towne by the Sea side, called at this day *Byas*, but of old, *Tarsus*, a Citie in *Cilicia*, where Saint *Paul* was borne, mentioned *Act. 22. 3.* which Towne is arched about (as many of their Cities are) to keepe away the heat of the Sunne, which Arches they call *Bazars*. At the Gardens neere *Tarsus* (and likewise at other Gardens within three miles of *Scanderone*) wee saw great store of Silke-wormes, which at the first bee but little graines like vnto Mustard seed: but by the bearing of them in womens bosomes, they doe gather an heat, whereby they come vnto life, and so proue wormes; they keepe them in Tents made of reeds with one loft ouer another full of them, and feed them with leaues of Mulberie trees; these wormes (by naturall instinct) doe fast often, (as some report) every third day.

Here we stayed certaine dayes to auoyd the infection of *Scanderone*. The Mountaines which obscure *Scanderone*, and make it more vnhealthfull, I take to be a part of *Taurus*, which is a great and famous Mountaine, beginning at the *Indian* Sea, and rising into the North, passeth by *Asia* vnto *Maotis*, bordering vpon many Countries, and is called by many names. Sometimes it is called *Caucasus*, which is the highest Hill in all *Asia*, which parteth *India* from *Scythia*, and is part of the Hill *Taurus*. Sometimes it is called *Amanus*, which Hill parteth *Syria* from *Cilicia*. And sometimes it is called by other names, according vnto the Sea coasts along which it extendeth. About *Scanderone* there are many rauinous beasts, about the bighesse of a Foxe, commonly called there *Lackalles*, engendred (as they say) of a Fox and a Wolfe, which in the night make a great crying, and come to the graues, and if there haue beene any Corse buried the day before, (if the graue be not well filled, with many great stones vpon it) many of them together, with their feet, doe scrape vp the earth, and pull vp the corps and eate it.

At our returne from *Tarsus*, *Edward Rose* our Factor marine, prouided vs horses to ride to *Aleppo*, and a *Ianizarie*, called *Parauan Bashaw* with two *Immoglans* to guard vs, with necessarie victuals for our selues to spend by the way, for there are no Innes nor Victualing-houses in that Countrey, but traouellers take victuals for themselves, and prouender for their Horses with them. Our Merchants and Passengers making haste to be gone from this contagious and pestiferous place *Scanderone* (which one very well called, *The bane of Francke*) left their goods with the Factor marine to be sent after them, because the *Malims* and *Muckremen* (as they call the Carriers) were not yet come downe with their Camels to carrie them vp: but we met them at the Fountaine of fishes neere vnto *Scanderone*. About eight miles from *Scanderone*, we came to a Towne called *Bylan*, where there lieth buried an *English* Gentleman, named *Henrie Morison*, who died there comming downe from *Aleppo*, in companie with his brother *Master Phines Morison*, who left his Armes in that Countrey with these Verses vnder written.

To thee deere Henry Morison

Thy Brother Phines here left alone:

Hath left this fading memorie,

For Monuments, and all must die.

From *Bylan* wee came to the Plaine of *Antioch*, and went ouer the Riuier *Orontes* by Boate, which Riuier parteth *Antiochia* and *Syria*. *Antioch* Plaine is very long and large, at least ten miles in length. We lodged the first night at *Antiochia*, in *Pisidia*, an ancient Towne about fife and twentie miles from *Scanderone*, mentioned *Act. 11. 26.* where the Disciples were first called *Christians*. Here we lodged in an house, but on the bare ground, hauing nothing to sleepe on, or to couer vs, but what wee brought with vs, viz. a Pillow, and a Quilt at the most, and that was lodging for a Lord.

This *Antioch* hath beene, as a famous, so an exceeding strong Towne, situated by the Sea, and almost compassed (at the least on both sides) with exceeding high and strong Rockes. The Inhabitants at this day are *Greekes*, but vnder the gouernement of the *Turke*, but for matters of Religion, ordered and ruled by their Patriarchs, for the *Greekes* haue foure Patriarchs to this present day, viz. The Patriarch of *Antioch*, the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who ruleth all the rest. Yet as the *Iewes*, so also the *Greekes* to this day are without a King, and both they, and their Patriarchs are but slaues to the great *Turke*.

And although their Patriarch of *Constantinople* be counted their chiefe Patriarch: yet I haue knowen one *Milesius* (a learned man indeed) who was first Patriarch of *Constantinople*, preferred to the place by *Master Edward Barton*, an *English* Gentleman, and Lord Ambassadour for *Queene Elizabeth* of famous memorie, who for his wisdom, good gouernement, policie, and Christian carriage, hath left an immortall fame behind him in those Countries, to this present day, and lieth buried at an Iland of the *Greekes*, within twelue miles of *Constantinople*, called *Bartons Iland* to this day. After whose death, this good man *Milesius* was by the *Greekes* displaced from being Patriarch of *Constantinople*: (which they durst not doe whiles *Master Barton* was liuing) becaule, being a man of knowledge, he laboured to reforme the *Greekes* from many of their superstitious customes. Whereupon (presently after the death of *Master Barton*) they said, their Patriarch was an *English-man*, and no *Greeke*, and therefore manzulled him, that is,

T t t t t 3

displaced

Tarsus in Cilicia

Silkewormes

Edward Rose

Malims are chiefe Carriers.

Muckremen set Horses to hire.

Bylan:

Master Morisons trauels are since printed in a large volume by themselves, where the Reader may feast himselfe with the rarities and varieties of many Kingdomes.

Antiochia in Pisidia.

Master Barton, Before him Master Hareborn was Ambassador. Bartons Iland.

displaced him. Yet bearing some reuerence towards him for his learning, they made him Patriarch of *Alexandria*. And being there Patriarch, hee excommunicated the Patriarch of *Antiochia*, because he accepted of reliefe at the Popes hand, and made him come to *Alexandria*, to humble himselfe vnto him, and acknowledge his fault before he would suffer him to execute his Patriarchs office.

Henry Lello.

The English Ambassadors with the Great Turke haue beene, 1. Master Hareborn. 2. Master Barton. 3. Sir Henry Lello. 4. Sir T. Glouer. 5. Sir Paul Pinder. 6. Sir Ioh. Aires. 7. Sir Thomas Roe, now Lierger there for his Maiestie.

Master *Henry Lello* (a learned, wise, and religious English Gentleman, sometime Student in *Oxford*, and afterwards at the Innes of the Court) succeeded Master *Barton* in his place, and in many things exceeded him, especially in his religious carriage and vnspotted life: and had not the times beene more troublesome in his Regiment, then in the time of his Predecessor Master *Barton*; he would euery way haue gone beyond him. Hee first of all reformed his familie, and afterwards so ordered himselfe in his whole carriage, that he credited our Countrey: and after ten yeeres gouernement of the English Nation there, hee returned into his Countrey with the teares of many, and with generall good report of all Nations there dwelling or sojourning; and is worthily by his excellent Maiestie rewarded with Knighthood for his good seruice. If *Milesius* had liued, this good Gentleman would haue restored him to *Constantinople*, as he placed many other Arch-bishops both at *Salonica*, (of old called *Theffalonica*) and elsewhere.

In the Mountaines betwixt *Scanderone* and *Aleppo*, there are dwelling a certaine kind of people, called at this day *Coords*, comming of the race of the ancient *Parthians*, who worship the Deuill, and alledge for their reason in so doing, that God is a good man, and will doe no man harme, but that the Deuill is bad, and must bee pleased, lest hee hurt them. There was one of our Carriers a *Muccreman* and *Malim*, named *Abdel Phat*, who was said to be of that Race and Religion. There is also, although not in the direct way, (yet for safety and pleasantnesse of the way, it is sometimes taken in the way to *Aleppo*) an ancient Citie called *Achilles*, where one *Afan Bashaw* ruleth like a King (paying duties to the *Turkes*) successiue from his Predecessors, comming of the house of *Sanballat*, who hindred the building of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, who is called to this day, *Eben Sumbolac*, that is, The sonne of *Sanballat*: and all his kinred call one another, *Ammiogli*, that is, Brother *Ammonite*; for they account themselves of the race of the *Ammonites*. This *Afan Bashaw* is now old, and (for the most part) referreth all matters of gouernement to his Kinsman *Vseph Bege*, that is, Lord *Ioseph*.

Achilles.

Sanballat. Nebe. 4. 1.

The second night, in our trauell from *Scanderone*, we lodged at a place called, *The Gardens*, in the open fields, hauing the ground to our Bed, a stone to our Pillow (as *Iacob* in his trauell had) and the Skie to our couering. And many poore Trauellers in these parts (who come vnprovided) haue nothing but the aire for their supper, except they can meet with the fruits of Trees, or Herbs of the fields. Wee met in some places with Villages of Tents, where our *Ianizarie Paganan Bashaw* (being partly feared and partly loued amongst them) brought vnto vs from them, Bread and Water often times. Their Bread is made all in Cakes, after the ancient manner, as *Abraham* entertayned Angels with hearth Cakes. At one place we had also presented to vs very good sweet Goats milke, and also good sowre milke, turned by Art, which is the most common dish in those hot Countries.

Cakes.

Hanadan.

Ieremie his Sepulchre.

Samboues are little Pasties. Muclebite, a dish made of Egges and Herbs. Aleppo. In the title of Esal. 60.

The day following, we came about noone to a Village, called *Hanadan*, eight miles on this side *Aleppo*, ouer against which Village, on the right hand, on the top of the hill, there is (as the *Iewes* report) the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Ieremie*. At this Village *Hanadan* there are many Pigeon houses, whereof the poore people make much profit, bringing them to *Aleppo* to sell. At this Village we dined with Musmelons, Samboues, and a Muclebite. And after dinner, we slept an houre or two (as the custome of the Countrey is) and then rode forwards towards *Aleppo*, whither we came by five of the Clocke, and were kindly entertayned at *Cane Burgol* by the worshipfull *Richard Colthurst* Esquire, Consull for the English Nation there.

Aram Sobah, some thinke to haue beene that Citie which is now called *Aleppo*. And of this *Aram Sobah* I find mention made, 2. *Sam.* 8. 3, 4, 5. And also in the title of the sixtie Psalm, where mention is made of the salt Valley which is but halfe a dayes iourney from *Aleppo*, which is a very great Plaine, without grasse growing on it, the very sand whereof is good Salt naturally: after raine, being dried againe by the Sunne, they gather it. There is also a little Iland or Mountaine in the midst thereof, plaine on the top, which yeeldeth the best Salt. Some *Iewes* there dwelling, doe also say, that *Aleppo* was the Citie *Sepheruaim*: but I thinke it to be a better Citie, which some say, was called *Apollonius*: but I know no reason for it, except it were built by one of that name. Howsoeuer, it should seeme this Citie *Aleppo* hath often changed her name, and that, if it were not *Aram Sobah*, yet to be built not farre from the place where *Aram Sobah* stood. But the *Turkes* (changing the names of all places where they come) call *Aleppo* at this day, *Halep*, which signifieth Milke, because it yeeldeth great store of Milke.

Aleppo is inhabited by *Turkes*, *Moors*, *Arabians*, *Iewes*, *Greekes*, *Armenians*, *Chelfalines*, *Norstranes*, and people of sundry other Nations. The *Turkes* come of *Magog* the sonne of *Iapheth*.

The *Moors* are more ancient dwellers in *Aleppo* then *Turkes*, and more forward and zealous in *Mahometisme* then *Turkes*: yea all the Church-men amongst the *Turkes* are *Moors* (whom the *Turkes* count a base people in regard of themselves, and call them *Törs*.) Yet their Church-men

men they haue in great reuerence; and not onely theirs, but they reuerence Church-men of all Nations, and call them holy Men, Saints, and men of God. I my selfe haue had great experience hereof, both in the place of my abode at *Aleppo*, and in my iourney towards *Ierusalem*, and in other places. In *Aleppo*, as I haue walked in the streetes, both *Turkes* and *Moores*, and other Nations, would very reuerently salute me after the manner of their Countrey: yea, their very Souldiers, as I haue walked in the Fields, with many other of our Nation, without a *Ianesarie* to guard vs, though they haue beene many hundreds together, yet haue they not offered either me or any of my companie wrong, for my sake, but haue said one to another, *Hadah Cassies*; that is, *This is a Church-man, and therefore take heed what you doe vnto him, for he is a good man*, &c. At *Ierusalem* many strangers of sundry Nations vnderstanding that I was an *English* Preacher, came and kissed my hand, and called me the *English* Patriarke. Yea, in all my ten yeeres Trauels, I neuer receiued, neither was offered wrong by any Nation but mine owne Countrey-men, and by them chiefly whom it chiefly concerned to protect me from wrongs: yet haue I found them most forward to offer me wrong, onely for doing my dutie, and following the order of our Church of *England*: knowing that I had none of the Reuerend Fathers of our Church to defend me. So would it be in *England*, if we had not the Reuerend Fathers in God the Lord Bishops of our Church to protect vs. All other Nations, both Heathen and Christian, goe before vs herein, in reuerencing and prouiding for their Church-men. The *Turkes* honour their *Mustie* (which is their chiefe Ruler in Ecclesiasticall matters, next vnder the *Grand Signior*) as an Angell: The *Nostranes*, *Greekes*, *Armenians*, *Chelbalines*, and Christians of all other Nations, performe double honour vnto them: onely in *England*, where there is a more learned Ministerie (I speake by experience) then in any Nation in the world, they are least of all regarded: Which maketh our Aduersaries, the *Papists*, say, (as I haue heard some of them speake in my hearing, many thousand miles from *England*) that if wee our selues were perswaded of the truth of our Religion, wee would reuerence our Church-men as they doe, and not scorne them and contemne them as we doe.

They also account fooles, dumbe men, and mad men, *Santones*, that is, Saints. And whatsoever such mad men say or doe, though they take any thing out of their houle, or strike them, and wound them, yet they take it in good part, and say, that they shall haue good lucke after it. And when such mad men die, they Canonize them for Saints, and erect stately Monuments ouer their graues, as wee haue here many examples, especially of one (who being mad) went alwayes naked, whose name was *Sheh Bonbac*, at whose death they bestowed great cost on his funerall, and erected an house ouer his graue, where (to this day) there are Lampes burning night and day, and many idle fellowes (whom they call *Daruises*) there maintained to looke vnto his Sepulchre, and to receiue the offerings of such as come to offer to *Sheh Bonbac*, which they take to themselves, and there is no weeke but many come out of the Citie of *Aleppo* and other places, to offer. For this Sepulchre is built on an Hill, three miles from *Aleppo*, betweene the Kings Garden and the Fountaine of Fishes. If any be sicke, or in danger, they vow that if they recouer or escape, they will offer so much money, or this or that good thing to *Sheh Bonbac*. There is also such another Bedlam Saint in *Aleppo* yet liuing, whom they call *Sheh Mahammet* a *Santone*, who goeth alwaies naked, with a Spit on his shoulders; and as hee goeth thorow the streetes, the Shop-keepers will offer him their Rings; and if hee thrust his Spit thorow their Rings, they take it for a fauour and signe of good successe: The like account they make, if hee take any thing from their Shop-boards, or box them or any of their house: yea, they are yet more mad vpon this mad man then so, for both men and women will come vnto him, and kisse his hand, or any other part, sometimes his thighs, and aske him counsell, for they hold that mad mens soules are in Heauen talking with God, and that hee reuealeth secrets vnto them. In regard whereof, the *Bashawes* themselves oftentimes, and chiefe Captaines will come vnto him with some present, and kisse some part of his naked body, and aske him whether they shall goe to battell or not, and what successe they shall haue in warre: And looke whatsoever he saith, they hold it for an Oracle. Not long since, the *Turkes* had a victorie against the Christians; and at their returne, they reported that this naked *Santone*, *Sheh Mahammet* of *Aleppo*, was seene naked in the field, fighting against their enemies, and that by his helpe they ouer-came them, although hee were not neere them by many thousand miles. Whereby you may see how the Demill doth delude them still, as hee did their Fore-fathers at the first by *Mahomets Machiavelian* deuices.

Their *Daruises* also they haue in such reputation, that oftentimes great *Bashawes*, when they are in disfaour with the King, and feare either losse of life, or goods, or both, to auoide danger, will turne *Daruises*, and then they account themselves priuiledged persons from the rigour of their Law. The witnesse of a *Daruise* or of a Church-man, will passe better then any mans witnesse besides, yea, better then *Shereffes* whom they account of *Mahomets* kindred, and they are knowne from others by their greene Shashes, which no man else may weare: for greene they account *Mahomets* colour, and if they see any Christian wearing a garment of that colour, they will cut it from his backe, and beate him, and aske him how he dare presume to weare *Mahomets*

Turkes reuerence Church-men of all sorts.

Mad and foolish sanctification. *Sheh Bonbac*. *Sheh Mahammet* a naked *Santone*.

* *Cotonicus* pag. 455. *Iim. Hieros.* & *Syr.* mentioneth this naked foole, and

saith, that each other day hee washeth his naked body at the Fountaine of the great

Can, and presently the water is reputed holy; drunke and carried to sicke folkes by the *Moores*. His Cell is like

Vulcans shop, where he lyeth on the ground, is attended with

Daruises, which beg almes, and gather Beasts bones to make fire, sometimes he, sometimes they

singing. Some women desiring issue, kisse his genetall member

(which is alway naked) and depart ioyfull. Hee ate Flies, Do ge

eyes raw, and with his Spit vsed to pursue any Dog hee saw, for that

purpose, &c. A fit glasse to looke vpon superstition. *Daruises*.

meets colour, and whether hee bee Kin to God or not? This I haue knowne put in practise vpon Christians (not acquainted with the customes of the Countrey) since my comming: one for hauing but greene Shooe-strings, had his Shooes taken away. Another wearing greene Breeches vnder his Gowne (being espied) had his Breeches cut off, and he reuiled and beaten.

The *Turkes* haue no Printing amongst them, but all their Law and their Religion is written in the *Morisco* tongue, that is, the *Arabicke* tongue. And he is accounted a learned man amongst them, that can write and reade. And as for the *Latine* tongue, hee is a rare man amongst them that can speake it. Some few amongst them haue the *Italian* tongue: and many (especially in and about *Constantinople*) speake the vulgar *Greeke*, that is, *Romeica* tongue. For in *Constantinople* there are as many *Grecians* and *Hebrues* as *Turkes*. The poore, amongst the *Moore*s and *Turkes* at *Aleppo*, beg oftentimes in the streetes, in the name and for the sake of *Syntana Fissa*, who was (as they say) a Whore of Charitie, and would prostitute her selfe to any man *Bacshesse* (as they say in the *Arabicke* tongue) that is *gratis* freely.

Syntana Fissa.
Diet of the
Turkes.
Pilaw.

Coffa.

Coffa houses.

Water lighter
there then
here.

Salutations
of the Turkes.

The Diet of the *Turkes* is not sumptuous, for the most common dish is *Pilaw*, which is good sauiory meate made of Rice, and small morsels of Mutton boyled therein, and sometimes roasted Buckones, (that is, small bits or morsels of flesh.) Their more costly fare is *Sambouses* and *Muclebites*. *Sambouses* are made of Paste, like a great round Pastie, with varietie of Herbes and meates therein, not minced, but in Buckones. A *Muclebite* is a dish made of Eggs and Herbes. Their smaller *Sambouses* are more common, not so big as a mans hand, like a square Pastie, with minced meate therein. They haue also varietie of *Helloway*, that is, sweet meates compounded in such sort, as are not to be seene elsewhere. The poorer sort feede on Herbes and Fruits of the Trees. Their most common drinke is *Coffa*, which is a blacke kinde of drinke, made of a kind of Pulse like Pease, called *Coana*; which being grownd in the Mill, and boiled in water, they drinke it as hot as they can suffer it; which they finde to agree very well with them against their crudities, and feeding on Herbes and raw meates. Other compounded drinks they haue, called *Sherbet*, made of Water and Sugar, or Honey, with Snow therein to make it coole; for although the Countrey bee hot, yet they keepe Snow all the yeere long to coole their drinke. It is accounted a great curtesie amongst them to giue vnto their friends when they come to visit them, a Fin-ion or Scudella of *Coffa*, which is more holesome then toothsome, for it causeth good concoction, and drieth away drowynesse. Some of them will also drinke *Bersb* or *Opi-um*, which maketh them forget themselves, and talke idly of Castles in the Ayre, as though they saw Visions, and heard Reuelations. Their *Coffa* houses are more common then Ale-houses in *England*; but they vse not so much to sit in the houses, as on Benches on both sides the streetes, neere vnto a *Coffa* house, euery man with his Fin-ion full; which being smoaking hot, they vse to put it to their Noses and Eares, and then sup it off by leasure, being full of idle and Ale-house talke, whiles they are amongst themselves drinking of it; if there be any newes, it is talked off there. They haue also excellent good fountaine waters in most places of that Countrey, which is a common drinke amongst them, especially in Summer time, and in their trauels at all times of the yeere.

Some of our Merchants haue weighed their water and ours in *England*, when they haue come home, and haue found their water lighter then ours by foure ounces in the pound; and the lighter the water is, the more pleasant it is to drinke, and goeth downe more delectably, as if it were Milke rather then water. In great Cities where the Fountaines are either farre off, or not so plentiful, there are certaine poore men, which goe about the streetes from morning to night, with a Beares skinne full of water, sewed vp and fastned about his shoulders like a *Tinkers* Budget, with a Bole of Brasse in his hand, and offereth water freely to them that passe by, except they giue them any thing in curtesie, (some seldome times.) The greatest part of them are very curteous people amongst themselves, saluting one another at their meetings, with their hand on their brest (for they neuer vncover their head) with these words: *Salam Alike Sultanum*: that is, Peace bee vnto you Sir. Whereunto the other replyeth, *Alekem Salam*: that is, Peace be to you also. And sometimes thus: *Elph Marhabba ianum*. Or in *Turkish*, thus: *Hosh Geldanos*, *Sophi Geldanos*: that is, Welcome my deare friend. And in the Morning, *Subalkier Sultanum*, that is, Good morrow Sir: and in the Euening, thus, *Misalker Sultanum*, that is, Good euen Sir. And when friends and acquaintance meete, who haue not seene one another many dayes before, they salute one another in *Turkish*, thus: *Neder halen?* that is, how doe you? In *Arabicke*, thus, *Isb halac Seedi?* that is, How doe you Sir? And *Isb babiac?* that is, how doth thy Gate? (meaning all within his Gate) and so proceed by particulars, to aske how doth thy Childe, Slaue, Horse, Cat, Dog, Ass, &c. and euery thing in the house, except his Wife; for that is held a very vnkinde question, and not vsuall amongst them. And if a man come to their houses, and at the doore enquire of the Children for their Father, they will answer him: but if he enquire for the Mother, they will throw stones at him and reuile him.

Their women (as hath beene shewed before) haue little libertie to come abroade, except it be on the Eue before their Sabbath (which is Thursday) to weepe at the graues of the dead, or to the *Bannios* or hot Baths to wash themselves (as the vse of the Countrey is.) And when they

they come abroad, they are alwayes masked; for it is accounted a shame for a Woman to bee seene bare-faced: yea, they are so ielous and suspicious ouer them, that Fathers will not suffer their owne Sonnes, after they come to fourteene yeeres of age, to see their Mothers.

These bee their common salutations one to another. Their more speciall salutations to great Personages are these. When a man commeth to salute the great *Turke*, or *Grand Signior* himselfe (into whose presence few are admitted except Ambassadors and great Personages) they are led betweene two by the armes, for feare of a stab, by which meanes one of their *Grand Signiors* was once killed, and when they returne, they goe backwards; for it is accounted a disgrace to turne their backe parts to a great Man. In like manner they salute their *Bashawes*, and other
 10 great Men (but not led by the armes) but with their hands on the brest, bowing downe their heads to kisse the skirt of his Garment, pronouncing these words, *Ollah towal omrac Seedi*, that is, God prolong your dayes Sir. And so long as they talke with a *Bashaw*, they stand with their hands on their brest Maiden-like, and bow low at their departure, and goe backward. They neuer vncover their heads vnto any man, no not to the King himselfe; yea, it is a word of reproach amongst them, to say, when they mislike a matter, *I had as liene thou shewedst me thy bare head.*

They call one another diuersly, and not alwayes by their names, but sometimes by their fathers Calling, Trade, or Degree: as *Eben Sultan*, that is, The sonne of a King: *Eben Terzi*, The sonne of a Taylor. And sometimes by their fathers qualities, as *Eben Sacran*, that is, The sonne of a Drunkard. And sometimes by their Marks, as *Colac cis*, that is, A man without eares: *Comfi Sepher*, that is, *Sepher* with the thin beard. And sometimes by their Stature, as *Tow-ill*, that is, A tall man: *Sgire rugiall*, that is, A little man. And sometimes by their Offices, as *I-asgee*, that is, A Secretarie: *Niba*, that is, A Clerke, &c. And sometimes by their humours, as *Chiplac*, that is, A naked man: or, One who was of a humour to weare no cloathes but breeches. But their
 20 common word of curtesie either to strangers, or such whose names they know not, or whom they purpose to reuerence, is *Chillabee*, that is, Gentleman. And there is no man amongst them of any degree, will refuse to answere to any of these names. But if Nature haue marked them either with goggle eyes, bunch backs, lame legs, or any other infirmitie or deformitie, as they are knowne by it, so they are content to bee called by it. But they haue gone on pilgrimage to their holy Citie *Mecha*, where their Prophet *Mahomet* was buried, at their returne are called
 30 *Hogies*, that is, Pilgrims, as *Hogie Tabar*, *Hogie Mahamet*, &c. which is counted a word of great grace and credit amongst them. And the witnessse of an *Hogie*, will bee taken before any other.

There are also many *Arabians* in *Aleppo*, called vulgarly, *Arabs* or *Bedweens*. They haue two Kings at this day, viz. *Dandan* and *Aberisha*; the one their lawfull King, the other an Vsurper; and some follow the one, and some the other, and are bitter enemies one to another; yet haue I
 seldome heard of any great warres betwixt them, for they seldome meet. They neuer come into any walled Townes or Cities, for feare of treason: but liue in Tents, and are here to day, and many hundred miles off within few dayes after. They are a base, beggarly, and roguish people, wandering vp and downe, and liuing by spoile, which they account no sinne, because they are
 40 *Mahomets* countreinmen, and hee allowed them libertie to liue by theft. Yet their Kings doe no great harme, but take Toll or Tribute of the Carauans as they passe by, which if they pay willingly, they passe quietly, and are not robbed, but a little exacted vpon. One of their Kings hath often times pitched his Tents neere vnto the Citie of *Aleppo*, and many Merchants being desirous to see them and their order, tooke occasion to present him with some small Present or other, which he tooke very kindly, and admitted them to his Table, and gaue them a Tent to lodge in all night: on the morrow for breake-fast one of them made him a minsed Pie, and set it before him hot as it came out of the Ouen: And when he saw it cut vp and opened, and perceiued smoke to come out of it, he shrunk backe, fearing it had bene some engine to destroy him, and that the fire would follow after the smoake. But when hee perceiued no fire followed the
 50 smoake, he was content to taste of it, and highly commended it, as the daintiest dish that euer he tasted of in his life.

These *Arabian* Kings neuer keepe any money in their purses, but spend it as fast as they finde it, and when they want, with their Sword they seeke a new purchase. Some are Souldiers, fighting faithfully on any side that will giue them pay. Some of this roguish *Arabian* Race follow neither of their Kings, but wander from place to place in Caues and Rocks, and liue by their Sword, not onely robbing, but killing such as they can ouer-come. Others of them (of a better minde) sojourne in Cities of Trade and Traffique, and make themselues seruants to any Nation that will set them on worke, and well reward them. Some of them are Horse-keepers, some Bastages, that is, Porters, and some vnder-Cookes in Kitchens, and are very seruiceable. But for the most part their Lodgings are on some Dunghill or other, or odde corner of the Citie, with
 60 some silly Tent ouer their heads. Their wiues weare Rings in their Noses, either of siluer or brasle, fastned to the middle gristle of their Nose, and colour their Lips blue with *Indico*, and goe alwayes bare-legged and bare-footed, with Plates or Rings of brasle about their ankles, and bracelets of brasle about their hands. They are people which can and doe endure great hardnesse and miserie, both for Diet and Lodging. Their Women are skilfull in mourning and crying by arte,

Art, and therefore they are hired to crie at the Funerals of *Turks* and *Moors* oftentimes, tearing their haire, and making all their face blue with *Indico*. There are here spoken so many severall Languages as there are several Nations here dwelling or sojourning, euery Nation (amongst themselves) speaking their owne language. And here are of most Nations in the World some, who either come with their Merchandise to sell or buy commodities, or sojourne here as strangers, or else haue access and recess to this Citie as Trauellers. But of all Christian languages, the *Italian* tongue is most vsed, and therewithall a man may trauell furthest. But of all the Orientall Tongues, these foure are most spoken in these parts, *Arabicke*, *Turkish*, *Armenian*, and *Persian*, or *Agimesco*. Besides all these *Mahometans* (which I haue already named) there are many *Iewes* in *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Babylon*, *Grand Cairo*, and euery great Citie and Place of Merchandise, throughout all the *Turkes* Dominions, who are knowne by their Hats: for they were accustomed to weare red Hats without brimmes at my first comming: But lately (the head *Vizier* being their enemy) they are constrained to weare Hats of blue cloth, because red was accounted too stately, and Princelike a colour for them to weare. They are of more vile account in the sight of *Turkes* then *Christians*; insomuch that if a *Iew* would turne *Turke*, he must first turne *Christian* before they will admit him to bee a *Turke*. Yea, it is a word of reproach amongst the *Turkes*, and a vsuall protestation amongst them, when they are falsely accused of any crime, to cleare themselves they vse to protest in this manner, *If this bee true, then God grant I may die a Iew*. And the *Iewes* in like cases vse to say, *If this be not a false accusation, then God grant I may die a Christian*, praying better for themselves then they beleue, and as all of them must be that shall bee saued. And the poore *Christians* sojourning and dwelling in these parts, doe hate them very vncharitably and irreligiously: (in that we reade *Rom. 11.* many Arguments prouing that they shall be conuerted againe) for on Good Friday in many places (especially at *Zante*) they throw stones at them, insomuch that they dare not come out of their houses all that day, and yet are scarce in safetie in their houses, for they vse to throw stones at their windowes and doores, and on the roofof their houses. On Thursday about noone, the *Iewes* begin to keepe within doores, and continue there with their doores shut vntill Saturday about noone, for if they come forth before that time they are sure to be stoned, but after noone on Easter Eue if they come abroad, they may passe as quietly as euer they did. And some ignorant *Christians* refuse to eate of their meat or bread: their reason is, because the *Iewes* refuse to eate or drinke with *Christians* to this day, or to eate any meate that *Christians* kill. But it is not vnusuall amongst *Christians* of better knowledge, to eate of the *Iewes* meat, which ordinarily they buy of them: for the *Iewes* to this day eate not of the hinder part of any beast, but onely of the former parts, and sell the hinder quarters of their Beefe, Mutton, Kids, Goats, &c. to *Christians*.

They obserue still all their old Ceremonies and Feasts, Sacrifices onely excepted. Yet some of them haue confessed, that their Physicians kill some *Christian* Patient or other, whom they haue vnder their hands at that time, in stead of a Sacrifice. If a man die without Children, the next Brother taketh his Wife, and raiseth vp seed vnto his Brother: and they still marrie in their owne Kindred. Many of them are rich Merchants: some of them *Drogomen*, and some *Brokers*. Most of them are very craftie and deceitfull people. They haue no *Beggars* amongst them, but many Theeues, and some who steale for necessitie, because they dare not begge. All matters of controversie betwixt themselves, are brought before their *Cakam* to decide, who is their chiefe Churchman. Most of the *Iewes* can reade *Hebrew*, but few of them speake it, except it be in two places in *Turkie*, and that is at *Salonica*, formerly called *Thessalonica*, a Citie in *Macedonia*, by the Gulfe *Thermaicus*; and at *Safetta* in the Holy Land, neere vnto the Sea of *Galile*: Which two places are as it were Vniuersities, or Schooles of learning amongst them.

Amongst all the sorts of *Christians*, there is amongst the *Maronites* an ancient companie of *Christians*, called vulgarly *Nostranes*, quali *Nazaritans*, of the Sect of the *Nazarites*, more ciuill and harmelesse people then any of the rest. Their Countrey is Mount *Lybanus* (as I wrote vnto you heretofore) but many of them dwell at *Aleppo*, whereof some of them are *Cassies*, that is, Church-men; some of them are Cookes, and seruants vnto *English* Merchants and others; some Artificers: All of them liue somewhat poorely, but they are more honest and true in their conuersation then any of the rest, especially at their first comming from Mount *Lybanus* to dwell in *Aleppo*; and many, during their continuance there, if they bee not corrupted by other wicked Nations there dwelling: in whom I obserued more by experience then I heard of them, or noted in them when I was amongst them at Mount *Lybanus*. And especially for the manner of their marriage, and how they honour the same.

They buy their wiues of their Fathers (as others there dwelling, doe) but neuer see them vntill they come to be married, nor then neither vntill the marriage be solemnized betwixt them: for there is a partition in the place where they meet to be married, and the Man and his Friends stand on the one side, and the yong Woman and her Friends on the other side, where they may heare, but not see one another, vntill the *Cassies* bid the yong Man put his hand thorow an hole in the wall, and take his Wife by the hand. And whiles they haue hand in hand, the Mother of the Maid commeth with some sharpe instrument made for the purpose, and all to bepricketh the new

Iewes stoned
on good Friday.

Superstition.

Two Vniuersities.

new married mans hand, and maketh it bleed. And if hee let her hand goe when hee feeleth his hand smart, they hold it for a signe that hee will not loue her: But if hee hold fast (notwithstanding the smart) and wring her hard by the hand vntill shee crie, rather then hee will once shrinke, then he is counted a louing man, and her friends are glad that they haue bestowed her on him. And how they honour Marriage aboue others, I obserued by the naming of their first man-child. For as amongst vs the women, when they are married, lose their Surnames, and are surnamed by the husbands surname, and children likewise; so amongst them the father loseth his name, and is called by the name of his eldest sonne, in this manner. I haue knowne a *Nostrane*, whose name was *Mou-se*, that is, *Moses*, who hauing a man-child, named him *Useph*, that is, *Ioseph*, and then was the father no more called *Mou-se*, *Moses*, but *Abou Useph*, that is, The father of *Ioseph*. Another whose name was *Useph*, named his eldest sonne *Pher-iolla*, after which he was no more called *Useph*, but *Abou Pher-iolla*, The father of *Pher-iolla*. Another man called *Iubrael*, that is, *Gabriel*, his sonne at the time of Baptisme being named *Mou-se*, hee alwaies after was called *Abou Mou-se*, that is, The father of *Moses*: such an honour doe they account it to be the father of a man-child.

These *Nostranes* reuerence their *Cassises* greatly, and kisse their hand wheresoeuer they meet them: yet are most of them altogether vnlearned, hauing onely the knowledge of the *Syriac* Tongue, wherein their *Lyturgie* is read. They keepe their Feasts at the same time as wee doe, viz. *Christmasse*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*: and at *Christmasse* on the Twelfth day in the morning, called *Epiphanie*, their young men haue a custome (betimes in the morning) to leape naked into the water: I could neuer heare any reason of their so doing, but *Uxansa de prease*, The custome of their Countrey. And though it bee then very cold, yet they perswade themselves, and others, that then it is hotter then at any other time, and that the water then hath an extraordinary vertue to wash away their sinnes. On Munday in Easter weeke and Whitsun weeke, these *Nostranes* goe with their *Cassises* to the graues of the dead, and there kneele downe, and burne incense, and pray at euery graue.

The *Chelsalines* are Christians, dwelling vpon the borders of *Persia*, betweene *Mesopotamia* and *Persia*, at a place called *Chelsa*. These bring Silke to *Aleppo* to sell. They are plaine dealing people: If a man pay them money, and (by ouer-reckoning himselfe) giue them more then their due, though there be but one piece ouer, so soone as they perceiue it, though it bee many dayes after, they will bring it backe againe, and restore it, and thinke they shall neuer returne safely into their Countrey, if they should not make restitution thereof. These people perswade themselves, and report vnto others, that they dwell in that place which was called *Eden*, whereinto *Adam* was put to keepe it and dresse it.

The *Greekes* in *Aleppo* are very poore, for they are there (for the most part) but *Brokers* or *Eden*. *Bastages*, that is, *Porters*; and many of their women as light as water, maintayning their husbands, themselves, and their families, by prostituting their bodies to others. And their owne husbands are oftentimes their *Pandars* or procurers to bring them Customers. But the *Greekes* that liue at *Constantinople*, are many of them great Merchants, and very rich; but exceeding proud, and sumptuous in apparell, euen the basest of them, and especially their women, who though they be but *Coblers* wiues, or poore *Artificers* wiues, yet they goe in Gownes of Sattin, and Taffata, yea of Cloth of siluer and gold, adorned with Precious stones, and many Gemmes, and Jewels about their neckes and hands. They care not how they pinch their bellies, so that they may haue fine apparell on their backs. And at the time of their Marriage, the women condition with their husbands to find them decent apparell, and conuenient diet, and bring them before their Patriarch of *Constantinople* to confirme it; which, if it be not performed accordingly, if they complaine to their Patriarch, they are diuorced presently, and hee taketh an other man to her husband, better able to maintayne her: and hee may marrie another woman if hee please.

And both at *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, and other places of *Turkey*, where there is trafficking, and trading of Merchants, it is no rare matter for Popish Christians of sundry other Countries, to *Cut Cabine*, (as they call it) that is, to take any woman of that Countrey where they sojourne, (*Turkish* women onely excepted, for it is death for a Christian to meddle with them) and when they haue bought them, and enrolled them in the *Cadies* Booke, to vse them as wiues so long as they sojourne in that Countrey, and maintayne them gallantly, to the consuming of their wealth, diminishing of their health, and endangering of their owne soules. And when they depart out of that Countrey, they shake off these their sweet-hearts, and leaue them to shift for themselves and their children. And this they account no sinne, or at leastwise such a sinne as may be washed away, with a little holy water. And these are the vertues which many Christians learne by sojourning long in Heathen Countries.

Euery *Bashaw* who hath gouernement ouer others in a Citie or Countrey, tyranniseth ouer those which are vnder their regiment; and sometimes strangeth, sometimes beheadeth, and sometimes puts vnto terrible tortures those who offend. Yea, oftentimes without offence; onely because they are rich and haue faire houses, the *Bashaw* will lay to their charge, such things as he

Coblers wiues
in Sattin
Gownes.

He instanceth
of one *Sophia*,
which for bre-
uitie is omit-
ted.

he himselfe knoweth to be vntrue, and put them to death that hee may seize vpon his goods. There was a *Sheriffe* or a *Green-head* in *Aleppo*, whom they account *Mahomets* kindred, who offending the *Bashaw*, and brauing him in termes, as though he durst not punish him, hee caused one of his Officers to goe with him home, and when he came before his owne doore, openly in the street to breake both his legs and armes, and there let him lie, and no man durst find fault, or giue him food; or Physician, or Chirurgion come to him; or wife or seruants take him into house, but there he lay all day, and should so haue continued vntill hee had died for hunger, or Dogs eaten him, had not his friends giuen money to the *Bashaw* to haue his throat cut, to rid him out of his paine. And this is a common punishment amongst them. And sometimes for small offences, they will lay a man downe on his backe, and hoyle vp his feet, and with a cudgell giue 10 them three hundred or foure hundred blowes on the soles of their feet, whereby many are lamed. And some they set on a sharpe stake naked, which commeth from his fundament vp to his mouth, if he find not fauour to haue his throat cut sooner. And some are ganchèd in this manner; they are drawne vp by a rope fastned about their armes, to the top of a Gazouke or Gibbet full of hookes, and let downwards againe, and on what part soeuer any hooke taketh hold, by that they hang, vntill they die for hunger. And some in like sort are drawne ouer a Gibbet, and they being compassed about the naked waite with a small cord, the cord is drawne by two men to make them draw vp their breath, and still pulled straighter and straighter, vntill they be so narrow in the waite, that they may easily be cut off by the middle at one blow, and then the vpper part is let downe on a hot grid-iron, and there seared vp, to keepe them in sense and feeling of paine so long as is possible, and the neather part is throwne to the Dogs, &c. 20

They, whom they call *Franckes* or Free-men, liue in greater securitie amongst them then their owne People, by reason that they are gouerned by Consuls, of their owne Nation, and those Consuls also are backed by Ambassadors, for the same Nations which are alwaies Liegers at *Constantinople*: and when their Consuls abroad are offered wrong, they write vnto the Ambassadors, how, and by whom they are wronged: and then the Ambassadors procureth from the Great *Turke*, commandements to the *Bashaw* of *Aleppo* to redresse their wrongs, and punish such as offend them. Otherwise there were no dwelling for *Franckes* amongst them, but they should be vsed like slaues by euery slaue. And notwithstanding, their Consuls and Ambassadors to, yet they are oftentimes abused by *Turkes*, both in 30 words and deeds. In words they reuile them, as the *Egyptians* did the *Israelites*, and call them *Gours*, that is, Infidels; and *Cupec*, that is, Dog; and *Canzier*, that is, Hog; and by many other odious and reproachfull names: And though they strike them, yet dare they not strike againe, lest they lose their hand, or be worle vsed. They also oftentimes make *Auenias* of them, that is, false accusations; and suborne false witnesses to confirme it to be true: and no Christians word will be taken against a *Turke*, for they account vs Infidels, and call themselues *Musselmen*, that is, True beleeuers.

This miserie abroad will make vs loue our owne Countrie the better when we come thither. And that is the best lesson which I haue learned in my trauels, *Mundi contemptum*, that is, The contempt of the world. And Saint *Pauls* lesson, *Phil. 4.11*. In whatsoever state I am, there- 40 with to be content. Oh how happie are you in *England*, if you knew your owne happinesse! But as the prodigall sonne, vntill he was pinched with penurie abroad, neuer considered the plentie of his fathers house: So many in *England* know not their owne felicitie, because they doe not know the miseries of others. But if they were here in this Heathen Countrie, they would know what it is to liue in a Christian Common-wealth, vnder the gouernment of a godly King, who ruleth by Law and not by lust; where there is plentie and peace, and preaching of the Gospel, and many other godly blessings, which others want. And God long continue his mercies to our noble King *Iames*, and his whole Realmes, and giue vs grace as farre to excell other Nations in thankfulness as we doe in happinesse. And thus for present I commend you to the most gra- 50 cious protection of the Almighty *IEHOVAH*, beseeching him, (if it be his will) to send vs a ioyfull meeting, both in this world, and in the world to come. Amen.

Part of another Letter of Master WILLIAM BIDDVLPH,
from Ierusalem.

WOrshipfull and my singular good friend, I being now (by the prouidence of God) at *Ierusalem*, *Captus amore tui*, *raptus honore loci*, for the loue I beare to you, and delight I conceiue in this famous place, where our sweet Sauiour Christ vouchsafed once his blessed bodily presence; I could not but remember you with some salutation from hence, hauing such choice 60 of Messengers (by reason of the great concourse of people vnto this place at this present, from sundry places of Christendome) to transport my Letters vnto you: Nothing doubting but that as my former Letters (which I haue heretofore written vnto you both from *Aleppo*, and other places) concerning my former voyages, and such things as (by diligent obseruation) I noted in my

my trauels, were acceptable vnto you; so that this shall be much more acceptable, both in regard of the Place from whence it came, as also of the matter subiect herein contayned; beeing my Voyage from *Aleppo* in *Syria Comagena*, to *Ierusalem*, vndertaken this present yeere 1600. not moued as Pilgrims with any superstitious deuotion to see Reliques, or worship such places as they account holy; but as Trauellers and Merchants, occasioned by Dearth and Sicknes, Pestilence, and Famine in the Citie where we sojourne: which two are such fellow-like companions, that the *Gracians* distinguish them but by one Letter, calling the Pestilence *λινος*, and the Famine *λινος*: By reason whereof all Trafficke was hindered, and those Merchants whom they call *Frankes*, or *Freemen*, either remoued to other places, or such as stayed in the Citie, caused their gates to bee shut vp, and came not abroad vntill *Sol* entred into *Leo*, which is vsually the twelfth or thirteenth day of *July*, at which time the Plague still ceaseth in this place, though it bee neuer so great, and all that are then sicke, amend; and such as then come abroad, need not feare any danger. The *Turkes*, *Moors*, *Arabians*, and other *Mahometans*, neuer remouue for feare of any sicknesse, nor refuse any mans company infected therewith; for they say, euery mans fortune is written in his fore-head, and that they shall not dye before their time; not knowing what it is to tempt God, and to refuse ordinary meanes. But in this interim, from the beginning of this sicknesse (which was in *March*) vntill the expected and vndoubted end, when the *Sunne* entred into *Leo*, we whose names are subscribed (for causes aboue mentioned) tooke our Voyage from *Aleppo* towards *Ierusalem*, hauing Letters of commendation, from *Clarissimo Imo* the *Venice Consul*, and sundry others of the chiefe *Italian Merchants*, to their *Padres* at *Ierusalem*, for our kind vsage there, with libertie of conscience.

The Plague
ceaseth by in-
fluence of the
Heauens.

Anno Dom. 1600. The ninth of *March*, after Dinner we set forth, garded with *Ianizaries*, and accompanied with sundry *English*, *Italian*, and *French Merchants*, who in kindnesse rode with vs seuen or eight miles, to bring vs on the way, and then returned to *Aleppo*. But most of our *English Merchants* brought vs to *Cane Toman*, ten miles from *Aleppo*, where we made merry with such good cheere as we brought with vs. For there was nothing to be had for money but *Goates Milke*, whereof we had as much as we would. Here we purposed to haue slept all night, but hauing no other Beds but the hard ground, with *Iacobs Pillow* (a good hard stone) vnder our heads, vnaccustomed to such Downe Beds, we could not sleepe, but spent the time in honest mirth vntill it was past mid-night, and then our friends tooke their leaue of vs, and returned towards *Aleppo*, and we proceeded in our iourney towards *Ierusalem*. The night beeing darke, and the way dangerous and theeuish, our *Ianizarie*, *Byram Bashaw*, willed vs euery one to take a match lighted in our hands, and to whirle it about, that the fire might be seene the further, to terrifie the Theeues, lest they should surprize vs on the sudden. And when wee came to suspicious places (as *Caues*, *Rockes*, *Barnes*, or odde Cottages in the way) our *Ianizarie* vsed to ride before; and as *Fowlers* beate vpon *Bushes* for *Birds*, so hee (with his *Launce*) would strike and beate vpon such places, lest wild *Arabs* (which lye lurking in such places) should steale vpon vs on the sudden. When the day appeared, our way was pleasant and comfortable vnto vs, vntill we came to a Village called *Saracoepe*, whither we came about noone, the tenth of *March*. And because our *Seisenars* or *Sumptor Horses* (which carryed prouision for Man and Horse, as the custome of the Countrey is) were tyred, and we our selues also (for want of sleepe the night past) wearied and hungry, wee were constrained to lodge there all night on the hard ground by our Horse heeles, in an old Cane distant from *Cane Toman* eight and twentie miles.

Cane Toman.

Saracoepe.

The eleuenth of *March*, betimes in the morning wee departed from *Saracoepe*, and came betimes in the after-noon to a fine Village called *Marrab*, where there is a very faire new Cane builded by *Amrath* (commonly called *Morat*) *Chillabee*, sometimes *Defterdare*, that is, *Treasurer of Aleppo*, and afterwards of *Damascus*, who for the refuge of Trauellers, and their protection against Theeues, built a stately strong Cane like vnto *Leaden Hall in London*, or rather the *Exchange in London*, where there are faire vpper Roomes for great men in their Trauels, and the neather Roomes are for ordinary Trauellers and their Horses, but in hot weather the best make choise to sleepe on the ground in low Roomes, rather then in their Chambers. The Founder hereof also ordained, that all Trauellers that way should haue their entertaynement there of his cost. Hee alloweth them *Bread*, *Pillaw*, and *Mutton*, which our *Ianizaries* accepted off; but we scorning reliefe from the *Turkes* without money, sent vnto the Village, where (besides our owne prouision which wee brought with vs) wee had also other good things for money. *Marrab* is distant from *Saracoepe*, foure and twentie miles.

Marrab.

Manner of their
Canes.

The twelfth of *March* was a very raynie day, yet we trauelled all the forenoone, vntill wee came to a Village, called *Lacmine*, which a farre off made shew of a very faire Village; but when we came thither, wee found it so ruinous, that there was not one house able to throude vs from the extremitie of the showre: the Inhabitants thereof hauing forsaken it, and fled into the Mountaynes to dwell, for feare of the *Ianizaries* of *Damascus*, who traueilling that way vsed to take from them, not onely victuals for themselves, & Prouender for their Horses without mony, but whatsoeuer things else they found in their houses. Onely there was a little Church or Chapel in good preparation, wherinto (for a little mony) we obtayned leaue to enter, our selues with our horses & carriage, & there we brought out our victuals, & refreshed our selues, and baited our horses,

Lacmine.

Wretched
slauerie.

Miserable Po-
uertie.

horses, and rested vntill it left rayning. After the showre, while our Horses were preparing, we walked into the fields neere vnto the Church, & saw many poore people gathering Mallows and three leaved grasse, and asked them what they did with it: and they answered, that it was all their food; and that they boyled it, and did eate it: then wee tooke pitie on them, and gaue them bread, which they receiued very ioyfully, and blessed God that there was bread in the World, and said, they had not seene any bread the space of many monethes. The showre ceasing, wee rode from this Chappell and Village of Lacke money (I should haue said *Lacmin*, but might say, lacke men and money too) and rode forward vntill wee came vnto a Village or Towne called *Tyaba*, where (because it was neere night) we desired to lodge, but could not bee admitted into any house for any money, whereupon our chiefe *Ianizarie*, *Byram Bashaw* went into an house, 10 and offered to pull man, woman, and child out of the house, that wee might bring in our Horses, and lodge there our selues. But when we saw what pittifull lamentation they made, we intreated our *Ianizarie* either to perswade them for money, or to let them alone. And vnderstanding that there was a faire Citie in our way, ten miles off, wee Hue, with our *Ianizarie*, being well horsed, rode thither, and left our carriage with the rest of our company at *Tyaba*, to come to vs betimes in the morning.

*Tyaba.**Aman.**Hemse.**Iobs Citie.**Hus.*

This Citie is now commonly called *Aman*, but of olde it was called *Hamath*, 2. Kings 17. Here we lodged in a faire Cane, but on the cold ground, and vpon the hard stones, and thought our selues well prouided for, that wee had an house ouer our heads to keepe vs dry. *Hamath* is from *Marrab*, about fise and thirtie miles. On the fourteenth of March wee trauelled from 20 *Hamath*, a pleasant way, & a short dayes iourney, to a fine Towne called vulgarly *Hemse*, but formerly *Hus*, distant from *Hamath*, but twentie miles. This is said to haue beene the City where *Iob* dwelt, and is to this day called by the Christians inhabiting in those borders, *Iobs Citie*. And there is a fruitfull Valley neere vnto it, called the Valley of *Hus*, and a Castle not farre off, in the way to *Tripoly*, called *Hus Castle* to this day. But I make some doubt whether *Iob* were euer at place, for *Iob* is said to haue dwelt amongst the *Edomites*, or wicked *Idumeans*: and *Idumaea* bordered vpon *Arabia Felix*, and not neere *Syria*, where this Citie called *Hus* standeth.

On the fifteenth day of March, we went from *Hus* towards *Damascus*, which is foure dayes iourney off, and all the way (vntill we came within ten miles of *Damascus*) is a Defart, vn-inhabited, and a Theeuish way; onely there are erected in the way certayne Canes to lodge in. 30 But if they bring not prouision with them both for man and horse, and some Quilt or Pillow to sleepe on, the hard stones must be their Bed, and the Aire their Supper: for some of their Canes are nothing but stone wals to keepe out Theeues. In Citiees they haue very stately Canes, but not for Trauellers, but for themselves to dwell in; for every rich man calleth his house a Cane. But the Canes that stand in high wayes, are in Charitie erected by great men, for the protection of Trauellers; but most of them are very badly kept, and are worse than Stables. Our first dayes iourney from *Hus* was a very vncomfortable and dangerous Defart: wee saw no House all the way vntil we came vnto a Village called *Hassia*, where we lodged in an old Castle distant from *Hus* two and twentie miles.

*Hassia.**Charrah.*

The sixteenth of March, from *Hassia*, we rode to an ancient Christian Towne called *Char-* 40 *rah*, where our prouision being spent, we made supply thereof, and bought Bread and Wine of the Christians there dwelling. It is inhabited by *Greekes* and *Turkes*, but governed by *Turkes* only. There is but one Church in the Towne, which is dedicated to Saint *Nicholas*, by the Christians who first builded it. But both *Christians* and *Turkes* pray therein: the *Christians* on the one side or Ile of the Church, and the *Turkes* on the other. But the *Christians* are ouer-ruled by the *Turkes*, and constrained to find them Oyle to their Lampes in the Church. For the *Turkes* not only burne Lampes in their Chutches every night, but during the whole time of their Lent they beset the battlements of their Steeples round about with Lampes. But when their Lent is ended, they burne Lampes in their Steeples onely once a week, and that is on Thursday at night, which is the Eue before their Sabbath. After wee had refreshed our selues heere, halfe the day 50 being not yet spent, we roade from hence to a poore Village called *Nebecke*, or (as they pronounce it) *Nebbkeh*, where we lodged in an old Cane, distant from *Hassia* seuen and twentie miles. And vnderstanding at this place, that the way that wee were to passe on the morrow, was full of *Arabs*, and that two dayes before, many men were found in the way killed by them, we feared to goe any further. Yet meeting with company contrarie to expectation, March the seuteenth we went forwards, and saw no house nor company all the day long besides our selues, vntill we came to a Village called *Cotifey*, where wee lodged in a very stately new Cane, built by *Synan Bashaw*; and not altogether finished. This Cane doth farre exceed that at *Marrab*, (before mentioned) for hereunto is adioyned a faire new Church and a Bazar, that is a Mar-

*Nebecke.**Cotifey.*Excellent
Cane.

ket place where Trauellers may buy many good things. Heere is also meate for Trauellers, and 60 Prouender for their Horses to be had of the Founders cost. And in the middle of this Cane, there is a faire large Fountayne of water, of hewed stones foure square, wherein there is exceeding good water for Trauellers to drinke, and Chambers for their Lodging: but if they will haue any Beds, they must bring them with them, or sleepe on the hard ground, as most men that trauell that way are wont to doe.

The eighteenth of March, from *Cotifey*, wee had not much more then twentie miles to *Damascus*. The first ten miles was a Desart, and dangerous way, and we hardly escaped danger; for an *Arabian* Horseman seeing vs come, stood as a Spie in our way, to view our strength, and marked euery one of vs very narrowly, and what weapons we had; and then rode vp an high Mountayne, as fast as if it had beene plaine ground, to acquaint his companions what a prey hee had found for them. Whereupon our *Ianizarie* cast aside his vpper garment, being a Gamberlooke, and bad vs all make readie our Weapons, and hee himsele rode before vs with his Launce on his shoulders, expecting their comming vpon vs suddenly: but they hauing espyed (from the top of the Mountayne) fittie *Ianizaries* of *Damascus* at the least, with their *limmoglans* comming after vs, came not, and so by the prouidence of God wee escaped their hands. The other part of our way to *Damascus*, was a pleasant Plaine of tenne miles in length, hauing many fruitfull Villages, fine Riuers, and pleasant Gardens thereon. At our entrance into this Plaine or Valley, riding downe an Hill, we beheld the prospect of *Damascus* ten miles off, whither we came about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and tooke vp our Lodging in the middle of the Citie, at a Cane called in *Morisco*, *Cane Nebbe*, that is, The Cane of the Prophet; but by the *Turkes*, *Cane Haramin*, where we hired three Chambers for our money, and our Seruants bought our meate, and dressed it themselves, as they did also all the rest of the way where wee could get any thing. To this end we tooke a Cooke with vs, and other Seruants from *Aleppo*, to dresse our meate, and to looke to our Horses. Heere we met with *Frenchmen*, and other *Christians*, staying for company to goe to *Ierusalem*.

Dangerous way.

At *Damascus* many *Iewish* Merchants, and *Greekes*, and others, knew some of vs, and came to salute vs, and present vs with such good things as they had, both Wine, and Bread, and Kiddes, and Fruit, &c. and lent vs very good Beds with sheets and other furniture, which refreshed well our wearied bodies.

The nineteenth and twentieth of March, wee stayed at *Damascus* to rest our selues, and see the Citie.

Damascus is a most ancient Citie, and as *Esay* spake of it in his time, *The head of Aram is Damascus*, *Isa. 7. 8.* so *Damascus* is the chiefeest Citie of *Syria* to this day. The situation thereof is most pleasant, being built on a plaine ground, strongly walled about, and a strong Castle therein, with many fine Riuers running on euery side of it, especially *Abanah*, and *Pharpar*, mentioned, *2. Kings 5.* which now are diuided into many heads. The *Turkes* say, that their Prophet *Mahomet* was once at *Damascus*, and that when he saw the pleasant situation of it, and beheld the stately prospect of it, excellling all others that euer hee saw before, refused to enter into the Citie, lest the pleasantnesse thereof should rauish him, and moue him there to settle an Earthly Paradise, and hinder his desire of the heauenly Paradise. It hath also many pleasant Orchards, and Gardens round about the Citie, and some wayes for the space of a mile, and more about the Citie there are many Orchards, and great varietie of fruits: some called *Adams Apples*, and *Adams Figs*, and fundrie other strange Fruits. *Damascus* is called by the *Turkes*, *Sham*, and they call it, the Garden of *Turkie*, because there is no place in all the *Turkes* Dominions, especially in *Syria*, that yeeldeth such abundance of Fruit. Here we stayed two dayes and three nights to rest our selues, and see the Citie. And hauing a *Greeke* to our Guide, he shewed vs first a stately *Muskia*, or *Turkish* Church erected in the place where the Temple of *Rymmon* stood, mentioned, *2. Kings 5.* And two other memorable matters, mentioned, *Acts 9. 25. viz.* the place where the Disciples let downe *Paul* in the night through the wall in a Basket, whereof the *Christians* there dwelling keepe an exact memoriall; taking vpon them to demonstrate the very place of the wall; which we not beleeuing, they confirmed it with this reason, that *Damascus* was neuer ouercome; and that there haue beene *Christians* dwelling there euer since the time of *Paul*, and therefore might keepe a memoriall of the very place: But to let the place passe, the thing it selfe we know to be true. He shewed vs also the house of *Ananias*, which is vnder the ground, whereinto we were led, downe a paire of staires from the street, as it were into a Celler; and the doore being vnlocked, we entred with Candel into the place, where we saw two darke Chambers, where a man cannot see to reade in the day time without Candel; here they say, he liued in secret for feare of the *Iewes*. Many *Christians* comming thither to see that place, with a coale write their names on the wall, and there are so many names there already, that there is scarce roome for any other to set his name. Some of them report *Damascus* to bee built in the place where *Kain* killed his Brother *Abel*. And some say it is neere it, and offered to bring vs to the place; but we refused.

Damascus.

The pleasant situation.

Store of fruits.

* Damascus was wonne from the Christians by the Saracens

They take vpon them also at *Damascus*, to demonstrate the place where *Saint George* was buried, so they doe likewise at *Aleppo*, but I thinke the one to bee as true as the other. There is a fine Towne neere vnto *Damascus*, about two or three miles distant on the side of an hill, called *Salbia*, from whence a man may behold the prospect of the Citie of *Damascus* most pleasantly, with the Gardens and pleasant places about it.

Saint George.

Salbia.

At *Damascus* we met many thousand *Turkes*, going on Pilgrimage towards *Mecha* in *Arabia*, to visit *Mahomet's* Sepulchre, as they vsually doe euery yeere about their *Byram* time; for they

Pilgrimage to Mecha.

Hogies.

An Angell-de-
uill.

Daria.

Place of Pauls
conuerſion.
* Mueco ſuror
Sauli, liber eſt
conuerſio Pauli.

Saffa.

Arabia Petrea.

Ill way.

Great cold.

Conetra.

Walking won-
dred at.

Cut doublet.

they hold, that whoſoeuer once in his life time ſhall not goe on Pilgrimage to *Meeha*, to ſee the Sepulchre of their Prophet, ſhall neuer enter into Paradife. And therefore ſome of them goe thither often in their life time, partly for deuotion, and partly to buy Merchandiſe. For there are brought thither at that time of the yeere, great ſtore of Commodities from *India*, *Persia*, and other places; and none may buy or ſell there but *Mahometans*. And it is forbidden to all Chriſtians vpon paine of death, to come neere *Meeha* within ſiue miles: partly, leſt they ſhould marre their Markets; but chiefly, leſt they ſhould ſee their folly or rather madneſſe in worſhipping an Iron Sepulchre; after the ſight whereof, many of their old men (which thinke neuer to come thither againe) uſe to pull out both their eyes, after they haue ſeene ſo holy a ſight. And whoſoeuer (ſay they) dyeth in his Pilgrimage thither, or returning from thence, is ſure to goe 10 to Heauen preſently. And they that haue bene there but once, are alwaies after called *Hogies*, that is, Pilgrims: and are called by that name in this manner. If his name before were *Mahomet*, he is at his returne called *Hogie Mahomet*. If before *Muſtapha*, hee is alwaies after called *Hogie Muſtapha*, &c. And they that haue bene often at *Meeha* and returne againe, are called Great *Hogies*. And euery yeere when the Carauan of Pilgrims returne from *Meeha*, hee that hath bene there oftneſt, is called, *The great Hogie*: and is greatly honored of them all, for hee rideth before them all in more ſtately apparell then they, with Flowers and Garlands about his Horſe, and when they come neere any great Citie, the chiefeſt men in the Citie ride forth to meet him, and bring him into the Citie with great ſolemnitie. They falſly affirme, that this their Temple at *Meeha* in *Arabia*, was built by *Abraham*, and they prepare themſelues with 20 greater care to goe to worſhip there, then many Chriſtians doe when they come to the Lords Supper, for they diſburden their hearts of all hatred and malice, and reconcile themſelues one to another, &c. Otherwiſe they hold that all their labour is loſt, and that they ſhall bee neuer awhit the better for their Pilgrimage. But if they forgiue one another, and repent them for their former ſinnes, they thinke there to obtaine full remiſſion of all their ſinnes, and that at their returne they are pure and without ſpot.

March twentie one, we departed from the Citie of *Damaſcus*, and about ſiue or ſix miles from the Citie, paſſed by a Village called *Daria*; neere vnto which, we ſaw a great multitude of men, women, and children on their knees, in the high way: and by that time they had ended their deuotion, we drew ſo neere as to ſalute them; and aſking what they were, it was told vs, that 30 they were all Chriſtians of ſundry Nations, viz. *Armenians*, *Greekes*, *Chelſalines*, *Noſtranes*, and ſundry others, who went to *Ieruſalem*, to viſit and worſhip the holy places there. We aſked further, what they meant to fall on their knees in that place: they answered vs, that it was the place where * *Paul* was conuerted, and that it was their cuſtome when they trauelled that way, to fall on their knees, and pray vnto God to conuert them. They were in number at the leaſt foure or ſiue hundred people, there was a *Greeke* Patriarke, and an *Armenian* Biſhop in their companie. Many of them knew vs, (hauing ſeene vs in *Aleppo*) and ſaluted vs by our names. Wee rode a while in companie together, and lodged all together that night at a Cane, called *Saffa*, diſtant from *Damaſcus* ſix and twentie miles.

March twentie two, we rode before the reſt of the companie. Our way that we trauelled all 40 this day, was exceeding bad, rockie, wateriſh, and barren, called *Arabia Petrea*, where our Horſes oftentimes ſtucke faſt in the puddles and myrie places, and ſometimes ready to breake their owne legs, and their Riders necks, among Rocks and Stones; it was neither pleaſant going on foot, nor riding this way, for there was no path nor even ground, but huge ſtones and Rocks ſo neere together, that our Horſes could goe but a foot-paſſe, and oftentimes met with ſuch Marſhes and Quagmires, that wee were conſtrained to goe farre about before wee could find better waies to paſſe ouer. It is alſo exceeding cold in this place alwaies (in reſpect of other places in that Countrey) for there are neither Trees nor Houſes, nor high Hills to keep away the violence and force of the Windes. The Carauans that trauell vſually that way betwixt *Damaſcus* and *Egypt*, ſay, that this dayes Iourney troubleth them more then all the reſt, and that they neuer paſſe by 50 that way, but they leaue two or three of their Camels behind them, ſome miſfortune or other befalling vnto them. Wee ſaw alſo in ſundry places this way, the carkaſſes of many dead Camels, which haue miſcarried amongſt the Rocks. It is alſo a very theeuish way, full of wilde *Arabs*: yet (by the providence of God) we came ſafely that day to *Conetra*, where we lodged in a good Cane, diſtant from *Saffa* eight and twentie miles.

In a Bazar (like vnto a Cloiſter) adioyning to the Cane, wee tooke pleaſure to walke vp and downe ſome few turnes, which the *Turkes* beholding, wondred at vs: (for it is not their cuſtome in thoſe hot Countries, to walke vp and downe as wee doe in cold Countries, but to ſit ſtill on the ground like brute Beaſts) and one of them came vnto vs, and aſked vs what wee meant to walke vp and downe in ſuch ſort, and whether wee were out of our way, or out of 60 our wits. If your way (ſaid hee) lyeth toward the vpper end of the Cloiſter, why come you downewards? And if at the nether end, why goe you backe againe? It ſeemed no leſſe ſtrange vnto them, to ſee a Chriſtian with a cut Doublet: and they called him foole, and aſked him what he meant to make holes in his Coate: for they neither cut nor pinke any of their Garments, but

but wearing them all plaine, sparing for no cost, to guard them with lace of siluer and gold, if they be able. And such as weare long haire on their heads, the *Turkes* call *Slouens*, and account them sauage Beasts; for they themselues weare no haire on their heads at all, but shau them euery weeke once, and keepe them warme with a Turbant of white Shash, made of cotton Wooll, which they neuer vncover in their salutations to any man, but bow their heads, with their hands on their breasts. But if a man haue a faire long beard, they reuerence him, and say hee is a wise man, and an honorable personage. But if they haue no beards at all, they call them (if they be yong) *Bardasses*, that is, *Sodomiticall Boyes*. But if they be men growne, and haue no beards, they call them fooles, and men of no credit; and some of them refuse to buy or sell with such, and say, they haue no wit, and that they will not beleue them, &c.

Long haire.

Long beards.

The three and twentieth of March, we had a more pleasant way; for the first ten miles wee rode thorow the fields, and a very pleasant Parke. But when we came out of this Parke or Forest, we were somewhat troubled, partly by reason of the bad way, and partly by bad people in the way. The people did more trouble vs then the way; for there sate amongst the Rocks, in our way, many *Turkes* and *Arabs*, with Maces of Iron, and other weapons, who stayed vs, and demanded *Capbar* or toll money; we were glad to giue them content, that we might passe safely by them. But the Carauan of Christians, who came after vs, though they were many hundreds, yet some of them being not able, some not willing to pay so much money as they demanded, were shrewdly beaten with their Iron Maces. There was a Iesuit in their company, who escaped not without stripes, whereat (as I haue heard) he reioyced, and counted it meritorious, in that he suffered such misery in so holy a voyage. And in my hearing at *Ierusalem*, one of his companions told him, that he merited much to sustaine such trauell and labour, and be at so great cost and charges, and suffer so many stripes for Christs sake: but I know, had it not beene more for loue of his purse then for loue of Christ, he might haue escaped without stripes, yea, with these kind speeches, *Marhabbab Ianum*, that is, *Welcome my friend or sweet-heart*. At another place in my Trauels, I heard a Frier bragging of his good workes, and saying, that hee had done so many good workes, that if he should kill three men, his good workes would make satisfaction, and merit remission for them all. Here I may fitly take occasion to teach those that purpose to trauell into *Turkey*, how to behaue themselues. If they bee set vpon by Theeues, they may defend themselues in their trauels, if they be strong enough; but if they be polling officers (as these were) they must not bee contradicted. But neither in their Cities, nor in their trauels may they strike againe, though they be abused and beaten by any man (except they bee Theeues and Robbers) for if they doe, they shall either bee put to death, or haue their hand cut off. Neither if a man receiue a box on the eare at any of their hands, must he giue one bad word, or looke frowningly vpon him that smote him: for then hee will strike him againe, and say, What, *Goure*? Dost thou curse me, and wish that the Deuil had me? but hee must kisse his beard, or the skirt of his Garment, and smile vpon him, and then he will let him passe.

Pleasant Park.

Capbar-customers.

Much good do him with such Merits.

Frier Merit-monger.

An admonition for Trauellers.

Base thraldome.

At the foot of this Mountayne there is an old Cane, where vsually Trauellers lodge: but it being not yet noone, we resolu'd to trauell eightene miles further, to the Sea of *Galile*. At the foot of this stony Hill, hard by this Cane, there runneth a pleasant Riuer, which diuideth *Syria* from *Galile*. And ouer this Riuer there is a faire Bridge, the one end whereof is out of the Holy Land, the other in it. This Riuer is called *Jordan*, the head whereof commeth from Mount *Lybanus*, and maketh three Seas. The first, is the waters of *Maron*, which we left on our right hand, about ten miles off. The other, on the left hand, which lay in our way as wee should trauell. The second, is the Sea of *Galile* or *Tiberias*, or Lake of *Genezareth*. The third, is the Sea of *Sodome*, called *Mare mortuum*, where the Riuer *Jordan* endeth. The Bridge that crosseth this Riuer *Jordan* at the entrance into the Holy Land, is called *Iacobs Bridge*; for two causes. First, it is said, that there *Iacob* met his brother *Esau*. Secondly, that there *Iacob* wrestled with an Angell.

Iacobs Bridge.

The first part of *Canadan* called *Galile*, beginneth at this Bridge, and to this day it is a very pleasant and fruitfull Countrey. After wee were entred into *Galile*, about two miles from the Bridge, our *Ianifar* asked vs whither wee would goe vp to a Mountayne, and so to *Saphetta* neere vnto Mount *Carmel*, which is a place of leaning for *Iewes*; or keepe the lower way, and goe by the Sea of *Galile*, which is the pleasanter way: and thereof we made choise; and tooke *Saphetta* in our way afterwards.

About seuen miles from *Iacobs Bridge*, our Guide brought vs to a Well, adorned with marble Pillars, and couered with stone, which hee said to haue beene the Pit whereinto *Ioseph* was put, when his Brethren sold him to the *Ishmalites*. But it seemed to vs incredible: first, because that was a drie Pit, and this is full of sweet water. Againe, *Iacob* dwelt at *Hebron* twelue miles beyond *Ierusalem*, and his Sonnes kept Sheepe in *Shechem*. And that drie Pit whereinto they put *Ioseph* was at *Dothan* (which we saw afterwards) and this Pit which they shewed vs with marble Pillars, was in *Galile*; not neere *Dothan* nor *Shechem* where *Iosephs* Brethren kept their Fathers Sheepe. But by others of better iudgement, we vnderstood that this also was called *Iosephs Pit*, or Well, because it was built by one *Ioseph*, not *Ioseph* the sonne of *Iacob*, but some other. But the

Iosephs Pit.

Minium.

ignorant people which trauell that way, are apt to beleue any thing that is told them. About ten miles from this Well, we came to a Cane, called by the *Moore*s *Minium*, but by the *Turkes* *Missia*, hard by the Sea of *Galile*, where we lodged all night, hauing trauelled that day by computation fixe and thirtie miles.

Sea of Galile.

The foure and twentieth of March we rode along by the Sea of *Galile*, which *Ioh. 6. 1.* is called by two names, viz. the Sea of *Galile* or *Tiberias*. *Galile*, because it is in *Galile*: and *Tiberias*, because the Citie *Tiberias* was built by it, and *Bethsaida* an other ancient Citie; of both which we saw some ruinous walls. And it is said in that Chapter (*Ioh. 6. 1.*) that Iesus went ouer the Sea of *Galile*: and in an other place, that he went beyond the Lake. And, *Luke 9. 10.* it is said, that he went into a solitarie place, neere vnto a Citie, called *Bethsaida*, which place of *Iohn*, I learned to vnderstand better by seeing it, then euer I could before by reading of it. For, seeing that *Tiberias* and *Bethsaida* were both Cities on the same side of the Sea, and Christ went from *Tiberias* to, or neere vnto *Bethsaida*; I gather thereby, that our Sauour Christ went not ouer the length or breadth of that Sea; but ouer some Arme, Bosome, or Reach thereof, viz. so farre as *Tiberias* was distant from *Bethsaida*; which is also confirmed in that it is said elsewhere, *A great multitude followed him on foot thither*; which they could not haue done, if hee had gone quite ouer the Sea, to the other side among the *Gergesens*, which is out of the Holy Land. And therefore this Sea of *Galile*, is also called the Lake of *Genesareth*, because the Countrey of the *Gergesens* is on the other side the Lake, from whence the Swine ran head-long into the Sea and were choaked therein: and as that place was out of the Holy Land; so the people which then inhabited it, were as farre from holinesse, when they requested our Sauour Christ to depart out of their Coasts. And such like holy people inhabit there still, viz. wild *Arabs* and *Turks*, &c. Wee saw also (neere vnto this Sea) the place where that Towne (mentioned, *Ioh. 2. 1.*) called *Cana of Galile* stood, where our Sauour Christ at a marriage turned Water into Wine; in place whereof there standeth now a poore Village, inhabited by *Turks*. This Sea of *Galile* is (by computation) in length eight leagues, and in breadth fve leagues, and euery league is three miles, and then it encloseth it selfe into a narrower compasse, carrying but the breadth of an ordinarie Riuer vntill it come to *Sodome*, where it endeth, which is called *Mare Mortuum*, that is, The dead Sea.

Tiberias and Bethsaida.

Genesareth.

Cana.

After we had rode about seuen miles by the Sea of *Galile*, we left it on our left hand, and ascended vp a Mountayne on the right hand. This Mountayne was not very steeple, but exceeding pleasant and fertile, for (being the Spring-time) it was so beset with such varietie of flowers among the greene grasse, that they seemed to fleere in our faces, and to laugh and sing (as the *Psalmist* speaketh) as wee went, *Psal. 65. 13.* This is said to bee that Mountayne, mentioned *Ioh. 6. 9.* where our Sauour Christ wrought a miracle, in feeding fve thousand men with fve Barley loaves, and two Fishes.

Saphetta a Iewish Vniuersitie.

When we came to the top of the Mountayne, we saw *Saphetta* on the right hand, a Vniuersitie of the *Iewes*, where they speake *Hebrew*, and haue their Synagogues there. The Citie *Saphetta* is situated on a very high Hill with three tops, and so the Citie hath three parts; one part is inhabited by *Iewes*, the other two by *Turks*. We asked some *Iewes*, whom we knew formerly to haue beene Merchants of *Aleppo*, what they meant to leaue their Trade and to liue there: They answered, they were now old and came thither to die, that they might be neerer to Heauen. The *Iewes* haue here more libertie then in any part of the Holy Land. They dare not come to *Ierusalem*, for feare lest the Christians there dwelling, stone them. Whiles we were at *Saphetta*, many *Turkes* departed from thence towards *Mecha* in *Arabia*. And the same morning they went, we saw many women playing with Timbrels, as they went along the street, and made a yelling or shrieking noise as though they cryed. We asked what they meant in so doing: It was answered vs, that they mourned for the departure of their Husbands, who were gone that morning on Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, and they feared that they should neuer see them againe, because it was a long way and dangerous, and many died there euery yeere.

Mourning with Timbrels.

All the way which we trauelled this day, was very pleasant; and all the Ground both Hills and Dales very fruitfull, according as it is described by *Moses*, *Deut. 8. 7, 8.* and *Deut. 11. 10, 11.* And we came that day, about two of the clocke in the afternoone to a Village, called in the *Arabick* tongue *I-nel Tyger*, that is (by interpretation) The Merchants Eye, wherein there are two very faire Castles for Trauellers to lodge in from danger of wild *Arabs*, which abound in those parts: we tooke vp our lodging in the neereft Castle, which is the faireft.

I-nel Tyger.

Tabor.

Mount Tabor.

After we had refreshed our selues, and slept a while: being hard by Mount *Tabor*, wee desired to ascend to the top of it, and tooke *Ally* (one of our *Ianifaries*) and rode towards the Mountaine. But vnderstanding that it was very dangerous, by reason of wild *Arabs*, which lodged in Caues, and Rocks, and Bushes, about the Mountaine, wee hired some of the principall *Arabs* to goe with vs, and guard vs from the rest. And as wee went, wee beheld the prospect of the Mountaine to be very pleasant, somewhat steeple, but not very high (in respect of some other Mountaines thereabout) nor very large, but a comely round Mountaine, beset with Trees and thicke Bushes, which at that time of the yeere flourished greene: wee rode so farre as wee could for steepnesse, and then left some of our Seruants at the foot of the Mountaine to keepe our Horses,

Horses, and tooke vpon vs to clamber vp on foot, which wee should neuer haue beene able to haue done, had there not beene very high Grasse, Sprigs, and Bushes to hold by. One of our *Arabs* went vp before vs, as fast as if it had beene euen ground, but we came very slowly after, which he perceiuing, would looke backe, and often vse these words to cheere vs, *Gel, gel, gel*, that is, Come, come, come; and sometimes these, *Ish balac Seeadi*, How doe you Masters. Wee were almost all out of breath, and one of our companie cried, *For the lone of God let vs returne, for I can goe no further; Oh, I shall die, I shall die*. Whereupon, one of vs being neerer the top then he himselfe supposed (to cheere the rest) said, *Come cheerefully, I am on the top*; which somewhat heartned the rest: otherwise they had all gone downe againe. Being on the top, we

Top of Tabor.

- 10 rested a while to take breath; and then we walked vp and downe the top of the Mount, and saw onely one house, or rather low Cottage vninhabited, hauing onely two darke roomes in it, meete for Foxes or Iaccals to lodge in, and saw no signe of any other Tauerne or Tabernacle. Onely we vnderstood, that (many yeeres since) there was a Monasterie there inhabited by Popish Friers, but being molested by the *Arabs*, tooke away the holinesse with them, and left the Mountaine behind them; yet still they call this Mount *Tabor*, in *Italian*, *Monte Santo*, that is, the Holy Mountaine: as if there were some inherent holinesse in the Mountaine. And two dayes after we had beene there, came a Iesuit and two Friers with a yong Gentleman of *Paris* in *France*, who was a Protestant, and some other companie with them, who had a desire to ascend to the top of this holy Mountaine, and went all together vntill they were wearie, which
- 20 was at the foot of the Mountaine, and in the heate of the day: wherefore the *French* Gentleman said, he would stay for them there vntill they returned, but was himselfe already wearie, and would goe no higher; the Iesuit and Friers reproued him, and called him foole, and told him he did not know what hee might merit by going to the top of that holy Mountaine. Merit (said the Gentleman) what may I merit? Thou maiest merit (said they) fiftie yeeres pardon. The Gentleman, to breake a iest with them, asked them whether hee might merit fiftie yeeres pardon for the time past, or for the time to come: It (said he) for the time past, I am not so old (for he was but twentie two yeeres of age) if for the time to come, he did not thinke hee should liue so long. They answered him, if he did not liue so long, he might giue the yeeres which remained, to his friends. Yet could they not perswade him to goe vp any higher. When we had seene
- 30 enough this Mount, returned againe to the Castle, with good stomacks to our Supper, and wearied bodies, desiring rest. *Tabor* is distant from *Galile* not much aboute twentie miles.

Conference betwixt a Iesuite and a Protestant.

Merit-mongers.

- The five and twentieth of March, being the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, and (according to the computation of our Church of *England*) the first day of the yeere 1601. we trauelled ouer very pleasant fields all the way, the fields of *Basan*, not farre from the Mount *Basan*, where there was exceeding good Pasture, and fat Cattell: onely wee wanted good water to drinke, and our Wine was spent, and the day exceeding hot. Wee saw in our way some
- remnants of that old Tower or Fortresse, mentioned 2. *Kings* 5. 24. where *Gehazi* the Seruant of *Elisha*, ouer-tooke *Naaman*, and tooke of him two Talents of siluer, and two change of Garments. We saw also many other places worthy obseruation, but (for want of a good Guide) we
- 40 knew not the names thereof, for the *Turkes* inhabiting those Countries, haue giuen new names to most places. This was the pleasantest daies iourney we had in our whole trauell. I neuer saw more fertill ground and pleasant fields, and so much together, all the whole day, from Mount *Tabor*, to a Village called vulgarly *Ienine*, but of old *En-gannim*, whereof wee reade, *Iosh.* 15. 34. Neere vnto this Village is the place where *Isabel* beheaded *Sisera*, mentioned *Iudg.* 4. 21. *En-gannim* is distant from Mount *Tabor* twentie two miles. It is a very pleasant place, hauing fine Gardens, and Orchards, and Waters about it. We stayed here all the day (the six and twentieth of March) because (the *Turkes Romadan*, which is their Lent, being ended) on this day beganne their Feast called *Byram*; and our *Ianisarie* was loth to trauell on that day, being their Feast day, and so much the rather, because his name also was *Byram*.

Mount Basan.

Gehazi's Tower.

En-gannim.

Turkish Byram.

- 50 The seuen and twentieth of March, riding from *En-gannim*, wee were endangered twice: First, by certaine Theeues dwelling neere vnto *En-gannim*, who made vs pay *Caphar*, or pole money twice, once at *En-gannim*. And when we departed from thence, they pursued vs with Bowes and Arrowes, and other weapons: we withstood them long in parley; at length euery man prepared his instruments of death ready for battell. Our *Ianisaries* Kinsman, *Fatolla*, had his Musket ready, and being about to giue fire, was stayed by our *Ianisarie*, who saw not onely these *Arabs* present very desperate, with their Bowes and Arrowes ready drawne, but messengers also sent to raise vp all the whole rabblement thereabout vpon vs; hee told vs, wee were best giue them content, or else we were all but dead men: wherefore, to auoide further danger, we gaue them their owne desire, vpon condition, they would pursue vs no farther nor suffer any
- 6 of their companie to molest vs: the chiefeft of them answered, *Stopherlo, Stopherlo*, that is, God forbid, God forbid, we should doe you any harme, if you pay vs what we demand; which we did with all speede, and rode away from them, being glad we were rid of them.

Double Knauerie.

About ten miles from them, wee rode through a Wood (a very fit place to harbour Theeues, Dangerous who had killed certaine men traouelling that way the day before, and tooke away both a man Wood.

and

Sychar.

Jacobs Well.

Pleasant water

and Horse from the Carauan which followed after; and a woman also riding on an Asse with their carriage) and (as our Guide told vs) he neuer trauelled that way but he saw some men killed: and therefore bade vs all charge our Peece, and shoot off when he bade vs, though we saw no bodie, lest the wilde *Arabs* should set vpon vs on the sodaine, lying in ambush, which wee also did in a place most dangerous, to daunt the enemies before wee saw each other. But before wee came vnto the most dangerous place, there ouertooke vs many *Turkes* well armed, who dwelt in *Ierusalem*, and were glad of our companie thither. And shortly after wee had discharged euery man his piece, we saw a great companie of *Arabs* on an high Mountaine neere vnto our way, yet out of the reach of our shot, who perceiuing vs to bee too strong for them, durst not set vpon vs. And so (by the prouidence of God) wee came that night to an ancient and famous Citie, (situated in a fruitfull valley betwixt two Mountaines) called *Sychar*, a Citie in *Samaria*, mentioned, *Iohn 4*. Neere whereunto wee saw *Jacobs Well*, where our Sauour Christ asked water of the woman of *Samaria*. Wee came thither in good time, for wee were exceeding thirstie, and dranke thereof liberally and freely: The water thereof goeth downe very pleasantly, like vnto Milke. From *Jacobs Well* we went into the Citie, and lodged in a very ancient and stately Cane, but very badly kept. It had beene better for vs to haue slept by *Jacobs Well*, as others did; for here we slept on the hard stones neere vnto a Chappell in the middle of the Cane, vnder two or three great Fig-trees and Mulberrie-trees, where we were scarce safe from theeues, for we had some things stollen from vs in the night, whiles wee slept vnder the Trees on faire broad stones, whereunto we ascended by a faire stone paire of staires, fixe or seuen steps from the ground. *Sychar* is distant from *En-gannim*, seuen and twentie miles.

Beere.

Ierusalem.

The nine and twentieth of March, wee departed from *Samaria* to *Ierusalem*, and met many Souldiers in seuerall companies by the way, who knowing our *Ianizarie*, and other *Turkes* in our companie, let vs passe by them quietly, and gaue vs the *salam aliek*, that is, *peace be vnto you*. The first part of this dayes iourney was somewhat pleasant; but, the neerer we came to *Ierusalem*, the more barren and tedious our way was. About ten of the Clocke we came to a great Forrest or Wildernesse full of Trees and Mountaines. When wee were on the top of this Mountaine, we saw the maine Sea on our right hand, and small Ships sayling towards *Ioppa*. About three or foure of the clocke, we came to a ruinous Village called *Beere*, but of old (as it is reported) *Beerseba*, which in former times was a great Citie: And it is said to be the place where *Ioseph* and *Mary* comming from *Ierusalem* (the feast being ended) missed the Child *Iesus*, and sought him sorrowing; and returning to *Ierusalem*, found him in the Temple amidst the Doctors, hearing them and posing them. Our purpose was to lodge here all night, being all of vs wearie and hungrie, and all our prouision spent. But finding nothing here to be had for money, either for Man or Horse; and vnderstanding that *Ierusalem* was but ten miles off, wee went on in our way somewhat faintly, fixe or fixe miles, and then beholding the prospect of the Citie, wee were somewhat cheered and reuiued, and solaced our selues with singing of Psalmes, vntill wee came neere vnto the Citie. Many *Greekes* dwelling in *Ierusalem*, seeing vs afarre off, came to meet vs, supposing their Patriarch had beene in our companie, who came two or three dayes after vs.

Ioppa gate.

Master Timberley hath published a booke of his Voyage.

We dismounted from our Horses at the West gate of the Citie, called *Ioppa gate*, or the Castle gate; which is a very strong gate of Iron, with thirteene Peece of Brasse-ordnance planted on the wall about the gate. Wee stayed in the porch of the gate, and might not be admitted into the Citie, vntill wee were searched by an Officer (as the manner is.) In the meane time there came to vs two *Italian* Friers, viz. *Padre Angelo*, and *Padre Aurelio*, and kissed our hands, and bade vs welcome, and told vs, that two other *Englismen* were at their house, viz. Master *Timberley*, and Master *Borell*.

When we were searched without the gate by a *Turkish* Officer, and deliuered vp our weapons to the Porter to keepe for vs in the gate-house vntill our returne (because no Christian may enter into *Ierusalem* with weapons) these two *Padres* led vs to their Monasterie; at the gate whereof wee were searched againe by another *Turkish* Officer before wee might enter into the house. For the office of the former Searcher at the gate of the Citie was onely to receiue the weapons of all Christians, and deliuer them safe to them againe at their departure. But this Searcher went further and searched all our carriage, which he caused to be opened, to see whether we had any Gun-powder, or any other engines there. For they are very suspicious of all Christians, fearing, lest for deuotion to the place, they should worke treason; therefore they suffer not Christians to enter into the Citie weaponed, lest they make insurrection against them when they are many together, and conquer the Citie, as heretofore they haue done. To this end also is the Citie walled about with strong walls, and fortified with foure strong gates, and a Castle, (but by *Sultan Solymán*) and euery gate well planted with Ordnance for feare of Christians. And partly for hope haue they enuironed this Citie with such strong walls, that Christians for deuotion to the place, might come and build within the walls, and bee subiect to the *Turke*. For though their walls be large and strong, yet there is great roome within the walls to build more houses then are there, for there are fields of Corne within the walls of the Citie; and

and the houses stand very thin, scattered, and dispersed, here one, and there two or three together; there is not one faire street in all *Ierusalem* as it now is.

After they had thus narrowly searched all our carriage, euen to our cases of Bottles, we were admitted into the Monastery; at the entrance wherinto, met vs Master *Timberley*, and Master *Boreel*, and then *Signior Francisus Mannerba*, the *Padre Guardian* of the Monasterie, and all the rest in order, and bade vs welcome, and led vs into a faire Parlour, and set good cheere before vs, and serued vs themselves. After Supper we deliuered them our Letters which wee had brought from the *Venice* Consull of *Aleppo*, and other *Italian* Merchants there, in our behalfe. Which when they had read, the Guardian said, our custome is, when strangers come to vs, to call them
 10 the first night to Masse, and to Confession, and to giue euery man a Candle to hold in his hand at Masse time; and at night to wash their feet and to bring them to bed, and to many other ceremonies, during the whole time of their continuance there. But as for vs, they vnderstood by Letters what we were; and told vs that we were so highly commended by their Patrons and Benefactors, the *Venice* Consull, and Merchants of *Aleppo*, that if they should shew vs halfe the fauour which was required at their hands, they should themselves lie without doores, and suffer vs to rule and dominiere at our pleasures. And that therefore they would not vrge vs to any thing against our consciences, but giue free libertie both of persons and consciences, as if wee were in *England*, or in our owne houses elsewhere; and so much the rather, because they vnderstood our Merchants were rich, and hoped to gaine by vs. In regard whereof, although it were
 20 Lent, wherein they eate no flesh, yet offered vs Hens, Egges, Milke: any thing that was there to be had for money, they requested vs to command it. And during the time of our continuance there, he commanded one *Padre Aurelio* to attend vpon vs, and see that wee wanted nothing; and another of his brethren, one *Padre Angelo*, to be our guide abroad, and to shew vs all ancient Monuments and places worth seeing, either in the Citie, or out of the Citie.

These kind speeches being vsed, they brought vs to our chambers where wee should lodge all night, and prouided for euery man seuerally a good neat Bed with faire sheets, and all things very wholsome and handsome, where wee slept sweetly, and refreshed our wearied bodies all that night very comfortably.

But although they dealt thus kindly with vs (at the instance of their Benefactors) in giuing
 30 vs libertie of conscience, yet they deale not so with others. For some I doe know who haue beene there, and made no conscience to doe as they haue done. Wherefore, I admonish those who haue a desire to trauell to *Ierusalem* hereafter, to take heed to themselves, that they make not shipwracke of conscience; for if they come not well commended, or well moneyed, or both, there is no being for them, except they partake with them in their idolatrous seruices. True it is, that the *Turkes* giue libertie of conscience vnto all that come thither; but they giue not entertainment vnto any Christians in their houses. And the *Greeke* Patriarchs are poore, and not able to protect such as come vnto them for refuge. These *Padres*, though they bee Papists, yet haue they rich Benefactors, and want nothing, and (for the most part) very kind and curteous to strangers in all things, libertie of conscience onely excepted, wherein they seeke to
 40 make others like vnto themselves, and to seduce them from their Faith, and to winne them to the Church of *Rome*: and offer vnto them who haue money in their purses, to make them Knights of the Sepulcher; but no good *English* Subiect will accept of that order of Knight-hood; for at the receiuing thereof, they sweare to bee true to the Pope, and to the King of *Spaine*, and to other things, which no man can doe with a good conscience. And this kindnesse and libertie of conscience, which wee found amongst them, wee imputed not so much to the men, as to our owne money: for it cost vs charo, viz. one hundred Duckets for our entertainment.

After wee had rested one night in *Ierusalem*, the first day wee walked about the Citie our selues without our guide, onely to view the Citie, wee found it exceeding hot, and hotter then
 50 it is vsually at Midsummer in *England*: It seemed strange vnto mee, how it should once bee so cold, that *Peter* should creepe to the fire, and now (at the same season) so hot that wee could not indure the heate of the Sunne. But after I had beene there a few dayes, the very place resolved that doubt: for there fall great deawes, and before the Sunne haue dried it vp, it is cold, and in the night season (about that time of the yeere) somewhat cold, as I felt by experience when I slept in the fields all night. And *Peter* hauing watched with Christ in the night, might well be cold in the morning, before the heat of the Sunne had expelled cold.

But here wee will breake off, hauing with Master Sandys his eyes curiously viewed *Ierusalem* *Holies* in the former Chapter.

CHAP. X.

The Iourney of EDWARD BARTON Esquire, her Maiesties Ambassador with the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, in Constantinople, SVLTAN

* MAHVMET CHAN. Written by Sir THOMAS GLOVER then Secretarie to the Ambassador, and since employed in that Honourable Function by his Maiestie, to SVLTAN ACHMET. Two Letters are also inserted, written from Agria, by the said Ambassador BARTON.

*If any think it ill that a Christian Ambassador should accompany the Turke in this warre against Christendom: they may please to vnderstand, that his intents were to doe service to the Christians, if occasions were offered for peace: as also he did in deliuerie of the Emperors Seruants here mentioned, &c



First, the Ambassador well mounted, and his two spare Horses, with a Coach with foure Horses; next before him his *Chausers*, and an Enterpreter, with three *Ianizaries*: and before the *Chausers*, and *Ianizaries*, his men, (beeing twelue in number) in *Liueries* rode before him, and foure Gentlemen next after him: and foure Coaches with the Christian Captiues (being three and twentie in number) the Family of *Signior Crotskij*, the Emperour his late Ambassador in *Constantinople*, which hee redeemed from the Great Turke, and had licence to carrie them along with him, and to send them into their owne Countrey, allowing and giuing him the foure Coaches, with two Horses in each Coach, and a man to tend on euery Coach. Lastly, thirtie fixe Camels for carriage of prouision, and to euery fixe Camels, two men to attend on them, to lade and vnlade as occasion serued (which in *Turkish*, are called *Deuedzilens*) of them there were twelue in all wayting on the Camels: More the *Chausers* man and another Turke, called *Mahomet*, who was recommended to the Ambassadour to be his Lackey, to runne by his Horse vntill wee came to *Agria*.

Now on Friday being the second day of Iuly, 1596. the said Ambassador parted his house (which is in the Vines of *Pera*), and tooke his Iourney, hauing to accompany him that first day, Master *John Sanderfon* Merchant (who was by him left an Agent or *Logotenent* vntill his returne) *Jonas Aldrich* Merchant, and *John Field* a Physician: who brought him that day vnto a place, called *Aquadulce*, and there pitched their Tents, remayning there that night, and the next day ensuing. On Sunday morning at Sunne rising, we departed from *Aquadulce*, and came to *Ponte Piccolo*, about mid-day, which is some fiftene miles distant from *Aquadulce*, and there wee pitched our Tents. On Munday, before the breake of the day, parted thence about ten of the clocke in the morning, and arriued at *Ponte Grande*, which is about twelue miles distant; where hauing pitched our Pauillions the Ambassadour sent his *Chaus*, and the *Droque-men*, with the Grand Signior, his Commission to the *Cady* of the said Towne, for his allowance of prouision, who sent him five Sheepe, two hundred Loaves of Bread, five Meatres of Wine, one loade of Hay, with twentie Kyllowes of Barley.

Or *Selimbria*.

On Tuesday, before day, we parted *Ponte Grande*, and by Sun-rising wee came to a small Village, called *Combergast*, where the Ambassador his people broke their fast, and after an houres stay parted thence, and came to a Towne, called *Celebria*, about eleuen a clocke, which is some ten miles distant from our last Lodging. There also the Ambassadour sent his Commission to the *Cady* of the said Towne, who sent him three Sheepe, two hundred Loaves of Bread, ten Meaters of Wine, one loade of Hay, and twentie Kyllowes of Barley, wee pitched our Tents a quarter of a mile distant from the Towne; and an houre within the night, the Moone being vp, parted thence.

Bulgaria.

The twentieth, wee were to passe through a great Wood, betwixt two Mountaynes that day, and in the night to keepe watch. These men are *Bulghars*, beeing appointed by the Grand Signior, to guard all Trauellers (I meane of the Campe) that come that way, for which seruice the said *Bulgharians* pay no Tribute to the Turke. Then wee came to a Village, called *Sernia*, which is at the entrance betweene those two Mountaynes, and no other passage but one that goeth to *Wallachia*, all the Countrey else within these Mountaynes, beeing as it were enuironed with mightie steepe, woodie hils, as though they were wals of strong Cities; this was the passage that *Iulius Caesar* passing out of *Sernia*, lost so many thousand men before he could gaine it; for this passage is as though it were hewen or cut out betwixt these two Mountaynes. At the mouth or rather the entrance on the North-side, it is fortified with a mightie great wall from Mountayne to Mountayne, and a strong Castle in the midst, with a great Gate to passe thorow, there is yet to be seene part of the wals, or rather fragments: the wals adioyning to the Gate are maruellous loose, and shake, readie to fall: some two houres before night, we came to the foot of the Mountayne, and there pitched our Tents a mile from a Towne, called *Erebunia*; being from *Tartarbo sardgi* eight and twentie miles, this day and nights trauell was all betwixt these two Mountaynes.

The five and twentieth, we came to the mouth or entrance of a strong passage beeing tenne miles long betwixt two Mountaynes, the way winding in and out, as it were, hewen, or cut

our

out of the Mountaynes, on both sides verie loftie: this place is of a wonderfull strength for resisting of the Enemies: Now little after mid-day, we came to pitch our Tents towards the end of the said passage, by a faire River side.

The fixe and twentieth, passing along the River side, on the high way, wee found two men most miserably put to death, hauing each of them a stake thrust in at his Fundamente, through his bodie, and so out by his necke; the stake being set up right on end: the cause was for killing of a *Ianizarie*, they being Christians. The *Grand Signior* passing by, caused them so to suffer.

The eight and twentieth, we came to a Towne, called *Neesa*, and a little before our coming to the same, we saw two men staked as afore-said, who were *Transiluanians*, came purposely to spie and view the Campe: also at this Townes end, there were of Christians heads head, and stopt full of Hay hanged on posts by strings, to the number of three hundred which foure moneths before were slaine by *Turkes*, vnder *Mahomet Bassa*, at *Bosnia*: From the entrance of the straight passage to this place are ten miles, and from *Sofpa* to this place all high Mountaynes, rockie and troublesome to trauell: these Mountaynes part *Serua* and *Sclauonia*, this Citie is situated in a verie delectable Valley, hauing towards the West-side a faire Plaine, that stretcheth it selfe towards *Albania* and *Macedonia*, here we rested all that day and night.

The third of August, wee came to spread our Tents close by the mayne Campe, halfe a mile distant from *Belgrado*, which is a maruellous great Plaine adioyning to the Citie, and about the midst of the Campe, the *Grand Signior* his Pauillion is alwayes placed; and now hard by his Pauillion by force of hands was raised a small Hill, vpon which was growne a Haw-thorne, cut artificially spreading, which made a marvellous good shadow: euery Euening the Great *Turke* would ascend into it to view his Campe, and to be seene of his people, being a custome amongst the *Turkes*, his Souldiers in the Wars to see their King, once in foure and twentie houres.

HONDIVS his Map of Hungarie.



Abraham Bassa
Chiefe Vizier.

Christians de-
liuered.

Bridge of
Boates.
Armie eight
dayes in
passing.

Slanconie.

Huge Armie.

Quindi, is their
Vespers or E-
uen-song, a-
bout three or
four in the af-
ternoone,
at which
time they call
to Prayers
from their
steeples.

The seuenth, the Ambassador went to the chiefe *Vizier*, *Abraham Bassa*, about the Captiues he had in his charge, and inconference with him presently, the said slaues were sent for, and beeing brought before the *Bassa*, in the presence of the Ambassador and other *Viziers*, and great personages, their deliuerance being pronounced, to be sent by the Ambassador into their Countrey, it was granted by them all; whereupon the said slaues kissing the *Bassa* his feet, as the manner of the *Turkes* is for such a grace; and the Ambassador also giuing them thanks, tooke his leaue and so departed, carrying his Captiues along with him to his Pauillion.

The thirteenth, about *Quindi*, the Ambassador with his company departed from *Belgrado*, riding by the South-west end of the Castle, came to the Riuer *Lana*, neere where it entred into the *Danubium*, to passe the bridge purposely made for the *Grand Signior*, his Armie to passe the same, which bridge is artificially builded vpon fortie five great Boats made for that purpose like Lighters, but much broader, deeper and flat bottomed, the length of the same bridge is some one hundred paces, the breadth betwixt the Rayles fortie foot: for space of eight dayes the Armie was going ouer, in such sort; as a man could not passe for the continuall presse of the people.

Next morning, the *Grand Signior* parted thence, and some two houres after, the Ambassador followed: now the ordinarie riding of the Great *Turke*, was in this manner (not speaking of the whole Armie, which went before and followed him, but only of those that attended on his owne person) before him rides one thousand of the brauest and best armed Horsemen, euery one with his Lance. Next them some three hundred *Chauses*; then one hundred Foot-men next before him, with Bowes & Arrowes; then followes his Youths, all for the most part at mans state (called *Iehoglans*) about some three hundred clothed in Gownes of *Brocado*, of Gold and Siluer, all of one fashion, and a Cap on their heads, made in manner of a French-hood, of course red cloath; in the midst amongst them, are fortie or fiftie men riding on Camels, Horses and Mules, who play on Drummes, Fifes, and many other sorts of Instruments, continually all the way along: after these follow some fortie Coaches; then his ordinary Seruants, as Stable-men, Kitcheners and such like: this day traouelling till about eleuen of the clock, we came and spread our Tents, as neere the *Grand Signiors* Pauillion as we could, and close by the *Danubium*: whence we came, to this place, is about some nine miles.

The next morning, the *Grand Signior* departed from *Slanconie*, and about ten of the clocke came to spread his Pauillion vnder the side of an hill, close on the other side of the *Danubium*, some seuen miles from the Towne aforesaid; all alongst this Hill full of Vineyards, where the Souldiers gathering and spilling Grapes, were complayned of; whereupon, fixe of them beeing taken, were hanged on Trees in the Vineyards, and after, a strict commandement given not to take any thing perforce from any man, vpon paine of death: here the Ambassador was sent for to the *Bassa*, and readie to depart, the *Bassa* willed the Ambassador, that the next morning, as the *Grand Signior* should passe along on his way, hee should bee ready to salute him, for hee said, that he asked for him, and marvelled hee could not see him. Vpon this, taking his leaue, departed; and so went to the Great *Hodgia* his Tent, and after awhile to his owne Tents. The next morning, perceiuing the Great *Turkes* departure, the Ambassador with his men about him, all on Horse-backe salute his Highnesse according to their manner, bowing, at seuerall times, and the *Grand Signior* beholding the Ambassador with his retinue, also did bow himselfe vnto them very kindly, and so past on his way, for that the *Grand Signior*, vpon the newes aforesaid, was desirous to see the Ambassadour, which was cause that the *Bassa* willed the Ambassadour to doe as aforesaid.

The five and twentieth, the *Grand Signior* parted this place (in the morning early) the rather to hasten towards *Hatvan*, not that hee himselfe in person would goe, but being neere the way to *Agria*, whereto he went to lay his siedege, might vpon any occasion send more succour; the Ambassador also followed him with his retinue, finding (as before) all plaine Champion grounds, full of Grasse, and Hay: The *Grand Signior* willing to see his whole Armie, gaue order that they should all troope together that day, that hee might haue full view of them, which was done accordingly, and a sight almost vncredible, ouerspreading a Plaine, further then any man could discerne. The Ambassador, to haue a full view of them, mounted a small Hill, about the midst of that Plaine, somewhat higher then the rest; from whence beholding them with great wonder, round about so farre as could not be discerned, the Plaine was ouer-spread (as aforesaid) with people and carriages. And about *Quindi*, we came to spread our Pauillions neere vnto a ruined Towne; for that there was no body dwelling in the same, we did not demand the name, being from the place wee came, some twelue miles: All along this way wee saw many reliques of Castles and Townes, which by these warres, afore-time, and now, haue beene, and are destroyed and pulled downe.

The twelfth of September, the *Grand Signior* remoued neere *Agria*, within full sight thereof, and there hath laid his siege, commanding a Turret of wood to bee made very high, to the end hee might view the whole Campe, to see all what past at his pleasure. All the way from *Belgrado*, hetherto newes were bruted, that *Maximilian* was vnder *Vatia*, where hee kept long Councell, yet hitherto (though he had full power of the Emperor) makes no show nor signe to meete

meete the great *Turke*, or succour *Agria*. The same night the *Ianisaries* built and entred their Trenches, placing good store of Artillarie therein; hauing *Abraham Bassa* the *Visere*, and *As-san Bassa* the *Beglerbie* of *Grecia*, to their guard, and began to beate the East part of the Castle; also *Giofar Bassa* and *Mahomet Bassa*, the North part, the *Bassa* of *Natolia* and *Caramania*; the West part. The thirteenth, the *Hungarians* set their Suburbs on fire, which were very well fenced with a high Wall, yet distrustful their forces, fearing that the *Turkes* once entring the same, should make a Fortresse of offence, fired the same, and fled vnto the Castle: Now the *Turkes* perceiuing them to be gone vp into the Castle, scaled the out wals of this Towne, and tooke such pillages as the fire had left there: The chieftest of the Inhabitants of this Citie, fled
 10 into the Countries thereabouts, before the *Grand Signior* his approaching to the said siege, and the rest retyred themselves into the Castle, as afore said, with as much goods as they could. The foureteenth, the *Turkes* entred, and burned and spoyled the rest of the Suburbs, with a great Church, but were soone repelled, and the Church, with the rest, for that time was well defended. The same day *Cigalla* was appointed out *Skire*, with a troope of light Horse-men, to see that no succour should come to the Castle.

The twentieth, *Turkes* giuing fire to a Mine, it proued contrarie to their mindes, the force comming forth, and not into the Castle: After which, the defendants perceiuing it tooke courage, and assaulted the Trenches of the venturers, whom they found vnprovided of defence; slew many, and taking some of them and their Banners, retired into the Castle with their prey, and
 20 there set the Banners vpon the wals, to terrifie the *Turkes*. The two and twentieth at night, the *Turkes* filled the Castle Ditches with Wood and Hay, but because they were not ready, or deuised to couer the same with earth, as it ought to be; the defendants seeing it, presently with Wild-fire consumed it; so for that time frustrated their desire, yet continuing their batterie, made foure seuerall places of the Castle wals assaultable. The three and twentieth, by night had they provided sufficient wood, and other matter to fill the Ditches; in the meane time, the *Beglerbie* of *Ianik* being sent hither to the siege, without order from the *Grand Signior* or the chieftest *Bassa*, and word being brought, the Emperour was strong in those parts, if pardon had not beene gotten for him, he had lost his head; yet presently was sent backe againe from whence he came, vpon his owne proper cost and charges, and that was his penaltie for the offence.

30 The foure and twentieth, the *Turks* giuing fire to a Mine, had made a great breach, and thereupon gaue a generall assault, which indured most fearefully on both sides, for the space of an houre; yet at last the *Turkes* were beaten backe. After a little rest made, began a new assault, which continued two houres; in the which, the *Turkes* got the better, gayning the wals and the Artillery on the same, which presently they turned vpon the Castle. The twentieth fve, the *Turks* gaue an assault vpon the inner part of the Castle, but repulsed with a great slaughter. The twentieth sixe, the *Turks* attempting to vndermine the Castle, and presently thereupon, to giue a generall assault: but the Christians hauing by some meanes knowledge thereof, to hinder the *Turkes* they should not giue fire thereunto, and to haue more time themselves to countermine theirs, went and cast great quantitie of vnbeaten corne on that side the wall, so that the *Turks* could not wel stand
 40 to come nigh to dig or bring powder, so for that day the assault was deferred. The eight & twentieth, in the morning, first fired a Mine which cast vp the Castle wall, the breadth of two Carts, and presently vpon the same, gaue a new assault; but because the *Ianisaries* was not backed, the assault tooke no effect, but about two houres after, refreshing themselves, and gathering more strength, about mid-day began the assault afresh, which indured till night; but because of the great raine that at the instant fell, they preuailed not, though on both sides many slaine, and the Castle put in great ieopardie. On Wednesday the nine and twentieth, and Thursday the thirtieth, still skirmishing for all it rained.

The first of October, as before said, continually skirmishing, it chanced that an *English-man* a Trumpeter, fled out of the Castle, and being taken by the *Turkes*, was brought to the *Grand*
 50 *Signior*, and being examined, aduised him of the weake estate thereof: according to whose report, in the morning being Saturday the second of October, it was rendred vpon condition they might depart with Bag and Baggage: which was granted. The third, being licenced to depart according to the *Grand Signior* his promise, vnder the charge of the *Beglerbie* of *Natolia*. At their departure forth of the Castle, they were spoyled of their goods carried with them, and most of them slaine by the *Spabies*, *Ianisaries* of *Hatman*, and other *Turks*, not without suspicion of the *Grand Signior* his knowledge, because he vsed no seuerer punishment for the breaking of his commandement, and his owne promise. There were in number about one thousand Souldiers, and as many more men, women, and children Inhabitants, which were saued and kept to remaine Subjects there: the chiefe Captaines were kept and promised their libertie. The chiefe was *Hounger*,
 60 *Signior Paulo*: The Coronell *Gulielmo Trozka*, *Iohannes Iacobus*, *Comes Atarne Bohemo*, *Iohannes Kinskye de Tetan*; and Count *Rugero Italiano*.

A Letter written by Master Edward Barton Ambassador, to Master Sanderfon;
inscribed *Al Molto Mag. Sig. Gio. Sanderfon, &c.*

These two letters written by the Ambassador his owne hands, I haue for his sake and theirs inserted, giuen me by Master Sanderfon.

Loving friend, I haue written twice unto you, as well from Bellograd as also Solnok, of what in my voyage hitherto had passed, but my Letters were intercepted and torne, brought unto my hands againe, and being of no great importance, I will no more reply them, but aduise you of the Grand Signior, and our arrivall at Agria, which happened the twelfth of September, and the selfe same night he made his trenches and batteries in six severall places; the Vice-Roy in one place, the Beglerbie of Grecia in another, the Beglerbie of Natolia in the third, the Ianisaries in the fourth, Iesser Bassa Eunuch in the fifth, Mahemed Bassa Gera in the sixth; Cigal Ogli was Captaine over the light Horsemen, to scour the coasts on all sides, that no succour should come, and to learne aduice of the Emperours proceedings and designes.

The thirteenth, the Inhabitants set all their Suburbs on fire, which might be little lesse then Gallata, which though they were well defended with a strong wall, yet the defendants being few in number, and distrusting to their owne strength, left the defence of them, and retired themselves within the Castle. The sixteenth, the Ianisaries offered a generall skirmish, even under the Gate of the Castle, where on both sides many were slaine, but the Hungars keeping themselves close within the wals, and the Ianisaries tyred, soone retired. The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, they intended to undermine the Castle, and the twentieth, put fire thereto, but not succeeding to their mindes (though they valiantly attempted to enter the breach) they gave courage to the defendants to make issue to mutuall damage. The foure and twentieth, the assailants having made another breach, valiantly entred the same, but not being seconded with fresh forces, were repelled, yet two houres after, in the same day, taking on them better courage, and more valiantly seconded, gave a new assault, when by chance, a woman in the Castle setting, by chance, fire on a Barrell of Powder, and the Souldiers of the Castle thinking it was a Mine fired in the Castle, for feare thereof retiring themselves, gave the Turkes courage to enter a small but strong Bastion, builded for defence of a weake part of the Castle, which they valiantly even to the last defended; and ever after, with myning and counter-myning, continuall assaults and skirmishes on both parts fighting, to the extreame losse of the defendants. The first of October, an English Trumpetter escaped out and fled to the Vice-Roy, requiring life and libertie, and declaring the weakenesse of the Castle, was brought before the Grand Signior, to whom likewise he made like relation; according to whose reports, the next day being Saturday the second of October, the Castle was rendered, with compact that all the Souldiers should safely retire whither best they list, and the Inhabitants to remaine continuall Inhabitants, and owners of their former possessions; the latter of which promises was observed, but the first was broken, because the Inhabitants of Hatuan, a Castle belonging to the Grand Signior, two dayes iourney thence, together with the Tartars, assaulted the said Souldiers a mile from Agria in their departure, and cut them all in pieces, because Maximillian with the Emperours forces, having a moneth since taken Hatuan, did most cruelly, without compassion, put all the Inhabitants to the sword. Hence the Grand Signior doth within five daies determine to goe towards Buda uncertaine upon what designe. From Solnok I sent my Drogueman to Buda with the Emperours Ambassador his familie, and in Buda I released five other, with all which companie, consisting of seven and twentie, I received Letters from my Drogueman, and the Gentleman in Buda released; that they departed from Pest the thirteenth of December toward the Emperours Court, God send mee a good answer speedily. And I pray you send this aduice for England; Commending me to Iu. Field, and Doctor Sette Cotte, and Master Peter Gallant, with Sign. Ant. Peron, and the French Secretarie: this fift of October, 1596.

Sette Cotte had beene Jew, Christian, Turke, of all, and therefore no Religion: now a rich Turke. Gallant a rich Merchant, Peron a rich Grecian.

Your assured, E. BARTON.

Part of another Letter written likewise by the said Ambassadour from Agria, to Master Sandy the English Consull at Aleppo.

IThinke that at your residence with me, you remember how that the Grand Signior had made me grant of the libertie of all the Emperours Ambassadors his family, which now he hath performed, and I haue sent them by my Drogueman unto the Emperour, even twentie eight persons of which number divers were Gentlemen of account, so that I hope my service therein shall be gracefull to his highnesse, and acceptable to his Maiestie, and of delight to you and the rest my good friends, whom I could not leaue unadvised thereof, as alike of the Manslulling of the Bassa, and successe of Abraham Bassa, late high Treasurer, now Bassa of that place, to whom, as to my very good friends, I will earnestly commend you, and the rest of my Countrymen and friends, &c.

The Polish Ambassadour departed from Agria, having with him three Ianisaries, and two Girles, which the Ianisaries tooke at Agria the same day, the Ambassadour having occasion to goe to the Bassa, at his returne his Chausers carried him through the Citie of Agria, which was burned

burned and spoyled to the ground, and lying a mile beyond the Towne, vpon a great Plaine, the poore Christians that were licenced to depart out of the Castle, lay all slaine there scattered. Returning back, we saw vnder the Castle wals of Christians that were slaine at the siege a great number heaped vp together close to the wall, about two fathome high, all naked frying in the Sunne, besides in diuers other places many more. Comming along to our Pauillion, wee saw with certaine *Ianifaries* five women and children, the one of five yeeres, and the other sucking the mothers brest; those women and children the *Ianifaries* made purchase of, at rendring vp of the Citie, and the Castle of *Agria*. The Girle of five yeeres of age, the Ambassadour bought for ten Chekines; Here the *Grand Signior* stayed till the Castle was againe repaired.

- 10 The tenth, came newes that Christians were within three daies iourney of the Campe, where vpon *Gieffer Bassa*, and the *Beglerbie* of *Grecia*, were sent to view the Christians Campe; who more ventrous then wise, entring the clawes of the Christians, were wholly discomfited, & most of their retinue slaine, and pursued to the *Turks* campe; for which cause they were both deposed. Yet *Affan Bassa* was preferred to the *Beglerbie* of *Grecia*, which five daies before was taken from him. Now *Cigalla* was made General together with *Affan Bassa*, and appointed to go on the Christians: but *Agria* wals being already repaired, the *Grand Signior* resolved himselfe to go in person, and departed from *Agria* on the fourteenth, traueilling all that day, till about *Quindie*, then came to spread his Tents or Pauillions. Next morning proceeding on his iourney, about ten of the clocke hee came in sight of the Christians, and within halfe an houre after, began to skirmish
- 20 with them, they being intrenched neere to their Campe, by two old Churches or Chappels vpon a great Plaine, neere to a long puddle or moorish ground, of some foure miles long, all alongst a small banke or hill, in breadth some seuen or eight Rods; and beyond this, vpon this hill or banke aforesaid, had the Christians incamped themselues. About mid-day, at the aproaching of the *Grand Signior*, they skirmished freshly, and some *Turkes* intrenched themselues neere vnto one of these Churches aforesaid, these continuing all day skirmishing, as aforesaid, where both sides shewed great valour, but small bloud shed, in respect of such infinite forces as were there, especially of *Turkes*. The *Ianifaries* in particular, brauely entred the Christians Trenches, but not being seconded, were most of them put to the Sword; and the Christians perceiuing no seconds, valiantly marched forwards, and gained the *Turkes* Trenches, put them to flight with
- 30 some slaughter. Now the night approaching, and raine withall, the *Grand Signior* retired with his Pauillions, some mile off: the Ambassadour also with his companie, seeking to plant themselves for that night, not finding his carriages, was constrained to rest in the open field without any Tent, or ought else ouer his head, and neither meat nor drinke. The Ambassador was faine to send two of his *Ianifaries* to seeke for somewhat for him and his Companie, as also for their Horses; at length they brought some twelue Okes of Bisket, whereof some part wee eate, and the rest gaue our Horses: also *Beniamin Bushop* hauing formerly vnder *Agria* bought a *Dutchman*, Slaue to the *Turks*, who riding all day with vs, and being ill at ease, the same night he dyed with his Horse in his hand.

- The sixteenth, when after a troublesome night, approached the day, that bloody day, that
- 40 dreadfull day to the *Turkes*, but most vnfortunate to the Christians: In the morning newes being brought, that the Christians had forsaken the *Turkes* Trenches, and retired to their owne; the *Turkish* Horse-men that seeing, assaulted them valiantly, and though they found good encounter, yet repulsed the Christians. Now againe, when the Christians had set their forces in good order, they brought their maine campe forth, and soone repelled the *Turks*, where the poore *Ianifaries*, being Foot-men, were all put to the Sword, some two thousand persons, the Christians seeing the *Turkes* flie, followed in braue Martiall manner: The Foot-men Harquebuses, before them the light Artillerie, and after them the Horse-men in warlike manner, whose approaching so terrified the *Turkes*, that without respect of their Emperour, and their liuings depending on him, they fled in most shamefull wise, so that the Christians without resistance, approached euen nigh the Pauillions of the *Grand Signior*. At which time I leaue to the world, to consider
- 50 what fright the *Grand Signior* was in, seeing all his Armie flie; yet encouraged by some about him of his chiefe Officers, caused his Banners Imperiall, to march forwards vpon the Christians; and he with his Bow and Arrowes shot thrice, and at some say, slue three Christians. Now the *Tartars*, for feare of the Harquebuses, gathered themselues about the *Grand Signior* his Pauillion, and houering a little off; and *Hassan Bassa* who had the charge of the reward (lest the Christians Horse should assault the *Grand Signior* on the backe side) approaching with all the *Grecian* light horsemen, who taking the right side of the Christians, were al ready on the face encountred with those who inuironed the *Grand Signior*, and on the other side, by the *Tartars*, were on the sudden so frightened, that the Horse-men forsaking the Artillerie and guard of the Foot-men, fled
- 60 without order, and being pursued, many of them were slaine; but the poore footmen soone incompassed by the troopes of *Turkes* Horse-men, were all most cruelly without blow offering or shew of resistance, put to the Sword; many of the Horse-men by benefit of the night, escaped to the Mountaynes of *Agria*.

The seuenteenth in the morning, there came to the Ambassadors Pauillion, two great *Chauses* from

from the *Bassa*, who willed him to goe with them to view the place where the Christians had encamped themselves: which he did, taking foure *Ianizaries*, his owne two *Chausers*, two *Spahis*, and his owne men. Now missing one of his *Ianizaries*, his fellow not hauing seene him all that day, riding along at the entrance of the Christians Campe, found the said *Ianizarie* slaine, whom the Ambassador shewed the *Chausers*, & so past along; the foresaid *Chausers* shewed the Ambassador what place they had chosen for their Armie; which, if they had kept themselves within that compasse, and let the *Turkes* assault them still as they began, and they but to defend themselves, in small time would haue wearied the *Turkes*, and done them great damage; and little hurt to themselves: for onely but at two muddy watery places (by the foresaid old Chappels) could the *Turkes* come neere them to doe any great harme: for hardly could a Horse 10 passe, for being layed in, so that no possibilitie was for the Christians to haue any great repulse. But passing those places, assaulting and skirmishing with the *Turkes* was their ouerthrow. Thus these *Chausers* led the Ambassador from the one end to the other, which is about two miles long, and a very great Plaine, and Woods at the end thereof. There was all their Ordnance left behind them, and much Armour which the Christians that fled cast away, to goe with more speed when the *Turkes* pursued them so neere. When they came to the end thereof, some which fled, being overtaken, lay slayne, both Horse-men and Foot-men. There was left great store of Wheat, Meale, Bread, Butter, Cheese, Bacon, Sausages, Beefe, and other prouision. Now, the Ambassador returned to his Pauillion, bringing these two *Chausers* with him to dinner; which done, they tooke their leaue and departed. After this conquest, the *Grand Signior* rested in his Pauil- 20 lions there three dayes.

The nineteenth, the *Grand Signior* raysed his whole Armie, bending his course homewards, arriuing at *Constantinople* on Sunday, being the twelfth of Decemb. 1596. at which time he was receiued with great pompe, and before his entrance, the Ambassador, being placed by the chiefe *Vizere*, that when the *Grand Signior* came, hee went and saluted him, as the manner amongst them is, and kissed his hand; which done, he returned to his Horse. The Agent aforesaid, with a fresh Horse, and a troope of more then twelue met; hauing met him foure miles off from *Constantinople*, and about midday came to his owne house in the Vines of *Pera*, God be thanked, and his holy and blessed Name, for this, and our preseruacion in so dangerous a Voyage, and for all other his infinite goodnesse towards vs, be praised for euermore. Amen. 30

* This holy Flag, and these Arrowes seeme to be reliques, and of holy esteeme as those three words also.

The Ambassador reported to Master Iohn Sanderfon, that the Hodice or Schoole-master of the Great Turke, encouraged him in this extremitie to get upon his Horse, wrapping himselfe in Mahomets Flag, and to take these three * Arrowes, and shoot them toward the Christians Campe, vsing these words following, Bismilla Rohmane Reheim; which hee did. Cigalogli encouraged the Turkes to turne upon the Christians then busied in pillaging, and put them to flight. After which seruice Cigalogli (before Mansul'd or put out of his place of High Admirall) came to the Turke, who embraced and kissed him, saying, he deserved not onely his place againe, but the Kingdome.

The Reader may informe himselfe more fully of this Battel, and the Christians spoile through greedinesse of spoile, in *Knolles*, or other Writers of the *Turkish* Sorie. This our Author hath also written his Voyage, from thence sent by the Ambassador into *Poland*, also from *Constantinople* 40 to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, 1601. from *Constantinople* to *Aleppo*, 1602. into *England*, 1603. and againe from *Constantinople* to *England*, 1604. But I feare my Reader will bee wearie of *Turkie*: from whence yet yee may not, shall not depart, till yee haue bene made spectators of a Tragicall Comedie, and a Comickall Tragedie (Comickall, I hope to vs, if the sinnes of Christendome preuent not, to the *Turkes* a Tragedie) the most dismall that euer yet befell the *Ottomans*. In the first, the same man is both Author and Actor; in the next, you haue a *Choragus*, to whom wee owe much for this, for former his learned and honourable seruices, both full of Raritie and Varietie, the parents of Wonder and Delight.

CHAP. XI.

The Trauels and Aduentures of Captaine IOHN SMITH in
diuers parts of the world, begun about the
yeere 1596.

10

¶ I.

His Trauels thorow France, Italie, and on the Sea coasts of Europe, Africa, and Asia:
His entertaynment and exploits in the Emperours warres against the Turke:
his subtle Stratagems, valorous Combats, Applause,
Aduancement, Honour.

20



IN his youth, when France and Netherlands had taught him to ride a Horſe, and
vſe his Armes; with ſuch rudiments of Warre as his tender yeeres in this Mar-
tiall Schoole could attayne vnto; he was deſirous to ſee the World, and trie his
fortune againſt the Turke. Opportunitie caſting him into the companie of
four French Gallants well attended, ſaying to him they were deuoted that
way; ouerperſwaded him in the Low Countries, to goe with them into France:
with ſuch ill weather as winter affoordeth, in the darke night they arriued in the broad ſhallow
inlet of S. Valereys in Piccardie. A worſe winter, and darker night accompanied him, namely his
French Gallants; which, liking well his apparell, and thinking him better furniſhed with mo-
ney then themſelues, plotted with the Maſter of the ſhip, who conueyed them and his Trunks
aſhoare; and left him aboard till the Boat could returne, which was not till next day towards
euening. The reaſon he alleaged was, the Sea was ſo high he could come no ſooner: And that
his pretended French Lord was gone to Amiens, where they would ſtay his comming. Which
treacherous villanie, when diuers other Souldiers Paſſengers had vnderſtood, they had like to
haue ſlaine the Maſter: and had they knowne how, would haue runne away with the ſhip.

A French chea-
ter pretending
himſelfe to be
the Lord De-
prean and his
company, coo-
zen him of his
Clothes,
Trunkes,
and Money.

One of the Souldiers, called Currianuer, compassionating his iniurie, aſſured him this great
Lord Deprean, was onely the ſonne of a poore Lawyer of Mortaine in Bas Brittagine, and his at-
tendants Curſel, La Nelie, and Monferat, three younger Brothers, as arrant cheaters as himſelfe;
and if he would accompanie him, he would bring him to their friends, and in the interim ſup-
plie his wants. Thus traueiling by Diep, Codobecq, Honſieu, Pount Rodemer in Normandie, they
came to Caen in Bas Normande. Where both the Noble Currianuer, and many of his friends
kindly welcommed him, and brought them to Mortaine, where hee found their friends, as hee
had promiſed him, but to ſmall purpoſe. Yet the bruit occaſioned the Ladie Columbe, the Baron
Larſhan, the Lord Shafſe, and diuers other honourable perſons to ſupplie his wants, and to giue
him kind entertaynment with them, to recreate himſelfe as long as he would. But ſuch pleaſures
little ſuted with his poore eſtate: and his reſtleſſe ſpirit could neuer find content to receiue ſuch
noble fauours as he could neither deſerue, nor requite. Whereupon, wandring from Port to Port,
to find ſome Man of Warre, he ſpent that he had, and in a Forreſt, neere dead with grieve, a rich
Farmer found him by a faire fountaine vnder a tree. This kind Peſant relieued him againe to his
content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he paſſed through a great Grove of trees be-
twixt Pounterſon and Dinan in Brittaigne, it was his chance to meet Curſell, more miſerable then
himſelfe. Without any word they both drew, and in a ſhort time Curſell fell to the ground:
where, from an old ruined Towne the Inhabitants ſeeing them, were ſatisfied, when they
heard Curſell confeſſe what formerly had paſſed; and that in the diuiding what they had ſtolne
from him, they fell by the eares among themſelues: but for his part hee excuſed himſelfe to be
innocent, as well of the one as of the other. In regard of his hurt, Smith was glad to bee ſo
rid, directing his courſe to an honourable Lord, the Earle of Ployer: who (during the Warres
in France) with his two brethren had beene brought vp in England; by whom he was better re-
furniſhed then euer. When they had ſlewed him Saint Malo, Mount Saint Michael, Lambal,
Saint Brioux, Lanion, and their owne faire Caſtle of Tunkadeck Guigan, and diuers other places
in Brittaigne, and their Cornwall; taking his leaue he tooke his way to Rennes, the Bretons chiefe
Citie; and ſo to Nantes, Poytiers, Rochell, and Bordeaux. The rumour of the ſtrength of Bayon
in Biſkay cauſed him to ſee it: And from thence tooke his way from Leſkar in Bearn, and Pau
in the Kingdome of Nauarre to Tolouſe, Viſers, and Carcaſſon in Gaſcoigne; Narbonne, Mont-
pellier, Nyſmes, and Poundegale, in Langedock, and through the Countrey of Auinion by Arles,
to Marſellas in Pronence.

Currianuer,
a kind French-
man.

Diep.
Candebeck.
Honſieu.
Caen.

Hee meets Cur-
ſell, & wounds
him in fight.
Theeues fall
out without ſa-
tisfaction to
the true man.
Earle of Ployer.
Saint Malo,
Saint Michael,
Lamballe, Saint
Brioux, Lanion,
places of note
in Brittaigne.
Rennes.
Nantes.
Rochell.
Bordeaux.
Baigne.
Leſcar in Bearn.
Carcaſſon.
Narbonne.
Nyſmes.
Marſelle in
Pronence.



Toulon.

An inhumane
Act of Popish
charitic.

Entertayned
by a Brittain
Captaine.

Lampeda's.
Alexandria.
Scanderone.
Cyprus.
Rhodes.
Archipelagus.
Cephalonia.

A desperate
Sea-fight.

There embarking himselfe for *Italie*, the ship was inforced to *Toulon*; and putting againe to Sea, ill weather so grew vpon them, they anchored close aboard the shoare, vnder the little Ile of Saint *Marie* against *Nice* in *Sauoy*. Here the inhumane Prouincials with a rabble of Pilgrims of diuers Nations going to *Rome*, houely cursed him not onely for a Hugonot, but said, his Nation were all Pirats; rayling on his dread Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, and that they neuer should haue faire weather so long as he was aboard them. There disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him ouerboard: yet God brought him into that little Ile, where were no Inhabitants. The next morning hee espied two ships more ride by them, put in by the storme; which fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly vsed him, that hee was well contented to trie the rest of his fortunes with them. After he had related vnto them this former discourse: what for pitie and for loue of the Honourable Earle of *Plover*, this Noble Britton his neighbour, Captaine *La Roshe* of Saint *Malo*, regarded and entertayned him. With the next faire wind they sayled along by the coast of *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*, and crossing the Gulfe of *Tunis*, passed by Cape *Bona*, to the Ile of *Lampadosa*; leauing the coast of *Barbarie* till they came at Cape *Rosato*, and so along by the *African* shoare for *Alexndria* in *Egypt*. There hauing deliuered their freight, they went to *Scanderone*; and after keeping their course by *Cyprus*, and the coast of *Asia*; sayling by *Rhodes*, the *Archipelagus*, *Candia*, and the coast of *Greece*, and the Ile *Cephalonia*; they lay to and againe a few dayes, betwixt the Ile of *Corfu*, and the Cape of *Otranto* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, in the entrance of the *Adriaticke* Sea, till they mette with an *Argosie* of *Venice*, which it seemes, the Captaine desired to speake with: whose vntoward answer was such as shue them a man. Whereupon presently the Britton gaue them his broad side, then his sterne, and his other broad side also; and continued his chase Peeeces till hee gaue so many broad sides one after another, that the *Argosies* Sayles and tackling were so torne that shee stood to her defence, and made shot for shot. Twice in one houre and halfe the Brittons boarded her, yet they cleered them selues. But clapping her aboard againe, the *Argosies* fired him, with much danger to them both, but was presently quenched. This rather augmented

ted the *Brettons* rage, then abated his courage; and hauing re-accommodated himselfe againe, he shot her so betweene wind and water, that shee was ready to sinke: then they yeelded. The *Brettons* lost fifteene men, shee twentie, besides diuers hurt: the rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the prisoners, which were chayned; the rest to rife her. The Silkes, Veluets, Cloth of gold, and Tissue; Peasters, Chickines, and Sultanies, they vnloaded in foure and twentie houres in wonderfull store: whereof hauing sufficient, and tyred with toyle, they cast her off with all her companie, with as much good Merchandize as would haue fraughted such another *Britton*.

Argosie taken
and rifled by a
ship of B. R. —
taine.

Smith set on
shore at Anti-
bo, in Piemonte.
Legorne, or Lib-
orno.

Rome.
Sienna.
Florence, &c.

Sclauonia
Gratz in Stiria
Vienna

To reaire his defects he stood for the coast of *Calabria*; but hearing there were sixe or seven
10 Gallies at *Mesina*, he departed thence for *Malta*: but the winde comming faire, hee kept his
course along the coast of the Kingdome of *Sicilia*, by *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, till hee came to the
Road of *Antibo* in *Piemont*, where he set *Smith* on shoare, with five hundred Chickenes, and a
little Box which he had, worth neere as much more. Here he imbarqued himselfe for *Legorn*,
being glad to haue such an oportunitie and meanes to better his experience, by the view of *I-*
talie: and hauing passed *Tuscanie*, *Veterbo* and many other Cities, as *Rome*, and *Saint Peters* Pa-
trimonie, he went downe the Riuer *Tyber*, to *Ciuita Vecha*: where hee imbarqued himselfe to
satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of *Naples*, and her Kingdomes Nobilitie, returning by *Capua*,
Rome, and *Siena*, he passed by that admired Citie of *Florence*, the Cities and Countries of *Bolo-*
nia, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Padua*, and *Venice*: whose Gulfe he passed from *Malamaco*, and the *A-*
20 *driaticke* Sea for *Ragouza*, spending sometime to see the barren broken Coast of *Albania* and
Dalmatia, to *Capo de Istria*, traouelling the Mayne of poore *Sclanonia*, by *Tubliano*, till hee came
to *Gratz* in *Stiria*, the Seat of *Ferdinando* an Arch-duke of *Austria*, (now Emperour of *Al-*
maine) where hee met an *English* and an *Irish* Iesuite: who acquainted him with many braue
Gentlemen of good qualitie: especially with the Lord *Ebersbaught*, to whom hee gaue experi-
ments of such conclusions, as he projected to vndertake: hee preferred him to Baron *Kizell*, Ge-
nerall of the Artillery: and he to a worthy Colonell, the Earle of *Meldritch*, with whom go-
ing to *Vienna* in *Austria*, hee made him Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, vnder
whose Regiments how he spent his time, this insuing Discourse will declare, as it is written in a
Booke intituled, *The Warres of Transiluania, Wallachi, and Moldania*, written by *Francisco Fer-*
nez a Learned *Italian*, Secretarie to *Sigismundus Bathor* the Prince.

HONDIVS *his Map of* Transilvania.



Extracts of Captaine Smiths Transylvanian Acts, out
of Fr. Fer. his Storie.Olimpach relie-
ued.Speech by
Torches.A good stra-
tagem.Another stra-
tagem.Smith made
Captaine of
250. Souldiers.

Three Armies.

The siege of
Alba Regalis.Fierie Dra-
gons.

After the losse of Caniza, the Turkes with twentie thousand besieged the strong Towne of Olimpach, so straitly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour, till Iohn Smith an English Gentleman, acquainted Baron Kizell, Generall of the Arch-Dukes Artillerie, that he had taught the Generall his worthy Friend, such a Rule, that hee would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and haue his Answer; would they bring him but to some place, where he might make the flame of a Torch seene to the Towne. Kizell inflamed with this strange inuention; Smith made it so plaine, that forth-with he gaue him Guides, who in the darke night brought him to a Mountaine, where he shewed three Torches equi-distant from each other, which plainly appearing to the Towne, the Gouvernour presently apprehended: and answered againe with three other fires in like manner, each thus knowing the others being and intent. Smith, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words. On Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the Alarme sally you: Eberspaught answered he would. And thus it was done, First, he writ his Message, as brieve you see, as could be; then diuided the Alphabet in two parts thus: A B C D E F G H I K L with one Light, the other Letters following with two, M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z. The first part from A to L is signified by shewing and hiding one Linke so oft as there is Letters from A to that Letter, you meane; the other part from M to Z, is mentioned by two Lights in like manner; the end of a word is signified by shewing of three Lights, euer staying your Light at that Letter, you meane, till the other may write it in a Paper, and answer by his signall, which is one Light. It is done, beginning to account the Letters, by the Lights every time from A or M: by this meanes, also the other returned his Answer, thereby each understanding other. The Guides all this time, hauing well viewed the Campe, returned to Kizell, who doubting of his power, being but twentie thousand, was animated by the Guides which related that the Turkes were so diuided by the Riuer in two parts, that they could not easily second each other. To which Smith added this conclusion, that two or three thousand pieces of Match, fastened to diuers small Lines of two hundred fathome in length, being armed with Powder, might all bee fired and stretched at one instant, before the Alarme, upon the Plaine of Eynaburge, supported betweene two stanes, at each Lines end: in that manner, would seeme as if they were so many Musketiers: which was so put in practice, as being discovered by the Turkes, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had bin some great Armie, whilst Kizell with his Forces entred the Turkes quarter. They now ranne up and downe as men amazed, and it was not long ere Eberspaught was pell mell with them in their Trenches: in which distracted confusion, a third part of the Turkes that besieged that side towards Konbrucke were slaine, many of the rest drowned, and fled: the other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that Kizell before the morning had put in two thousand good Souldiers into the Towne, and with small losse was retyred: the Garrison was also well relieved with that which they found in the Turkes Quarter: Which caused the Turkes to raise their Siege, and returne to Caniza, and Kizell with much honour was receiued at Kerment: and occasioned the Author a good reward and preferment, to bee Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, under the conduct of Colonell Meldrich.

A generall Rumour of a generall Peace, now spread it selfe all ouer the face of those tormented Countries: but the Turke intended no such matter, but lenied Souldiers from all parts he could, and the Emperour also by the assistance of the Christian Princes, provided three Armies: the one led by the Arch-duke Matthias, the Emperours Brother, and his Lieftenant Duke Mercurie to defend low Hungarie; the second by Ferdinando the Arch-duke of Stiria, and the Duke of Mantua his Lieftenant to regaine Caniza: the third by Don Gonzago Gouvernour of high Hungarie to ioyne with Balta, to make an absolute Conquest of Transilvania.

Duke Mercurie with an Armie of thirtie thousand (whereof neere ten thousand were French) besieged Stolewisenburg, otherwise called Alba Regalis, a place so strong by art and nature that it was thought impregnable. There hapened many a bloudie sally, strange stratagems and valiant Exploits on both sides by severall Nations; but in brieve, Earle Meldritch by the information of three or foure Christians escaped out of the Towne. Captaine Smithooke occasion upon the great Assemblies, thronging together at every Alarme, to put in practice the fierie Dragons, which hee had demonstrated him and the Earle Von Sults at Comora, which he thus performed. After hee had prepared fortie or fiftie Earthen round bellied Pots prepared, with mixtures, Powder and Bullets, as experiences had taught him, (though with exceeding danger) he so fitly placed them in slings, graduated so neere as they could to these Assemblies, and other places of aduantage, that at mid-night upon the Alarme, it was a fearefull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the Ayre: but presently after the fall, the lamentable noyse of the miserable slaughtered Turkes was most terrible; besides, they fired that strong Suburbe, at the Port of Buda, in two or three places, which so troubled the Turkes to quench, that had there beene any meanes to haue assaulted them, they could hardly haue resisted the fire and their Enemies.

This Citie being taken by the incredible Aduentures of the Duke, the Earle Roseworthe with the other Colonell and Captaines, which had beene in possession of the Turkes, more then fiftie yeares: the

Turke

Turke sent presently Asan Bassa with thescore thousand, if it were possible to re-gaine it: the Duke understanding this, with twentie thousand met him: where five or sixe thousand were slaine, with the Bassa of Buda, and foure or five Zanzackes.

A Battell, and the Bassa of Buda slaine.

Duke Mercurie diuiding his Armie, sent the Earle Meldrich (of whose Company was Captaine Smith in this encounter) to assist the Lord Balta, Generall for the Emperer Rodulph, against Sigismundus Bathur, the Prince of Transilvania: who was beyond all mens belife, newly returned from Polonia: and established in his Estate; the Earle neither finding pay, nor such regard as he expected, perswaded his Troupes rather to serue the Prince against the Turkes, then Balta against the Prince. The Souldiers worne out with these paylesse Truels, upon hope to make Bootie of what they could get from the

10 Turke, were easily perswaded to follow him wheresoener: especially to helpe to re-gaine or ransacke his Fathers Country then possessed by the Turkes, which (they hard) notwithstanding those Warres, were rich and unspoiled. The Prince glad of so a braue a Commander, and so many expert and ancient Souldiers, made him Campe-master of his Armie, gaue him all necessaries else hee could, and what freedome they desired to ransacke the Turkes.

The Earle hauing made many incursions into the Land of Zarkain, amongst the rockie Mountaines, where the people were some Turkes, some Tartars, some Iewes, but most Banditos, Renegadoes, and such like, which sometimes he forced into the Plaines of Regall: where is a Citie, not only of men and

20 such like, which sometimes he forced into the Plaines of Regall: where is a Citie, not only of men and Fortifications, strong of it selfe; but so enuironed with Mountaines, and the passage so difficult, that in all those warres, no attempt had beene made vpon it to any purpose. Hauing satisfied himselfe with the situation and those passages, amongst which he had many a sharpe encounter: at last, with eight thousand he pitched his Campe before it. The Inhabitants scorning so small a number, sallied in such abundance, that about one hundred and fiftie were slaine on both sides, and the Turkes chased so neere the Ports, that the Towers small shot and Ordnance caused the Earle to retyre.

Regal besieged.

The next day Zachell Moyzes, Lieutenant Generall to the Prince, came with foure thousand Foote and Horse, and foure and twentie Peeces of Ordnance, but in regard of the situation of the place, they did more feare then hurt them: till they had spent neere a moneth in raising their Mounts and Batteries; which slow proceeding the Turkes daily derided, and as fearing least they should depart ere they assaulted the Citie, sent this challenge to any Captaine in their Armie: That to delight the Ladies who did long to see some Courtlieke pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defie any Captaine that had the command of a

30 Companie, which durst cumbat with him for his head. The matter being discussed, was accepted. But so many questions grew for the undertaking, that it was decided by lots, and the lot fell vpon Captaine Smith, before spoken of. Truce being taken for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the Christians in Batalia; Turbashaw, with a voice of Hoboyes entred the field, well mounted and armed: on his shoulders were fixed two paire of great wings, richly garnished with gold, siluer, and precious stones, a Ianifarie before him, bearing his Launce; on each side, another leading his Horse; where long he stayed not before Smith with a noise of Trumpets (onely a Page bearing his Lance) passing by him, with a curteous salute, tooke his ground with such good successe, that at the sound of the charge he passed the Turke thorow the sight of his beauer, face, head, and all, that hee fell dead to the ground; where alighting, vnbracing his Helmet, he tooke off his head, leauing the Turkes his body, and

40 so returned without any hurt at all. The head he presented to the Lord Moyzes the Generall, who kindly accepted it, and with ioy to the whole Armie, he was generally welcome.

Three single combats.

The first onely with Lances.

Manner of Turbashas entrance.

C. Smith enters.

Turbasha slaine

The second combat twixt Smith and Grualgo with Pistols.

Grualdo slaine.

The death of this Captaine, so swelled in the heart of one Grualgo his vowed friend, as rather irragged with madnesse then choller, he directed a particular Challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friends head, or lose his owne, with his Horse and Armour for aduantage: which, according to his desire, was the next day undertaken, as before. Vpon the sound of the Trumpets their Launces flew in pieces, vpon a cleere passage, but that the Turke was neere unhorsed: their Pistols were the next, which marked Smith vpon the Placket; but the next shot, the Turke was so wounded in the left arme, that not able to rule his Horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground, and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him, with his Horse and Armour; but his bodie and his rich apparell, was

50 Enery day the Turkes made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they indure to any purpose, our workes and approaches being not yet aduanced to that height, and effect as necessitie required. To delude time, Smith with many inconstadictable perswading reasons, obtained leaue, that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamored with their Seruants heads, but if any Turke of their ranke would come to the place of Combat to redeeme them, hee should haue his also vpon the like condutions, if they could winne it. The Challenge presently was accepted by Bony Molgro. The next day both the Champions entering the field, as before, each discharging their Pistols, hauing no Launces, but such martiall weapons as the Defendant had appointed, no hurt was done. Their Battle-axes were the next, whose piercing bills made sometimes the one, sometimes the other, to haue scarce sence to keepe their Saddles: especially the

Third combat with Battle Axes.

60 Christian receined such a wound, that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to haue fallen after it: whereat the supposing conquering Turke had a great shout from the Rampiers. The Turke prosecuted his aduantage to the vttermost of his power: yet the other, what by the readinesse of his Horse, and his iudgement and dexteritie in such a businesse beyond all mens expectation, by Gods assistance, not onely auoyded the Turkes violent blowes, but hauing drawne his Faulchion, pierced the Turke so vnder the

C. Smith endangered. Drawes his Faulchion, and kills Bony Molgro.

Cullets

Cullets through backe and body, that although he alighted from his Horse, hee stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done.

His honorable
returne.

This good successe gave such encouragement to the Armie, that with a guard of sixe thousand, three spare Horses, before each, a Turkes head upon Launces, hee was conducted to the Generals Pavilions with his presents. Moyles receined both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, embracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse richly furnished, a Cymiter and Belt worth three

Made Sergeant
Maior.
Regall taken.

hundred Ducats, and Meldrich made him Sergeant Maior of his Regiment. The Towne with an incredible trouble and danger was assaulted, and at last taken perforce, where the Earle remembering his Fathers death, caused all he could find beare Armes to be put to the Sword, and their heads to be set upon stakes, round about the walls, in the same manner as they had served the Christians when they tooke it. 10

Varatzo, Sol-
mos, Cuprouka.

Then he sacked Varatzo, Solmos, and Kuprouka, whereto had retired the remnant of this Den of Theenes, leaving five thousand dead (though he lost neere as many, yet) with all the spoyle and two thousand prisoners (most women and children) he returned to Esenberge, not farre from the Princes Pallace, where hee incamped. The Prince coming to view the Armie, presented with the Prisoners, and sixe and thirtie Ensignes (after his accustomed manner, having given thanks to God) he was acquainted what service Smith had done at Olimpach, Stolewisenberge, and Regall; for which, with great honor and solemnitie, he gave him three Turkes heads in a Shield for Armes, with an oath ever to wear them in his Colours, his picture in gold, and three hundred Duckats yeerely for a pension.

Prince of Tran-
silvania hono-
reth Captaine
Smith.

During all this time, Balta and the Prince being capitulating of a peace, the Emperour had raised new forces for Balta to invade Transilvania; which caused the Prince to condescend to the Articles propounded him: which when Moyles understood, then in field with the whole Armie (that hated the Germans as ill as Turkes) he gave battell to Balta. Betwixt them in sixe or seven houres, more then sixe or seven thousand on both sides were slaine. Moyles thus overthrowne fled to the Turkes, and his scattered Troopes, some one way, some another. The Prince excused himselfe of this unexpected accident, made composition for his dispersed Troopes, yielded himselfe to Balta; and all his Countrey and Subjects to the Emperours obedience. 20

Bloudie battell
of Christians.

Balta thus possessed of Transilvania, drew all the Christians of those old Regiments of Sigismundus, of whose greatnesse and true affections, he was most suspicious, under the conduct of Rodoll Voyuad of Walachia, forced out by Jeremy, put in by the Turke. In this Armie of thirtie thousand, Captaine

Smiths employ-
ments vnder
the Vayuod of
Walachy.

Smith was one, who (under his noble Colonell holding the same places he had before) had many severall employments in every dangerous encounter, which would be too voluminous particularly to relate, before they could draw Prince Jeremy to battaile, where (as it is recorded) two thousand on both sides, lay dead in the fields; but Jeremy fled, and Rodol had the victorie, and thereby againe his Soueraintie. 30

Bloudie battell
twixt the two
Vayuods.
Thirtie thou-
sand Tartars.

Meldrich not long after with thirteene thousand, was sent against the stragling escaped Troopes of Jeremy, which ioyning with some Tartars, foraged the frontiers towards Moldavia; but when they heard it was the Crimme Tartar and his two sonnes, with thirtie thousand, and that Jeremy which had escaped, lay with fiftene thousand in Ambuscado for him, about Langanow, hee retired towards Rotenton, a strong Garison for Rodoll: But they were so inuironed with these hellish numbers, that they could make no great haste for skirmishing with their Scoutes and Forragers: Yet by getting through a wood in a thick Fog, meeting two thousand laden with pillage, and two or three hundred Horse and Cattell, the most of them were slaine or taken prisoners, who told Meldrich where Jeremy lay, expecting the Crimme Tartar. Meldrich intending to make by him his passage by force, was aduised of a pretie stratagem by Captaine Smith, which presently so accommodated two or three hundred Trunkes, with wild-fire upon the heads of Launces, charging the enemy in the night, gave fire to the Trunkes, which blasted forth such flames and sparkles, amazing not onely the Horse but also the Foot, that by the meanes of this flaming encounter, their owne Horses turned tailes with such furie, as by their violence overthrow Jeremy and his Armie, without any losse at all to Meldrich. But of this victorie they not long triumphed; for, being within three leagues of Rotenton, in the Valley of Vereft Horne; the Tartar with fortie thousand had so beset him, that they were forced to fight with this matchlesse number, where neere thirtie thousand were slaine. The Earle, with some fiftene hundred escaped, but the rest were all slaine or taken prisoners: as the Historie at large will plainly shew, the times, place, chiefe Commanders, with the manner and order of their battels, and fights, to which I referre you. 50

A memorable
stratagem at
the battell of
Rotenton.

§. II.

Diners valiant English-men in this battell. Captaine SMITH taken, sold, sent into Turkie, and ouer the Black Sea to Tartaria. His admirable escape and other trauels in diuers parts of Christendome.



N this dismall battell, Nederspol, Veltus, Zarnana, Mauazo, Banell, and many other Earles, Barons, Colonels, Captaines, braue Gentlemen and Souldiers were slaine. Giue me leaue to remember the names, and honor the memories of our owne Countrey-men in those exploits, which as resolutely as the best, in the defence of Christ and

and his Gospell ended their daies, *Batchelor, Hardwicke, Thomas Milemay, Robert Mullynax, Englishmen*
Thomas Bishop, Roger Compton, George Dauson, Nicholas Williams, and one *Iohn the Scot.* These slaine.

all did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their martyred bodies,
 in testimonie of their Martiall minds, onely Ensigne *Carlton*, and Sergeant *Robinson* escaped. Ensigne *Carlton*
 But *Smith* amongst the slaughtered dead bodies, with toyle and wounds lay groning, till being and Sergeant
 found by the Pillagers that he was able to liue, and perceiuing by his Armour and habit, that his *Robinson* escape
 ransome might be better to them then his death; they led him Prisoner with diuers other. Well Captaine
 they vsed him till his wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all brought into the Mar- *Smith* taken.
 ket place and stripped, that the Merchants might see their limbs and wounds, (who had Ser-

10 nants vpon purpose to try their strengths) and there sold like beasts. *Smith* fell to the share of
Basba Bogall, who sent him forth with to *Andrinopolis*, and so for *Constantinople* to his faire Mi-
 stris for a Slaue. By twentie and twentie chained by the necke, they marched in Fyle to this
 great Citie, where they were deliuered to their severall Masters, and he to his young *Charatz*
Tragabigzanda.

This Noble Gentlewoman tooke sometimes occasion to shew him to some friends, or rather
 to speake with him, and because she could speake *Italian*, would faine her selfe sicke when shee
 should goe to the *Banias*, or weepe ouer the graues, to know how *Bogall* tooke him Prisoner,
 and if he were, as *Bogall* writ to her, a *Bohemian* Lord conquered by his hand, with many more
 which he had with him, whom hee would present her ere long, whose ransomes should adorne
 20 her with the glory of his Conquests. But when shee heard him protest he knew no such mat-
 ter, nor had euer seene *Bogall* till hee bought him at *Axopolis*, and that hee was an *Eng-
 lish-man*, onely by his aduentures made a Captaine in those Countries: to try the truth, shee
 found meanes to find out many which could speake *English, French, Dutch, and Italian*; to whom
 he relating the most part of those former passages, (which they honestly reported to her) shee
 tooke as it seemed, much compassion on him. But hauing no vse for him, least her mother should
 sell him, she sent him to her Brother the *Tymor Bashaw* of *Nalbrits*, in the Country of *Cambrya*
 in *Tartaria*.

But let vs remember his passing notes in the speculatiue course from *Constantinople*, by *Sander*, *How he was*
Pelus, Pannasamusa, Lastilla, to Varna, an ancient Citie vpon the blacke Sea, where hauing little sent into *Tar-
 30* more libertie then his eies iudgement, he might see the Townes with their short Towers, in a *taria*
 most excellent plaine, pleasant, and fertile Countrey, full of Villages, and disperfed faire build-
 ings, as well in *Sagonia* as *Romania*. But from *Varna*, nothing but the blacke Sea, till he came *Varna*.

to the two Capes of *Taur* and *Pergillo*, which are two muddy Promontories, at the entrance of
 the Straight *Niger*, which hath a very deepe Channell, and as he coniectured, ten leagues long,
 and three broad. At the entrance of the *Disabachi* Sea, are a great many of high blacke Rocks
 on each side the Channell to ones thinking, which they said were onely Trees, Weedes, and
 Muds, throwne from the in-land Countries by the inuadations, and by the violence of the Cur-
 rant cast there by the Eddy: of which as they sayled, they saw many without sight of Land,
 seeming like high Rockes on low Ilands, which are onely great flats of *Osie* Quagmires, where
 A description
 of the *Disaba-*
chi or blacke
 Sea.

40 infinite heapes of Trees doe sticke; and by their waight, time, and multitudes, though the
 boughes rot, the bodies they say, haue made many of those *Osie* Flats firme Land in many
 places: Thus sayling this *Disabachi* Sea, till hee came betwixt *Susack* and *Curaske*, onely two
 visibie Townes appeared at the entrance of the Riuer *Bruago*. In sixe or seuen daies sayle, hee
 saw foure or fise, seeming strong Castles of stone, with flat tops and Battlements about them;
 but arriuing at *Cambria*, he was according to their custome, well vsed. The Castle was of a large *Cambria*
 circumference, ten or twelue foote thicke in the foundation. Some sixe foote from it a Palizado,
 and then a ditch round about, fortie foot broad, full of water: on the one side of it a Towne all
 of low flat houses, but no great matter as it seemed; yet it keeps all that Country in admirable
 awe and subiection. Three daies he rested there, then it was two daies iourney to *Nalbrits*, the

50 *Tymors* habitation, a place not of much lesse strength then *Cambria*, where sometimes resideth
 this *Tymor Nalbrits*, Brother to the Ladie *Tragabigzanda*. To her vnkind Brother this kind La-
 die writ so much for his good v sage, that hee halfe suspected as much as she intended. For shee
 told him, he should there but sojourne to learne the language: and what it was to be a *Turke*, till
 time made her Master of her selfe. But the *Tymor* her Brother diuerted, and peruerted all this
 to the worst of crueltie: for within an houre after his arriuall, hee cauled his Drugman to strip
 him naked, and shaued his head and beard as bare as his hand, a great Ring of Iron with a long
 stalke bowing like a Sickle about his neck, and a coate made of Vlgrayes haire, much like Haire-
 cloath, guarded about with a piece of an vndressed skinnie. There were many other Christian
 Slaues, but more then two hundred Forsados, and he being the last, was Slaue of Slaues to them
 60 all. Among those slauiish fortunes, there was no great choise, for the best was so bad, a Dog could
 hardly haue liued to indure: and yet for all their paines and labour, no more regarded then a
 Beast. The *Tymor* and his friends fed vpon Pillow, which is boyled Rice and Garnancis, with
 little bits of Mutton or Buckones, which is rost pieces of Horse, Vlgray, or any Beast. *Samboses*
 and *Muselbits* are great dainties, and yet but round pies full of all sorts of flesh chopped, with
 varietie
 Shauing of
 Slaues, and
 hard v sage.

- varietie of Hearbs. Their best drinke is *Coffa*, made of a Graine, called *Coana*, boyled with water and *Sherberke*, which is onely Hony and Water. Mares Milke, or the Milke of any Beast, they hold restorative; but all the Comminaltie drinke pure Water. Their Bread is made of this *Coana*, which is a kind of blacke Wheate, and *Cuscus* a small white Seed like Millet in *Biskany*. Our common victuall, was the Intrals and Offall of Horses and Vlgryes; of this cut in small pieces, they will fill a great Cauldron; which being boyled, and with *Cuscus* put in great bowles in the manner of Chafing-dishes, they sit about it on the ground; after they haue raked it through as oft as they please with their fowle fists, the remainder was for the Christian Slaues. Some of this broth they would temper with *Cuscus*, like Butter for Fritters, and putting the fire off from the hearth, powre there a bowle full, then couer it with coales till it be baked, which stued with the remainder of the broath, and small pieces of flesh, was an extraordinary daintie. The better sort are attired like *Turkes*, but the plaine *Tartar* weareth halfe a blacke Sheepes skinne ouer his backe, two of the legges tyed about his necke, the other two about his middle; with another ouer his belly, and his legges tyed in like manner behind him: then two skinnies more made like a paire of Bases, serue him for Breeches, with a little Cap close to his skull of course blacke Felt, and they vse exceeding much of this Felt for Carpets, for Bedding, for Coates, and Idols. Their houses are much worse then your *Irisb*: but the In-land Countrey hath none but Carts and Tents, which they euer remoue from Countrey to Countrey, as they see occasion, dring with them infinite troupes of blacke Sheepe, Cattle, and Vlgryes, eating vp all before them as they goe.
- For the *Tartars* of *Nagi*, they haue neither Towne nor House, Corne nor Drinke, but Flesh and Milke; and liue all in Hordias, three or foure thousand of them in a company, all liuing in great Carts, fiftene or sixtene foot broad, which is couered ouer with small Rods, wratled together in the forme of a Birds-nest turned vpwards, and with the Ashes of bones, tempered with Oyle, and a Clay they haue, & Camels haire, they loome them so wel, that no weather wil pierce them, and yet they are very light. Each Hordia hath a Murse, which they obey as King. Their gods are infinite, but the *Crimme Tartar* and the *Tauricks*, obey *Murtissalla Mahomets* chiefe Prophet. One thousand or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawne with Camels, Deere, Bulls, and Vlgryes, they bring round in a Ring, where they pitch their Campe, and the Murse with his chiefe Alliances are placed in the midst: They doe much hurt when they get any Stogs, which are great Boats, vsed vpon the *Edle* a Riuer we call *Volga*, to them that dwell in the Countrey of *Poronlog*, and would doe much more, were it not for the *Muscouits* Garisons that there inhabite.
- All the hope he had euer to be deliuered from this thraldome, was onely the loue of *Tragabigzanda*, who surely was ignorant of his bad vsage: for although he had oft debated the matter with some Christians, which had beene there long Slaues, they could not find how to make any escape, by any reason or possibilitie. But God beyond Mans expectation or imagination, helpeth his Seruants when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapned to him. In this miserable estate, he became a Thrasher at a Grange in a great field, more then a league from the *Tymors* house. The *Bassa* as he oft vsed to visite his grounds, visited him, and tooke occasion so to beate, spurne and reuile him, that *Smith* forgetting all reason, beate out his braines with his bat: and seeing his estate could not be worse then it was, he cloathed himselfe in his cloathes, hid his body vnder the Straw, filled his Knapfacke with Corne, shut the doores, mounted his Horse, and ranne into the Desart at all aduenture: Two or three daies thus fearefully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was hee met not any to aske the way. Thus being euen as one taking leaue of this miserable world, God did direct him to their great way or Custragan, as they call it, which doth crosse those large Territories, and is generally knowne among them by these markes.
- In euery crossing of this great way, is planted a Poste, and in it so many bolts with broad ends, as there are waies, and euery bolt hath the figure painted ouer it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth, as that which pointeth towards the *Crimmes* Countrey, is marked with a halfe Moone: if towards the *China*, the picture of the Sunne; if towards the *Georgians* and *Persia*, a blacke man full of white spots; if towards *Muscovy*, the signe of a Crosse; if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his Standard is knowne. To his dying spirits thus God added some comfort in this melancholy iourney, wherein if hee had met any of that vild generation, they had made him their Slaue, or sent him backe againe to his Master. Sixteene daies he trauelled in this feare and torment after that crosse, till hee arriued at *Axopolis*, vpon the Riuer *Don*, a Garrison of the *Muscouits*. The Gouvernor after due examination of those hard euents, tooke off his Irons, and so kindly vsed him, that he thought himselfe newly risen from death.
- The most he could learne of these wild Countries was this, that the Countrey of *Cambria* is two dayes Journey from the head of the great Riuer *Bruapo*, which springeth from many places of the Mountaynes of *Inagachi*, that ioyned themselues together in the Poole *Kerkas*, which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea *Dissabach*: which receiueth also the Riuer *Don*, and all the Riuers that fall from the great Countrey of the *Circassi*, the *Caitaches*, the *Tauricacs*,

Miller.

Their Attire.

Houses.

No houses but moueable Tents.

The Tartars of Nagi.

How Smith escaped his captivity.

Exopolis.

The description of Cambria, and his passage to Russia. Bruapo. Don, or Tanais.

ricaces, Pricopes, Cumania, Cossunka, and the Crymme, through which Sea hee sayled, and vp the Riuier Bruapo to Nalbrits, and thence through the Deserts of Circassi to Exopolis, as is related, where he staid with the Gouvernour, till the Conuoy went to Coragnaw, then with his Certificate how he found him, and had examined him, with his friendly Letters he sent him by Zumalacke to Coragnaw, whose Gouvernour in like manner so kindly vsed him, that by this means, he went with the safe conduct to Leitch & Donka, in Cologosk, and thence to Birniske, & Newgrade, in Seberya, by Kexachica vpon the Riuier Niger, in the Confines of Littuania. From whence with as much kindnesse he was conueyed in like manner by Coroskie, Duberosko, Duzihell, Drohobus, and Ostroge in Volonia. Shaslaw and Laxco in Podolia, Halico and Collonia in Polonia, and to Hermonstat in Transilvania. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content and entertaynement, and not any Gouvernour where he came, but gaue him somewhat as a Present besides his charges, seeing themselves subiect to the like calamitie. And because our Authour hath so thorowly trauelled Europe, I haue here presented Hondius his Map of Europe.

A faire shunt
shine after a
storme.

HONDIVS his Map of Europe.



Through those poore continually forraged Countries there is no passage, but with the Caruans or Conuoyes; for they are Countries rather to bee pittied then enuyed, and it is a wonder any should make Warres for them. The Villages are here and there a few Houses of streight Firre-trees, laid heads and points aboue one another made fast by notches at the ends, more then a mans height, and with broad split boards pinned together with wooden pinnes thatched for couerture: in ten Villages you shall scarce find ten Iron Nayles, except it bee in some extraordinarie mans House. For their Townes, Exopolis, Lech, and Donka haue Rampiers made of that wooden walled-fashion, double, and betwixt them Earth and Stones, but so latched with crosse Timber, they are very strong against any thing but fire, and about them a deepe Ditch, and a Pallizado of young Firre-trees, but most of the rest haue only a great Ditch cast about
Yyyyyy chem

His Obsetuati-
tions in his
Journey to
Transilvania,
and through
the midst of
Europe.

All Lords, or
Slaues.

them, and the Ditches Earth is all their Rampier, and the toppe on it round, well enuironed with Palizadoes; Some haue some few small Peeces of small Ordnance and Slings, Curriours and Muskets; but their generallest Weapons are the *Russe* Bow and Arrowes. In their wayes you shall find pouements ouer Bogges, only of young Firre-trees laid crosse ouer one another for two or three houres Iourney, or as the passage requires, and yet in two dayes trauell, you shall scarce see fixe Habitations. Notwithstanding, to see how their Lords, Gouvernours, and Captaines are ciuized, well attyred and accoutred with Iewels, Sables, Horses, and after their manner with curious Furniture, it is wonderfull; but they are all Lords or Slaues, which makes them so subiect to euery Inuasion.

Sigismunds Te-
stimoniall.

In *Transilvania* he found so many good friends, that but to see and reioyce himselfe after all those Encounters to see his Natiue Countrey, he would euer hardly haue left them, though the Miracle of Vertue, their Prince was absent. Being thus glatted with content, and neere drowned with ioy; he passed high *Hungaria*, *By-fylecke*, *Tocka*, *Cassouia*, and *Vnaderawa*, by *Vlmitch* in *Moravia*, to *Prague* in *Bohemia*: at last he found the most generous Prince *Sigismundus* with his Colonell at *Lipswicke* in *Misenland*, who gaue him his passe, intimating the seruice hee had done, and the honours he had receiued with fifteene hundred Duckers of Gold to repaire his losses. With this he spent sometime, to visit the faire Cities and Countries of *Dresden* in *Saxonie*, *Mandabourge*, and *Brunswicke* Castle in *Hessen*, *Wittenberge*, *Vlme* and *Minikin* in *Bauaria*, *Ausburge* and her Vniuersitie, *Hanna*, *Franckford*, *Mets*, the *Palatinate*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, and *Strambsurge*. Passing the Cardinalship to *Nancey* in *Lorraine*, and the Kingdome of *France*, by *Paris* to *Orle-* 20
ance, he went downe the Riuer of *Leyer*, to *Angers*, and imbarcked himselfe at *Nants* in *Britania* for *Bilbow* in *Biskanie*, to see *Burgos*, *Valiodolid*, *Squeriath*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Cordua*, *Cuede Ryall*, *Stuill*, *Cherges*, *Cales*, and *Saint Lucars* in *Spaine*.

His returne
for England.

Then vnderstanding that the Warres of *Mully Shash* and *Mully Sedan*, the two Brothers in *Barbarie* of *Fex* and *Moroco* (to which hee was animated by some friends) were concluded in peace, he imbarcked himselfe for *England* with one thousand Duckets in his Purse, which after with a great deale more hee employed, in searching more dangers in the *West Indies*, and the vnkowne parts of vnciuilized *America*, where how he discouered and inhabited *Virginia*, how hee was taken Prisoner by *Powhatan*, their Emperour 1607. and deliuered, how hee tooke the King of *Paspahagh*, Prisoner in single Combate, and the King of *Pamavuke* Prisoner in the 30
middest of his Armie, and brought thirtie of their pettie Kings, and all their people in subiection to the *English*: How since hee hath searched, and caused a new *England*, and was taken Prisoner by *French* Pirats, and escaped: You shall after heare in fitter place.

CHAP. XII.

The death of *S V E T A N O S M A N*, and the setting up of *M V-
S T A R A* his Vncle, according to the Relation presented
to His Maiestie.

Preteence of vi-
siting Mecha.



He Grand Signior Sultan *Osman* discontented since his disgrace in *Poland*, as soone as he came to *Constantinople*, pretended a Iourney vpon the *Emir de Saida*, who was reported to be in Rebellion, hauing taken Armes to other ends. But being diuerted from this purpose by the great instance of the *Viziers*, and that it would not so well serue his secret Designes, because hee must then keepe an Armie on foote; hee gaue out that hee would visite *Mecha*, the Tombe of his false Prophet.

To make this Voyage the more secure, in appearance, hee seemed content to accept of any Treatie with the *Polacks*, euen to conditions both of disadvantage and dishonour; for his estates in *Hungarie*, he re-enforced the Frontiers with diuers troupes, and though hee were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of *Germanie* and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he dissembled it so, as that he would not displease the *Transilvanian*, but rather offered new succours, and forbearance of his Tribute. From the Incursions of the *Cossacks*, hee hoped to assure himselfe, by the treatie of the *Poles*, and in occasion of breach, he had the *Tartars* readie to requite them (it being both their trades to liue vpon spoile and robberie) and for more securitie hee appointed twentie Gallies to keepe the *Blacke Sea*. The common people and *Viziers* that loued rest, and knew not the Designe, were much troubled and discontent at this Iourney, who made many Re- 60
monstrances to him of the inconuenience and danger to leaue the seat of his Empire to the trust of a Deputie, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the *Germane* Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted; and the *Polacks* newly reconciled to him, and therefore to be mistrusted. Diuers other reasons were made to him, many Petitions deliuered from the Church-
men

men, Lawyers, and from all Estates. But melancholike Reuenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no meanes he could be perswaded to desist. The Souldierie passed so farre, as to threaten publikely, and to protest, they would not follow, but rather set vp another King in his absence that should stay among them. In conclusion, carried by his owne fate to destruction: the

1622.

Ianizaries mutinie.

- 10 taking from Churches, and his Wardrobes, whatsoever could be conuerted to Bullion) suddenly met at the *Hippodrome* in the Citie vpon a word giuen; and from thence ranne to the *Seraglio* in tumult, but without Armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies cryed out for the King (hauing first taken order to stop the passage of any thing vpon the water) who appearing to them, asked what this inolencie meant, and what they pretended. They then by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the Monster) demanded first that hee should not proceed in his purpose to goe to *Mecha*, nor into *Asia*, but that he must abide in the Citie. Secondly, they would haue deliuered to their furie the Great *Vizier De-laur Bassa*, the *Hoia*, or Confessor of the King, the *Cashariaga* Gouvernour of the women, the *Tesferdar*, or Treasurer, the *Cadde Leskar*, or Chiefe Iustice, and some others, as Enemies to the State, and consenting to
- 20 this Voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little dispute, the King granted vnto them; promising to giue over his Iourney, but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the second, he replied, that it was dishonour to him to haue his Seruants so vsed without order of Iustice: but perswaded them to haue patience to stay vntill Saturday, the next *Diuan*, or publike Councell, where they should all appeare, and if they were found culpable, they should receiue punishment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time and allay their pesent furie. These fellowes not content with this moderate answer, vndertooke to know that they were guiltie, and therefore that they needed no other witnesse, tryals, nor Iudge, but themselues, and with extreme clamour, called to haue them deliuered. But the King refusing to giue them any other satisfaction, and they vnprepared for
- 30 force, returned into the Citie, which now was all in feare, euery house and shop shut vp, expecting a generall sacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and first went vnto the house of the *Hoia*, which they brake and pillaged: but not finding him, they proceeded to the Great *Viziers*, who made some defence, and (they being vnarmed) beate him off; and so they separated being now Euening, but yet kept a Guard in some parts of the Towne.

- This night the King made an attempt to send ouer to *Asia* side, but was preuented; and to fortifie and defend his *Seraglio*, which is walled strongly about, and hath alway in it of household Seruants about three thousand, but it seemes no man would arme in his cause. For the next morning, the Mutiners assembled againe, and taking their Armes, went first to the *Musti*, or Arch-priest among them, and forced him and diuers others to accompanie them to the Court;
- 40 where they anew demanded these men, but with more instance and furie. In the meane time the *Hoia*, *Caddee Leskar*, and *Tesferdar* fled, and were yet neuer heard off. The *Vizier* retyred to the King, and perswaded him earnestly to goe ouer in person in his owne Boates (which from his Garden he might easily doe) to *Asia*, and there to take Horse, and he would secure him from all perill; but the King would not mooue, bidding him stay confident and assured that hee would punish these Rebels.

- The wise old man seeing this constancie or obstinacie, desired leaue to shift for himsefe, which he either tooke or obtayned, and so got away to the Hermitage of a Saint renowned amongst them, who (like himsefe) betrayed him to a Captaine of the *Ianizaries*; yet did him the fauour as not to deliuer him to the multitude, but carried him backe to the Kings House. At this time
- 50 it was disputed in the *Seraglio*, about the deliuerie of these Officers, the Emperour refusing, the Rebels clamouring and threatening; insomuch, as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their rage doe worse then was yet pretended. Whereupon, whether by the Kings order, or by his owne consent (willing to bee the Peace-offering) the *Vizier* went out to them, and with a good assurednesse demanded what they sought of him, and wherein he had offended: But they answered him with their Swords, and suddenly cut him in pieces.

Saint Knaue.

- The Emperour seeing their furie so out-ragious, had now more cause to doubt, and retyred himsefe then too late, when hee had lost his braue Counsellor; would haue fled into *Asia*, and could not, but conueyed himsefe into a priuate place, prepared by his *Bustengi Bassa*, or chiefe
- 60 Gardiner. The Rebels continue without in their madnesse, asking for the King, and for more Sacrifices. But the Seruants protesting they knew not where he was, they said, they must haue a King, and if he would not appeare, they would make another; and hauing awhile attended, they resolved to enter the Palace (but first tooke a generall Oath not to sacke the Imperiall Throne, which they called their house and their honour) and there seeking for the King, not able to find him, they extorted by confession the *Cashariaga*, and slue him, and then they demanded

Grand Signior flight.

Yyyyyy a

for

Mustafa made
King.

for *Mustafa*, Vncle to *Osman*, by him formerly deposed, a man esteemed rather holy (that is franticke) then wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell, then a Scepter. The King the first day of this tumult had put *Mustafa* into a Vault with two *Negro* women, without bread or drinke, in which estate these new Electors found him almost naked, and halfe pined. At first sight, hee thought they had beene the Messengers of death: but that feare passed ouer, he begged of them a Cup of water. Whom they tooke, and instantly proclaimed their Emperour, which hee was loth to accept, *uti pudebat aucti nominis*; How vnstable are the Estates of the greatest Princes! *Quem dies videt veniens iacentem, hunc vidit dies fugiens regnantem*, He that was now in the lawes of death, naked, starued, and dying for thirst, is become the Emperour, and may drinke Gold, or the blood of men.

They as yet not knowing what was become of *Osman*, and loth to trust *Mustapha* in the Palace, carried him in triumph to the old *Seraglio*, and there left him, departing to the sacke of the *Viziers* house, and so in the Euening to their Rendeuou, where they kept both good guard, and good order in the Citie, from fires and other Insolencies. *Sultan Osman* amazed with these newes, so soone as they had left the Court, came out and called to Councell in the night, *Huzein Bassa*, late *Vizier* in the *Polish* Warre, and the *Aga* of the *Ianzaries*, both faithfull to him, and demanded their aduice; first, hauing sent to the old *Seraglio*, to practise the women there, to strangle *Mustafa*; but some taking his part, a new vprore beganne in the house betweene that Sexe: and the Souldiers that kept watch, taking the Alarum, entred in, and rescued him, and from thence remooued him to the Chambers of the *Ianzaries*, where they guarded him for that night, in an ill Lodging. All this while *Osman* consults what course to take. These two his friends, and some others, tell him, that the case was desperate, and could not bee cured but by a desperate remedie. And they agreed that the *Aga* should goe and perswade with the *Mosti*, and that the King in the morning should suddenly present himselfe to the Souldiers at their owne doore, and make experience, what his Presence, his submission, and his beneuolence promised could worke, to moue them to Loyaltie, or compassion; which counsell early in the morning they put in practice. The King accompanied with the *Mosti*, (who neuer consented to his deposing, though he fauoured the Souldiers against the *Vizier*) with *Huzein Bassa*, and about twelue Horse-men, went directly to the *Ianzaries* Colledge where *Mustafa* was kept, and there in teares made them an Oration, offering great recompence, repenting of his errour; and finally, inuoked them by the merits of his Father and all his Ancestors to haue some pitie vpon their true Master. The multitude (*tam prona in misericordiam, quam immodica sanitia fuerat*) now knew not what to doe; a silent murmure ranne among them, and they were halfe conuerted: But the *Aga* of the *Ianzaries*, thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead vnseasonably for him, with some harsh words of vpbraidure, *Vt natura Maris omni flatu venti turbida*, anew moued their furie, so that they cryed out Treason, and fell vpon him and *Huzein Bassa*, and cut them into pieces, euery man taking a part of their flesh to satisfie their reuenge. The *Mosti* would speake, but is withdrawne by some, for respect to his place, and with difficultie conveyed away. Now the poore *Osman* sees his friends slaine, and knowes not which way to conuert himselfe, but binding vp his eyes with a Napkin, expects death as the last of their furie; But they carrie him first before *Mustafa*, and accuse him as the disturber of the Peace of the Empire, and demand sentence against him, *more vulgi suum quisque flagitium alijs obiectantes*. The forsaken Prince pleades for life, and the new King knowes not how to condemne, but nods and agrees to all that is propounded. At last, they consult with themselues, and put him vpon an Horse (an insolent *Spahie* changing Turbants with him) and sent him away Prisoner to the seuen Towers vnder good guard, and then returned to their new Master, and placed him in the *Seraglio* and Imperiall Throne, where he hath need to haue good Broths and nourishment to restore his decayed bodie.

New mutinie.

Mustafa en-
thronized.

The Souldiers thinke all is done, and (onely sacking the houses of *Huzein Bassa*, and some others their conceiued Enemies) returne in quiet to their seuerall Lodgings, and haue no further malice. But the new *Vizier Daout Bassa*, made by *Mustafa*, knew well, if *Osman* liued, that this storme might passe ouer, and hee would as easily and by the same meanes returne to his Estate, as hee fell from it, *Vulgus ut mos est, cuiusq; noui motus cupidum*. Therefore hee consulted with some few interessed in *Mustafas* preferment, and thereby obnoxious to *Osman*, to search how many of the Royall blood were left aliue, and resolved if there remayned two, to make an end of *Osman*. Two of his Brothers were found, the one about twelue, the other about seuen yeares of age: and thereupon the *Vizier* went himselfe to the Prison with a packe of Hangmen, and gaue order to strangle the vnfortunate Prince: who now hauing had no rest in two nights, and thinking himselfe secure for a season, was newly false asleepe: but awaked by the comming of these Messengers, asked what newes, saying, hee did not like their sudden intrusion. They at first stood amazed, and the King made shew to defend himselfe; but a strong Knaue strooke him on the head with a Battle-axe, and the rest leaping vpon him, strangled him with much adoe. Thus one of the greatest Monarkes in the World is first affronted by mutined troupes, his owne slaues, almost vnarmed, and few in number, no man taking vp a Sword

Osman bre-
thren.

Osman slaine.

Sword to defend him: and they who began this madnesse, not meaning to hurt him, by the increase of their owne furie, which hath no bounds, depose him against their owne purpose, and at last expose his life against their will, to the counsels of other men, whom they equally hate. And now they mourne for their dead King, as freshly as they raged vnreasonably, knowing they haue stayned their honour, being the first of their Emperours they euer betrayed, and that they haue set vp another that in all likelihood they must change for disability: *Nonnunquam tulit documenta fors maiora, quam fragili loco starent superbi.*

- This is the last act of the life of *Sultan Osman*: but his intents and great designs, which drew vpon him this fatall blow, I suppose will not bee vnworthy the communication, the Practices, 10 Reasons, Secrets, and Counsels of all Actions being the Soule of Historie, and *res gesta* but the bare carkasse: and I am perswaded, as many Ages haue not produced so strange an Example of the incertaintie of humane greatnesse; so in the disposition thereof, and in the wayes leading thereunto, there is seene evidently the wonderfull prouidence of God, in confounding of the counsels of the worldly wise, who had laid a foundation of new greatnesse, whereby he aspired the vniuersall Monarchie, ambitious of the honour of *Traian*, in whole time the decayed Empire was said, *Primum mouere lacertos, & senectutem Imperij, quasi reddita iuuentute reuiuiscere.* And lastly, the world may see vpon how weake foundations this Monarchie was at first builded, but it is now shaken and corrupted; how their Kings are subiect to the rage of a few Slaues, how Anarchie hath prepared it an easie prey to any able hand, that would attempt it. From the Inua- 20 sion of *Poland*, all these changes took their beginning. *Sultan Osman* aduanced to the Throne in his youth, full of heate and blood, being of a great and haughtie spirit, very couragious, strong of bodie, and a mortall hater of Christians, enuious of the glory of his Ancestors, and ambitious to rayse his name aboue any of theirs, had proiected in himselfe the Conquest of the Remaynes of the bordering *Europe*. But to so great designs he had one vice that resisted all hope of prosperi- tie, which was extreme Auarice, and he fell into the latter times and decrepit age, *Vbi vires luxu corruppebantur, contra veterem disciplinam & instituta maiorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res militaris melius stetit.* His first enterprize was that of *Poland*, mooued by the Incursions of the *Cossacks*, which yet he vndertooke of his owne head, without the counsell of any his *Viziers* (who in a Monarchie growne to the height by ease and wealth, and perhaps, *longa dominatione* 30 *inertes*, are euer corrupt and lazie) and against the liking of all the Souldiers, who now contrarie to their Institution being marryed, and Fathers of a Family, entred into Trades, receiuing nothing in Warre more then in Peace, *prater pericula & labores*, are not easily drawne from their owne Chimneies. This action he thought so easie, as he had disposed of his Conquest, and deu- ded the liue Lions skinne. But being met vpon the Borders with a poore Armie in comparison, he was first arrested at *Chotyn* a little Fortresse, which he was faine to leaue behind him vntaken. And then seeking to aduance into the plaine Countrey, by forcing the Trenches of the Chan- cellor of *Poland*, opposed against him, he could neuer procure his *Ianizaries* to fight, though en- 40 gaging his person once or twice beyond the regard of his qualitie, and his owne Troupes readie to mutinie against him, or to forsake him, he was at last entorced to rayse shamefully his Campe, and to accept of any Treatie to saue his outward honour. In this attempt he lost aboue one hun- dred thousand Horses for want of Fodder, and fourescore thousand men for want of fighting: for they would rather dye, running, or pillaging, or eating, then in the face of the Enemie. For this disgrace he conceived so inward and rooted an indignation against the *Ianizaries*, and so iust- ly, that he often lamented himselfe, and complayned hee was no King, that was subiect to his owne slaues, vpon whom he spent great Treasures, and yet they would neither fight in Warre, nor obey in Peace, without exacting new bounties and Priuiledges. *Delaur Bassa* a man of 50 great wit and courage, lately called from the Easterne parts, where hee had long gouerned with honour, who came in, though late, yet in a very braue and Warlike Equipage, aboue all other his Captaines, was suddenly made Great *Vizier*, the former *Huzein Bassa* being in the same dis- grace, common with the Souldier, though not in the same fault. This man was neuer bred at Court, but had liued many yeares in Action, and so had neither Faction nor Dependance heere, but stood vpon himselfe and his owne merit: And beeing now vnlooked for, and aduanced to this high dignitie, he wrought vpon the Kings discontent, and nourished it: and in conclusion, brake with him, that it was true, he was no Emperour, nor could be safely aliue, while the *Ia- nizaries* had the power which they lately vsurped. Informing him, that they were corrupted from their ancient Institution, and were lazie Cowards, giuen ouer to Ease and Lust, *Et animo per libidines corrupto, nihil honestum inerat.* But if his Maiestie would pull vp his spirits, and follow his aduice, hee would prouide him a new Souldioury about *Damascus*, and from the *Coords*, of men euer bred in the Frontier, Hardnesse, and Warre, of 60 great Courage and Experience, and that of them hee should erect a new *Militia*, that should wholly depend of him, entertayning onely fortie thousand in pay, which should alway be his Guard, and that in the distribution of euery Prouince, he should constitute that the *Begh- ler-begh* in his Gouernment should trayne some of the Inhabitants, who in all occasions of ma- king a great Armie, should be in readinesse, and hereby hee should spare infinite Treasures spent

Osman's ambi- tion.

His avarice & vnseasonable attempts a- gainst Poland.

Ianizaries per- uerle.

Delaur Bassa

The *Coords*.

Vnaduised
threats.

Lazie Slaues.

Observations.

upon these Drones that eate vp his Estate; And with men of new spirits and hopes, hee should be enabled to doe greater matters, then any of his Ancestors: but withall he desired the King to communicate this counsell to no man, nor to trust his life vpon anothers secrecie. *Delanir Bassa* neuer reuealing himselfe to any but the King, who extremely pleased with this aduice, that flattered his owne humour, consented, and remitted all to the *Viziers* direction, who was a true Souldier, and a very wise man, able by his credit in *Asia*, to performe all hee had vndertaken: for he was exceedingly beloued in those parts, very rich, and had kept *Damascus*, whereof he was *Gauernour*, for himselfe in the last Rebellion. Vpon this conclusion betweene them, it was first agreed, that the King should pretend to goe in person against the *Emir de Zaida*, who was moued to take Armes really to assist in the designe: but they vsed it, to colour the departure of the Emperor; which when it was well weighed, it was found, that then the Army of the *Ianizaries* must be kept together, which could not agree with their ends. Hereupon the iourney of *Mecha* was diuulged, that the King might, vnder the shadow of an holy pilgrimage, goe out with a smal trayne, and disperse those who were suspected to him. And for this preparation was made, but somewhat too grossly by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of house, Lamps of Churches, and whatsoeuer could more easily be conueyed away in metal, with all the Jewels and treasure. This gaue the first suspicion, which was confirmed by diuers vnaduised words let fall from the King, of disdayne against the cowardize of the *Ianizaries*, and that he would shortly find himselfe soldiers that should whip them; & lastly, dismissing all his household, except some few elect, the discontented obserued and betrayed him. *Delanir Bassa* kept his owne secret, and in the meane time prepared by his friends in *Asia* 10000. about *Damascus*, 10000. from the *Coords*, besides those in readinesse of the *Emir de Zaida*, and all vpon pretence of defending the borders of *Persia*, who hauing intelligence of some change in those parts; And gaue order that all these should meet the King at *Damascus*, where he would presently cut off his Guard, and stay there, vntill he had regulated his new Armie, and discipline, and then to returne triumphant to *Constantinople*, and vtterly root out the order of *Ianizaries*, *Spahis*, and *Timariots*, and to exauctorate all their Captaines and Officers to settle a new gouernment, and to change the name of the Citie. And these things succeeding, he then resolved with his new Souldiers to attempt the recouerie of his honour in Christendome: in the meane time to hold a dissembled friendship there in all parts. Certainly, this was a braue and well-grounded designe, and of great consequence for renewing of this decayed Empire, languishing vnder the intolencies of lazie slaues, if God had not destroyed it: It being very true, that the *Turkish* Emperour stands at the deuotion of his owne troops for peace or warre, life or death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treasurer of his *Ianizaries*. If this proiect had taken effect, what euents it might haue produced by a Ciuill Warre, is not easie to iudge. For doubtlesse, the Souldiourie here would haue set vp another King, and maintayned him as well as they could, and this *European* part had beene in danger to haue beene torne away by the diuision. Besides, *Delanir Bassa* hauing the King and the Treasure in his possession, and his owne credit so great, and his inclination, *velle imperare*, once discovered, it may well be thought that he had some ends of his owne to share a part of this mightie estate: If on the other side, the *Vizier* had proued true and faithfull, the reformation and new erection of the Discipline of Warre, and the encrease of Treasure consequent to the dismissal of the old *Militia*, would haue beene fearefull to all Christendome: But, *Ubi est sapiens? Ubi disquisitor saculi huius? Nonne infatuauit Deus sapientiam mundi huius? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium*. It is a great question whether is the wiser wilh, that these Counsels had succeeded or not: for either diuision and subuersion, or a new prosperitie and enlargement of their Dominion had necessarily followed.

Some obseruations upon this occasion, will not be very impertinent to those that desire to know as well the disposition and vse, as the things themselves. First, in the purpose of the Souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much lesse to depose and murder him; but onely to take away those about him, whom they thought assistants in this proiect: yet the furie once on foot, they proceeded by missensible steps, to the uttermost of outrage, against many innocents in that businesse, though otherwise obnoxious, and against the Throne and life of their owne Emperour, vbi furor ingruat innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere. Secondly, in the degrees, that yet the King had not falne thus low, if first hee had not lost that awe and reuerence which alway attendeth vpon Maiestie, by vnseemely offices, done by him in the streets and Tanernes, apprehending many Souldiers for pettie faults, like a Constable, making his person common, cheape, and despised among them which were wont onely to be seene and feared, as somewhat supra humanitatem. And this he did also in hatred and disdayne of those that had in the Warre forsaken him. And now in this last act, if his owne obstinacie had not plunged him into destruction, but that he had softened them by a seasonable yeelding to time, he had preuayled onely by time. Thirdly, in the order, That these Mutiners hauing no head, or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their surie, in hot blood, in the Kings yard, not to dishonour, spoyle, nor iacke the Imperiall Throne, neither committed nor suffered any insolence nor violence in the Citie to the Neutrals, but rather proclaymed peace and iustice. Fourthly, in the consequents, that at the third dayes end, all was at quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no such thing had hapned; Onely the *Ianizaries* suffered no *Duan* nor Councell, until

untill they had received a Donative, as Guerdon of their iniquitie, in which also the infinite waste of Treasure is worthe of consideration, which must of necessitie be exceedingly exhausted by three changes in foure yeeres, and by the late Warres in Persia and Poland: For every Ianizarie in the Citie, absent or present, whose roll is about fortie thousand, receiue five and twentie Chequins gold, besides Spaheis, Iamoglans, and other orders at every alteration, which amounts in all neere to two millions. And now these fellows all lining, that haue tasted the sweet of prosperous mutinies, haud ignari summa scelera incipit cum periculo, peragi cum praemio, they haue taken such a head as cannot safely be suffered on, nor securely be taken off. Lastly, of certaine presages that fore-ran, it being related to mee from the mouth of a Cadee, inward with the King a moneth before the tumult: That Osman dreamed in the

Osman's dreame.

10 night, that he thought to ride a Camell, and being mounted, he could not force him to goe by faire meanes nor stripes, and that then he descending in a rage, the bodie of the beast vanished, and left the head in the Kings hand. Who next day troubled at this fancy, sent to a learned Man, familiar with him, for the interpretation. Hee excused himselfe as unfit to giue opinion in a matter of that consequence, but perswaded Osman to send to the Mufti. Hee also craved pardon, but withall said, there was none so fit to interpret it, as Mustafa the Kings Uncle, and now Emperour, who is esteemed a holy man, that hath Visions, and Angel-like speculations, in playne termes, betweene a mad man and a foole. The King repayres to Mustafa, who briefly tells him, The Camell signifies his Empire: his riding, abuse in gouernement: his descension, his disposition: the vanishing of the bodie, the revolt of his Subiects: the head remayning in his hand, onely a bare Title; and that hee should shortly die within few moneths,

20 and lose his Kingdome, but the emptie name of Emperour should accompanie him to his Grave.

Conference betwixt the Emperours Ambassador and the Vizier.

A second of lasse consequence in the Vizier Delauir Bassa, from whom the Lord Ambassador ha-
uing receiued particular friendship about sixe dayes before this vprore, he went to visit, and hauing no o-
ther businesse but to perswade him to stay the King from this intended Pilgrimage, the Ambassador gaue
him many reasons in the present estate of their owne affaires, especially the Treaty of Poland yet depen-
ding. To which the Bassa replied very grauely. Then the Ambassador vrging the feare of some tumult,
collected from the licentious speeches rumoured in the Towne, and he was bold to deale plainely, sincerely,
and friendly, That if any such thing should happen, the fault would bee imputed to the Bassa, as being
of authoritie to perswade the King, whom his qualitie and youth would excuse, but all the furie would be
discharged upon the greatest Minister; desiring him to consider the euent, at least, to take his affection
30 in the best part. The old Renard stayed a while from replie: at last, smiling to himselfe at the Amba-
sador, who perswaded him against that which was his owne counsell, he gaue him a finall answer, that
there was no remedie, he durst not hazard himselfe to oppose the Kings resolution: but assured him, hee
would so order the matter, as this iourney should not proceed so farre as was expected. The Ambassador
concluded for himselfe, desiring then that he would leaue him a particular recommendation to the Chi-
macham or Deputie as his friend. To which hee sodainly replied, Trouble not your selfe, nor feare; I
will neuer remoue so farre, but that I will leaue one of my legs in this Citie to serue you: which the poore
man fulfilled; for being murdered in few dayes after, one of his legs whole and entire, was hanged in
the Hippodrome, the most publike place of the Citie. Lastly, in things yet to come, and so probably to
be suspected, That the Souldiours in Asia, who haue now lost their hopes, will not sit downe by this af-
40 front, but rather will attempt some reuenge, for the death of that King who was their Martyr; or that
some great Bassaes farre removed from Court, will apprehend this occasion, not to obey an Usurper, set
up by treason; And upon this colour ground their owne ambitions, or that all euery where will fall into
combustion and intestine Warre; For I dare not hope, that God will open the eyes of Christian Princes to
see the littlenesse of their owne vnciuill quarrels, while this mightie Monarchie inuiceth them to con-
cord, and to diuide it as a prostituted spoyle.

On Saturday euening, the first of Iune following, the Capiaga or Maior Domo of the Ser-
raglio, hauing receiued a secret order to remoue the brethren of Osman from their lodgings, and
in the night to strangle them: as he was performing his command, ayded with a few of his
Carnifices to carrie away the Princes, they cried out: the Pages running to the noise, and en-
couraged by the Castiaraaga, who had some suspicion, without further examination kill the Ca-
50 piaga, now almost euery order hauing risen against their owne head. That night they sent se-
cretly to the Ianizaries and Spaheis, to informe them what they had done, and in the morning
early hanged his bodie in the Hippodrome for a publike spectacle. The Souldiers returned in
furie to Court, in fauour of the Pages, and demanded iustice against those that had consented
to this wicked order; which had made an end of all the Ottoman race, onely this Mustafa be-
ing left aliue, who is so holy a Saint, that he will not people the world with sinners, nor indure
any women about him. The innocent King protests he knowes nothing of this purpose: and
if his command were procured, it was gotten by subreption, and he is easily beleeued. But his
mother another Livia, and the new Vizier, Daout Bassa, who had her daughter to wife, were
vehemently suspected. It was a day of Diuan or Councell: But these Souldiers would suffer
60 none, untill they had an account of this Treason. The Vizier denies all; the mother is a woman,
and hidden in the house: yet it is very likely, they both were guilty to vphold and secure their
owne authoritie. It being rumoured, that the Vizier determined to place subditiuously, in the
roome of the elder Prince, his owne Sonne, and very like him, and so to gouerne Mustafa for a
time

*The continua-
tion of the
Storie, pre-
sented to the
Kings Maiestie
from the same
person.
The Capiaga.*

Daout Bassa de-
graded.

New Vizier se-
uere.

time, and by his remoue, to establish himselfe and his Race for euer. But now somewhat must be done to appease the people; Therefore *Daout Bassa* is degraded from his Office, and one *Hu- zem Bassa* newly arriued from the Gouvernement of *Cairo*, aduanced to his place, with promise of further examination. Since, the furie once ouer, there hath beene no great search nor disco- uery made. I thinke the *Sultans* Chequines haue quieted the matter. This new *Vizier*, a man here without friends, yet very rich, of a stubborne and obstinate nature, reported iust in his wayes, but peremptorie and inflexible; *Audax, ferox, & prout animum intendit prauus aut indu- strius eadem vi*: one from whom all men may expect much good, or much ill; Begins his gouern- ment roughly, vndertakes to punish insolencies early, and professeth a reformation, or to bee a Sacrifice. A man fit for these times that are desperate: For the worst will be, that hee must at 10 last endure their furie. In the meane time he procures a little awe, and hath restored the face of Iustice: yet I am perswaded it cannot last long, the Ghost of *Osman* will not bee at rest, vntill there are some *Parentalia* made vnto him. The nature of this *Vizier* is vnsupportable; But if he preuaile, and once settle, he will anew change the King, and lay an Obligation vpon the Bre- thren of *Osman*; For he will neuer thinke himselfe secure vnder a man gouerned by an insolent woman, *Dominandi auida*: And what assurance can he haue in that Prince, *Cui non iudicium, non odium est nisi indita & iussa*? And though I cannot fore-see the particulars, and where the Sore will breake out, yet I am sure the whole body is sicke; and Princes of Christendome shall haue breath three yeares, before they shall haue cause to feare this State, whose present King is *Men- tis inops*, and the next in expectation, a Child, vnfit for action, and all the great men and Soul- 20 diers decayed, mutined and corrupted.

And now tyred with this Tragical sight and contemplation, we will commend you to other Pilgrims, who shall guide you thorow the Deserts, to the tops of the holy Mountains, *Oreb* and *Sinai*, and after those Holies, recreate your eyes with an admirable Spectacle of the Mamalukes, fine seates of *Adiuitie*, that profit and pleasure may conclude this Booke.

CHAP. XIII.

30

Mount Sinai, Oreb, and the adioyning parts of Arabia, described out of the foure
Journals of BREIDENBACH, BAUMGARTEN, BELLONIVS,
and CHRISTOPHER FURER of
Haimendorf.

* *Christop. Furer.*
Alexandrian
Patriarch of
the Greekes.



HE nine and twentieth of October, 1565. we* ioyned our selues to the Cara- uan, hauing before obtained Letters commendatorie from the Patriarch of the Greekes, which dwelleth at *Cairo* to the Friers of Mount *Sinai*. They tell of this Patriarch, that he for prooue of his Religion in contention with a *Jew*, be- 40 fore the *Bassa* five and thirtie yeares before, drunke a draught of poyson without harme, which the *Jew* doing, dyed. At this time, he was one hundred and three yeares old. I had with me three Pilgrims. Nouember the third, we departed from *Cairo*, and on the fift, came to the shoare of the Red Sea, two miles from which in times past *Sues* flouri- shed. The next day, we saw at the right hand of the Red Sea, that ditch which lyeth betwixt it and *Nilus*, which *Darius*, and after *Ptolomeus* made thirtie foote deepe, one hundred foote broad, seuen and thirtie miles in length, and there ceased, finding the Red Sea higher three cubits, then the Land of *Egypt*. The Region is desart, and not inhabited, wherein they vse Camels dung for want of Wood. The Water of the Red Sea, is of the colour that other Seas are of. But the Land adioyning, is Red and Mountainous, whence it is called the Red Sea, or from the Sun- 50 beames reflected on that Sea from those Mountaines. *Curtius* saith, from a King called *Erythrus*, (which signifieth Red.) Here first we saw the place where the *Israelites* had passed thorow that Sea on dry Land. After that, we saw *Mara*, where *Moses* by casting in a piece of wood, made the water sweete, which still so continueth, sauing that from the neighbour Sea, it is somewhat brackish: and here our Camels dranke, which in five daies they here first did, which is the more to be admired for their great burthens, some bearing fixe hundred pounds; others, foure hundred or five hundred pounds weight. Here washing in the Red Sea, I hurt my foot on a sharp Corall, whereof here is great store, both Red and White. On the seauenth of Nouember, after mid- night, was an Eclipse of the Sunne, and our *Ethiopian* Companions continued (as long as it con- tinued) beating Basons. The next day, we went fortie *Italian* miles: and the day after forlooke 60 the Red Sea, declining on the left hand towards the Mountaines. The tenth, we left the Cara- uan, which went the right-hand way toward *Thoro*. Wee went towards the left hand, and in a Valley saw that Tree which is called *Spina Christi*, or Gum Arabike, whereof they say Christs Crowne of Thornes was made. The eleuenth, we saw the tops of Mount *Sinai*, and admired the height

Sues.

Darius Dike.
Red Sea.

*This Red king
was *Edom*, or
Esau, whole
Land by the Sea
washeth (and
from which *Sal.*
set forth his
Ophynian Voy-
age) He is most
likely Author
of that name of
Red Sea.
Camels.
Corall.
Toro.

height thereof. The twelfth, we saw a Viper or Aspe, whitish and skaly on the belly, on the backe white and spotted, with two little hornes on the fore-head. The thirteenth, we came to the Monasterie of Saint *Katharine* in a narrow Valley, at the foot of Mount *Sinai*, built of square stones, founded (as they say) by the Emperour *Iustinian*, strong, high, and compassed with pleasant Gardens. The length of it, is one hundred twentie five paces. In it we saw the Sepulchre of Saint *Katharine*; after that wee saw a Chappell built on that place, where they say was the Bush in which first God appeared to *Moses*. It hath fifteene Temples, twenty five Chappels, and diuers little Cels, in which *Greeke* Calogeri doe keepe. In the adioyning Valley is a Hill of maruellous aspect, as if it were all burnt and couered with Ashes, where (they say) *Moses* kept *Iethros* sheepe. Neere the Monastery, before Mount *Sinai*, is the place in Mount *Horeb*, in which God commanded *Moses* to goe into *Egypt* to deliuer the *Israelites*.

- 10 The foureteenth of Nouember, by a waylesse and broken way, (which the Monkes by steps or staires, such as they are, haue indeuoured to make better) wee ascended Mount *Sinai*. And when we had passed the two gates, which in old times were shut, we came to three Temples or Chappels; one of Saint *Barbara*, the second of Saint *Marina*, the third of *Elias* the Prophet. Round about are some houses, whilome the Monkes dwellings. In *Elias* his Temple, behind the Altar, is a Caue, in which (they say) the Prophet lay hid, when hee fled from *Iesabel*. On the left hand, beneath the top of the Mountaine, is the place where *Moses* desired to see God. On the top of Mount *Sinai*, towards the East is a little Temple; and on the left hand a Chappell.
- 20 Heere entred, our Monke-guide said prayers in *Greeke*, and we sung the Decalogue, Lords Prayer and Creed in *German* Rithmes. And this is the place where God gaue to *Moses* the Tables of the Law, written with the finger of God. There is a Chappell in which the *Mahumetans* doe their deuotions. Eight paces thence is a Caue, in which *Moses* after his second fortie daies Fast, receiued the Tables of the Law. After these sights, wee descended the Hill, where comming to a certaine Cisterne, we refreshed our selues with meat. And going a little lower, we saw a broken and hollow Rocke on the left hand, wherein *Iohn* the *Egyptian* Hermite liued with great austeritie, and writ the Booke, called *Scala Paradisi*. It cannot bee entred but creeping: within on the right hand, is a stone as it were a bed, and another against it like a feat; aboue, a hole whereby light descendeth, sufficient to reade by. Descending hence on the left hand, in a certaine Valley is the Temple of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, with a Garden, Vineyard, and little house.
- 30 Against it is another Temple of Saint *Anne*; and on the left hand, on the top of the Rocke, is a Caue couered with stone, in which two Brethren of a King comming to see the place, settled their abode till death.

Mount *Sinai*.
Bellonius calleth this Mount *Horeb*. So Baumgarten, and indeed all these hills are part of *Sinai*, which yet κατ'εξοχην is giuen to the highest top, which some for deuotion to that Saint, now call Saint *Katharines* Mount.

Rocke of *Iohn* the Hermite.

Basilianisme.

- After this we ascended another Hill, whence besides many Regions the Red Sea may be seene. In the Valley thereof is *Pantaleons* Temple, & an Hermitage. Hence with great labour we descended into a Valley, by a broken and dangerous way, ouer against Saint *Katharines* Mount, wherein is the Monasterie of fortie Fathers and diuers houses, sometimes the habitations of Hermits. There is a Church of Saint *Onophrius*, and a pleasant Garden, with various and excellent fruits. Hauing lien all night in this Monasterie, the next morning, with farre greater labour and danger then before, we climbed the high and inaccessible hill of Saint *Katharine*: on the top whereof is a sharpe Rocke, whereon toward the East is built a low Chappell, fifteene foote long, and ten broad, in the midst whereof is a Monument, in which sometime the body of Saint *Katharine* was kept. Heere our Monke said his prayers, and we sung *Veni Sancti Spiritus* in our vulgar tongue. This Mountaine of Saint *Katharine* is farre higher then the other two, *Horeb* and *Sinai*, which both seeme hillocks, not hills to this. In the top we looked to the Red Sea, and *Thora*. Descending neere the Nets of *Horeb*, we saw the Rocke which being stricken with *Moses* his Rod, powred forth water like a Fountaine. In the former part are yet seene twelue rifts or clefts, and as many behind, but lesse perspicuous: but the former part doth still so liuely represent the tokens of the miracle, as if water had but lately gushed thence. That former part is twelue cubits, the whole thicknesse fiftie two foot. On the left hand of the Valley, is the Temple of the Holy *Apostle*, with a notable Garden, and against it another of Saint *George*, with a flourishing Garden. Betwixt this Temple and the Monastery of Saint *Katharines*, is a round Caue cut into the Rocke, five and thirtie foote large, in which they say *Aaron* made the golden Calfe. The last night we abode in Saint *Katharines* Monasterie: and the sixteenth of Nouember departing, passed by *Raphidim*, the eleuenth Mansion of the *Israelites*, and thence by diuers places of their two yeares Peregrination, where the Tabernacle and Arke were made.
- 40
- 50

Monastery of Saint *Katharine* higher then *Sinai* and *Horeb*: by *Sinai* vnderstand some other rising of that hill, besides the highest of all: for all is *Sinai*, as the following Authors shew: and this of S. *Katharine* the highest top of them all.

- The eighteenth we came to *Thora*, which Citie is on the shoare of the Red Sea of no lustre; *Toro* the Hauen small, in which ships laden with Spices out of *Arabia*, *Abassia*, and *India*, resort. In this Citie wee saw a Mermaids skinne taken there many yeares before, which in the lower part ends Fish-fashion: of the vpper part, onely the Nauill and Breasts remaine, the armes and head being lost. The Inhabitants are most Christians, liue like the *Greekes*, and performe their Holies in the *Arabicke* tongue. No *Jew* may enter this Citie, nor goe to Mount *Sinai*, the Christians hauing priuiledge (as we were told) to kill them. I saw there one *Jew* which farmed the Customes of the Christians. The twentieth of Nouember, hauing the wonted testimonie of the
- 60
- Mermaid.

Exod. 14.

Egyptian seasons.

the chiefe of the Monasterie, and giuen him certaine Duckets of Gold, we departed from *Thora*, and in our departure to *Cairo*, not farre thence saw the twelue Fountaines, and seuentie Palmetrees where the *Israelites* encamped: But the trees are now much more. The foure and twentieth we found the Carauan new arriued where we had left them. The nine and twentieth, wee passed the Valley against *Pihabiroth*, betwixt *Magdalo* and the Sea against *Baalsephon*. The thirtieth, we came safe to *Cairo*. At this time was no frost there, nor wet as with vs, but all fresh and flourishing, the Corne and Fruits ripe, as with vs in Summer. The Grasse groweth not as with vs, but is sowne by hand, &c.

For the better vnderstanding of these Relations, and for addition of things heere omitted, I haue thought good to giue you *Bellonius*, which almost twentie yeares before had made the same Voyage, and *Breidenbachius*, then *Chamberlaine*, and after Deane of *Mentz*, which Anno 1483. had trauelled out of the Holy Land to *Sinai*, and thence to *Egypt*; and lastly, *Martin Baumgarten*, a German Knight, whose peregrination hapned Anno 1507. I haue also here added for further Illustration, the Map of the *Israelites* peregrination in the Desart, here after mentioned.

HONDIUS his Map of the Israelites peregrination in the Desart.



Bellonius.
* So it seemeth
by his Preface.

Provision for
food in the
Desart.

Bellonius in company of the Lord of *Fumet*, attended with twentie *lanizaries* for his Guard, went from *Cairo* 1547*. Their provisions were water of *Nilus*, a Camels load of Bisket, and many Muttons killed, and the flesh shred (the bones being taken out) into small gobbets, and boyled with Onions and Suet till all the liquor was consumed, then seasoned with Salt and Spices, and put vp in Vessels: which continued so fresh, that fifteene daies after being heated with Onions, they seemed as fresh as if they had beene first dressed. It was in September when the

the nights were very cold, and the day exceeding hot, for which cause they trauelled much by night, and in three iourneys came to the Well of *Suez*, in a Castle a mile and halfe from the Towne, the water of which is brackish. They haue there a huge Cisterne for rayne-water, which seldome happeneth, but then with great vehemence, so that once or twice a yeere it is filled. The Well is deep, and the water is drawne by a wheele turned with Oxen; vpon the wheele are two ropes with many Pitchers fastned, which emptie themselues into a Cisterne vnderneath; a thing vsuall in *Egyptian* Gardens: By the way as we trauelled grew Ambrosia, Sena, Rose of *Ierico*, Colocynthis, Acacia *, a peculiar kind of Genista, and many other vnkowne plants. Beyond *Suez* we entred a wide Plaine all greene with Sena, growing of it selfe. Wee
10 found Vipers, and Cameleons differing from the *Egyptian*, white and red: Capars as high as dwarfe Fig-trees, the Capars as big as Egges and the seed biting like Pepper; the leaues continue greene perpetually, the Wooll is finer then Silke, and whiter then Cotton. The first Village which after *Suez* we encountred in our way toward *Sinai* was called *Pharagon*, not hauing
about three or foure houses builded, the people dwelling vnder Palm-trees, (for it seldome raineth) or vnder Rockes in *Caues*. Here were Pomgranats, Oliues, Figs, Peares, and other Trees profitable by fruit and shade; The Cattell and Fowles are there much lesse then in *Egypr*.

Deep Well of *Suez*.

* *Spina Christi*, or Gummi Arab. Capars.

Pharagon. Tree-caue dwellers.

The ascent of the Mountaine is by hand-made steps for Camels; for Horses can very hardly passe: which when we had ascended, we had two miles to passe betwixt round hills, here and there disperfed, of differing quantitie, before wee came at the Monasterie of Saint *Katharine*;

Sinai.

20 and although we began to ascend the Hill at breake of day, it was after-noon before wee came thither. The Monkes are Christian *Maronites*, which obserue the *Greeke* Rites, of diuers Nations, *Syrians*, *Greekes*, and *Arabians*. Pilgrims haue no place of entertaynment but the Monasterie, which is situate at the foot of Mount *Horeb*, watered by a Spring thence flowing, cleere, sweet, coole, and excellent. It is walled with high walls against enemies, and hath also a Mosque for *Arabs* and *Turkes*. In the vallies are pleasant Gardens, where Vines, Pulse, Herbs, and fruitfull Trees grow, especially Almonds. Mount *Sinai* when the Sunne riseth, ouer-shadoweth
30 *Horeb*, which is from it a mile and halfe; and on the top of *Sinai* yee may view ouer *Horeb* the Region beyond full of Rockes and Hills, vnto the Easterne Plaine where *Ierusalem* standeth: to the West, nothing but *Arabia Deserta*; and North-west, the Region washed by the Mediterranean Sea (but not the Sea it selfe) five dayes iourney thence. Southward are easily discerned both the shoares of the Red Sea extended like an *English* Bow, and the *Ethiopian* Deserts and Mountaines, where stands the Monasterie of Saint *Macarius*, and Saint *Antonie*. When
40 wee came to the top wee found it hard stone of Iron colour, yet not without plants: for *Ab-sinthium seriphium*, which beareth the Worme-seed, *Panax asclepium*, *Conyza*, and *Eupatorium*. *Arabum* groweth about the Mountaine. In height it expells *Oeta* and *Ida*, but seemes lower then *Olympus*. The Plaine on the top is not much greater then that of the greatest Pyramis, that is, foure paces, but a little lower much larger, and is ascended with great difficultie. It is not so cold as the Alpes, nor so hot as the low Plaines of *Europe*. We lay all night in S. *Katharines* Monasterie, and the next day were shewed the pensile receptacle of S. *Katharines* bones, hanging in the Church, which is adorned with goodly Pictures and Relicks. The Rock which *Moses* strucke with his Rod is a solid stone, right vp, of colour and qualitie like *Thebaick* Stone, of which
50 Obelisks and *Pompey's* Pillar in *Alexandria* were made, then which no Stone more resists Iron.

Monkes or Caloieri.

Height of *Sinai*.

Plants.

* The Author doubted of the truth.

Breidenbach's Iourney. Anno 1483.

Gaza.

Dreames of a burning Zone, and earthly Paradise.

But the Legend of Saint *Katharine* is better knowne by Deane *Breidenbach*, a man seeming more deuout then *Bellonius*, who with the Earle of *Solms*, and *Philip de Bichen* a German Knight, first visited *Ierusalem*, and the holy places of *Palastina*; and thence passed together to *Sinai*, about sixtie yeeres before. Their iourney was by *Gazera*, where they saw a huge Fig-tree which bare figs seuen times in the yeere. Thence wee departed (sayth he) on the ninth of September. On the eleuenth, wee passed a sandy Plaine, so large that we could see no end, but the Sea on the West. At last, wee came into *Cawath* or *Cades*, where wee had raine, which there is seldome. Now were wee come into a true Desert, vtterly without all signe of habitation. We saw smokes sometimes, but they arose of sands moued with the wind. On the twelfth, we came to *Gayon*: on the thirteenth, to the Brook *Wadalar*, where was store of *Coloquinrida*. On the fourteenth, to *Magare* and *Gebelhelel*, where we saw nor man, nor beast, nor bird, but Ostriches. The fifteenth, into a very cold Desert, the earth white like Chalke, and the sand like burnt Lime, called *Mynschene*. The sixteenth, wee could see no end toward the East, and it is said to reach without habitation two moneths iourney, yea as some thinke, to the torrid Zone which continueth to the terrestriall Paradise: that day we came to *Alherok*. The seuenteenth to *Mesmar*, to the foot of the Hill *Caleb* which seemeth made by hand. The eighteenth, we trauelled the *Salt Land*, where the deaw, hills, vallies, stones, and sand, are like Salt. The nineteenth, we came to mountaynous places, and saw Mount *Sinai* and *Horeb* on the left hand, and the Red Sea on the right, foure dayes iourney distant. The way was rockie and praeipitious. The twentieth, the *Spina Christi* with their sent refreshed vs, but the Mountaines were rockie and barren, of colour betwixt blacke and red, and the stones in the Sun-shine seemed as if anoynted with Oyle. There we saw a great beast bigger then a Camell, and our
6 Guide

Note.

Qui amant ipsi
sibi semina sin-
guat.

Guide said it was an Vnicorne : and there we saw a Shepheard with his flocke, which seemed to vs a maruellous sight. At euen, wee stayed at a place called *Scholie*. This comfort wee had from our Ladie and S. *Katharine*, that after mid-night we saw a Star brighter then the rest, to arise from the South, which we called S. *Katharines* Star, and directed vs before day standing ouer Mount *Sinai*. On the one and twentieth, we saw Mount *Sinai*, higher then the other Mountayns, and came to *Abalharoch*, a Plain euery way enuironed with hils, where *Moses* kept *Iethroes* sheep. The two and twentieth, wee came to another Plaine of the Red Sand, and the Hils were red, reaching to the Roots of *Sinai*. Wee had a very bad way, and entred the Monasterie of Saint *Katharine*, at the Root of Mount *Sinai*.

Miracle of our
Ladie, or ra-
ther a Monkes
Tale.

Indulgences.

The specialties
of Horeb.

The foure and twentieth of September, taking victuals with vs for two dayes, wee ascended *Horeb*, and there saw the Fountayne, which when the Monkes were once leauing the place for Todes, Serpents and noysome Creatures molesting them, they were by the blessed Virgin commanded to stay, and doubting whether it might be an illusion, as they were praying, this Fountayne sprang vp amongst them, and still continueth : and here is our Ladies Chappell. We passed higher to an Arch of stone, which they say, no *Iew* can passe. Then comming to the toppe of that Hill wee came to the Plaine whence *Horeb* riseth without coniunction of any other Hill, where are three Chappels within one wall, of *Marina*, *Elizeus* and *Elias* : in each of which is seuen yeares Indulgence, and as many Lents. On the top of *Horeb* is a little faire Chappell shut with an Iron doore, where the Decalogue in two Tables was giuen; wee put off our shooes to enter, and prostrating our selues, kissed the place where *Moses* receiued the Law. Fiftene paces off is the Caue where he fasted fortie dayes. Ouer it a Moschee, where the *Moores* daily resort in honour of *Moses*. There is a great Cisterne, called *Moses* Well. This Mountayne riseth round, and is not coherent to other Mountaynes, and from the Monasterie to the top thereof are about seuen thousand steps ascending, besides those which are gone on plaine ground. In the former Chappell is plenarie Remission of all sinnes.

S. *Katharines*
Legend. See
hereof in *J. di*
Castro sup. pag.
1141.The top of *Sinai*, now called
S. *Katharines*
Mountayne.
Monastery im-
possible to bee
found. Friers,
Lyers, this is
true.Plenary par-
don.

Manna.

Hauing refreshed our selues with food we descended towards the West, a dangerous way, and came to the Monastery of fortie Saints, and after a little rest ascended *Sinai* by a harder way, by Breaches, Rockes, Ouer-hanging Stones, Precipices, Steepes and exceeding heate of the Sun; refreshed in the way by two Springs. After much sweat wee came to the toppe on the five and twentieth of September, euen to the holy place where the Angels had brought from *Alexandria*, the bodie of the glorious Virgin and Martyr *Katharine*, in which place it lay three hundred yeares guarded by Angels, till it was revealed to a certaine Abbot, that it should be thence translated to the Monasterie where now it is. We with much ioy kissed the place, and measured our bodies in the place, which is a stonie Plaine, still hauing the Impression of a humane bodie, not made by Arte, but formed by the touch of that sacred bodie. The Red Sea seemed but three leagues distant, being two dayes Iourney. We might thence see the Deserts of *Thebaida*, where *Anthony* and the old Heremites liued, and diuers barren Ilands in the Red Sea, and the Deserts of *Elim* and *Sin*. Also a place in which they said was a Monastery, the Bels whereof might be heard at all Canonically houres, but the house no man could find. In the descent we came to Saint *Katharines* Well, and cut twigs of that kind (they said) whereof *Moses* burning-not-burned-Bush was, good for the falling sicknesse. After much labour wee came to the Monasterie of fortie Saints which the Pagans had martyred, and now there are but two Monkes of Saint *Katharines* which keepe there. The Edifices are of Mudde and Reeds, except the Church and the Wall encompassing. In their Garden is a Chappell in the Caue where *Onophrius* liued an Anchorite. Here we did eate, and then compassed *Oreb*, to returne to Saint *Katharines* Monasterie. Wee found at the foot of the Mount, the Rocke of *Oreb*, where *Moses* smote twice and water flowed. On the sixteenth of September, we confessed our selues, and prepared to see the Relikes of Saint *Katharine*, and the Tombe being opened, kissed the same, and rubbed our Iewels. The Tombe was in the right side of the Quire, and therein the head, two hands and some other members, the rest dispersed thorow the World. Neare to it is the Chappell where the burning Bush grew. In both these places is plenary pardon, as also many Chappels thereabouts haue great Indulgence. In the twelue Pillars of the Church are many Relikes, and their Pictures hanging by. There is also a Moskee.

The Monkes of Saint *Katharines*, are of Saint *Basils* Order : they vse Brazen Rings in stead of Bels : they are Proprietaries, buy, sell, worke with their hands, contentions continually, abstinent in dyet, vse rough Garments : in their Garden is the place where the Golden Calfe was made, the Stone against which *Moses* brake the Tables, the Water of Curling which *Moses* made the people drinke, and we saw a Calfe of Stone standing on the toppe of a Hill therein, which they said (and what can bee said which some Fooles will not beleue?) that if any went vp, hee could not find it, whereupon some say, that the Deuill carryed the Molten Calfe thither. In this Valley and the others adioyning to *Sinai*, is found Manna only in August and September, which the Monkes gather and sell to Strangers. It fells toward day like Dew or Frost on the grasse and leaues, and beeing gathered runnes together like Pitch, and at the Heate of the Sunne or Fire is melted, tasteth like Honey, and cleaues to the Teeth. The Abbot of that Monasterie is constrained

ned to giue food to one hundred *Arabs* daily. All Nations may be receiued into their Order, but *Iacobites* and *Armenians*; but beeing receiued must obserue the *Greeke* Rites. The seuen and twentieth of September wee departed. The first of October, wee came to the common way which leades from *Gazeia* to *Cairo*, and by another way to *Thor*, where the *Indian* ships arriue without Iron-workes, because they passe by Mountaynes and Rockes of Load-stone which would attract them. Wee came to the place in the Red Sea, where the *Israelites* passed on dry Land. Next day going along by the shoare, we came to the imperfect workes, whereby the Red Sea should haue beene conueyed to *Nilus*.

Tale of Load
stones.

- Martinus à Baumgarten*, the first of October, 1507. departed from *Cairo*, and came on the tenth to the Ditch, and the other passage. There are leene still to this day; * as *Orosius* also testifieth the foot-prints of Chariots and Horsemen on the shoare, which howsoeuer by any con- fused, soone recouer the like forme. On the seuenteenth, we came to Saint *Katharines*. Thence in the night by Moone light, we ascended *Horeb* by almost seuen thousand staires of stone, be- sides the greater part naturall. Neere to the Church where *Moses* receiued the Tables (the Moun- tayne and others adioyning still shine like to molten Copper) is a Moschee of *Saracens* ouer the place where he fasted fortie dayes in a Caue, which Caue the *Saracens* still vse to get Prophets, and account the issue there generated, holy. Descending from *Horeb*, by the West we came to a Valley twixt it and *Sinai*, in which was the Monastery of the forty Saints, where hauing fed we ascended *Sinai* with great danger, with wounded hands, sliding feete by the loosenesse of the stones, creeping knees, breathlesse breasts; the Monkes our Guides scarcely able to discern the true Mountayne amongst so many Hill-tops, * of like semblance. The way beeing marked out by certaine stones set by Pilgrimes, brought vs at last to the top, where a fresh Spring refreshed vs. Thence returned to the Monasterie of the fortie Monkes, and compassing *Horeb* we came to the Rocke in the Root of *Horeb*, which *Moses* smote twice: a square stone, with one sharpe point fast to the earth, with twelue marks according to the number of the twelue Tribes. A little off is the place where *Dathan* and *Abiron* were swallowed: by night we got to S. *Katharines*, so wea- rié, that the next day we could scarcely stand on our feet. In our returne, we were often set on by *Arabs*, which liue in subiection to no man, wearied with the Camels hard pace, and more with Famine (which made vs sometime halfe asleepe, and dreaming of victuals, reaching to receiue them, fall off our beasts) we got at last to *Cairo*. There wee saw a *Ziraph*, speckled white and higher then any beast I had euer seene, the necke so long, that it exceeds a mans armes twice stretched out, the head of a Cubit, the brest high, the backe low, eyes pleasing, eating any thing which was giuen it. We saw also an *Indian* Oxe of a shorter bodie and greater head then ours, with great blunt knottie Hornes. The *Mamalukes* are of such authoritie, that they doe what they list to any *Saracen*, turne him out of his house, and dwell in it as long as they please. No *Saracen* may ride or beare Armes in the Citie, but are slaues to these slaues, giue way, rise, kisse their knees and feet, (their hands as a great great bountie.) Their mad Men and Penitents are esteemed Saints, and may goe into any house and eate, drinke, yea, lye with the woman freely, and that Issue forgotten is esteemed holy: they are honoured whiles they liue, and when they are dead haue Monuments and Temples, and to touch or bury them is a matter of esteeme. One wee saw sitting as naked as hee was borne on the Sands, and heard him commended for that hee mdled not carnally with Women or Boyes, but Female Asses or Mules.

* No late Wri-
ter hath men-
tioned this, and
I doubt out of
Orosius, it hath
growne into
the Authors
Text.
Prophane ho-
lies.
Sacrafacerrima

* This sheweth
the reason of
Furrers, affir-
ming, Saint
Katharines to
bee a higher
hill then *Sinai*,
which is but
the highest top
of *Sinai*, where
of are many
tops.
Camelopardalis.

*Mamalukes ty-
rannie.
Egyptian flau-
erie.*

Beastly Saint.

*Tongobardinus
his Wiues.*

*Sociennus the
Calipha.*

*Mamalukes
actiuitie.*

- Of the *Mamalukes* hee reporteth, that *Tongobardinus* the Soldan entertayned him in his Pa- lace, shewed him his house of women, whereof thirtie fiue were there present, dallying and tal- king, exceeding fragrant. The next day shewed him a great fight, where almost sixtie thousand *Mamalukes* were assembled, standing with great reuerence and silence all in white and like ha- bit. The Soldan also with a large blacke beard horned or mitred Diademe in a Summer open Roome and white Raiment: not farre from him his Pope (whom they call *Calipha*) *Sociennus* late, a browne man, and beneath him the *Turkish* Embassador. Beneath the Castle was a large Plaine prepared before to that purpose, in the middelt whereof were three heapes of Sand, fittie paces distant, and in each a Speare erected with a marke to shoote at, and the like ouer against them, with space betweene for fixe Horses to runne abreast. Heere did the yonger *Mamalukes* gallant- ly adorned, vpon their Horses running a full careere, yeeld strange experiments of their skill, not one missing the marke, first, with casting Darts, and after with their Arrowes, as they ran: and lastly, trying their slaues. Others after this, in the like Race of their running Horses, shot with like dexteritie diuers Arrowes backwards and forward. Others in the midlt of their Race alighted three times, and (their Horses still running) mounted againe, and hit the Marke neuer- thelesse. Others did hit the same, standing on their Horses thus swiftly running. Others three times vn bent their Bowes, and thrice againe bent them whiles their Horses ran, and missed not the Marke: neither did others, which amidst their Race, lighted downe on either side, and a- gaine mounted themselues: no, nor they which in their swiftest course leaped and turned them- selues backwards on their Horses, and then (their Horses still running) turned themselues for- wards. There were, which whiles their Horse ranne, vngirt their Saddles thrice, at each time shooting, and then againe girding their Saddles, and neuer missing the Marke. Some sitting in

Z z z z z z

their

their Saddles, leaped backwards out of them, and turning ouer their heads, setled themselves againe in their Saddles and shot, as the former, three times. Others laid themselves backwards on their running Horses, and taking their tayles, put them into their mouthes, and yet forgot not their ayme in shooting. Some after euery shot drew out their Swords, and flourished them about their heads, and againe sheathed them. Others sitting betwixt three Swords on the right side, and as many on the left, thinly clothed, that without great care euery motion would make way for death, yet before and behind them touched the Marke. One stood vpon two Horses running very swiftly, his feet loose, and shot also at once three Arrowes before, and againe three behind him. Another sitting on a Horse neither bridled nor saddled, as hee came at euery Marke arose and stood vpon his feete, and on both hands hitting the Marke, sate downe againe 10 three times. A third sitting on the bare Horse, when hee came to the Marke lay vpon his backe and lifted vp his legges, and yet missed not his shoot. After all this they ranne with like swiftnesse (for all these things, which, where is the Vaulter that can doe on his Imaginarie Horse standing still? these did running) and with their staues carried away those Markes, as triumphing ouer their innocent Enemie. One of them was killed with a fall, and two sore wounded in these their Feats of Actiuitie. They had an old graue man which was their Teacher. If I haue long detayned thee in this Spectacle, remember that the Race of *Mamaluks* should not bee forgotten, the rather, because their name is now razed out of the World; and this may seeme an Epitaph on their Sepulchre, after whom none perhaps are left able to doe the like, nor in all *Franciscus Modius* 20 his Triumphall Pandects to be paralleled.

The end of the eighth Booke.



10 **PEREGRINATIONS,**
AND DISCOVERIES BY LAND OF
ASSYRIA, ARMENIA, PERSIA, INDIA,
ARABIA, AND OTHER IN-LAND
COVNTRIES OF ASIA, BY

Englishmen and Others; Moderne
 and Ancient.

20 **THE NINTH BOOKE.**

CHAP. I.

30 *A brieffe Compendium of the Historie of Sir ANTHONY SHER-
 LEYS Trauels into Persia: And employed thence Ambassadour to
 the Christian Princes; * penned by himselfe, and recommen-
 ded to his Brother Sir ROBERT SHERLEY,
 since that sent on like Ambassage by the
 King of Persia.*

40 §. I.

*The Causes of his going to Persia, and strange Accidents
 in the way.*



50 **N**my first yeares, my friends bestowed on me those Learnings
 which were fit for a Gentlemans ornament, without directing
 them to an Occupation; and when they were fit for agile
 things, they bestowed them and me on my Princes Service, in
 which I ran many courses, of diuers Fortunes, according to
 the condition of the Warres, in which, as I was most exerci-
 sed, so was I most subiect to accidents: With what opinion I
 carryed my selfe (since the causes of good or ill must be in my
 selfe, and that a thing without my selfe) I leaue it to them to
 speake; my places yet in authoritie, in those occasions were
 euer of the best; in which, if I committed errour it was contra-
 rie to my will, and a weaknesse in my iudgement; which, not-

withstanding, I euer industriated my selfe to make perfect, correcting my owne ouer-sights
 by the most vertuous Examples I could make choice of: Amongst which, as there was not a
 Subiect of more worthinesse and vertue, for such Examples to grow from, then the euer-living
 in honour and condigne estimation, the Earle of Essex: as my reuerence and regard to his rare
 Qualities was exceeding; so I desired (as much as my humilitie might answere, with such an e-
 minencie) to make him the patterne of my ciuill life, and from him to draw a worthy modell
 of all my actions. And as my true loue to him, did transforme mee from my many imperfecti-
 ons, to be, as it were, an imitator of his vertues; so his affection was such to mee, that hee was
 not onely contented, I should doe so; but in the true Noblenesse of his minde gaue mee liberally

* This Sum-
 marie is also in
 his own words,
 but many
 things which
 pertaine ra-
 ther to his
 minde then
 bodies trauels,
 in discourses of
 causes, &c. are
 left out not for
 want of worth,
 but of roome:
 this worke loo-
 king another
 way. The stu-
 dious may
 reade the Au-
 thor himselfe,
 the Historie we
 haue extracted

Earle of Essex.

Likelihood of
wars betwixt
the Pope and
Cesare, for the
Dutchy of Fer-
rara.

the best Treasure of his mind in counselling me; his fortune to helpe me forward, and his verie care to beare me vp in all those courses, which might giue honour to my selfe, and inworthy the name of his friend: in so much, that after many actions, into which (peradventure) he prouoked my owne slacknesse. The Duke of Ferrara dying, and leauing *Don Cesare d'Este* Inheritor of that Principallitie, who by his birth could indeed challenge nothing iustly being a Bastard; notwithstanding, in the worlds opinion, hee was most likely to haue beene established in that succession, through the long continuance of the gouernment in that name. The Earle holding opinion, that the Dukes greatest necessitie at the first must be of encouragement, and Captaines sent me presently (though the least amongst many) accompanied with diuers Souldiers of approued valour, and procured the Count *Maurice*, Generall of the States Army, to write him Letters 10 of as much comfort, as could be giuen from so braue a Prince, and so famous an Estate: and though my journey was vnder-taken in the dead of Winter, and I left no paines vntaken to accelerate it; yet before I could arriue in *Italy*, I found the Duke giuen ouer to quieter resolutions, and Ferrara yeelded to the Pope; himselfe satisfying himselfe with *Modena & Regium*, of which he now beareth the Title. Which when I had aduertised the Earle of, as he who neuer had his own thoughts limited, within any bounds of honorable and iust ambition. So he also desired, that those whom he had chosen into a neerenesse of affection, should also answere both his owne conceit of them, and satisfie the world in his election of them: wherefore, not willing I should returne, and turne such a voyce as was raised of my going to nothing; as vnwilling that I should by a vaine expence of Time, Money and Hope, be made a scorne to his, and (through him) to my enemies: He proposed vnto me (after a small relation, which I made vnto him from *Venice*) the Voyage of *Persia*. 20 Hauiing with these Aduertisements receiued strength to my owne mind, large meanes, and Letters of fauour and credit to the Company of Merchants at *Aleppo*.

HONDIVS his Map of Candie.



I embarked my selfe at *Venice* for *Aleppo*, in a *Venetian* ship, called the *Morizell*, the foure and twentieth of *May*, 1599. Fiue and twentie daies the ship was sayling betweene *Malmocko* the Port of *Venice*, and *Zant*; in which space one of the worst in the Ship, a Passenger to *Cyprus*, vsed most scandalous speeches of her Maiestie, which being brought vnto me, not onely moued with the dutifull zeale which a Subiect oweth to his Prince; but euen with that respect which euery Gentleman oweth to a Lady, I commanded one of my people to giue him a fit reward for so vile an abuse: which was no sooner done, but the Ship was all in an vprore. And though the cause of the act was iust, and so vnderstood by diuers principall Merchants, which went to *Zant*, and that the punishment was nothing proportionable to the sceleratnesse of the fact; yet through the instigation of one *Hugo de Potso*, a *Portugall* Factor, which was going to *Ormus*, (though they shewed all to be satisfied, because they durst doe no other, yet) when we were to haue departed in the Ship from *Zant*, they would no more receiue vs, so that we were forced to hire a *Carramosall* to carrie vs to *Candy*, where we receiued most honorable entertainment, (the comming of Strangers thither being a thing so vnusuall, that the Duke desired to shew the Magnificence of the great *Signorie* to vs that came first, and peraduenture should bee the last for a long time.

Duke of Candy
vnder the state
of Venice.

From thence in the same *Carramosall* we departed to *Cyprus* and *Paphos*, where wee found nothing to answere the famous Relations giuen by ancient Histories of the excellency of that Iland, but the name onely, (the barbarousnesse of the *Turke*, and Time, hauing defaced all the Monuments of Antiquitie) no shew of splendor, no habitation of men in a fashion, nor possessors of the ground in a Principallitie; but rather Slaues to cruell Masters, or Prisoners shut vp in diuers prisons: so grievous is the burthen of that miserable people, and so deformed is the state of that Noble Realme. Notwithstanding, the Redemption of that place and people were most facile (being but foure thousand *Turkes* in the whole Iland.)

Cyprus.

From *Paphos* we went to the *Salines* in a little hired Barke, where we found the *Morizell*, in which wee came to *Zant*. The *Portugall* and his Complices presently went on shoare to the *Subbassa* of the place, (for so is called the *Gouernor* there) and told him diuers *Pirats* who had lost their ships, were come into the Harbour in a small Boat, amongst whom were some Boyes and Youths, worth much Money; besides, I know not what Jewels and Treasure we had amongst vs, with the which he would giue him a good preuent also, if he would send some of his Souldiers and take vs. At this Oration of his, were present certaine *Armenian* Passengers, who had knowne vs in the ship, which moued with the enormitie of so vile an act (that Christians should sell and betray Christians to *Turkes*, and that vpon no cause of offence, which they were witnesses of, we should be persecuted with such a kind of inhumane crueltie) with all speed possible hired a Boat themselves for *Alexandretta*, came with it vnto vs, provided in it victuals for vs, and the Masters themselves to lose no time; and beseeching vs, with teares in their eyes, to flie from thence with all speed possible, relating vnto vs the scelerat Treason conspired against vs, and our imminent perill. Wherefore we instantly changed into that Boat, and perceiuing a Frigate a farre off, rowing towards vs for haste, left most of our things behind vs, and yet could not make so much speed, but that the *Janizaries* which were in the Frigate, and chased vs, bestowed some shot vpon vs, and had peraduenture overtaken vs, if the night had not ended their chasing vs, and our dangers.

A strange deli-
uerance.
Wickednesse
of a Portugall.

This Boat in which we were, was an ordinary Passenger betweene *Cyprus* and *Alexandretta*, a small way off, onely a night and a halfe sayling, and halfe a daies sayling: So that by reason the Master was vnlike to mistake his way, much lesse so iust contrary as hee did, towards two houres in the night, we met another passage-Boate, put off from *Famagusta*, holding the course which we intended. The night was faire, with the shining of the Moone and Star-light; yet, by reason of the difference in sayling, wee first lost sight of that Boate, then by our different course, the Master of ours, in stead of *Alexandretta*, going for *Tripoly*, which certainly was a great worke of God to preserue vs. The other Boat, at breake of the day, being taken at the entrance of the Port of *Alexandretta*, by certaine *Turkish* *Pirats*, who put all to the sword that were in it, and hearing of vs, we had rowed so farre into the Riuer *Orontes*, before they could recouer vs, that they durst no further prosecute that prey. There we found a goodly Countrey, repleat euen naturally with all the blessings the earth can giue to man, for the most part vncultivated here and there (as it were) sprinkled with miserable Inhabitants, which in their fashion shewed the necessitie they had to liue, rather then any pleasure in their liuing.

Another deli-
uerance.

From thence we sent our Interpreter to *Antiochia*, to prouide vs Horses to bring vs thither, which he returned within two daies after, and with them wee proceeded thither, full of great care how we should escape from thence. The *Turke* hauing giuen certaine scales to trade in, out of which, as it was vnlawfull for any to conuerse; so it must needs be an vneuitable peril for so great a company, when the same great Providence, which at first defended vs from the former hazards, gaue vs the good hap to meete with two *Janizaries*, *Hungarish*-runnagates, who vnderstanding that we were Christians, compelled against our dispositions into that place, our intention to be a visitation of *Ierusalem*, and withall, our feare of some great preiudice by our being arrined out

of the distinguished places for all Christians; hauing told vs first, that they themselues had beene Christians, and though they had, for reasons best knowne to themselues, altered that condition; yet they wished well to those which still were so, and especially, to all of those parts: and afterwards cheerefully comforting vs, inuited vs to lodge in their house, securing vs, by a number of protestations, from al dangers; which as they courteously offered, so (if I may giue so faire a terme, to such a people) they honorably performed: For being by the *Cady* of *Antiochia* required to present vs vnto him, they did not onely deny vs, as bound vnto it by the lawes of hospitalitie, in respect of their promise, as they themselues said; but called fiftie other *Ianizaries* of *Damasco*, their friends to defend vs, if the *Cady* should haue offered violence.

Those *Ianizaries* of *Damasco*, amongst other Garrisons, were appointed as those of *Cairo* against the inuasions of the *Arabs*, who are through all those Prouinces, a people dispersed, liuing in Tents, without a certaine place of abode, remouing their habitations according to the seasons, and their owne Commodities: part of which, who are remooued on that side of *Euphrates*, which is of *Mesopotamia*, now called *Diarbeck*, are peaceable to the *Turke*, and not much infestious to Trauellers. Their King being a *Saniacke* of the *Turkes*, and by that Title holding *Ana* and *Der*, two Townes vpon the Riuer, which pay him his stipend. The other, vpon the other side towards *Egypt*, through all *Arabia Petra*, and *Deserta*, and spreading as farre as the limits of *Arabia Felix*; being in multitudes, and not possible bee brought to a quiet and well-formed manner of liuing, are dangerous to Strangers, and continuall spoylers of those parts of the *Turkes* Dominions, which euery way border vpon them: for the safetie of which (as I said) those two Garrisons of *Cairo* and *Damasco* were instituted; the first, of twelue thousand, the other of fiftene hundred *Ianizaries*. Those *Ianizaries* (which were appointed for the safetie of the Prouinces, and had their first priuiledges, not onely for a reward to their vertues; but to binde them by such rewards, to answer the Princes confidence in them) now obey no authoritie which calleth them to other Warres: but by combining themselues in a strength together, tyrannize the Countries committed to their charges: in such a sort, that they are not onely Princes (as it were) ouer the people, but doe also terrifie the greater Ministers, (a great weaknesse in the very *Basis* of so huge an estate) want of necessary prouision for the warres in all those parts; not speaking of those for peace, thence the ruine of the Prouinces, for the most part, and the misery of those poore focke of people, which doe liue in the parts inhabited, are onely the meanes to giue him peace. Yet the negligence of the Princes Christian, will not make vse of these extreame defects of his to amplifie their Dominions, to eternize their Honours; and (that which is the greatest) to glorifie God, which hath made them Princes, onely to execute his iudgements. I will leaue them, and speake of my *Ianizaries* rare disposition vnto me, who did not onely performe their promise in defending me in *Antiochia*, but deliuered me safely from them into our *English* Consuls hands in *Aleppo*: from whom, and from all the Merchants there abiding, I receiued such an entertainment, with so carefull, so kind, and so honourable a respect, as I must needs say, they were the onely Gentlemen, or the most benigne Gentlemen that euer I met withall. For my company being so great, that it was no light burthen vnto them; besides, gaue an occasion to the *Turkes* condition of getting to make quarrels for that end: so that they were not onely at expence by defraying me and mine, but at more by preserving vs from oppression amongst them. I had not beene fully one moneth expecting a commoditie of passage by Carauan into *Persia*: but that the *Morizell* arriued, who presently had the aduice of my being at *Aleppo*: And though that *Hugo de Posso* threatned as much as an ill mind, and great purse could make him hope to preuaile against me by; and questionlesse had raised some great trouble against me, if he had come safe to *Aleppo*. Yet euer the first prouidence which saued me before, determined so well also for me then, that foure miles from *Aleppo* he dyed: by which meanes I was preserved from perill, and those honest Merchants (my friends) from great trouble.

After sixe weekes staying in *Aleppo* (a wearisome time to my selfe, being drawne from thence continually by the instigation of my desire, which longed for the accomplishment of the end, that I proposed to my selfe, and as chargeable a time for my friends, which would needs make me a burthensome guest vnto them) the *Tasterdall*, which is the Treasurer, and the great *Cady*, which is (as it were) the Lord Chiefe Iustice of *Babylon*, arriued at *Aleppo*, from thence to goe by the Riuer of *Euphrates* to the place of their Regiment. With those, as diuers others went, so did I also, for the more securitie of my Voyage (their company being euer defended, besides with the respect of their persons, with a good company of *Ianizaries*) to *Birr*, which is the place of imbarment. Diuers of our Merchants brought me, and left me not vntill I was boated. Thirtie daies we were going vpon the Riuer to *Babylon*, resting euery night by the shoare side: In all which way we found few Townes; onely *Racha*, *Ana*, *Derrit*, and otherwise as little habitation, except heere and there a small Village: and one of better reputation, which is the landing place, thirtie miles from *Babylon*, called *Phalugium*. To tell wonders of things I saw, strange to vs, that are borne in these parts, is for a Traueller of another profession then I am, who had my end to see, and make vse of the best things; not to feed my selfe and the world with such trifles, as either by their strangenesse might haue a suspicion of vntruth: or by their lightnesse

Insolence of
Ianizaries in
those times of
Mahomet, Fa-
ther to the
Mustapha.

English Con-
sull at *Aleppo*.
Merchants
bounty.

A happy deli-
uerance from
danger.

nesse adde to the rest of my imperfections, the vanitie or smalnesse of my iudgement. But because I was desirous to certifie my selfe truly of the estate of the *Turke*, in those parts through which I passed, vnderstanding where we lodged one night, that the Campe of *Aborisci*, King of those *Arabs*, which inhabite the Desart of *Messopotamia*, was a mile off; I hazarded my selfe in that curiositie to goe into it, and saw a poore King with tenne or twelue thousand beggerly Subiects, liuing in Tents of blacke Haire-cloath: yet so well gouerned, that though our cloathes were much better then theirs, & their want might haue made them apt enough to haue borrowed them of vs; we passed notwithstanding through them all in such peace, as we could not haue done, being Strangers, amongst ciuill bred people. That day, as it hapned, was the day of Iustice amongst them, which was pretty and warlike. Certaine chiefe Officers of the Kings, mounting on horse-backe, armed after their manner, with their Staues, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes; and so giuing iudgement of all Cases, which the people brought before them. The King gaue vs good words, without any kind of barbarous wondring, or other distastfull fashion. But when we returned to our Boat, we found the Master of his house, Master of our Boat, with a sort of his *Arabs*: and in conclusion, we were forced to send his Master three Vestes of cloath of Gold, for beholding his person. This is that King of the *Arabs*, which I said before, was a *Saniacke* of the *Turkes*; and for that place held of the *Turke*, *Ana* and *Dirr*, two Townes vpon the Riuer.

As soone as we came to *Babylon*, hauing put the stocke which I had all into Iewels and Merchandize, to carry the fashion of a Merchant; at the *Dogana*, which is the Custome-house, all (whatsoeuer) was stayed for the *Bassa*: and (as I perceiued) not so much for any great vse which he meant to speake of those things; as for the suspition which hee had of me, and mine extraordinary company bearing much cause thereof with it; and because I gaue out I had more goods comming with the Caranan by Land, to binde me not to start from thence. In the meane time, by very necessitie, hauing left me nothing in the world; what extreame affliction I was in, by that meanes, for the present: and in what iust cause of feare for the future, euery man may easily iudge. I had my Brother with me, a young Gentleman, whose affection to me, had onely led him to that disaster, and the working of his owne vertue: desiring in the beginning of his best yeares, to inable himselfe to those things, which his good mind raised his thoughts vnto. I had also fise and twentie other Gentlemen, for the most part: the rest, such as had serued me long, onely carried with their loues to mee, into the course of my fortune. I had no meanes to giue them sustenance to liue, and lesse hope to vnwrap them from the horrible snare, into which I had brought them, being farre from all friends, and further from counsell, not vnderstanding the language of the people, into whose hands I was false, much lesse their proceedings: onely thus much I knew, they were *Turkes*, inhumane in their natures, and addicted to get by all meanes iust and vniust.

But I will leaue my selfe a little in that great straight, and speake of *Babylon*; not to the intent to tell stories, either of the huge ruines of the first Towne, or the splendor of this second: but because nothing doth impresse any thing in mans nature more, then example, to shew the truth of Gods Word, whose vengeance, threatned by his Prophets, are truly succeeded in all those parts. *Ninieue* (that which God himselfe calleth, That great Citie) hath not one stone standing, which may giue memorie of the being of a Towne: one *English* mile from it, is a place called *Mosul*, a small thing; rather to bee a witnesse of the others mightinesse, and Gods iudgement, then of any fashion of Magnificencie in it selfe. All the ground on which *Babylon* was spread, is left now desolate, nothing standing in that *Peninsula*, betweene the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, but onely part, and that a small part of the great Tower. The Towne, which is now called *Bagdat*, and is on the other side of *Tigris*, towards *Persia* (onely a small Suburbe in the *Peninsula*) but remoued from any stirpe of the first; to which men passe ordinarily by a Bridge of Boats, which euery night is dissolued, for feare either of the *Arabs*, or some storme vpon the Riuer, which might carrie away the Boats, when there were no helpe readie. The buildings are after the *Moriseco* fashion, low, without stories; and the Castle, where the *Bassa* is resident, is a great vast place, without beautie or strength, either by Art, or Nature; the people somewhat more abstinent from offending Christians, then in other parts, through the necessitie of the Trade of *Ormuz*: vpon which standeth both the particular and publike wealth of the State. Victuals are most abundant, and excellent good of all sorts, and very cheape; which was a mightie blessing for mee, which had nothing but a generall Wardrobe of clothes, not in our Coffers, but vpon our backs; which we were forced to make money of by piece-meale, according to the falling of the Lot, and our necessitie; and with that liued: and if feeding-well had beene all, which we had cause to care for, we also liued well.

But after one moneth was past, and time fastned euery mans eyes more firmly vpon vs: One day a *Florentine* Merchant (whom I had onely knowne in the way betweene *Aleppo* and *Babylon*, by a riding acquaintance) came vnto mee, and after a little other discourte, told mee, that there was a great muttering amongst diuers great men there, what I was, and what my designs might bee; that he found me to be dangerously spied after: and wished mee to haue regard, (if not

Aborisci King of the *Arabs* visited.

Manner of Iustice.

Sir Robert Sherley, since Embassador from the King of *Persia* to His Maiestie. A hard distresse.

The ruines of *Babylon*.

Ninieue.

Bagdat.

A hard distresse.

A strange prouidence.

A Carauan of
Persian Pil-
grimes.

A strange and
extraordinary
kindnesse of a
Florentine Mer-
chant, called
Vittorio Spe-
ciero.

Santon Pilgri-
mage

Courdines.

not to my selfe) yet to so many, which he did imagine were impawned in that misfortune by my meanes. And though it were true, that hee came vpon the motion of an honest, pious, and charitable heart; yet I was so fearefull of an *Italian Merchant*, that I did rather imagine him to be the spie, then lightly to haue bene an instrument of his preuention. Therefore agreeing with him in the complement onely, I answered determinately in the rest; that I knew no iust cause of perill, therefore I feared none; and if there were any curious eyes vpon me, because of the number of my companie, the Carauan comming, they should see good vse made of them all; and vtill that time I would haue patience with their looking and speaking. Him I thanked for his kindnesse, and offered my selfe largely vnto him, as though I had least suspected him; though in truth I did most: and most vniustly. For, two dayes after he returned to me againe, and as a man moued in his very soule with anguish, told me, that within ten dayes the Carauan of *Aleppo* would arriue; in the meane time, beseeched me not to couer my selfe longer from him, who did so truly wish me well, not so much for my person (which he could know little) but because his conceit was, that I would not haue hazarded my selfe in such a iourney, but for some great end, which he did beleue well of; and besides, in charitie to a Christian, and so many Christians with me: saying, that there was a Carauan of *Persian Pilgrims*, arriued two dayes since from *Mecca* without the Towne, who were forced to take that way (though the longest) by reason of the Plague, which rained very exceedingly in those places, by which they should haue passed. Hee was not ignorant of my wants, for which hee also had prouided; and taking me by the hand, beseeched me againe to beleue him, and to goe presently with him to the Car-
 auan: which I did, not being able to answer, through admiration of so generous a part in him, and an amazement, with a thousand diuers thoughts spred vpon mee. When I came there, hee brought me to a *Vittorin*, of whom hee had alreadie hired Horses, Camels, and Mules for mee; and I found a Tent pitched by his seruants: and then opening his Gowne, hee deliuered mee a bag of *Chequins*, with these very words: The God of Heauen blese you, and your whole companie, and your enterprise, which I will no further desire to know, then in my hope, which perswadeth me that it is good; My selfe am going to *China*, whence if I returne, I shall little need the repayment of this courtesie, which I haue done you with a most free heart; if I die by the way, I shall lesse need it: but if it please God so to direct both our safeties with good providence, that we may meet againe, I assure my selfe, that you will remember mee to be your friend; which is enough, for all that I can say to a man of your sort. And almost, without giuing me leasure to yeeld him condigne thanks (if any thanks could bee condigne) for so great and so noble a benefit, he departed from mee. And as I heard afterward from him by Letters from *Ormuz*, he receiued much trouble after my departure, through his honourable desire to perfect the kindnesse which he had begun. For, imagining that by the continuall spies, which claue to my house, that my flight could not be secret: hee had no sooner left mee in the Carauan, but that he changed his lodging to mine, saying that I had done the like to his; and went to the *Cady*, telling him that I was sicke, desiring his Physician to visite mee, knowing well enough that the *Cady* had none, but onely to giue colour to my not appearing in the Towne. The *Cady* answered, he was sorrie for my sicknesse, and would send to the *Bassa* for his Physician, which
 Signior *Vittorio Speciera* (for so was this honourable *Florentine* called) would by no meanes; hoping, as hee said, that my sicknesse would not bee so great, as would require the trouble of his Highnesse. By this meanes fife dayes passed before I was missed; and when I was once discovered to be gone, fiftie *Ianizaries* were sent after mee, to bring mee backe againe: the Carauan hauing diuided it selfe by the way, whereof one part went a visitation of a *Santon* in the Desarts of *Samarone*; and the other passed the right way for *Persia* by the Mountaines, gouerned by a Prince of the *Courdines*, called *Cobatbeague*. The *Ianizaries* hearing of them to be past, and thinking that all had bene so, they returned: and that noble-minded *Florentine* was forced to pay fife hundred Crownes, to make his peace with the *Bassa*.

My frailtie gaue mee a continuall terrour, during those thirtie dayes, in which wee wandred with that companie of blinde Pilgrims through the Desarts; not knowing what God had wrought for my securitie, and those which were with mee, by that good man, Signior *Vittorio*. At the end of which wee arriued in the King of *Persia's* Dominions, hauing first passed a great tract of good and ill Countries, the Desart places of which being onely sand, gaue no meanes for Inhabitants to liue; the fruitfuller parts were vsed by certaine people, called *Courdines*, liuing in Tents, knowing no other fruit of the earth, but what belonged to the sustenance of their Cattell, vpon the Milke, Butter, and Flesh, of which they liue, ruled by certaine particular Princes of their owne, which giue partly an obedience to the *Turke*, and part to the *Persian*, as they are neereft the Confines of the one or the other. Yet in that simplicitie of liuing (not being without that contagion of all Mankind, of all Prouinces, and of all States, ambition of getting superioritie, and larger Dominion) some Warres daily grow in amongst them, euen to the extirpation of a whole Nation: as we found freshly, when we passed by one of those Princes, called *Hiderbeague*, all whose people were deuoured by the sword, or carried away captiue by *Cobatbeague*; and himselfe remayned onely with some twentie soules, in certaine poore Holds in a Rocke.

The

The precise summe, which I receiued of the *Florentine*, I set not downe, to preuent the scandales of diuers, who measuring euery mans mind by the straightnesse of theirs, will beleue no act, which doth not symbolize with themselves: but so much it was, that being thirtie dayes vpon the way to the Confines; then fiftene from the Confines to *Casbine*, where wee attended one moneth the Kings arriual; it was not onely sufficient to giue vs abundant meanes for that time, but to clothe vs all in rich apparell, fit to present our selues before the presence of any Prince, and to send extraordinarily in gifts, by which wee insinuated farre into the fauour of those, which had the authoritie of that Prouince, during our abode, and expectation of the Kings comming: in which time we were well vsed, more by the opinion, which they had, that the King would take satisfaction by vs, then by their owne humours; being an ill people in themselves: and onely good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience vnto him. The Gouvernour visited mee once; *Marganabeague*, Master of the Kings house, (whom I had won vnto me by Presents) came oftentimes to see mee: besides (as it seemed) being more inwardly acquainted with the Kings inclination, fitted himselfe more to that, then others did, which knew it lesse.

II.

20 Of *Abas* King of Persia, his Person, Vertues, Perils, Escapes, Aduancement, Government, and Conquests.

AND now that I am in *Persia*, and speake of the Kings absence; since hee is both one of the mightiest Princes that are, and one of the excellentest, for the true vertues of a Prince, that is, or hath beene; and hauing come to this greatnesse, though by right; yet through the circumstances of the time, and the occasions, which then were, toly his owne worthinesse, and vertue, made way to his right: besides, the fashion of his gouernment differing so much from that which wee call barbarousnesse, that it may iustly serue for as great an *Idea* for a Principalltie, as *Platoes* Commonwealth did for a Gouernment, of that sort.

30 I hold it not amisse, to speake amply first of his Person, the nature of his People, the distribution of his Gouernment, the administration of his Iustice, the condition of the bordering Princes, and the causes of those Warres, in which hee was then occupied; that by the true expression of those, this discourse may passe with a more liuely, and a more sensible feeling.

His Person then is such, as well-vnderstanding Nature would fit for the end proposed for his being, excellently well shaped, of a most well proportioned stature, strong, and actiue; his colour somewhat inclined to a man-like blacknesse, is also more blacke by the Sunnes burning: his furniture of his mind infinitely royall, wise, valiant, liberall, temperate, mercifull, and an exceeding louer of Iustice, embracing royally others vertues, as farre from pride and vanitie, as from all vnprincely signes, or acts; knowing his power iustly what it is; and the like acknowledgement will also haue from others, without any gentilitious adoration; but with those respects, which are fit for the maiestie of a Prince; which foundeth it selfe vpon the power of his State, generall loue, and awfull terrour. His fortunes determining to make prooue of his vertue, draue him (in his first yeeres) into many dangerous extremities; which hee ouercomming by his vertue, hath made great vse of, both in the excellent encrease of his particular vnderstanding, and generall tranquillitie, strength of his Countrey, and propagation of his Empire. For the Lawes, and Customes, or both, of that Kingdome, being such, that though the King haue a large encrease of Issue, the first-borne onely ruleth; and to auoide all kind of cause of ciuill dissention, the rest are not inhumanely murdered, according to the vse of the *Turkish* gouernment, but made blind with burning Basons: and haue otherwise all sort of contentment and regard fit for Princes children. *Xa-Tamas* King of *Persia* dying without Issue, *Xa-Codabent*, his brother was called blind to the Kingdome; who had Issue, *Sultan Hamzire Mirza* the eldest, who succeeded him, and this present King called *Abas*.

50 The eldest Sonne of the King remayned at the Court of his Father, administering all that, which his Fathers defect of light vnabled him to doe. *Abas* the second Sonne, twelue yeares of age vnder the gouernment of Tutors, held the Prouince of *Yasde*; and (as Courts are full of Rumours, and suspicion neuer wanteth in Princes, especially which haue such imperfections, as they are compelled to take knowledge of) the vertues of *Abas*, by which hee bound to him the hearts of his Prouincials, spread themselves further, and so to the Court; where they were increased to such a condition, as altered the Father, and Brothers reioycing in them, to an opinion

60 that his winning of the affections of the people, proceeded not from any other worthinesse, but artifice; which had the intent of it stretching to the Crowne: which tooke such hold in the Fathers minde, worne with age and griefe, and sore with his late misfortunes, that hee resolved secretly his death: The newes of which being brought to *Abas*, speedily by the meanes of secret friends, not onely to himselfe, but to his Gouvernours (which as they were the greatest of the

Abas his flight
to the King of
Corassan.

The King mur-
dered.

The Persian
Greatnesse.

Sisiane.

the state, so they were not unfriended in the Court) being so farre from any such deligne, that he had no sort of prouision at hand to defend himselfe; hee fled to the King of *Corassan*, a Countrey of the *Tartars*, limiting vpon the East of *Persia*, euer infestuous to that State, not more in their owne disposition (being a people giuen to spoyle, vnquiet, and which cannot liue in rest) then through their dependance vpon the *Turke*, whose Religion they professe (which the *Persians* do not, but much altered) and whose Pensionaries they were, by which they were bound in all seasons, when the *Turke* was tyed to the Christians wars, to diuert the *Persian* from looking to the commoditie of such a time; besides, on occasions, the *Turke* vsed to transport great forces of them ouer the *Caspian* Sea into *Siruana*; and from thence passed them into *Hungarie*; eyther the longer way by Land, or the shorter by Sea, ouer *Negropont*. To this King *Abas* was exceeding welcome, and cherished, and honoured like his owne Sonne. Shortly after the flight, the Father dyed, and *Sultan Hamzire Mirza*, his Sonne, succeeded him, who renewed the Truce with the *Turke*, through the necessitie which hee had to vse the most, which his strength and power could yeeld him, to suppress a great Rebellion of the *Turcomans*: whom, at the last, he so brake with diuers Battels, and all other sort of afflictions, that they deliuered him vp their Princes, and then themselues. Their Princes he beheaded, and of them, slue twentie thousand of the ablest for the warres, assuring his peace with them by their extremest ruine; and as he was, by all reports, a most braue, and warlike Prince, hauing pacified his owne State, and desirous to recouer, not onely what was freshly lost; but all which was formerly taken from the *Sophies* Kingdome, by the power of the *Ottomans*; vnited all his thoughts, and all his Councils to that one great end; which all finished with his life, ending it selfe by Treason of his Princes (not without perswasion of the *Turke*) when hee had fit yeares, minde, and courage; and meanes ioyned with occasion, to haue made himselfe the greatest Prince of many Ages: all which though they, made his death miserable, yet the manner was more miserable; being vilely slaine by his Barber retyring halfe drunke from a Banquet, to which hee was prouoked by the Conspirators, which presently parted the State betweene them; euery man making himselfe absolute Prince of those Prouinces, which they had in gouernment; and parting the Royall Treasure amongst them for their reciprocall mayntenance, disposed themselues vnitedly to resist the comming in of *Abas*; whom notwithstanding they did not much feare, hauing promise of the *Turke*, that hee should be detayned in *Corassan* where he was refuged: and knowing that he had neither Men nor Money, nor yeares to giue him any incouragement to attempt against them, who had soone confirmed themselues, both with giuing good satisfaction to the people, and with liberalitie to the Souldioury; and their entrance into the State being without opposition, and so, without offence, made the foundation both more sure and more facile.

Abas in the meane time, whose iust Title made him King, assured himselfe that both the murder of his Brother, and this parting of the State, had the *Turkes* counsell concurring with those Princes Impietie: and not doubting but the King of *Corassan* was also perswaded to detayne him resolved notwithstanding by his necessitie, began to deale boldly with him for his assistance against his Rebels, the King of *Corassan*, though pre-occupied by the *Turke*, yet desirous to bee his Friend as farre off, and also doubting the successe of *Abas*, neither hauing yeares, nor experience, nor Friends; In fine, being destitute of all reasonable hope, not to moue the *Turkes* displeasure vpon such a disadvantageous condition, was notwithstanding contented to see whether some thing might be moued by such a helpe as should not appeare to be giuen by him, but rather voluntarie followers of *Abas* his fortune: he gaue him three thousand Horse onely to put him in possession of that State, which by his vertue, and fortune, is growne now so great, that it hath deuoured all the States of the *Tartars*, extended it selfe so farre as *Cabull* to the East; the *Arabian* gulfe downe to *Balsaracke* on the South; within three dayes Iourney of *Babylon* on the West; and to *Tauris* on the North; embracing the whole Circumference of the *Caspian* Sea vnto *Astracan*, which is the vttermost of the *Moscouites* Dominion, and *Seruane* of the *Turkes*, which lyeth vpon that Sea: an Empire so great, so populous, and so abundant; that as it may compare with most of the greatest that euer were, so is it terrible to the *Turkes* which is the greatest that now is; though I doe thinke verily, That in Asia the Persian hath as great an extent of Territories, as the *Turke*, and better inhabited, better gouerned, and in better obedience and affection, I am sure he hath. With this small troupe, the King of *Persia*, guided by his infinite Royall courage, entred *Persia*. But as those which are wicked, are euer so well instructed in the Art of their possession, that they neuer want Instruments in themselues to deuise, and in others to act those counsels which must euer be waking, to maintayne what they haue gotten by their sceleratenesse. So their Spyes hastened, with such diligence, to giue those Rebels notice, of their Kings being on foot, that the next of them to him, had time to arme great forces, and encountred him in a Prouince, called *Sisiane*: and though his inuincible spirit, without any sparke of feare, made him aduenture to fight vpon so vnequall termes, as was three thousand against twentie thousand: he found by his experience, that Maiestie and right, is nothing without power to beare them vp: and that no exquisite vigour of the minde, can resist the violence of sinister fortune, nor oppression of many hands. Yet did Fortune so much care (for so great vertue) that she gaue him way to escape to the Mountaynes,

all the rest of the small troupe beeing cut in pieces. This victory assured the Rebels (as they thought) from all further danger; the King of *Persia*, whose owne minde ever comforted him, with a stedfast assurance of his greatnesse, to which hee is now growne, hauing recouered the Mountaynes, liued amongst the Heardel-men for three monethes vnknowne, changing continually from place to place, without any certaine abode, accompanied onely with ten or twelue followers, which were of his first Gouvernours, and other young Gentlemen brought vp with him from his child-hood. But being now no longer able to temporize with his great desire, resolving to proue the last, and the vttermost of his fortune, and remembering how much loue and affection those of *Tasid* had shewed towards him in the time of his gouerning them, and how much he had truly deserued of them, determined to shew himselfe in that Prouince; and prooue what effect the Maiestie of his person, the iullice of his cause, and former obligation would worke in them: which, though it were a foundation prooued euer false, almost by all experiences, *The peoples affections euer raising mens hopes, and ruining their persons*: Yet it prooued otherwise with this King; who was no sooner certainly knowne in those parts, but numbers of people came flocking to him, armed and appointed for the warres: in such sort, that before any prouision could be made against him (this being an accident so farre removed from all sort of suspicion) he had a power together, too strong to bee easily suppressed; which was no sooner heard by *Ferrat Can*, a great Prince, and discontented with the alteration of the gouernment (to whose share none of that partition had falne, his fortune being such, that at the time of the other Kings death, he had none of the Prouinces to administer, and they were parted onely betweene them, which held them) hee I say, with his Brother, and a company of some ten thousand, came and ioyned themselues to the forces of the King. Neither were the men so welcome, as that *Ferrat Can* (being a wise Prince, and a great Souldier) grew a partie, and such as the King also stood in need of: Neither did the King lose any sort of opportunitie, but hearing of the Assembly which certaine of the Princes were making in the neere Prouinces vnto him, with all speed fell vpon them, and ouerthrowing them followed them as farre as *Casbin*.

In the meane time, those of *Shyras*, *Asphaan*, *Cassan* assisted by the Kings of *Gheylan*, and *Mazandran*, gather mightie forces; the *Turkes* armed at *Tauris*, and the Prince of *Hamadan*, hauing called in a strength of the *Courdines*, to his assistance, was marching also towards *Casbin*: So that the King was likely to bee so inclosed with all these Armies, that his first victory would rather haue proued a snare to his intrapment; then important, as he hoped, to the summe of his affaires: Whence he resolved to helpe, with Art, that which hee was much too weake to accomplish by strength. Wherefore he leaueth *Ferrat Can* in *Casbin* with some fve thousand men, accompanied with *Zulpher* his Brother; and himselfe, with the rest of his power marched towards the *Can* of *Hamadane*. *Ferrat Can*, according to the deliberation taken betweene the King and him, shewed himselfe altered from the Kings part, writeth to the Rebels, which were all, in a grosse, aduanced as farre as the mid-way betweene *Cassin* and *Casbin*, and offereth not onely to ioine that strength which he had with them, but to mutinie the Kings Armie, which was lodged in the Mountaynes towards *Hamadane*, in a shew to keepe those straights, to giue impeachment to the passage of that other Army; but indeed to protract time onely, and to expect the euent of his other counsels. The other *Cans* rebelled easily, and desirously imbraced *Ferrat Cans* proposition; hastened the Army towards *Casbin*, which they entred without difficultie, both by the nature of the place, which is not of any strength, and conueyance of *Ferrat*. There were many dayes spent in Counsell, and at last it was concluded, since the suppression of the King was certaine, being abandoned by him which was his onely Captaine and Counsellour; by so great a part of his strength; and vpon the confidence which *Ferrat* gaue them to mutinie the rest; that it would prooue too dangerous to call in those forces of the *Turkes*, which were in readinesse for their succour. Not knowing whether they should so easily free themselues of them againe, if they were once entred: They feared the *Turkes* purposes, and as much feared to know them; therefore to auoid the danger of being compelled to experience them, they determined to write to the *Bassa* of *Tauris*, that the warre was so certaine to bee finished by themselues, that they would reserue fauour till a more vrgent opportunitie: and with that deliberation a principall man was dispatched with a Present for the *Bassa*. Of this, the King had present aduice, by a confident Messenger, and also that few nights after, the principals of the Army were to meete together at *Ferrat* house, inuited to a great Banquet; which being vnderstood by him, electing fve thousand of his best men, and best horsing, with great and close Iourneyes, hee came to *Casbin*; where hauing secretly disposed his people in the Mountayne, couered with the quarter of *Ferrat* Troupe, he expected the signe which was to be giuen him. The Prince (as it was appointed) failed not of comming, nor he of his signe to the King, nor the King to accomplish his resolution. For *Ferrat* hauing protracted the Banquet the most part of the night, when the whole companie was heauie with Wine and sleepe, the King was receiued into the house with three hundred men, where without any vproare, hee slue all those which were inuited, to the number of threescore and ten; the Seruants and Pages being so suddenly taken hold of, and with such dexteritie, that without any mouing of other Rumours, the same fashion of Feast of Singing and of Dancing,

Ferrat Can.

Slie stratagem.

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continued all the night; and in that space all the rest of those people, which the King had with him, were appointed, in the breaking of the day, to make the greatest shew, and the greatest noyse that they could vnder the foote, of the Mountayne, as though all the Army had beene there, marching to the Towne. When the Alarme beganne to bee hot in the Towne, and euery man fell to his Armes, and repaired to *Ferrats* Lodging, where they supposed their Princes to haue beene; the King hauing disposed his three hundred men which were shut fitly in the house, and *Zulpher* hauing his five thousand all in a troope, in the great place, the threescore and ten *Cans* heads were shewed, all laced vpon a string, and hung out of a Tarras; vpon which the King presently shewed himselfe, accompanied with *Ferrat Can*; whereas the Maiestie of the King, the terrour of the sight represented before them, the feare of the Armie, 10 which they saw (as they thought) at hand, *Zulpher* and *Ferrat Cans* power amongst them, which they perceiued turned against them; their being destitute of Commanders, and the guiltinesse of their owne consciences, for their rebellion, strooke them into so dead an amazement, that they stood readie, rather to receiue all mischiefe, then that they had either courage, or minds, or counsell to auoide it.

But vpon offer of pardon, they cryed out, *Let the King liue, let the King liue; we are all King Abas his slaues*, and will not suffer to liue any of his Enemies: and there was more trouble to defend the poore people of *Casbin* from sacking by them (their Towne euer hauing beene a well disposed Harbour for the Rebels) then to turne their hearts and armes to the Kings part. Besides, the succours which the *Gheylan* and *Mazandran* had sent the Rebels, were with great difficultie 20 saued, and returned to their Countries by the King of *Persia*, with commandement to tell their Masters, that as the poore men were not culpable, which obeyed their Princes authoritie, by whom they were sent against him, and for that innocencie, hee had giuen them their liues; so that he would not be long from seeking his reuenge vpon their Masters, which had more iustly deserued it, by his neuer prouoking them to any offence. And when hee came with his Armie thither, he would proue, by those mens acknowledgement vnto him, whether they could discern by the benefits they had already receiued of him in the gift of their liues, which they had forfeited vnto him, by bearing Armes with Rebels against him, what better hopes they might conceiue of him, if they would dispose themselues to deserue good of him. In this meane time, the fame of this great successe, flew to both the Armies about the Mountaynes of *Hamadan*: 30 which, as it comforted the Kings with exceeding ioyfulness; so it entred into the others with such a terrour, that they presently vanished, euery man retyring to his best knowne safe-guard, that part of the Warre ending with the blast onely of the fortune of the other, with little expence of time, labour and bloud: which beeing vnderstood by the King, hee raised *Oliner-Dileague* to the title of a *Can*, and sent him, with those forces which he had to *Hamadan*, to settle the Countrey in a good forme of gouernment, and to ease it from the oppression of the other disperfed Troupes. *Zulpher* he also called *Can*, and sent him to *Ardenile*, which frontireth vpon *Tauris*, with an Army consisting of foure and twentie thousand men, in shew to quiet the Countrey, but indeed, to preuent any mouing of the *Turkes*. And because hee knew, that as his State stood then weake, raysed (as it were) freshly from a deadly sicknesse; it was not fit for him (at 40 that time) to bind himselfe to wrastle with such an Enemy, by taking knowledge of his ill disposition towards him; he dispatched Embassadours to *Constantinople*, to *Tauris*, and to the *Bassa* of *Babylon*, to congratulate with them, as with his friends, for the felicitie of his fortune; and to strengthen himselfe, by Alliance, also the more firmly, against the proceeding of any thing which the *Turk* might designe against him, either then or in future time; he required the Daughter of *Simon Can*, one of the Princes of the *Georgians*, to wife, which was, with as readie an affection performed, as demanded.

Whiles that Lady was comming from her Father, the King vnderstanding that the *Cans* Son of *Hispbaan* held yet strong the Castle, and whether he gaue it out to amaze his Armie, which now began to looke for satisfaction, for the great trauels and dangers which they had passed, or 50 whether he had heard so indeed; true it is, that he gaue out, that the most part of the Treasure of the former Kings of *Persia*, was by the consent of the Rebels, for securitie, kept together in that Castle: to receiue the which, and to chastise that Rebelle, the King marched thither with a part onely of his Armie, leauing the rest at *Casbin*, which was Frontier to *Gheylan* against which his purpose carried him. Without much trouble hee expugned the Fort at *Hispbaan*, beeing a large Circumference onely of Mud-wals, somewhat thicke, with Towers, and certaine ill Battlements, and suppressed that Rebelle; but Treasure he found none, for the indignation whereof, he made the World beleue, dismantled the Castle. His owne necessitie to content the Army, and his Armies necessitie to aske contentment, drew him suddenly backe from thence to *Casbin*, where hee had not stayed many dayes (for daily satisfaction with hope hauing no reall meanes) 60 but that the Queene arriued, honourably accompanied with two thousand Horle, and *Byraicke Myrza* her Brother. The Marriage was soone dispatched, those Countries vsing few Ceremonies in such cases: and God blessed them both so happily, that within the tearme of lesse then one yeare, she brought him a gallant yong Prince who is now liuing, called *Sephir Mirza*.

The

*Gheylan and Mazandran.**Populotis and fertile.**The meanes by which King Abas setled the quiet of Persia.**The people*

The King vnwilling to oppresse his Countrey, and desiring to reuenge himselfe vpon the Kings of *Gheylan*, and *Mazandran*, to enlarge his Empire, and to content his Souldiers; hauing a flourishing Armie, both in men, and the reputation of his present victory; resolu'd all vnder one, to increase his State, honour himselfe, ease his Countrey, and satisfie his Souldiers with the Enemies spoyle. *Gheylan* is a Countrey cut off from *Persia*, with great Mountaynes hard to passe, full of Woods (which *Persia* wanteth, being here and there onely sprinkled with Hills, and very penurious of fuell, onely their Gardens giue them Wood to burne, and those Hills, which are some Faggots of Pistachios, of which they are well replenished) betweene those Hills there are certaine breaches, rather then Valleyes; which in the Spring, when the Snow dissolueth, and the great abundance of Raine falleth, are full of Torrents; the *Caspian* Sea includeth this Countrey on the East: betweene which and the Hills, is a continuing Valley, so abounding in Silke, in Rice, and in Corne, and so infinitely peopled, that Nature seemeth to contend with the peoples industry; the one in sowing of men, the other in cultivating the Land; in which you shall see no piece of ground which is not fitted to one vse or other: their Hills also (which are Rockes towards *Casbin*) are so fruitfull of Herbage, shadowed by the Trees, as they shew, turned towards the Sea, that they are euer full of Cattell, which yeeldeth Commoditie to the Countrey, by furnishing diuers other parts. In this then lay the difficultie most of the Kings Enterprize, how to enter the Countrey.

Yet before the King would enter into this Action, hee called vnto him to *Casbin*, all Gouernours, and all Administratours of Iustice, whosoever had occupied those Functions, during the vsurped Rule of the *Cans*, through all his Prouinces; with the Kinsmen, Friends and Children of the said *Cans*: besides, that all men of power, as *Mirzaes*, *Cans*, *Sultans*, and *Beagues*, which are principall Titles of Dukes, Princes, and Lords, should repaire thither, without excuse of Age, Sicknesse, or any other pretence whatsoever: which beeing done, hee appointed new Gouernours and Officers of all sorts; hee cleered all his Prouinces for three yeares, for paying any Tribute-Custome, or any other ordinary or extraordinary Exaction whatsoever. His Chiefe *Vizier* he made one *Haldenbeague* a Wise man, excellently seene in all Affaires, of great Experience; but such a one as was onely his Creature, without Friends or Power: him hee commanded to passe through all his Prouinces, accompanied with the *Xa-Hammadaga*, who is, as it were, Knight Marshall, to cleere them from Vagabonds, Robbers, and seditious Persons. *Ologonlie*, which had followed him in all his Aduersitie (a man of great Worthinesse) hee made Bearer of his Great Seale, which is an Office there, liker the Lord Priuie Seale, then Chancellour. (The place of the *Vizier* comprehending in it, the Office of Chancellour, and High Treasurer) him hee also aduanced to the dignitie of a *Can*. *Bastana*, an Ancient approoued man, both for Fidelitie and other Worthinesse, hee made principall *Aga* of his House; which is as great Chamberlaine. *Curtchibasschie* Captaine of his Guard, which is a General-ship of twelue thousand shot, who attend at the Port by turnes, two hundred and fiftie euery quarter, except when the King goeth to the Warres, that they are all bound to be present. *Ferrat Can* he made his Generall.

Thus hauing wisely and prouidently placed through all his Estates, those who must be most assured to him, their Fortunes depending onely vpon him, hauing no more strength, nor authoritie in themselves, then they receiued from him: and hauing all the great ones in his Armie with him, or such of them as could not bee able to follow him, eyther by their few, or many yeares, or sicknesse, so securely left at *Casbin*, that they could not by themselves, or any other, moue any Innouation. And moreouer, hauing dispatched all those, and keeping their persons with him which had any Obligation to the former *Cans*, secured by that meanes (as much as the counsell of any man could secure him) from perill at home: hauing called *Oliner du Can* from *Hamadan*, and appointed him a Successor for that Gouvernement with ten thousand new men; he set himselfe forward to his Enterprize, with his old Troupes, and great part of his rebelled Army, with no greater courage and counsell then Fortune: for those men which were remitted by him to *Gheylan*, and *Mazandran*, (as those which had bin some-what exercised in the wars) hauing, with some more, adioyned vnto them the guard of the Streights, from which the mayne Armie of the Kings was some foure leagues remoued (remembring the benefit of the King, better then their faith to their Princes) at the very sight of the first Troupes, retyred themselves from the places left to their confidence in charge; which aduantage beeing followed by *Ferrat*, with the Alarme giuen, fell so iustly vpon that Army, that what with the vnexpected terrour of the Streights abandoning, and their being surprized in disorder, the Army was facily broken, with the death of two of the Kings, and an infinite slaughter of people, which had beene much greater if the Woods had not couered them from the furie of their Enemies. The greatest of those Kings hauing escaped with much difficultie (accompanied euer with the terrour of the perill from which hee had escaped) neuer ended his flight, vntill hee came into *Sernane*; and from thence went to *Constantinople*, to desire succour from the *Turke*, where hee yet liueth. The other which remayned, beeing but one, without any great difficultie or alteration of Fortune, was suppressed.

The Countrey beeing first spoyled, and ransomed at a great rate, which they might well beare, by reason of their great Riches, which they had gathered together through a long peace, and the Kings Armie excellently well satisfied; hee dispatched instantly Embassadors to the *Turke*, the *Georgians*, and his old Friend, the King of *Corassan*, to giue them an account of this new victorie: not doubting, but as it would bee exceeding pleasant to some; so it would be as bitter to others: and leauing *Ferrat Can* to gouerne the Countrey, and *Oliner Dibeague*, as his assistant, but to be commanded by him, hee returned himselfe full of glorie, and great victorie into *Persia*, disposing himselfe to reduce his State to that excellent forme of government which now it hath.

First then, after his arriuall in *Casbin*, hauing heard by his *Vizier*, and the Relation of *Xa-Hammadaga*, who had not onely spoyled the Subiects in their substances; but also of all Orders, and iust forme of government, which it now hath; and giuen them, by that meanes, more matter of diuision, then vnion; insomuch, that they were full of Theeues, of Vagabonds, of Factions, and such like Insolencies: hee iudged it fit, to reduce it to the more peaceable and obedient, to giue it in those cases, a good condition of government: Whereupon, hee presently dispatched that *Xa-Hammadaga*, a terrible, and resolute person, with full power and authoritie, for the Reformation of those Disorders; who in short time, though with more terrible Examples, reduced all the Prouinces to a vnite Tranquillitie, with mightie reputation.

Whilest hee was busied in that Administration; the King, to shew that it was necessitie, that counsell'd to giue him that excessiue authoritie, and to preserue it from beeing odious to himselfe, appointed in the chiefe Citie of euerie Prouince, a Governour elected of those of most valour: to him he ioyned two Iudges of Criminall and Ciuill Causes, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, with an excellent President, and two Aduocates generall, for the causes both particular and generall of the whole Prouince; Besides the particular Aduocate of euerie Citie, which should bee resident in that Metropolis. These determined all Causes within themselves of those Prouinces in which they had the Administration; and because they should neither bee burthen some to the Prouinces, nor corrupted in partializing; the King paid them their stipend, enioyning them vpon paine of life to take no other sort of reward. And because such things, and Causes might fall out, as by reason of the importance of them, or appellations of the parties might bee brought before himselfe, because hee would euer know what hee did, and be continually informed, not onely of the generall State of the Prouinces, but of their particular Administration; he ordayned Posts once euerie Weeke from all parts, to bring all sort of Relations to the Court; for which cause also he willed that one of the two generall Aduocates should euer bee Resident there, who receiuing those Relations presenteth them to the *Vizier*, and hee to the King. The *Vizier*, sitteth euerie morning in counsell about the generall State of all the Kings Prouinces, accompanied with the Kings Councill, Aduocates Resident, and the Secretaries of State; there are all Matters heard, and the Opinions of the Councill written by the Secretaries of State; then after Dinner, the Councill, or such a part of them as the King will admit, present those Papers, of which the King pricketh those hee will haue proceed; the rest are cancelled; which being done: the Councill retyre them againe to the *Viziers*, and then determine of the particular businesse of the Kings House. The King himselfe euerie Wednesday, sitteth in the Councill publicly, accompanied with all those of his Councill, and the foresaid Aduocates: thither come a flood of all sorts of people, rich and poore, and of all Nations without distinction, and speake freely to the King in their owne Cases, and deliuer euerie one his owne seuerall Bill, which the King receiueh; pricketh some, and reiecteth other, to bee better informed of. The Secretaries of State presently record in the Kings Booke those which hee hath pricked, with all other Acts, then by him enacted; the which Booke is carryed by a Gentleman of the Chamber, into his Chamber, where it euer remayneth: and woe be to his *Vizier*, if after the King hath pricked, Bill, or Supplication, it be againe brought the second time.

When hee goeth abroad to take the Ayre, or to passe the time in any exercise, the poorest creature in the World may giue him his Supplication: which hee receiueh, readeth, and causeth to bee registred; and one request, or complaint, is not ordinarily brought him twice: and though these bee great wayes, wise wayes, and iust wayes, to tye vnto him the hearts of any people; yet the nature of those is so vile in themselves, that they are no more, nor longer good, then they are by a strong and wisely tempered hand made so: The Countrey not beeing inhabited by those nobly disposed *Persians*, of which there are but a few, and those few are as they euer were: But being mightily wasted by the Inundation of *Tamberlaine*, and *Ismael* afterward making himselfe the head of a Faction, against the *Ottomans*; and by that reason, forced to re-people his Countrey to giue himselfe strength of men against so potent an Aduersary, calling in *Tartars*, *Turcomans*, *Courdines*, and of all scumme of Nations; which though they now liue in a better Countrey, yet haue not changed their bad natures: though as I said, so carefull and true Princely a regard of the King for the establishment of good and iust Orders, for the government of this Countrey, in equitie, generall securitie, and tranquillitie;

The people.

had

had beene of sufficient abilitie to haue bound the hearts of people vnto him : Yet knowing what his were, and to leaue no meanes vnacted which might both assure them more, and himselfe with them; because he knew, that their owne dispositions, which were euill, would neuer rightly iudge of the Cause of many rigorous Examples that had passed : which by that fault in them, had ingendred him hatred amongst them; to purge their mindes from that sicknesse, and gaine them the more confidently, hee determined to shew, that if there were any cruell Act brought forth, it did not grow from himselfe, but from necessitie, wherefore hee displaced, by little, finding particular occasions daily against some or other, all the whole *Tymarri* of his Estate; as though from them had growne all such Disorders, as had corrupted the whole gouernment, 10 sending new ones, and a great part of them *Gheylanders* to their Possessions, with more limited Colonies: authoritie, and more fauourable to the people; the old ones part he cashiered, part he distributed in *Gheyland* and *Mazandran*, which hee had new conquered, so that by that Arte, the people beganne to rest exceeding well satisfied, and himselfe the more secured; those which succeeded them beeing bound to his Fortune; and those which were remooued also, beeing disposed in the new conquered Prouinces, which they were bound to maintayne in securitie, for their owne Fortunes, which depended onely vpon their preserving them for the King.

When all these things were done, and the King beganne to thinke himselfe throughly established, for a long time, both from intrinsicke and extrinsicke dangers. The *Turkes* forces being 20 so occupied in the Warres of *Hungarie*, that hee had no leisure to looke to his increasing the *Tartars* of *Corrasan* his Friends, by the old Hospitality which he had receiued from their King; and if not his Friends, yet cold Enemies, such as would be long resolving, before they would attempt any thing to his preiudice. There fell out a new occasion to trouble both the peace of his minde and Countrey, if it had not beene preuented with great dexteritie, celeritie, and fortune. For *Ferrat Can*, not regarding his benefits downe to the King, knowing too well his owne worthinesse, and attributing vnto that, the successes of all the Kings Fortunes, and for so great causes, not being able to limit his mind within any compasse of satisfaction, not resting contented with the place of Generall, nor gouernment of *Gheyland*, nor with the honour to be called the Kings Father, but despising that *Haldenbeague* should be *Vizier*, and not himselfe all, which had 30 giuen the King all; began to take counsell to innouate, and alter the things with the *Bassa* of *Sernan*, and *Tauris*. So dangerous are too great benefits from a Subiect to a Prince, both for themselves and the Prince, when they haue their minds only capable of merit, and nothing of dutie.

These practises of his were most dangerous, for which hee did more assure himselfe, to haue laid a strong foundation for the discontentment of those *Timari*, which the King had sent into his gouernment, and so had they beene, questionlesse, if *Oliuer di-Can*, through his true zeale to his Masters seruice; and, perhaps, a little enuy at the others greatnesse, had not made him so watchfully diligent, that hauing gathered his intentions by very momentall circumstances, hee gaue the King from time to time notice of them, which at the first were negligently receiued, and rather taken as matter of emulation, then truth. But when those very same aduertisements 40 euer continued, and *Oliuer di-Can*, was not at all terrified from sending of them; neither by the Kings neglecting them, nor rebuke, and that *Mahomet Shesia* was also secretly arriued in the Court, with more particular and certaine aduice, that the *Bassa* of *Sernan* had sent a great summe of money to *Ferrat*, which was receiued on a certayne day, and in a certayne place. The King hereupon presently sent *Xa-Tamascoolibeague*, his chiefe Fauourite, to will *Ferrat Can*, for very important affaires, for the determining of which his presence was requisite, to repaire to the Court; which he excused, through his indisposition, which he said to be such, that he could not possibly trauell: so that persisting in that deniall, when *Xa-Tamas Coolibeague* perceiued that he would not be perswaded, he returned with all expedition to the King; who assuring himselfe the more by the deniall, of the former related accusations, instantly commanded his guard of 50 twelue thousand *Courtchies* to be in a readinesse; with which, and a thousand of the *Xa-Hammagaes* he vsed such celeritie, that he preuented the newes of his comming, and was sooner arriued at *Ferrats* house then he had almost opinion that his Messenger had beene returned: yet, although amazed with his owne guiltinesse, and the Kings sudden comming, he made shift to make great shew of the indisposition which he had so long counterfeited.

The King, as soone as he came vnto him, said; That he had taken a great iourney to visite him in his sicknesse, and to bring him the Cure thereof; and hauing commanded all out of the Chamber, but themselves onely alone (as the King himselfe told me) he vsed such like speeches vnto him: Father, I doe acknowledge, that first from God, then from you, these Fortunes which now 60 I haue, haue receiued their being. And I know, that as a man, I may both erre in my merit to God, and in my well deseruing of your seruice. But my intention (I can assure you) is most perfect in both: the time of my establishment in my estate, hath beene so small, that I could scarce vse it sufficiently to performe my generall dutie towards my people, ouer whom (by Gods permission) I am appointed: much lesse to provide for euery particular satisfaction, as I mind and will doe; which you principally, as a Father to me, both in your yeares, and my election should

The Kings
gracious
speech to Ferrat.

should haue borne withall. But since some ill spirit hath had power to misleade your wisedome so farre, as to make you forget your great vertue; you shall once receiue whole some counsell from me, as I haue done often from you, &c. *Ferrat* neither excused nor confessed, but indifferently answered the King, as sory to haue giuen cause of offence, and infinitely reioycing (as he seemed) that the King had so royally pacified himselfe with him: and not daring to refuse to goe with the King, desiring him to vse some few daies in the visiting of the Country: in which time he hoped that God, and the comfort of his presence, would raise him from his infirmitie. The King hauing staid some eight or ten daies in the Countrey, was sooner hastned thence then he thought, by the newes of the Queenes death, who was deceased by a sudden and violent sickness after his departure: so that with great speed taking *Ferrat* with him, and leauing Lieutenant in the Countrey, for *Ferrat*, *Mahomet Shefia*, he returned to *Hissphaan*, where after some dayes spent in sorrow, (for his great losse) he lent to *Alexander*, the other *Can* of the *Georgians*, to demand his Daughter, by that meanes to binde againe that league, which might haue bene dissolved by the death of the other Queen: In that Embassage went *Xa-Tamas Coolbeague*, who returned with the Lady within few moneths.

In the meane time, the Brother to that King of *Corasan*, who had so royally and carefully brought vp the King of *Persia*, when he fled from the wrath of his Father, rebelled against his Brother, slue him, and all his Children, but onely one; whose Tutors fled with him into the Mountaines, and so escaped the present danger, and persecution of that Tyrant. Diuers other also, as they had bene in estimation or fauour with the old King, fearing for that the violence of the present authoritie, and others onely discontented with the alteration, and the wicked meanes of it, fled into *Persia*, by whom the King hauing largely and perfectly vnderstood the state of things, hauing so faire a way both to shew an infinite royall point of gratitude, to that one poore posteritie of the murdered King, for great obligations to the Father; and withall, to assure himselfe in future times and occasions, from that certaine enemy, which had euer hung like a dangerous Cloud ouer his State, vsually breaking into terrible Tempests, as it was, or should be carried against him by the breath of the *Turke*: though he knew those *Tartars* so obstinate enemies to his Gouvernement and Religion, that if they had the most odious reasons of disynion amongst themselves, yet that they would combine against him, without reposing himselfe vpon any hope to bee holpen by those partialities, which the refuged vnto him seemed to promise: but confident onely in the Iustice of the Cause which he intended, in his owne force, vertue, wisedome and fortune; he resolved to gather his Armie, and to goe for those parts, to which he was, besides his owne disposition mightily instigated by *Ferrat Can*, whose feare and ambition being without meanes of end, gaue him assurance by place of Generall which he held, to haue some faire opportunitie giuen him to end them, with the Kings ruine, and without his owne danger.

Thirtie thousand men the King tooke with him for that warre, twelue thousand Harquebussiers which bare long pieces, halfe a foote longer then our Muskets, sleightly made: the Bullet of the height of Caluer, which they vse well and certainly: and eightene thousand Horse, which may seeme a small troope in these places, where the warres are carried with innumerable multitudes. But the King of *Persiaes* iudgement agreeth with that of the best experienced Captaines, that multitudes are confusers of Orders, and deuourers of Time, and of those meanes which nourish the Warres; and are good for no other vse, but to make a warre soone breake off, and to consume the world. This Army being chosen out from all his Forces, of elected good men, hee carried into *Corasan* with wonderfull expedition, and had taken it vtterly vnprovidid, if *Ferrat Cans* aduertisement had not preuented his celeritie, who had not onely giuen notice to them, but to the *Bassa* of *Tauris* of the Kings purpose, and his owne resolution, promising them a certaine victorie, and the deliury of the Kings owne person. A daies journey the King passed peaceably into the Countrey, without the sight onely of an enemy: himselfe with fise thousand of the best men, accompanied with diuers of the principallest, was a kind of Vaunt-guard to the rest, which followed with *Ferrat Can*, *Zulphir Can*, and *Olmer di Can*, which marched softly. The King by that meanes was farre aduanced; and being almost assured in himselfe, that through the celeritie of his comming, he should find yet no enemy sufficiently able to resist him, and more confidently by the perswasion of *Ferrat Can*: some sixe hundred Horse vnder the leading of *Vseph-Aga* (which were sent to discouer before the Kings troope) fell vpon fiftie thousand of the enemy; vpon which fight he would faine haue retired: but being so farre ingaged that hee could not, and vnable to resist so great a force, with the losse of almost all his company, hee was beaten backe to the Kings Grosse: who by the dust rising a farre off, and the great noyse following, imagining what it was indeed, with a great and ready courage provided himselfe ready to fight, and dispatched Messenger vpon Messenger, to command *Ferrat Can* to aduance vnto him. To the first *Ferrat* answered, that it was but a troope of some few Rascals, and desired the King to march on, any not trouble himselfe nor his Army, and to diuers the like. At the last, when young *Hassan-Can* came from the King, and told him the Kings danger, and that certainly the whole Force of the enemy had charged him; hee began to shew feare, and to call a Councell of the

the Commanders, then to know what they were best to resolve of for the saving of the Army, since the King had so rashly lost himselfe. Which when *Oliuer di-Can* heard, vpbraiding him of Treason, called vpon all those which loued the King to follow him; and putting Spurs to his Horse, being followed by *Courtchibassa*, and most of the Kings Guard, and many other, with all possible haste speeded to the King, who by this time was forced to sustaine and retire as well as he could, without disorder or shew of feare. But when this Troope of *Oliuer di-Can* was seene, his men receiued new courage; and the enemy which dependeth more vpon *Ferrats* treason, then their owne valour, beganne to be exceeding amazed, doubting that it had beene the whole Army, and that *Ferrat* had exchanged his Treason from his Master to them: Wherefore slackning their first fury, and rather standing at a gaze then fighting, the King commanded *Vseph-Aga* to charge them throughly afresh, and not to giue them time to take new courage; which he did with so good fortune, that lighting vpon the Vsurper of *Corazan* and his Sonne, he slue them both with his owne hands; from which grew the first maine flight of the enemy, and the beginning of the victorie for the King. The chase was desperatly followed, so that in that battell and the chase, were slaine thirtie thousand men, with the Vsurper King and his Sonne; and diuers of the principall of the Countrey taken. That night the King pitched his Tents in the place of the battell, and being informed by *Oliuer di-Can* and the whole Army, which cried out with open mouth of *Ferrats* Treason, tempered the outward shew of his indignation with a compassionate feeling of mans errors and frailtie; excused the constraint and necessitie, of the Iustice which he was forced to doe: protesting, that though for his States and owne preseruati-

The Vsurper
slaine.

on, he was at last compelled to giue his Iustice place, about the power of his loue and Obligation: yet what the Father had rent from himselfe by the violence of his owne misdeeds, his Sonne should find ripened for him, who should be heire of what his Father had well merited by his former seruices, as he hoped he would be of his vertue; praying God, that his Fathers vices onely might dye with himselfe. Which when he had said, he gaue *Oliuer di-Can* the Generalship of his Army, and appointed him to doe execution vpon *Ferrat*, who being resolved of that iudgement which his double offence had brought vpon him, attended ready in his Tent without feare to dye, or desire to liue, and there receiued that punishment, which was vnworthy of his excellent parts, if he had made that true vse of them which he should.

Zulpher Can his Brother fled to the Port of the Kings Tent, and there prostrated himselfe on the ground, and obtained pardon. Next day, the King marched farther into the Countrey, and so daily aduanced on without obstacle, the Keyes of all their Townes meeting him by the way; and at the last, an Embassage from the whole State, with a generall submission: which when he had receiued, hauing spent some time in the setting of such a Government as was securest for himselfe, and hauing receiued the young Prince, Sonne to the first King, and diuers others of the principall of the Countrey hauing left order with *Xa-Endibeague*, whom hee left there with the best part of his Army, which he increased afterwards to thirtie thousand men, to extirpate all those which were likeliest, either through their Obligation to the Vsurper, or through their owne particular interest, to make inuouation, hee returned with that young Prince, and those Prisoners into *Persia*.

§. III.

The Kings triumphant entry into Casbin, entertainment of the Authour and his Company. Other remarkable obseruations of the Kings Iustice, Bountie, treatie of Warre, and Mustaphas Embassage.

THE most part of this time I was at *Casbin*, courteously vsed by *Marganobeague*, the Master of the Kings house, any not amisse by any. When the King was come within sixe miles of *Casbin*, hee stayed there some three daies, to the intent to make his entry with such an estimation of his victorie, as was fit for so great and happy a successe of Fortune: and in truth, I thinke that hee did it most to declare the greatnesse of it to vs that were Strangers, by such a strange demonstration. The night before hee entred, there were thirtie thousand men sent out of the Towne on foote with Horse-mens staves, vpon which were fastned Vizards of so many heads: All those in the morning, when we were commanded to meete him, (the Governour hauing provided vs Horses) wee found marching in battell array towards the Towne; and before the two heads of the King and his Sonne, foure Officers of Armes, such as they vse, bearing in their hands great Axes of shining Steele, with long helues; after those Battalions, followed the *Xa-Hammadagaes* Horse-men; after those, a number of Gentlemen of the Kings Court; after those, one hundred Spare-horses, with as many of the Kings Pages; after those the Prisoners, accompanied with *Bastan-Aga*, then a great ranke of his chiefe Princes; amongst whom were all the Embassadors, which vled to be resident in his Court; then followed the young Prince of *Corazan*, accompanied with *Xa-Tamm-Coolibeague*,

The Kings
Triumphant
entry into *Casbin*
after his
victory.

the Kings principall Fauorite, and then the King himselfe alone; and after him, some five hundred Courtiers of his Guard. *Marganobeague* was with vs, and making vs large passage through all those Troops.

Sir Anthonie
Sherleis first sa-
lutation, and
speech to the
King.

When we came to the King wee alighted, and kissed his Stirrop: my speech was short vnto him, the time being fit for no other: That the fame of his Royall vertues had brought me from a far Countrey, to be a present spectator of them, as I had bene a wonderer at the report of them a farre off: if there were any thing of worth in me, I presented it with my selfe to his Maiesties service. Of what I was, I submitted the consideration to his Maiesties iudgement, which he should make vpon the length, the danger, and the expence of my Voyage onely to see him, of whom I had receiued such magnificent and glorious Relations.

The Kings an-
swere.

The Kings answer vnto me was infinite affable: That his Countrey whilst I should stay there, should be freely commanded by me, as a Gentleman, that I had done him infinite honour, to make such a iourney for his sake, onely bid me beware that I were not deceived by rumours, which had peradventure, made him other then I should finde him: It was true, that God had giuen him both power and mind to answer to the largest reports which might be made good of him; which if he erred in the use of, hee would aske counsell of me, who must needs haue much vertue in my selfe that could moue me to vndergoe so much, and so many perils to know that of another. And that he spake smiling, willing me to get on horse-backe: which when I had done, he called *Haldenbeague*, his *Viseire*, and *Oliuer di-Can* his Generall, and commanded them to take my Brother and me betwixt them, and my company was disposed by *Marganobeague*, amongst the rest of the Kings Gentlemen of his Court: and in that order, the King entred *Cashin*, and passing to the great place, he alighted with the chieftest of his Princes and Officers, whom he caused to bring vs with them, and went into a kind of banquetting house, in which there were staires to ascend by into a Tarras, where the King sate downe, and the greatest of those Princes, and wee among them. This Tarras looked vpon the place, where after we had bene a little, and beheld some of the Court exercising themselves at *Ginoco-di-canna*, that great troope was suddenly vanished, so without all sort of rumour, that it bred infinite wonder in me, considering how much tumult we made in these parts, in the disposing of a farre lesse company. Whilst wee sate there, the King called me againe vnto him, and when I had confirmed in more words, the very same I had before said vnto him: Then said hee, You must haue the prooffe of time to shew you, either the errors or the truth of these rumours, since you can make no iudgement of what you haue yet seene, which is but the person of a man, and this enmity which God hath giuen me, for any thing you know, may be more through my fortune then my vertue. But since your paines and trauell hath had no other aspect but to know me, we must haue a more intrinsicke acquaintance to perfect that knowledge; and how you will indure the fashions of my Countrey, you can iudge best you selfe which are Master of your owne humor: This I will assure you of you shall want no respect from my people, nor honour from my selfe; and therewith bid mee fare-well for that present, committing me and my company to *Bastan-Aga*, to be conducted to my lodging.

Sir Anthonie
Sherleis present
to the King of
Persia.

Next morning I sent the King a Present, of sixe paire of Pendants of exceeding faire Emeralds, and maruellous artificially cut; and two other Jewels of Topasses, excellent well cut also; one Cup of three pieces set together with gold inameled; the other a Salt, and a very faire Ewer of Crytall, couered with a kind of cut-worke of silver and gilt, the shape of a Dragon; (all which, I had of that Noble *Florentine*) which his Maiestie accepted very graciously, and that night I was with my brother inuited by him to a Banquet, where there was onely *Byraicke Myrza*, and *Sultan Aley*, with *Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague*, his chiefe Minion; there hee had diuers discourses with mee, not of our apparell, building, beautie of our women, or such vanities; but of our proceeding in our Warres, of our vsuall Armes, of the commoditie and discommoditie of Fortresses, of the vse of Artillerie, and of the orders of our gouernment: in which, though my vnskilfulnesse were such, that I knew my errors were greater then my iudgement, yet I had that felicitie of a good time, that I gaue him good satisfaction, as it seemed. For in my discourse, hauing mentioned the hauing of certaine Models of Fortification in some Bookes at my Lodging, which were onely left mee in the spoyle which was made of mee at *Babylon*: Next day after dinner he came thither with all the principallest of the Court, where he spent, at least, three houres in perusing them, and not vnproperly speaking of the reasons of those things himselfe. Next night he sent for me againe, into a place which they call *Bazar*, like our Burse; the shops and the rooffe of which were so full of lights, that it seemed all of a fire. There was a little Scaffold made where hee sate, and as euery man presented him with diuers sorts of fruits, so hee parted them some to one, some to another, and there hee continued some foure houres; in which time he tooke mee aside, with my Interpreter, and asked me very sadly, Whether I would content my selfe to stay with him; not for euer, for that were too a great wrong to my friends, who should lose me from their comfort, being diuided so farre from them; for my owne fortune he would not speake of, but onely thus much; since I had told him I was a Subiect to a Prince, he knew, that then my fortune also must depend vpon the will and fauour of that Prince; and he assured himselfe, that he was as able, and more desirous to doe mee good then any: therefore if I would resolute to giue him that little satisfaction; he should perswade himselfe the more confidently, that the cause of my comming was such

Models of for-
tification.

The Bazar.

such as I told him, the loue of his person and nothing else. I answered him, I could say no more to his Maiestie then I had already done; that a report onely of his excellent vertues had brought me thither, that a better experience had bound me so fast to him and them, that as he was Master of my mind, so he should be of my person and time, which were both subject to his command. For those things of fortune, they were the least things that I regarded, as His Maiestie well saw by my great expence thither, onely to satisfie my sight: but as I knew my selfe infinitely honoured by His Maiestie, vouchsafing to serue himselfe of me; so that was to mee above all other fortunes and satisfactions. His Maiestie seemed wonderfully well content with my answer, and that night began to shew mee extraordinary publicke fauour, and so continued all the time of his being in *Casbin*, daily encreasing by

10 some or other great demonstration.

Sixe weekes he stayed there, giuing his accustomed audience to the people: In which time I saw the notablest example of true vnpartiall royall Iustice, that I thinke any Prince in the world could produce. The Gouvernour of *Casbin* was appointed to that administration, in the maine seruice of the Kings State when the Rebels were first suppressed; a man exceedingly and particularly fauoured of the King: he taking the aduantage of the time, which being troubled, gaue him liuely colour, to make great profit vpon the people, and confident in the Kings fauour, abused both the one and the other by extreme extortions; his iudgement was, That all his goods, and lands, should be sold, for the satisfaction of those men whom he had spoiled: and if any thing wanted, since the King, by giuing him that authoritie, was partly the cause of those excesses, hee condemned

A memorable punishment of extortion.

20 himselfe to pay the residue out of his Treasurie. That if any thing advanced, it should be giuen to his Children, with a grieuous Edict, that no succour should be ministred unto himselfe. For that, since death was a concluder of his offence, shame, and the memorie of it, hee should not die; but goe, during his life, with a great yoke, like a Hogs-yoke, about his necke, haue his nose and eares cut off, and haue no charitable reliefe from any, but what he gayned with his hands: that he might feelee in himselfe the miserie which poore men haue to get, and what a sinne it is to rent from them by violent extortion, the birth of their sweat and labour.

The King of Persias iudgement vpon an Extortioner.

This Iudgement strooke a mightie amazement into all the Great men present, and gaue an infinite ioy and comfort to the people. The Turkes Embassador, which was there, after he had stood silent a great while, as a man halfe distracted, sware publicly, that he saw before his eyes, his Masters ruine: being impossible that such fortune and vertue, as the King was accompanied with, could receiue any obstacle. That night he made *Marganobeague* Gouvernour of *Casbin*, being well admonished by that great example of his dutie. *Constantino*, a braue young Gentleman, being a Christian of *Georgia*, he called *Mirza*, and gaue him the gouernement of *Hispahan*; and me also he called *Mirza*, telling me, that he would prouide condignely for mee. And because he had an vrgent occasion to goe post to *Cassan*, I should receiue his pleasure by *Marganobeague*; who brought me, the next morning, a thousand Tomanas, which is sixteene thousand Duckets of our money: fortie Horses all furnished; two with exceeding rich Saddles, plated with Gold, and set with Rubies and Turkeffes, the rest either plated with Silver, or Velvet embroidered, and gilt; sixteene Mules; twelue Camels laden with Tents, and all furniture, both for my House and Voyage; telling me withall, that this was but a small demonstration of the Kings fauour, by which I might (notwithstanding) conceiue what better hopes I might gather: and that it was his Maiesties pleasure I should follow him to *Cassan*: in the house where I was, I should leaue a keeper, being his Maiesties pleasure to bestow it on mee: and that there were ten Courtchies which should attend mee the next morning, to serue mee in my Iourney.

Sir Antonie made a *Mirza*. The rich Present sent him by the King.

All this while I moued nothing to the King of that which was the mayne purpose of my comming: I tooke time to deeme by the proceeding of other deliberations, of the way which I should take; and to make my selfe learned in the purpose of his actions, by his nature, and inclination; besides, not onely to get, first a kind of possession in his owne affection, but of all his

30 Great men; especially of those whom I did imagine would be best and strongest assisters of my purpose: the King knowing how potent a vniter of mens minds the selfe-same Religion is for tranquillitie of an Estate: and the like dis-vniter seuerall Religions are for the disturbance of the peace of an Estate, hee is exceeding curious and vigilant to suppress, through all his Dominions, that Religion of *Mahomet*, which followeth the interpretation of *Ussen* and *Omar*, and to make his people cleaue to that of *Aly*: not (as I Iudge) through any conscience which carrieth him more to the one then the other; but first to extirpate intrinsicke factions, then to secure himselfe the more firmly against the Turke, who being head of that part which followeth *Omar* and *Ussen*, should haue too powerfull away into his Countrey, if his peoples hearts were inclined vnto him by the force of Religion. Therefore he doth not onely strue to roote it out, but to defile it, and make it odious; hauing in vse, once a yeere, with great solemnitie, to burne publicly, as maine Heretiques, the Images of *Ussen* and *Omar*: then doth hee cause his Great men publicly (in scorne of their institution) to goe with a Flagon of Wine, carried by a Footman, and at euery Village, or where they see any assemblie of people, to drinke; which himselfe also vseth, not for the loue of the Wine, but to scandalize so much more the contrarie Religion:

Kings care of Religion for Policie.

ligion: that by such a kind of profaning of it, they may weare the respect of it out of the peoples hearts: which when it fayleth with reuerence in Religion, the Pillars thereof are vtterly broken. Yet there are of the very greatest, exceeding precise Turkes, if they durst doe other for their owne fortunes sake, then couer, with all artifice, that infection.

Ten dayes I was betweene *Casbin* and *Cassan*, where arriued, I receiued more gracious demonstrations from the King, then I could hope for, or wish: being farre beyond my present merit, and my Iudgement how to deserue it at all. Foure dayes his Maiestie staid there, after my coming; in which time there passed many Triumphs at *Ginoca-di-canna* in the day, and good Fire-workes in the night: at which I was euer present with him selfe, with no lesse respect, then if I had beene his brother, as he also called me, and continued that name afterward all the time of my being in *Persia*. The second day of his Iourney, from thence, towards *Hispahan*, hee called me vnto him, my brother and my Interpreter; and (after some few discourses) hee began to tell vs the whole historie of those his fortunes which I haue discoursed: and ioyned that hee vnderstood, the Turke had sent him a faire sword (hee did beleene) to cut off his head withall, if *Ferrat Cans* treason had well succeeded: for after the Messenger arriued at *Tauris*, understanding how God his great providence, had not onely mightily preserued, but giuen him that famous victorie ouer his enemies, hee had sent for new order to *Constantinople*, which came to no other end, but to call him backe againe. But the best was, the more the Prince hated him, the more his Subiects loued him, hauing receiued newes at *Cassan*, of ten thousand soules of Courdines which had abandoned their possessions vnder the Turke, and required some waste land of him to inhabit in; which he had giuen them.

The particulars of his generall answer, yee may see in his owne booke: as also the Kings answer. The King of *Persia* his hawking and hunting.

And though this discourse opened somewhat largely the Kings heart vnto mee, I durst bee no bolder, at that time, then to say, It was euer, almost impossible to preserue a quiet amitie betweene two so great Potentates, as him selfe, and the Turke, &c. at *Hispahan*, said the King, we shall haue leasure enough both to deliberate and resolute of some good things; and with that called some other, who entertayned him with discourses of Hunting, and Hawking, in which he is much delighted, and vseth them with great magnificence: neuer going to any of those sports, but that he carrieth forth aboute fise hundred Dogs, and as many Hawkes, nothing rising before him but it is game. For Flies, he hath Sparrowes; for Birds, Hobbies and Marlins; for the greatest sort, some Hawke or other; and for Roe-deare Eagles; he hath particular *Agas* for his Hawkes and Dogs, and other Officers to them a great number.

The next day, I singled out *Oliuer Di-Can*, with whom, (after a few complements) I communicated the Kings discourse with me, of his first troubles, and latter fortunes; extolling His Maiestie as it was fit; and besides, giuing the greatest honour to him selfe, without flatterie, that I could deuise; then I told him of my answer to the King, and on purpose I said, I feared, that it might turne to my harme, being newly planted in the Kings fauour, subiect to the enuie of the Court, and wanting tongue to speake for my selfe: and that to intermeddle in so great and perillous matters, it could not chuse but awake some couered malice, to take occasion to worke me some damage. But my confidence was such, first in the Heroicke mind of the King him selfe, then in the generous disposition of his Excellencie, that I should be protected from perill for this fault, as I would preserue my selfe with more cautell hereafter. Hee answered mee, that the Kings affection vnto me was such, that no man durst lift up a thought against mee: which the Court knew well. For him selfe, as he knew not the cenditions of our Courts, so I might mistake those of theirs: if enuie bare so great a sway with vs, we had lighter Princes, and men of more presumption. In this Court there was not a Gentleman but the King: the rest were shadowes which moued with his bodie. But in this which I had said to the King, if I had intended it, to moue him to warre in so fit a time against the Turke, I had doone well: and assured me, that both hee, and *Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague*, would with all their powers concurre with me to bring it to an essentiall deliberation; though, said hee, there bee three Dogs, *Haldenbeague*, *Bastan-Aga*, and *Courtchy Bassa*, that will mainly oppose themselves against it: yet in the conscience of my dutie, which I owe to his Maiestie, I assure my selfe, that there is no secure way, either for the preseruation of his person, or estate, but that. Therefore, since you haue begunne in so happie an houre to breake the Ice of so great and so good an enterprise, follow it without feare, since God will prosper your good intention in it, and wee will second you, with all the strength and industrie which wee haue. This was all which I desired, to bee assured of some friend; especially such a one, as might haue both opinion and credit of wisedome and fauour with the King.

Kings entrance into *Hispahan*.

Sir *Anthony Sherleys* perswasius to the *Persian*, to make warre against the Turke.

The Kings entrance into *Hispahan* was there of the same fashon that it was at *Cassan*; differing onely in this, that for some two *English* miles, the wayes were couered all with Veluet, Sattin, and cloth of Gold, where his Horse should passe. After he had beene settled there foure teene dayes, remembring what *Oliuer Di-Can* had said vnto mee, I determined to lose no more time. Therefore taking the opportunitie of the Kings being alone with mee, and my brother in a Garden, with my Interpreter onely and *Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague*, I spake vnto him to this effect: That my affection, growne onely vpon the fame of his Maiestie, had guided me from a farre Countrey into his presence; by which I found his Royall vertues, so farre exceeding the relation which I had heard, that as I did admire them, so I had a kind of forceable mouing in my nature to desire con-digne fortunes to accompanie them: Besides, my particular obligation to his Maiestie was so great, that

that I was bound, not onely to say what I thought fit for his service, but to doe as much as my life might accomplish for the same. There could no deliberation be grounded vpon a greater foundation of equitie, then that which had his end onely directed to the recovery of that, which was by force and violence vsurped from his State: nor nothing more honourable for a Prince then to bee able without hazard, not onely to reuenge priuate and publike wrongs, but to recover their members againe to his seate, by his wisdom and vertue, which haue beene separate either by the defect or fortune of his Predecessors; All this, both publike and priuate profit, followed so great an increase of State, (increasing in all points the force of his State) and his poore Subjects, which were throwne out of their possessions, either through their true deuotion to his Ma-
 10 iestie, which could giue them no peace vnder another gouernment, or through the extreame tyranny of the Turke, should be recovered againe to their owne, with his infinite glorie and utility. The facilitie shewed it selfe diuers waies, principally in his owne fortune, wisdom, and vertue; against which, there was no likely resistance, especially when there was no equall obstacle, then the reputation of his late victo-
 20 ries ioyned with the other, would finde or make a way through all difficulties; then his Militia which was fresh and uncorrupted, then the incapacitie of the Turke, his corruptions of gouernment, want of obedi-
 ence, sundry rebellions, and distractions from any possibilitie, of being able to make any potent resistance against his Maiesties proceedings, by his warres in Hungarie, which his Maiestie might assure the con-
 tinuance of, if it pleased him to innite the Princes Christian to his amitie, which he should offer vpon that condition: by which also, he should receiue one other worthy benefite fit for such excellent parts, as hee
 30 most richly aboundant in, not to conclude the true knowledge of them in that one corner of the world: but with making these great Princes knowne vnto himselfe, he should make his owne worthinesse likewise knowne vnto them. Neither (as I said at the first to his Maiestie) though these were great points to moue so great a spirit, intending to glory and great things, as his was, that they were so important as other were. For these might either be deferred, or not at all acted, being bound vnto them by no greater neces-
 sitie then his owne will, counselled by good reason. But his case was such, that hee must resolue, both for the securitie of his estate and person, to make or endure a warre.

As I was proceeding, Haldenbeague the Vizeire, Bastan-Aga, and Oliuer di-Can came in: the King presently called them, and told them what I was propounding vnto him; vpon which the Vizeire swelling against me, answered instantly. Your Maiestie may now perceiue that true,
 30 which some of your Seruants haue beene bold to tell you, at the first comming of these Christi-
 ans, and many times since, that they were sent to disquiet your Maiesties tranquillitie of your State, and to embarke you in dangerous enterprizes for other interrestes, &c.

The Vizeirs
diswaie op-
position, is
long, and here
omitted.

Oliuer di-Can answered, that there was difference betweene a proposition, which was onely
 40 mooued to be counsailed of, and a perswasion. That hee thought I counsailed nothing, (much
 lesse perswaded) but onely propounded that to the King, which if it were not then fit to be ex-
 ecuted, for reasons that I knew not in the present condition of the Kings affaires; yet I deser-
 ued not so bitter a censure, since Princes ought to heare all, and elect the best, &c. The King
 then commanded Bastan-Aga to speake freely also what he thought, who after a reuerence vnto
 him, hauing repeated the Arguments past, commended them all (as it is his fashion apparantly
 50 to offend no body: but what he doth in that qualitie is secretly) and then as though hee meant
 no such matter, diuiding what he would speake into two points, the warre, and my person, he
 proceeded, &c. When he had ended, I beseeched his Maiestie to vouchsafe to heare me once more,
 which he said was needlesse, and the day farre spent; therefore since euery man had already spo-
 ken their opinion, he would also say somewhat of his owne, and referre the farther deliberation
 of things vntill another time. The proposition which Mirza Antonio (saith he) made vnto me, is
 60 questionlesse in it selfe such an one, as I must not onely thanke him for propounding it, by which it hath
 receiued life, but I must also provide for the execution of it, that the life which it hath may bee used to
 good purpose. (His long answers to their reasons are omitted) For the Tartars which I haue as subie-
 70 cted, if I were Oliuer di-Chan, Haldenbeague, or Bastan-Aga, I could thinke of few better meanes
 to assure my selfe of their rebellions, then those which they haue propounded: except one addition of suffe-
 ring them to enioy their ancient Order, Lawes, and their particular course of Iustice. But as I am
 borne with a mind of another constitution, I can secure them better by giuing them to their owne naturall
 Prince, and him to them. For to whose Father I was so much bound, that through the royaltie of his dispo-
 sition, I hold my life, and had the beginning of what I am, I can doe little for the Sonne, and no gratefull
 act at all for the memory of the Father, if I cannot giue him a Kingdome which is the least part of what
 I am. To conclude as good deliberations in their many points, must be grounded vpon the example of the
 80 past, the experience of the present, and the iudgement of the future: and the Turke hath beene euer hea-
 uy to my State in long passed, and late passed times, and is now by some accidents partly proceeding from
 himselfe, partly from others (in all likelihood) easie to be perpetually assured: which point of time that
 90 giueth so good an occasion if it be let passe, may giue him power (for a mind he can nor will neuer want)
 to be vntollerable againe hereafter; or if not vntollerable, at the least dangerous. We haue two great po-
 wers of our minds, the one a wise power of vnderstanding, by which we penetrate into the knowledge of
 things; the other a strong power of resoluing, by which we execute things well vnderstood: and now that
 we haue iudged of all, we must resolue of somewhat; and of that which is probablist best. Therefore
 our

The Persian
Generall his
answere to the
Vizeirs diswa-
sue, is for like
cause omitted.

The Kings cen-
sure and con-
clusion of the
consultation.

The Kings
conclusion of
the consulta-
tion.

our necessitie, our honour, and our iustice calling vs against the Turke, and since with all these concurrerth so good an opportunitie: he must be the maine end of which wee will determine: and because to prepare vs to that end amongst many other circumstances, the sending to the Princes Christian hath bene intimated as one of the most necessarie: wee shall doe well in the generall good vse which wee must make of this interposition of time, to doe also that. For though it bee true, that their interestes will ever make such a proposition acceptable: yet where there is a proffer of such a condition, as beareth with it a kind of Obligation, as it is of more honourable fashion for vs, so it addeth grace and reputation and more strength to it, or any such like purpose. For neither will I relie so much upon my owne power, or fortune, or the present benefit which I meane to bestow upon these of Corasan, that I will forget I haue offended them, and to arme my selfe with all the best aduice I can, against the sinister working of any fortune. Neither will I so much preiudicate the opinion, which I desire the world (without vaine ostentation) should hold me, and my Ministers, as that my enterprises should not haue a way giuen them by the wisest and best weighed counsell, and perfect concurrence made betweene my fortune well iudging of my counsell, and all proper occasions. As for Mirza Antonio (for so hee cuer called mee) what hee is to me you all must know, and my estimation of him: which I assure my selfe to be grounded upon a good and true iudgement, since he hath bene the first and onely propounder of the manifest point of all other, which doth or may concerne me most. So for that matter of sending, in which there is more diuersitie of opinions about the forme of circumstance, then essentiall matter of substance, I will remit it to his fidelitie and true affection to me, to dispose as he shall in those two great workes in a noble minde, find meetest for my honour, and conuenient, and certaintie for the effecting. Yet this must I tell you and him, which hath not yet been thought of, that a great Prince, as I am, must receiue a deniall for an iniurie: and I had rather not know them at all, then with knowing them to be also offended by them, though (this I say also) that he cannot be iudged to haue authoritie to command their wills, therefore must be blamelesse in all, except in the lightnesse of his imagination, upon which slender occasion hee ought not, for the credite of his owne iudgement, to haue formed a Counsell. Before I could frame one word of replie, he rose, and hauing talked a little while alone with *Xa-Thamas Colibeague*, he called my Interpreter, and held him some quarter of an houre in a very earnest speech: which was, to command him (as he afterwards told mee) not to let mee know what his *Vizier* had said against mee, but charged him to animate mee to loue his People, and also to confirme (in all hee could) my affection and well-hearted intention to his owne seruice. And wee parted with a mutuall shew of great satisfaction. Many dayes after, when I would begin to enter into a new discourse of those deliberations, he would presently turne himselfe to speake of other matters. In this fashion more then one moneth passed, in which I had no comfort of my desire, but onely that which *Xa-Thamas Colibeague* and *Oliuer Di-Chan* gaue me, and the Kings exceeding fauour which rather encreased then decreased towards me.

In this time (as though all the strength of that ill spirit, who euer rayseth the vttermost of his skill and power to preuent all good purposes had conspired to ouerthrow the well proceeding of this good businesse.) There came newes to the Court, that *Mahomet-Aga* Generall of the *Ianizaries* of Bagdat was entred into the Kings Coftines, as Ambassadour from the Turke, with a rich Present, and marvellous honourable traine: And that those of *Ormuz* had stayed by force sixteene slaues which were sent by the Great *Mogore* to the King; with nine other which *Oliuer Di-Chan* had bought in those parts, and the Merchants for their more securitie had sent them with those of the kings. This railed the courages of those which opposed themselves to the mayne businesse, alienated mightily the hearts of *Oliuer-Chan*, & *Xa-Thamas Colibeague* from all, and exasperated the King himselfe so much against them, that his ordinarie speech was no other, but that he would shortly learne to haue a respect vnto him, which did so exceedingly fill my very soule with perplexitie and anxietie, that I fell into a very dangerous sicknesse, in which the King neuer fayled daily to visite mee himselfe; and finding that the recordation of those things did aggrauate both the grieve of my mind, and vnquiet of my bodie, he forbad that any in my presence should speake more of it, but onely comfort me with all sort of discourse of recreation, with so royall and so gracious a regard, that hee shewed apparantly enough, that few accidents could dispose his mind from any reasonable contentment which hee might giue mee. In the meane time *Mahomet-Aga* arriued at the Court, whom the King sent his *Vizier* and *Courtchibassa* to meet, accompanied with a thousand Horie of the principall of the Court, and of the Citie. These (no question) gaue him large instructions, and as large hopes; which if he had guided also rightly, he might haue done his Master great seruice, and himselfe infinit honour: but through his owne too hastie greedinesse, assurance, and desire, he preuented himselfe whilest he strued first beyond that which was indifferently good, then beyond that which was better, and at the last beyond all reasonable (and I thinke his owne) hopes. For first being proudly confident vpon the greatnesse of his Master; then vpon the difficultie of the King of *Persians* present estate, to be moued to offend so potent a Neighbour; then vpon so great and strong a faction in the Court; besides, hauing heard by them that the Kings minde was altered from those of *Ormuz*, and that *Oliuer-Chan* also was then likewise alienated from his first censure through the particular wrong done vnto himselfe. Hee left the right way of mouing by degrees so great a businesse

Sir Anthonies
sicknesse.

business to carrie it euen without agitation or danger: And as though with knowing the circumstances he had attayned the end, he ouerthrew his Masters intention, his owne honour, and almost lost his life, if the Kings infinite clemencie had not either despised or pittied his error.

The day of his audience was honoured with all the Princes of the Kings Court, and my selfe being too weake through my long sicknesse, the King commanded that my brother should bee present also; where after a magnificent oration of his Masters potencie in all conditions of force, he told the King, *That he was sent to admonish him to remayne constant in the truce with his Master; to require restitution of those Courdines which without licence had abandoned their possessions in his Masters Prouinces, and contrarie to the termes of amitie were entertayned by him. That his Master*

10 *also demanded the restitution of Corassan to the former government, in the alteration of which, though he knew his Greatnesse and Maiestie violated, yet he could yeeld so much from what hee ought to doe to the King of Persias yeeres and beat of valour; that he would content himselfe with that satisfaction. Then he aduised him to force his nature, and coner this vaine glimmering of fortune with iudgement and good counsell; which euer would aduise him to maintayne and preserue his estate, rather with warie then violent counsels. This his Master demanded of him to obliterate (by the facile granting of it) all greater iniuries; wished his Maiestie to consider well of the Demand, the condition of the Demander and his owne: Denials euer to such Potentates being receiued for mayne offences; that it was euer a wise determination to yeeld to the authoritie of Time, and necessitie, and to auide by that good iudgement, vrgent perils, and sinister conditions: nothing being a more secure repaire, then to*

20 *strike sayle against insupportable tempests, it many times hapning, that the too great valour of men vsed with too great confidence is bitterly persecuted, and sometimes oppressed with an unhappie course of fortune: against the current of which, when once through error it breaketh forth, no humane force or wit can make any resistance. And because all men for the most part are blind in discerning the iudgement of good or ill counsels, from their end, celebrating them when they prosper with a false argument from the successe: His Maiestie should giue a great example of true wisdom, not to be so much overborne with the present delight, or future hopes, extracted from those first prosperous successes, as not to bee able to lift up his eyes to see the clouds which hee had raised by some of them: which if they were not prevented, would breake forth into extreame Tempests. To conclude, he said that his Maiestie must bee so farre from thinking to weaken his Master by*

30 *cunning and by artifice, and so to keepe his Armes farre from him; that hee must resolute such courses to be seruile: and to execute apparantly and presently onely, Princely, and like himselfe; so that eyther hee must prooue himselfe a Friend, or declare himselfe an Enemy. The first would merit any priuate grace, which should be no sooner deserved then attayned; the other would giue glorie and honour to the Victor, euer deare and honest to the winner, precipitious and shamefull to the loser. And not speaking of the inuinciblenesse of his Master, God himselfe would iudge the first must Infringer of an Amitie sworne to his great Name.*

The proud
message deli-
uered by the
Turkes Amba-
sadour to the
King of Persia.

quodam. 12
Shewes con-
fess the King
in his purpo-
se of leading
to the Persians
the Ambassa-
dour.

The King without any thing mouing from his accustomed grauitie; tempering the Iustice of his indignation with the true magnanimitie of his minde, answered him to this effect. That as

40 *the greatnesse of riches and Treasure were often pernicious to Princes; so were abundance of men, and largenesse of Dominions, to such as were too weake to gouerne them: therefore that extolling the Magnificencie of his Master (which might breed wonder and terror in those who were not capable of greatnesse, was no moouer of him to decline from any part of that which belonged to his owne greatnesse. He had receiued the Courdines (oppressed by the tyrannie of cruell Ministers) into his protection; and as their comming to him proceeded of their owne will, so their retorne from him should bee voluntarie, and not through his constraint. Corassan he had iustly taken from an Usurper, and would restore the lawfull Prince, who should receiue the benefit from his munificence: and not from any point of the Turkes instance. But wherefore should hee bee bound to giue a stricter account of his actions to the Turke, then became equall Princes to aske the one of the other, as though the Lawes of ruling had but one Moderator, before whose Tribunall they should be all presented? Tauris belonged to his Predecessors; so did Sieruan, so did Dierbech; and what Iustice had his King to detayne them? If none other but by*

50 *the potencie of his Armes; the same point of Iustice he had also to preserue what hee had already gotten: and to vindicate also those vniustly detayned from him. If hee will breake the Truce made betweene my Father and him, and continued by my Brother and mee, upon so manifest vniust Causes; as the Warre was neuer prosperously prouoked against our State by his Predecessors nor himselfe, but through some strange accident, error, or our disunion: so beleue that it will now breake forth to his owne destruction. Yet I doe not denie but that I had rather, both to preserue what I haue, and to reconer what my Ancestors haue lost, by equitie then blood; and by force of Reason, rather then of Armes: which if I cannot, I will certainly amend by vertue what I haue erred in by cunctation. My power and glory is yet soundly whole, and more increased through the merit of Modestie, which was neuer yet despised by the greatest which haue beene among men: and is esteemed by God himselfe. Wrestling of Acts could not deceiue Oaths; which as they were made to God; so the iudgement of their breaking or abusing would euer be in God, and his memory, care and power. For Mahomet-Aga himselfe; though hee had forfeited the Priuiledges of an Ambassadour, by executing vnder that Title a contrarie Office; if I should (said hee) presently and condignely punish you, both the memory of your present Fortune (into*

60 *which*

The King of
Persias his An-
swere to the
Turkes Amba-
sadour.

which pride and folly hath throwne you) and my glorie would be darkned; and the punishment would be followed with a sudden forgetfulnesse; but if I free you (as I will) from your punishment, though I cannot from the fault, I shall be an eternall memory to the World of Clemencie, and leave you a great precept either of more iudgement, or lesse employment: untill you can make your selfe fitter for such a one as this, to which you haue beene unworthily elected.

¶ IIII.

The Kings condescending to Sir ANTHONIES Motion, employing and furnishing him in Ambassage to Christian Princes. Two Friers.

HHe next morning the King came vnto me, and after some other Discourses, hee told me he had well considered of my Proposition, which though otherwise hee had no great inclination vnto, both, because of the great separation by distance, and difficult meanes of correspondencie, which could be made betweene the Princes Christian and himselfe, besides the small necessitie he had of them (God hauing giuen him so ample, so rich, and so warlike a Dominion) and if he had, their owne diuision amongst themselves gaue him small hope of any great good effect in what he should propound vnto them: Besides the derogation from his owne greatnesse to a demander of their Amitie, whose Predecessors had sought it of his by diuers meanes, and vpon great conditions. Yet to shew me how deare an estimation hee held of me, hee was contented not to see what belonged to himselfe, but onely to regard my satisfaction: which he willed me to determine of, and assured me of the effecting of it whatsoever it was.

Sir Anthony
Sherley confirmeth the King
in his purpose
of sending to
the Princes of
Christendome.

And after I had giuen his Maiestie thanks which were conuenient for so high a fauour, I told him that I had propounded nothing but that which the future experience, and present reason of things would proue not onely infinitely auailable, but also necessary for his honour, profit and securitie: to which counsell I was readie and desirous to adde my owne perill, which could by no other meanes bring an answerable benefit to the greatnesse of it selfe, but onely in the true estimation which I made of the merit of his Maiesties vertue, and my infinite affection to his seruice. The necessitie of his State, I knew either counsellled him to prouide for a Warre; or to make a Warre: *Private cogitations hauing their progresse of such a condition, that they may take (as themselves will) either more or lesse of fortune; but those which had raised their thoughts to the sublimitie of Dominion are no more in their owne power: hauing no meane to step vpon betweene the highest of all, and precipitation.* For his Maiestie to sleepe longer, called vpon by so mayne Reasons which did euidently demonstrate vnto him the ineuitable danger (if not ruine) of his State, and contrariwise, the certaine addition which his Maiestie might make to his Glorie and State, would seeme to those that did not rightly vnderstand the excellencie of his Maiesties heart, such a weaknesse in him, as is incident to those which haue not power to temper felicitie, from glutting themselves with the abundant fruits of present prosperitie; though they haue a patient forced vigour to withstand aduersitie. That the *Turke* was to be vanquished, his owne Rebels had shewed, which haue ouercome with small forces his great power in sundry Encounters. If his *Militia* hath had heretofore more vigour and valour, it is now changed through pleasure, ease, and surfeitings by (their Princes Example) with great corruptions; which a more vertuous Prince may reduce to their soundnesse: his Maiesties wisdom should worke immediately vpon the present generall defect and error. Neither should hee make a proportionable concurrence betweene his facts and wisdom, if hee did lose time in doubtfull deliberations, in such a case which did euidently shew him that if he might securely continue in peace, yet that peace was more pernicious vnto him then Warre: leeing so many faire occasions of propagating his Empire, and making his Estate eternally inuincible, & too dangerous to be attempted againe by the *Turke*: when there should be so equall a ballance of potencie, as would be betweene them, but by the recouerie of his owne, if his desire and fortune, and vertue disposed no more vnto him then that which was iustly his owne, and was vniustly detayned from him. For those Rebellions of the *Turkes* they were likely rather to increase then diminish: such manner of people euer more easily consenting in vnitie in Warre, then in peace to be commanded, or yeeld obedience: And the greatest powers which are, haue beene, or may be, which vnitied beare all before them, the violence of their strength, once diuided either by time, by patience, or by diuersitie of Fortune (which cannot be at all times, and in all places alike) may be and are subuerred. The Warre it selfe will open and disclose many hidden and swelling wounds, which are now onely couered by ignorance, and others detracting of their determination. And though it be true that the Princes Christian be farre diuided; and some of them incumbered with particular Designes amongst themselves, through the passions of their priuate interests; yet the Emperour (who is the greatest in Title, and

and by his Alliance of the most power) is already ingaged against the *Turke*: which Warre hee wil more or lesse prosecute according as he shal haue more or lesse hopes. And what greater (almost assurance of prosperous successe) can he haue then the coniunction with your Maiestie, whose power and vertues he shall know? And the mouing of both your ends being the same, can lose no propertie in their working, by the large separation or distinction of places. The Pope also (who carryeth a Supreme Authoritie among Princes, to mooue them to those things which shall best preserue, or augment the limits of his Church) animated by your Maiesties great name and offer; will assuredly vse the vttermost of the strength, of his authoritie and industrie, to reconcile all particular enmities, and to combine all hearts to that Generall Warre, in which euery particular is truly much interested; if they consider their conscience to their profession, and the danger wherewith they all haue beene threatned, by that great Enemies potencie: diuers Princes hauing already by it suffered the vttermost of ruine.

Neither shall your Maiesty despaire, but that all may bee perswaded to so honourable and pious an action, *being a propertie in mans nature to follow, that which hath beene contrarie to their disposition to begin*: And if they all should not; yet the Emperour, Pope, and King of *Spaine*, absolutely will imbrace the Amitie, honour the name of your Maiestie, and vnite themselves in any termes of Princely Alliance: and your Maiestie shall haue an eternall glory amongst all; for inuiting them all to so Noble, Generous, and Royall an Action: and at the least, draw great Intercourse of Merchants of all those parts; which will giue an entrance to a kind of sociablenesse, and that will proceed to a common respect, *And so to a mutuall friendship, which will giue the communication and knowledge of many things hidden (both in the knowledge, vse and profit of them) for want of such an Intercourse*. Your Maiestie also witley desireth to take away all reputation from the *Turkish* Religion, through your Dominions, both by scandalizing it publikly, and punishing it in particular persons: Sithence, *Heresie in all Religion causeth Division, and the corrupted part becommeth a pernicious Enemy to the Prince who supporteth the contrarie; From it arise as from a mayne turbulent Spring, Treasons, Conspiracies, secret Conuenticles, and Seditions*.

Besides, the greatest and largest way, which the *Turke* hath into your Dominions, is the faction of his Sect; as *Ismael* your Predecessor had, of that which your Maiestie professeth, to deuide your State from him: Hee is an absolute and Tyrannous Enemy to the Christians; Your Maiesties Religion, hath a charitable opinion of them: and if drinking of Wine, burning of their Prophets Images, and such lesse apparances be in your Maiesties opinion effectuell things to estrange the people hearts from that Religion, by a contrary vse, with those Opprobries, to the other; a greater meanes your Maiestie may worke by: in giuing libertie of Christian Religion, so much abhorred of their part and securitie of Trade, goods and person to Christians, by which you shall bind their Princes, expresse the charitie of your Law, serue your selfe in diuers things of them which haue beene hidden vnto you, both for your vtilitie, strength and pleasure: and more inure your people to despise the other Religion, by so contrary, so apparant and so great effect. Neither can they euer be dangerous to your Maiesty, their increase being alwayes to be limited by your will. This also will giue your Maiestie great fame, since by their meanes you shall recouer auailable Instruments both to preserue and augment your Estate by: as Founders of Ordnance, Makers of all sorts of Armes, and Munition. So that though it may seeme a strange Act in your Maiestie to bee contented to inlarge Christians, so new and so great a fauour, yet since all great Examples euer haue in them some thing of an extraordinarie qualitie, those are to bee made vse of that repaire by publike profit, those particular disgusts which priuate men may receiue of them: I know that it is for the most part a fallacious ambition which imbraceth greedily new and dangerous things, but to determine and execute fit and conuenient things, is the proper effect of wisdom and courage. Your Maiestie knoweth your present Estate, remembreth the courtes of times past; and the excellencie of your iudgement weigheth, that which may succeed hereafter. No man receiueth harme but from himselfe; nor your Maiestie can suffer none but from that which your selfe will determine of your ielfe: you are inuited to no act depending vpon fortune, but such a one as shall haue his foundation vpon Counsell, Reason, and Iudgement. My satisfaction shall be aboue all other greatest if your Maiestie resolue of that which wil be most secure, honourable and commodious for your Person, State, and particular Subiects.

Well said the King, you would then haue mee to write to as many of the Christian Princes as are greatest amongst them, who if they will apply themselves to our purpose may draw all other lesser vnto it, by the example of their authoritie; or at the least (if they will not consent in that point) will command their Merchants to repaire to our Dominions: so that wee and they may haue some good friendly vse the one of the other. The Letters you shall appoint to be written to as many, and to whom you will, with priuiledge for Merchants, and the secure profession of their Religion and peaceable possession of their goods, and persons, in as ample sort as your selfe will deuise; and not onely for them but for all Christians whatsoeuer, which for curiositie to see, or loue to mee, will take paines to come hither; or for any purpose soeuer: beeing impossible their purpose can at any time be ill towards vs, which wish them in all things so wel. And because you haue bin the Mouer and Perswader of this businesse, you also shall be the Actor

The King of
Persiaes resolution
to employ
Sir A. Sherley as
his Ambassa-
dour.

Sir Antho-
nie Sherley his ac-
ceptance of
the employ-
ment.

The Persian
magnificence
in their so-
lemne Feasts.

Two great for-
tunes which
befell the King
during his
Feast.

First, The sub-
mission of the
Tartars to his
Crowne.

Secondly, The
rich Present
with the Alli-
ance of the
great Mogor
offered to the
Persian.
The coming
of two Friers
to insinuate
with Sir Antho-
nie Sherley.

Sir Anthonies
Enterprize
hindred by his
owne instru-
ment.

of it, assuring my selfe that my Honour cannot be more securely reposed in any mans hands, then your owne: both in that I iudge of your owne disposition; and more, in that which I know of your Obligation to me; besides, *There is none so proper an Executor of any Enterprize, as hee which is the first deviser of it*: I humbly thanked his Maiestie for his confidence; and excused my inability to performe so great a charge; *Many men being more fitter to propound then to execute: That requiring a particular valour and experience, which I had not*. Notwithstanding, since I would not giue his Maiestie cause to suspect, that I had intimated such a thing vnto him; as eyther was so dangerous to carrie, or impossible to effect, that I durst not for those causes vndertake it: I would onely beseech of his Maiestie one of his Princes, eyther to be my Superiour or Equall in the Ambassage, or such a one as might be absolutely my Inferiour, for a Testimonie, onely of my assured comming from his Maiestie. All which hee promised: commended my Reason and Prouidence in that point; and offering also Presents of great value, and worth to accompany his Letters, which should bee goodly Carpets, Swords and Daggers couered with Gold, and Jewels, Plumes according to their Countrey fashion, and other things worthy to bee esteemed, both for the price and rarenesse. Then he told me I must recouer my selfe, strengthen my minde and come abroad, that he might feast me before my departure.

For thirtie dayes continually, the King made that Feast in a great Garden of more then two miles compasse vnder Tents, pitched by certaine small courses of running water, like diuers Ri- uers, where euery man that would come, was placed according to his degree, eyther vnder one or other Tent, prouided for abundantly with Meate, Fruit, and Wine, drinking as they would, some largely, some moderately without compulsion. A Royaltie and Splendor which I haue not seene, nor shall see againe but by the same King: euer to bee praysed for the constant Antiquite, if not for the reason of the expence. The ioy of the Feast was much augmented by two great Fortunes, which gaue themselves at that time to the King; which were these: The Tartars of Buckehawrd (which haue euer beene of greatest reputation amongst all those of the Orient, both for their valour in Armes and Wealth) moued vnto it through their owne diuisions; the Cap- taines of which being of validitie and proper industry, to enflame the Ciuill dissensions, and vn- fit to temper their alternate good successes, by the fame of the King of Persias Iustice in Go- uernment, and the felicitie which followed all his Enterprizes, were brought to consent vnite- ly in one to send, and deliuer themselves and their Countrey vnder his subiection. And the

Great Mogor King of Lahor moued by the like fame, sent a great Ambassador to desire a Mar- riage betweene his eldest Sonnes Daughter, and Cephir Micza eldest Sonne to the King of Per- sia, with a mightie Present, and as mightie offers both of readie money, and to pay thirtie thousand men in any Warre, which the King of Persia should vndertake for seuen yeares.

In this time came vnto me a Portugall Frier, named *Alphonso Cordero*, of the Order of the Franciscans Secular, and an other Armenian Frier of *Ierusalem*, with a Message from an other Frier of better estimation, called *Nichola Di-Meto*: the effect of which was this, that hee had beene Inquisitor generall of the Indies, and his time being finished, as also, hauing receiued commandement from the Pope and King of Spaine to returne, and for some other important causes to the Christianitie of these parts, not beeing willing to attend the tedious Voyage of the Portugall Fleet by Sea, chose rather the hazard to goe ouer Land.

But when hee came, though this insinuation of his were like a good meane; and shewed to proceed from the best condition of spirits; Yet he did much degenerate from the name of a Chri- stian, much more of a Religious man, of a true Subiect to his Prince, and of a Pious wisher to those things which tended to the generall good of the whole Common-wealth of Chri- stendome.

For I vsed him with all those duties and reuerences which I could possibly deuise, or any am- bitious heart could desire: which gaue (as it fell out) but a freer passage to the iniquitie of his soule; to my great grieve, preiudice of the estimation in those parts of Religious men, and to the most infinite affliction of the other Franciscan, that can bee expressed; hee beeing certainly a good man, and as farre as his vnderstanding guided him, zealous to perswade others to bee so, helping to expresse by a sincere and holy Example of life what he wanted in Discourse. But *ubi Dei numen pretenditur sceleribus, subit animum timor, ne fraudibus humanis vindicandis, diuini iuris aliquid immixtum violemus*. For which reason I will say only this: that to free my selfe from the vnexpected crosses which daily rose against my businesse, I pressed the King as hotly (as ciuilly I could) for my dispatch: which hee granted mee at the thirtie dayes end: hauing ap- pointed *Assan Chan* a gallant young Prince to goe with mee: when it was concluded that *Assan Chan* should goe, and his prouisions were all ready, my Commission and Patent (for the prin- cipall points of my businesse) sealed; the King married him to an Aunt of his, much against his Princes will and more to my grieve; none other of the great Ones hauing a spirit to ap- prehend only such a Voyage, much lesse a heart to performe it.

So that beeing instantly sued to by *Cuchin-Allibi* a Courtchie of fixe *Thomans* Stipend by the Yeare, and in disgrace also, for some ill part that hee had played, I (pressed there- vnto by the *Vizier* and *Bastan Aga*) spake vnto the King that hee might goe with mee,

in

in the forme onely of a Testimonie, though honoured with some good words in the Letters, for the better reputation of the Businesse: which the King was exceeding backward in consenting vnto, desiring mee eyther to goe alone, or better accompanied.

At the last, I was vrged to take that fellow, and the King content to let him goe: But would bestow on him no more then fiftie *Tomans* for the whole expence: which hee called also cast away. Him I left to bring the appointed Present after mee; and the Letters to the particular Princes; which were then readie at my departure not sealed, and the Present not thoroughly provided: my selfe desiring to free my selfe from the Court, where euery occasion was receiued by those, which were contrary to the Enterprize, to hinder it.

10 After I had taken my leaue of the King, the morning before my departure he came to find me againe at my House: and after a little other speech he said vnto mee, *That my absence from him would exceedingly griene him, his affection to me being true, and his hopes of me many. If hee had bin furnished of any fit to haue undergone the management of this Affaire, hee would neuer haue enioyned me to so much trauaile, and so many perils, but that I knew his Court to bee ignorant of the Language and properties of our parts, and since he was prouoked by mee to send thither, hee knew that I would bee contented with my labour to keepe him and his, from all sorts of scorne. That my Brother was young, and therefore the more to be tendered, and not euery day to be exposed to new labours; his loue to vs both made him carefull in that point, but more particularly his infinite desire of my returne; which he thought would be more assured by so deare a pawne: And by daily Relation which I should receiue of his Royall vsage, I should also be daily inuited to returne how soeuer. If I met with such Fortunes as would bee worthy to make me stay from him; or such accidents as had power to hinder me by their necessitie; the company of my Brother should giue him great satisfaction in my absence. And if the worst should happen vnto me, he did desire euer to haue a Subiect so neere vnto me, vpon whom he might make a declaration vnto the World, both of what qualitie his owne minde was; and of what condition his true and Royall affection towards me was.*

The causes for
which the King
of Persia detain-
ed Sir Robert
Sherley.

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* He had sold

Before I could answer this infinite fauourable and gracious speech of his: my Brother, whose minde, apprehending that his staying with the King, might bee of wonderfull effect, to keepe his minde constant in the resolution which he had taken: and ghesling at many occasions which might happen in my absence, answered the King presently thus. That our two soules
30 were so vnitely conioyned, that our wils were diuided in nothing, our affections to his Maiesty, and our desires to serue him were the same, and such as they could not bee separated from his Commandements. But because hee did desire to haue one of vs, which was himselfe, to remaine with him, he would doe it, &c.

Sir Robert Sher-
leys Answer to
the King of
Persia.

These words of his were graciously and tenderly received of the King, and after some teares on all parts, the King and him selfe hauing brought mee some fixe miles, wee all parted, they for the Court, my selfe for my Iourney, hauing first left with my Brother, my heart certainly, not onely for the coniunction which Nature had made betweene vs, but also for those worthy sparkes, which I found in him likely to bee brought to great perfection by his Vertue, which cannot leaue working in any, which will giue them way, much more in him, who will make way for them.

С Н А Р. II.

*Sir ANTHONIE SHERLEY his Voyage over the Caspian Sea and
therow Russia: taken out of W. PARRY his Discourse of
the whole Voyage of Sir ANTHONIE, in which
he accompanied him; published*

50

1601.



* Apracan.

Attendants, were all at the charge of the *Russian* Emperour (for so is the custome of that Countrey, to all Trauellers of that nature, as long as they are passing through his Dominions) who eats such meate as is brought before them *gratis*, hauing withall, a Guard set ouer them, so that they are little better then Prisoners, as long as they are within the limits of his Territories.

Valga.

The candles for
Cassan. which the
 of the heret-
 and Sir Robert
 Shuter.

* He hath told
in the former
part of his sto-
ry, of the Fri-
ers Whore-
domes, Adul-
teries, Sodom-
ies, &c. to
lothsome to
blot our paper.

are little better then Prisoners, as long as they are within the limits of the Empire. From *Haster-canne* wee past by Boate along the mightie Riuer of *Volga*, vntill wee came to a Towne named *Negson*, which was seuen weekes passage. In which time, we saw nothing worthy the noting, but three or foure wooden Castles or Block-houses to guard that Riuer, which Riuer doth bring maruellous great Commodities to the Emperour, and to the whole Countrey. Diuers *Tartars* passing from place to place about that Riuer, liuing in little Houses made vpon Wheelles, and are carryed too and fro, hauing abundance of Cattell, liue so in subiection to the Emperour, paying him Tribute, &c. One onely faire Citie wee saw all that while called *Cas-fane*, wherein we were: from whence we passed to *Negson* aforesaid, where by the way fell out a Larre betweene Sir *Anthonie* and the other Ambassadour, because Sir *Anthonie* presumed to reprehend him for diuers misdemeanors which he committed, to the dishonour of his King and Countrey: Infomuch, that had we not had guard in our Company, one of vs had killed another. Learning here a while, I will turne againe to the Frier, * who was by this time growne into mortall hatred with his fellow Frier, of whom before I spake, whose name was *Alfonso*, a Frier of the Order of Saint *Francis*. Which Frier had acquainted Sir *Anthonie*, that Frier *Nicolao* had spent his life most lewdly in the *Indies*, the particularities whereof he at large related. Moreouer, hee told him, that by reason of his licentious life, the King of *Spaine* had sent for him, because hee did much more hurt then good in those parts, but neuer would come vntill now that he was going thither-ward. He also told Sir *Anthonie*, that that Present which he deliuered the King of *Persia* in his owne name, was sent by a Friend of the Kings from *Ormuz*, by another, who had withall, a Letter to the King. Which Bearer, (being of his Acquaintance) hee inueigled and inticed by the gift of fiftie Crownes, and faire words, to deliuer him the Present, together with the Letter to carry to the King, who finally preuailed with him. And when he came to *Persia*, hee suppressed the Letter, but deliuered the Present in his owne name, as before is declared.

the king of
the answers
- Sir Robert Spier-

Vpon discouery of which villanies, Sir *Anthony* tooke him Prisoner, and carried him along with him, as one deprived of former libertie. And being come to *Negson*, we stayed there neere hand a moneth. Towards the end whereof the Emperour sent a great man of his Court thither, for to accompany and conduct vs to *Musco*, who gaue the preheminence to the *Persian* Ambassador, in that he was Ambassadour to the Emperour from the *Persian*, and Sir *Anthony* but a Passenger through his Countrey, as he esteemed him, and so did vse him at his pleasure, to Sir *Anthony*s small contentment, vntil we came to *Musco*, where we were entertayned in the best sort they could, with a crue of *Aquauita*-bellyed Fellowes, clad in Coates of Cloth of Gold: which shew being ended, for the first encounter, those Coates were put vp againe into the Treasurie or Wardrobe, and we shut vp in Prison for ten dayes, yea all accessse of others to vs, or we to them was thereby vtterly barred. In which time wee sent to entreate, that either our *English* Merchants might bee permitted to come to vs, or that wee might goe or send to them for necessaries, because we were not fitted with Clothes (as we thought) conuenient for the Emperors presence. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor sent for the Merchants, enquiring of them what Sir *Anthony* was, and whether they durst giue him any credit. To whom they replied, that hee was nobly descended, and allyed euen to the best men of *England*: yea, and that they would giue him credit for as much as they were worth. Hereupon they had libertie to send vs such necessaries as we sent for, but no libertie to come to vs, much lesse we to them. The tenth day we were sent for to come before the Emperour after their order, which was, to lay downe in a note, how euery man should be marshalled in comming (being all on Horsebacke) wherein the *Persian* Ambassadour was appointed by the Emperour to haue the first and chiefe place, the next, that *Persian* that was sent but to accompany Sir *Anthony*, and the last of the three should be Sir *Anthony* himselfe. Which when Sir *Anthony* perceiued, he vtterly refused to goe in that Order, because that he, to whose trust and charge the whole businesse had beene committed, and by whom the same was solely procured: by which *Persia* likewise should be infinitely benefited (specially hee being a Christian, and they Pagans) should bee put hindermost in the march, that was the foremost in the matter.

Sir. *Anthony's*
refusall to goe.

By the meanes of which refusall, he purchased the Emperors displeasure: and to manifest the same, first, he took the Frier from Sir *Antonie*, and gaue him his libertie to go whither he thought good. Next, he daily sent his great Dukes to examine Sir *Antonie* vpon diuers friuolous particularities, to proue, if they thereby might grope out some matter of aduantage against him. Thus daily he was extremely vexed and molested by the Emperour, the *Persian* Embassadour, withall setting on the Frier vnder-hand, to deuise all the villanie hee could against him, as to say, he knew Sir *Antonie* to be but a man of meane parentage, and also, that he was come but as a Spie through the Countrey for purposes tending to his owne good, and not of *Persia* and Christendome, as he pretended. Whereupon they tooke all the Kings Letters from him, and opened them, to know the purport thereof.

Frier a Lye.

Soone after, Sir *Anthony* and the Frier were brought before the Commissioners to be further examined: where Sir *Anthony* (being inflamed with Choler, by reason of his exceeding ill vsage, notwithstanding the goodnesse of the cause of his comming) demanded whether the Emperour did euer purpose to send any Embassadours to any other Countries; Protesting, that if euer he met with them in any parts of the world, besides their owne, he would indeuour to let them know he was not halfe so well intreated in *Russia*, as the cause of his comming of right deserued, and the Emperour, by the lawes Diuine and Ciuill ought to haue performed, and the rather, because he was a Christian, such as he pretends himselfe to bee, and came (as became a Christian) for the generall good of all Christendome, the *Persian* being stirred vp thereunto by
 10 his onely meanes. Whereupon the Frier in termes thwarted Sir *Anthony*, whose bloud al-
 ready boyled, with the excesse of his cholers heat, which as then abounded. And being by that
 gracelesse and yngratefull Frier further prouoked, he (not able, though instantly hee should haue
 died for it) to suppress his heat, gaue the fat Frier such a sound box on the face (his double cause
 of choler redoubling his might, desire of reuenge withall augmenting the same) that downe
 falls the Frier, as if he had beene stricke with a Thunder-bolt. Which being done, (with that
 courage and high resolution which well appeared in his lookes, words, and deeds) they forth-
 with gaue ouer examination, because they had too farre examined Sir *Anthonies* patience, which
 well they with feare (as I thinke) saw, and the Frier (almost past feare) did farre better feele.
 Whereupon they went instantly to the Emperour, and informed him of all that had hapned,
 20 and how Sir *Anthony* was resolu'd. For which (as by the euent it appeared) he was vsed the
 better. For from thence forward we had libertie to goe to the *Englishmen*, of whom wee were
 very honourably entertayned, and royally feasted. Howbeit wee were constrain'd to remayne
 there fixe moneths, expecting euery day (for all this) some mischiefe to be done vnto vs, or to
 be sent into some part of his Countrey to bee kept, where wee should not haue heard from our
 friends in haste, which we feared worse then death. Yet, in the end, wee were eftsoones sent
 for before the Priuie Councell, where Sir *Anthony* had his charge to bee gone, which was no
 small ioy to vs all.

S. A. striketh
the Frier.

But the day before we left *Musconia*, it was my fortune to see the King, and his Queene, in
 ceremonious and triumphant manner passing out of the Citie, with a great Image, and a huge
 30 Bell, to offer to a certaine Friery some thirtie miles off, which was performed in this sort. First,
 all the morning diuers troops of Horse passed out of the Citie, to stand readie to receiue him at
 his comming out of the gate. About midday the King setting forwards, his Guard formost, all
 on horse-backe, to the number of fise hundred, all clad in stammell Coats, riding in ranke, three
 and three, with Bowes and Arrowes, and Swords girt to them, as also Hatchets vnder the one
 thigh. After the Guard, were led by twentie men, twentie goodly Horses, with very rich and
 curious Saddles, and ten more for his Sonne and Heire apparant, being a child of twelue yeeres
 of age. After which was led in like sort, twentie beautifull white Horses, for the Queenes Cha-
 riots, hauing onely vpon them a fine sheet, and on their heads a crimson veluet Bridle. After
 them came a great number of Friers in their rich Coapes, singing, carrying many Pictures, and
 40 Lights. After them followed the greatest part of the Merchants of the Citie. Next them was
 led the Kings Horse, for that day, together with his sonnes: the Kings Saddle and furniture
 most richly beset with Stones of great price and beautie. Then followed the Patriarch, with
 all the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and great Prelates singing in their Coapes, very rich and glorious,
 hauing huge Images borne before them, being very richly inlayed with precious Gemmes of
 diuers colours, and Lights about them. Then followed the King himselfe, who had in his left
 hand his Sonne aboue mentioned, and in his right hand his Cap. Next him came the Queene,
 supported on either side by two old Ladies, her face euen thickly plaistered with painting, as
 were the other Ladies (according to the custome of the Countrey) her bodie very grosse, her
 eyes hollow and farre into her head, attended with some threescore very faire women (if pain-
 50 ting (which they hold a matter religious) deceiued not the iudgement of mine eye.) All whose
 apparell was very rich, beset with Pearle curiously wrought, hauing white Hats on their heads,
 with great round Bands laden with Pearle. Wee neuer saw Hats worne by any woman in the
 Countrey, but by them onely. Next vnto them were drawne three huge Chariots; the first,
 with ten faire white Horses, two and two; the second, with eight; and the third, with sixe in
 like order: which Chariots were all very rich and gorgeous within and without. After which
 all the Noblemen passed in Coaches. Then was carried, in a great Chift, the forenamed Image,
 guarded by a Great man and State of the Countrey, with some fise hundred vnder his com-
 mand, for the guard and conuoy of that Image. And last of all came that huge Bell, being of
 60 twentie tunne weight, drawne by three thousand and fise hundred men (not being possible to
 be drawne by Oxen or Horses) in manner following. They fastned sixe exceeding long hawfers,
 or mightie great Cable-ropes in fixe lengths to the frame whereon the Bell was placed. In this
 ranke of ropes were placed those three thousand fise hundred men, with little cords ouer their
 shoulders, fastned to the great hawfers, drawing after the manner of our Westerne Barge-men
 here in *England*.

Offering of a
Bell and an
Image to a
Friery.

Procession

Paintings

Image.

Huge Bell
drawne by
3500. men.

The poise of the Bell was so great, that passing along the streets of *Musco* (being paved with great square pieces of Timber set close one by another) the wood of the frame or carriage whereon the Bell was drawne, set the timber of the streets on fire, through both the woods chafing together, so that some were faine to follow hard after, to throw on water, as the timber began to smoke. And thus was this Bell and the Image conueyed to the Friery, as hath afore beene said.

The next day following wee tooke our iourney (that is to say, in mid May) towards Saint *Nicolas*, to take shipping, which was some sixe weekes passage by land and riuer. During all which time, we saw nothing in a manner, but Woods and water. But being come to the Sea side, being the place where we were to take ship, we stayed there one moneth for prouision for our iourney. In which time we were diuers times inuited aboard *English* ships, where wee were royally banquetted at the Agents charges and the Merchants. To the solemnization of which Banquets wee had three hundred great shot. And as wee stayed there, one Master *Megricke* a Merchant came from *Musco*, and brought the Friers two Letters with him, reporting that the Lord Chancellour, in satisfaction of the wrong and ill vsage hee extended to Sir *Anthonie*, sent after the Frier to the borders, who tooke both his Letters and all his substance that he had deceitfully and lewdly gotten in many yeeres before in the *Indiæes* from him, leauing him not so much as his Friers Weede: and whether hee caused his throat to be cut, it was vncertaine, but not vnlike.

Stode.

From hence wee tooke ship for *Stode*, being sixe weekes vpon the Sea ere wee could recouer it. In which time wee were continually tossed and tumbled with contrarie Winds: and once had beene like to haue beene vtterly cast away, so that wee all were ouerwhelmed in despaire, as we were at point to be in the Sea, but that (by Gods protection and direction) we (past all expectation) fell vpon the Flie. Where, (hauing diuers Letters of Sir *Anthonie* to his friends in *England*) I parted from him (he holding his course toward the Emperour of *Germanie*;) from thence I came to the *Tessell*, then to the *Firme*: so to the *Hage*: from the *Hage* to *Vlissing*: and finally, from thence to *Doner*, where I landed in the midst of the moneth of September, in the three and fortieth yeere of the *Queenes* Maiesties Raigne, and in the yeere of our LORD GOD 1601.

CHAP. III.

Two Voyages of Master IOHN NEWBERIE, One, into the Holy Land; The other to Balsara, Ormus, Persia, and backe thorow Turkie.



Iohn Newberie Citizen and Merchant of *London*, desirous to see the World, the eighth of March, 1578. according to the computation of the Church of *England*, began a Voyage from the Citie of *London* to *Tripolie* in *Syria*, and thence to *Ioppe* and *Hierusalem*, and the Countrey round about adioyning, which I performed in passing through *France* to *Marceils*, where I imbarqued my selfe, and passing through the *Leuant* or *Mediterrane* Sea, arriued in *Tripolie* the thirteenth day of May; and within few dayes after at *Ioppe*, and thence at *Hierusalem*, and the chiefe places thereabout: And spending a moneth in visiting the Monuments of those Countreies, I returned to *Ioppe* the tenth of Iune, 1579. And the fifteenth of the said moneth arriued againe in *Tripolie*; from whence shortly after I visited Mount *Libanus*, and returning speedily to the said Port of *Tripolie*, I imbarqued my selfe in a ship of *Marceils*, the first of Iulie, and the three and twentieth of the said moneth, I put in at *Candia*; and the seuenth day of September, arriued safely in *Marceils*, and passing through *France* by *Lions*, *Paris*, *Roan*, and *Diepe*. The tenth of Nouember of the aforesaid yeere 1579. by Gods helpe arriued safely in *London*.

* This Voyage (as the former) for Time, is before that of Sir *Anthonie Sherley*; but that in honour of the Person and employment hath and deserueth precedence.

I the said *Iohn Newberie* being encouraged by the prosperous successe of my former Voyage to *Tripoly*, *Hierusalem*, and Mount *Lybanus*, vndertooke a farre more long and dangerous voyage, by the Straights of *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterranean* Sea, the aforesaid *Tripoly*, and downe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, as farre as the Citie of *Ormus* in the Gulfe of *Persia*, and from thence through the Countrey of *Lar*, and the most Easterne parts of *Persia*, to *Media*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, *Carmania*, *Natolia*, and so to *Constantinople*, and from thence by the Blacke Sea, called in old time *Pontus Euxinus*, into the Mouth of the Riuer *Danubius* by shipping, and so a great way vp the said Riuer, passing by the parts of *Bugdania* and *Valachia*, at length landing, I came to *Caminetz*, the first Frontier Towne of *Poland*; and passing through that Kingdome, arriued in *Prussia*, and came to *Elbing*, and *Dantzke*, and *Quinsborow*, where imbarquing my selfe, I passed through the Sound of *Denmark*, and arriued at *Hull* in *England*, and so ouer land trauelled to *London*, whither I came the last day of August, 1582. making my voyage in the space of two yeeres, lacking nineteene dayes. This voyage at large I performed in this manner.

The

The nineteenth day of September, 1580. accompanied with Master William Barret an English Merchant. I departed from London in a good ship, called the *White Hinde*, and the fifteenth of Nouember came to *Sonthe* in *Candie*. The one and twentieth we arrived at the Citie of *Candia*. The Citie of
The sixt day of December wee set sayle with our ship from *Fraschia* on our voyage: and the eight at night, we had like to haue runne vpon the Ile of the *Rhodes*, setting our courie East from the Ile of *Scarpanto*. The eighteenth day we had light of *Cyprus*. The Ile of

The first day of Ianuarie we arrived in *Tripoli*. And the third and fourth dayes, our ship called the *White Hinde*, discharged all her goods. The French-men brought fortie Barrels of Tinnie on Shoare in their Boat. The fifth day of Ianuarie at night, there was such a storme, that in the
10 Roads of *Tripoli* there were two ships cast away, and the French-mans Boat. They arrive at *Tripoli* in Syria, the first of Ianuarie.

The fourteenth of Ianuarie, 1580. after the account of the Church of England, Master William Barret and I departed from *Tripoli*, and lodged the same day at an house called a *Cane*; and the next day after, we passed by a Castle to the Sea-ward, called *Draa*. The sixteenth day, we passed by a strong Castle, called *Ewsen*. The seuenteenth, wee lay at *Mowaa*. The eighteenth day in the morning about nine of the clocke, wee came to *Metteni*: and within halfe an houre after, Master William Barret rode with our *Ianizarie* to *Aman*, which is within three leagues of *Met-*
teni. The nineteenth day in the morning, wee came to *Sibi* a Casal: and the same day about noone I came to *Aman*; and stayed there some sixe dayes. The sixe and twentieth, wee came from *Aman*, and the same night slept at a Village, called *Det*. The six and twentieth, at *Marra*.
20 The seuen and twentieth from thence, and the same day we came to *Ledeghe*, where great store of Soape is made: that night we lay at a Village, called *Sarraket*, neere to *Syrmin*: and the eight and twentieth day came to the Citie of *Aleppo*. The Castle standeth to the Southward off the Towne. The one and thirtieth of Ianuarie, wee had a great banquet made vs in the house of the French Consul. The one and twentieth of Februarie about nine of the clocke in the morning, was seene in *Aleppo* an extraordinarie Starre or Comet, which ascended from the North, and descended toward to North-west.

The nineteenth of March in the morning, I departed from *Aleppo* with an hyred seruant of mine, called *Iacomo de Francisco*, to proceed on mine intended voyage to *Ormuz*, lying in the Mouth of the *Persian Gulfe*. And about two of the clocke in the afternoone I passed by *Boab*, where is an high Tower vpon an Hill: and the same night I came to a Village, called *Halse*. And
30 the twentieth day we departed from thence, and the same day came to *Bir*. The Towne of *Bir* standeth vpon the East side of the Riuer *Frat* or *Euphrates*: and the water commeth directly from the North, and descendeth to the South. Here is great store of Linnen cloth made, and great store of Waxe: here is also great store of Corne and Fish, and Cordouan skins, and Hony. At *Bir* the Merchants doe pay for euery summe or packe of all commodities, one *Sehid* or *Madin*, for Toll. After we had hyred vs a Barke and furniture for our voyage, wee set forward; and the six and twentieth day, wee passed by a Village to the East of the Riuer, called *Raick*; and the same day in the euening by a Mountaine to the West of the Water, where is one house with one Tower on the top of it. And there the *Arabians* offered to shoote at vs. The next day in the
40 morning, we passed by a Castle, called *Balleffe*, which is ruinated, and standeth on the West side of the Riuer. And about noone the same day by a Towne, called *Gabbar*, which standeth vpon a Mountaine to the East of the Riuer. The eight and twentieth day, we passed by an old Towne where is a Castle all ruinated, and lyeth close vpon the Water to the Eastward, which is called *Racca*: and it standeth North North-east of the Water. The thirtieth day in the morning, we passed by a Towne and a Castle all ruinate, which lyeth to the West of the Water, and is called *Balladac*; which in times past was the Christians. The same night wee came to a Towne, called *Dier*, which lyeth also to the West of the Riuer, and is inuironed with the Water round about. Here the Patron of our Barke sold his Hony, for nine Aspers the *Rotila*: and one *Rotila* of *Bir* maketh two *Rotilas* there.

The first day of April, 1581. from *Dier*, and the same night we lay neere vnto a Castle, called *Rab*, which lyeth to the West of the Water. The second day in the morning, wee passed by *Asbar*, a small Towne, which lyeth to the West of the Water. The third day in the morning, we passed by *Subercan*, which lyeth to the East of the Water, and is all ruinate, and in times past was the Christians. The fourth day we passed by a Village, called *Manalle*, to the West of the Riuer. And the same night to *Anna*, which lyeth vpon both sides of the Water, but to the West is the greatest part: But the East side reacheth farther then the other, as may bee perceiued by the Date Trees and Houles. This Towne of *Anna* is very long, and there is about the middle of it a Castle, which is inuironed with Water, as also diuers Ilands to the number of fourteene or fifteene, which lye all to the Northward of the Castle, except two or three. Here are great store of Dates, Oranges, Pomgranats, Figs, Limons, Corne, and Muttons. The eight day we departed from thence, and went but very little way, by reason of very great winde and stormie weather: which began the fifth, and continued vntill the eleuenth day: and the winde was most commonly at North-east. The tenth day, wee came to *Addetta*, and the same night to *Gebbar*, which lyeth to the East of the Water; and there we were at a wedding. The eleuenth day we departed.

Heit. departed from *Gebbar*, and the same day came to *Heit*, where is a Castle to the West of the Ri-
Pitch boyling uer: and a little from the Castle to the South-west, is a place, where Pitch boyleth out of the
out of the Ground continually; so that all the sandie ground toward the Riuer side is ouer-flowed there-
ground con- with. Diuers Camels haue fallen into these Springs, but none of them could be saued. All the
tinually. way betweene *Anna* and *Heit* are continually on both sides the Riuer Houses, and Date Trees,
Ambar. with Corne and diuers Fruits. The twelfth day wee departed from *Heit*. The thirteenth day
Feluge. we came to *Ambar*, which is a village, and lyeth on the East side of the Riuer. The fourteenth we
Searching for went from thence, and the same morning arriued at *Feluge*; where the goods are landed that come
money. from *Bar*. There I was searched for money, and the Searcher found all that I had: but in confi-
Bagdet. deration that he should keepe it secret, I gaue him two *Sehids*, and to him that writeth vp the
" Babylon. goods two *Sehids* more; which they receiued, and yet wrote vnto *Bagdet*, that I had foure bags
of money. So that about three or foure miles from *Bagdet* met with vs an Officer to accompanie
vs to the Towne, because they would be sure of the money. Notwithstanding, by the meanes of
one *Mustafa* a *Turke*, I gaue this Officer three and thirtie *Madins*, wherewithall he was con-
tent, and kept it secret. So, shortly after we came to the Market place, where I was searched,
but no money could bee found. There wee remayned about two houres, and then went into a
Can. The next day in the morning wee went ouer the Water, and were no sooner out of the
Boat, but we were searched, but nothing found. From thence we went into the *Hammam*, and
so returned to our lodging. The fourteenth day about eight of the clocke at night, we went from
Feluge by land, in the companie of an hundred *Asses*. The fifteenth day about one of the clocke
in the afternoone, wee came to *Bagdet*. The sixteenth day of April, I did see Barley that was
ripe and cut downe, neere to *Bagdet*. Old *Bagdet* standeth to the North of *Bagdet*, about
twentie or fve and twentie miles. The seuenteenth day, we passed through *Bagdet*. One Castle
standeth to the South-east of the Towne, vpon the South side of the Water, and another to the
North-west of the Water vpon the North side, where the *Bassa* doth keepe his Court, whose
name is *Hassan Bassa*. The twentieth day, there was a Christian which came into the Can to
call vs forth: but because wee did not vnderstand him, wee remayned still in the Magasin. So,
presently came foure for to search vs, and they found our money. The two and twentieth day,
I wrote Letters to Master *William Hareborne*, and Master *William Barret*, by a Merchant of *Alep-*
po, and directed my Letters to Master *John Blanch*, Consul of the French Merchants in *Aleppo*. The
foure and twentieth day in the euening, I went from *Bagdet*. The six and twentieth day at night,
we passed by a Towne, called *Bourac*, which lyeth to the West of the Water, and is all ruinated.
And a little below that standeth a Tower in the middle of the Riuer. The seuen and twentieth,
we passed by a Towne, called *Menil*, which lyeth to the East of the Water: and there is but one
Tower standing. The same day, by a place called *Amor*, which lyeth close vpon the Water to
the Eastward, and is a small Casal. The thirtieth day in the morning, wee passed by a Towne,
called *Sekia*, which lyeth to the East of the Water: and the same day by a very long Village, na-
med *Kendege*, to the East of the Water, and it is all ruinated. Also the same day in the euening,
we came to *Gurna*, which is a Castle, and standeth vpon the Point where the Riuer of *Furro* and
the Riuer of *Bagdet* doe meet. And vpon the South side of *Furro*, right ouer against this Castle
is another Castle, about the greatnesse of this. And about three miles farther in the Riuer, to-
ward *Balsara*, to the South of the Water, is another.
The first day of May, 1581. I arriued in *Balsara*. At the Waters side at *Balsara*, the merchan-
dise that enter within the Can, pay vpon euery Summe or Camels burden three *Madins* and
three quarters; sixteene *Vessennes* of *Balsara* make one *Kintall* of *Aleppo*. The carriage of eue-
ry summe of goods from *Bagdet* to *Balsara*, costeth by water sixe *Shehides*. And for the carriage
from *Balsara* to *Bagdet*, vpon euery *Vessene* two *Madins*. And the carriage of one hundred *Ves-*
senes from *Balsara* to *Ormuz*, costeth twentie *Larins*, and from *Ormuz* to *Balsara* twentie *La-*
rins. The Custome in *Balsara* is vpon euery fourteene *Shehides* one. And for *Glasse*, and such
like commodities, accordingly. Clothes, *Kersies*, and all kinde of *Silkes*, pay vpon euery twen-
tie one. And vpon euery ten *Vessenes* or ten *Rotilas*, there are three to bee allowed for Tarr or
Waste: and vpon all *Spicerie* accordingly. The Towne of *Balsara* standeth to the East South-
east of the Riuer: and without the Towne are diuers *Basars* or Market places, and their Houses
are made of Canes or great Reedes. And their Corne lyeth all on heapes without the Towne
vpon the ground couered with Mats, and is sold by the weight. There are about *Balsara* foure
Gates; and a little from the North Gate lye ten peeces of Ordnance great and small, besides two
Basiliscoes, that lye vnder the wall at the entring of the Gate. Their building is of Brick, which
is made of a certaine kind of stufte, that may be cut with a knife. There is without the Towne
a very high Pole set vp, which is of three peeces; and vpon the top of it a Cup of Tinne or Lead;
and there they runne with their Horses, and shoote at the Cup; and he that hitteth the Cup gay-
neth a *Shaffe*. At *Balsara* the Water doth ebbe and flow, as it doth in *England*, and in no other
places adioyning vpon the Ocean Sea. The *Turke* won *Balsara* about the yeere 1550. The *Ves-*
sene of *Maces* is worth in *Balsara* thirteene *Duckats*, and *Nut-megs* fve or sixe *Duckats*: Soape
is worth fifteene *Shehids* the *Vessene*, and *Almonds* foure and twentie *Shehids* the *Vessene*:
Galles are worth ten *Larins* the *Vessene*.
The

- The thirteenth day of May, 1581. I embarked my selfe at *Bassara*: and the sixteenth wee valed downe about three flight shot. Halfe a dayes iourney from the Towne, to the East of the Riuer Iye eight or ten Bulwarks, and beyond them all is a Castle vpon the Point of a Land. The two and twentieth day in the afternoone, wee came to an Anchor, because it was too much winde. The three and twentieth in the morning, we sayled vntill ten of the clocke, and then came to an Anchor, because they were afraid to put to Sea toward night. The Mariners are all beasts. The foure and twentieth day in the morning, we put to Sea with a faire winde: and the same day by noone, we were at the Sea. And all that morning, wee kept our course South, and when wee were at the Sea, South or South South-east. The five and twentieth day in the morning, we had sight of a Mountaine of *Aggemy*, a day short of *Abosha*: and then we kept our course East South-east. And the same day, we arriued at an Island, called *Carreghe*, which belongeth to the Countrey of *Haggemy*, and left it to the South of vs. The sixe and twentieth day, we landed in the Island of *Carege*: and there is great store of Onions, and Wells of fresh water; and in the middle of the Island is a Casal. The Island is about two miles broad and two miles long. And to the North-west of it lyeth a small Island very low in the water. The seuen and twentieth day in the morning, wee set sayle from *Carege*; and the same day passed by the low Land of *Persia*, which lyeth vnder the high Mountaines. And in diuers places are certaine Gulfs like Riuers. The same day in the euening, wee were at *Abousher*, which is a Castle. And from thence wee kept our course South South-east to goe cleere of the Land: it is very high Land.
- 20 The nine and twentieth day in the morning, the Boat went on shoare for water; and I went also on shoare with the Boat: and the water which we tooke did stinke, and was full of mud and vermine. And in this order is all their water in the Countrey of *Cassel-Bash*. The last day of May, we passed by a very high Cliffe, and vpon it is a Rocke like vnto a Barne, which lyeth East and West, and to the West end of it lyeth a round Rocke, which is like an Hay-cocke, about two yards high. And this Cliffe is within three dayes sayling of *Ormuz*. And there the ships put off from the Land that goe for the Ile of *Baharem*: and there we kept our course North-east. The West end of this Cliffe is white like Chalke or Snow. This day, one of our Mariners being sick, another of his fellowes came with an hot Iron and burnt him in the sole of the foote. Another they would haue left in an Island because he was sicke, who answered, That hee trusted they did not take him for a Hen.
- 30 The second day of Iune came a Boat aboard of vs, which came from *Ormuz*, and was bound for the Ile of *Baharem*. The same day, wee passed by a Mountaine which is like a Castle, and vpon the top of it is a Rocke like vnto a little watch house. The fourth day of Iune we tooke in fresh water. The seuenth day, we departed from the place where wee tooke in water; and the same day we arriued at an Island, called *Shie*, which is vnder the *Portugals*: and vpon the West end of it are two companies of Date Trees, and two round Knobs like two Hay-cocks, and it is a plaine Island. The aforesaid seuenth day at night, wee came to an Anchor at *Shie*: and to the South of it lyeth a small Island, where they fish for Pearles. The eight day wee went on shoare there. The ninth day, we departed from *Shiche*, and the same day we landed at *Necchel*, which is about foure leagues distant. I paid for carrying of my things on shoare at *Necchel* two Larins, and for landing of them five Larins. The women here weare long Mantles, which they draw after them like a traine: and farther in the Countrey they weare their Garments with three slits, one before, and one on either side; and their sleeues are like the sleeues of Morris-dancers. And they haue round about their eares pack-threed sewed. Also they weare great Rings in their Noses; and about their Legs, Armes, and Necks, Iron hoopes.
- 40 The eleuenth day, we departed from *Necchel*. The twelfth day in the morning, we came to a great Casal, called *Melgor*, where lyeth a Captaine called *Shiagh*: and here we remayned three dayes, and were in great danger of being taken slaues, but God kept vs. This Casal lyeth betweene the Mountaines. The fourteenth day in the euening, wee left this wicked place, where I paid ten Larins for my part. The women here may throw their Dugs over their shoulders. The eighteenth day, we came to a Casal, called *Gesser*, and the same day from thence. The nineteenth day, wee lodged at *Bender*. The twentieth, wee departed from *Bender*, and the same euening came at an Island, called *Left*. And right ouer against *Bender*, lyeth an Island, called *Bassedor*; and these two Islands are vnder the *Portugals*. And *Gesser* and *Bender*, which are on the mayne Land, are vnder *Abreham Can*, and sometimes were vnder the King of *Ormuz*. The one and twentieth day, I went on Land on the Ile of *Left*: And here the women weare Iron hoopes, and a number of other things about their Necks, Legs, and Armes. The two and twentieth day of Iune, 1581. I arriued at *Ormuz*, and presently was carried before the Captaine, whose name was *Don Gonfalu*. The same day I hyred an house for sixe Larins. The Castle of *Ormuz* standeth to the North of the Towne, and some thing to the Eastward. Diuers both men and women here vse to slit the lower part of their eares more then two inches, which hangeth downe to their chin. There were in my companie from *Necchel* to *Ormuz* one *Turke*, and one *Moore* of *Labor*, and one *Moore* of *Fez* in *Barbarie*, and five *Persians*, and twelue *Moores* of *Aleppo*, *Aman*, and other places, and one *Nostrane*, a *Christian*, and my man, who was a *Greeke*: and all these

They enter in
to the Persian
Gulfe.

The Ile of
Carreghe, or
Carege.

Abousher a Ca-
stle.

A very high
Cliffe.

The Ile of *Ba-
harem*, where
the excellent
pearles are
gotten.

Iune.

Shie or *Seshe*,
an Island vnder
the *Portugals*.

A small Island
to the South
of *Shie* or *Se-
che*.
Necchel.
They land
here.

Melgor, a great
Casal.

Gesser, a Ca-
sal.
Bender.
Left, an Island.
Bassedor, an
Island.

He came to
Ormuz the
two and twen-
tieth of Iune,
1581.

Improbis extre-
mos currit Mer-
cator ad Indos.

The cause of
the excessive
heat in Ormus.

Long clawed
Swine.

A Castle cal-
led, The great
Maftango.

Julie.
Michael Stro-
pene.

Of his and
Fitches impri-
sonment at Goa,
see Linschoten.

He departeth
from Ormus,
the first of Au-
gust, 1581.

Bender gomrow.
Cowrtan a
Casal.

Ourmangel.
Lar.

Debaccow a
Casal.

Berre a Casal.

Olous.

Gouen.

September.

Gaarrom.

Demonder.

Mecocal.

Canger.

Chefimon.

Cowel a Casal.
Shiras.

Sargon.

these at *Melgor* Iware vpon a Booke that I was a Christian of *Aleppo*, and had wife and chil-
dren, and an house there.

It is a great miracle to see the Mountaines of *Ormuz*, all of Salt, and as hard as a Flint stone :
and this Salt is very good for diuers diseases. All the Iland is salt, and the very ground where
the Towne doth stand is salt : which is the cause of the excessive heat that is there. From eight
of the clocke in the morning vntill the Sunne goe downe, it is not possible for any bodie, that is
not vsed to the Countrey, to passe either with shooes or bare-foot, where the Sunne doth lie,
it is so extreme hot. The Swine in *Ormuz* haue clawes of a quarter of an ell long, and some
longer. The *Portugals* doe hold a Castle ouer against *Ormuz*, in the Countrey of the King of
Lar, where they keepe ten or twelue Souldiers : the name of which Castle is called, The great
Maftango. The seuenth day of Iulie, my man *Iacomo*, which was a *Greeke*, went from mee to
one *Michael Stropene* a *Venetian*, being, as I suspect, entised thereunto by him, to vnderstand
my secret purposes : and in very deed, in my last Voyage into these parts, in the yeere 1583.
this *Michael Stropene* betrayed me and my companie to the Gouvernour of *Ormuz*.

After I had spent fixe weekes in this Citie, and informed my selfe the best I could, of the
Trade and Customes of the place, I departed from *Ormuz* the first day of August at night, and
left *Signior Victorio*, a friend of mine, with his goods behind. The second of August about mid-
night, I arriued at *Bender gomrow*, where the *Portugals* keepe a Castle with seuen or eight Soul-
diers, within it: And this *Bender gomrow*, which is on the mayne land, was sometimes the
Kings of *Lar*, and after that *Abraham Cans*, and so it came to the King of *Ormuz*. The fift day at
night we departed from *Bender gomrow* : and the eighth day we lodged at a Casal, called *Cowr-
stan*. The tenth day at *Ourmangel* : there is a Spring of fresh water, which runneth through
the middle of it. The fourteenth day in the morning we came to the Citie of *Lar*. Two Mauns
of *Ormuz*, make three Mauns of *Lar* : two hundred seuentie and two Mauns of *Ormuz* merchan-
dise, which are eight hundred and sixteene Lerra of *Bountaki*, cost the carriage from *Bender gom-
row* to *Lar*, twentie Larins and an halfe. And one *Asnillo* will carrie one hundred Maun of *Lar*,
which are two hundred Lerra of *Bountaki*. The fifteenth day, I hired one *Moufa* a *Jew*, for fixe
moneths to be my seruant, for thirtie Larins the moneth. At *Bender gomrow* all goods that goe
for *Persia* pay vnto the *Portugals* vpon euery summe or load one *Sadan*.

The foure and twentieth day of August, 1581. about noone I departed from *Lar*. And at
Lar euery summe of merchandise payeth at the passing out of the gate one *Tanger*, which is
twelue Pull. And the five and twentieth day wee passed downe a very high Mountaine ; and
the same day passed by a Casal, called *Debaccow*. And this five and twentieth day at night
lodged at a Casal, called *Berre*. And to the South of the Towne is an old Castle vpon an high
Mountaine. The fixe and twentieth day we came to a place, where I bought three *Hendomes*
for one *Tanger*, and they are as sweet as Sugar. The seuen and twentieth day we lodged at *Olous*.
The nine and twentieth, we departed from *Olous* : and neere vnto it is a very great Casal, cal-
led *Gouen*, which hath *Angour* and *Corma* plentie. And this night we payed at our Baite vpon
euery summe five Pull : And at *Gouen* endeth the Countrey of *Lar*. The last day of August, I
passed ouer the greatest Mountaine that euer I saw, and left it to the Southward of vs.

The first of September in the morning, wee came to a Citie, called *Gaarrom* : and the same
day, to a Casal, called *Demonder*, where standeth an high Columne alone. About *Gaarrom* is
great store of Rice and Cotton wooll growing. And here the Sheepe haue Lambs twice euery
yeere. The second day of September, we came to *Mecocal*, where we had stinking water : and
the same day payed a dutie of two *Tanger* vpon euery Bar. The third day we came to *Canger*,
and the same day at night we payed a *Best* vpon euery Bar. The fourth day we came to a faire
Can, called *Chefimon moddassar* : and the same day wee had raine. The fifth day wee came to
Cowel, which is a Casal neere to *Shiras* : this night we payed a dutie vpon our goods. The sixth
day in the morning, we came to the Citie of *Shiras*. Betweene *Lar* and *Shiras* is great store of
Wolues, *Partridges*, and *Pheasants*. There are in *Shiras* five high Towers, and the highest is in
the middle of the Towne. To the North of the Towne is a Gate of very faire coloured stone,
which is a little beyond the Horse-mart : and without this Gate are all the Sheepe and Goats
fold, that serue for the Towne. The highest and furthest Tower in *Shiras* is neere to the Can
that I lay in, and is builded with yellow, Greene, white, and purple stone. The women ride
here vpon Horses like men. It is a Towne that hath great store of victuals and fruits. Iron,
Lead, Casder, *Cochonillio*, *Brasill*, Linnen cloth, Foutas, and all wares that come out of *India*,
are very well sold here. *Brasill* is worth fixe *Mamodies* the Maun, and *Cochonillio* one hun-
dred and fiftie *Mamodies*. Certaine small Laton that commeth from *Sindi* are sold in *Shiras* for
twelue *Shehides* the piece. In this Towne is made great store of *Mauward* and *Gebib*, which
are carried for *India*. The Maun of Cloues is worth in *Shiras* fiftie *Shehides*, *Nutmegs* thirtie,
Pepper seuen and twentie. From *Lar* to *Shiras* we went the most part North-west and to the
North, we stayed in this Towne from the sixth day till the two and twentieth. The two and
twentieth of September, we departed from *Shiras*, and the same day came to *Sargon*, a Towne
vnder a Mountaine in a pleasant Valley. The three and twentieth in the morning, wee passed
vnder

vnder a great Mountaine, and neere vnto the East of it is a small Riuer : and the same day in the forenoone, we came to a Village, called *Auglamor* : and neere vnto that is another, called *Augalm*. The foure and twentieth in the morning, wee passed ouer a narrow Bridge, and the water runneth to the South : and the same day we lodged at a Village called *Moyffe* ; where we payed vpon euery summe of goods, one Gasbi. And while wee lay here there passed through the Towne a number of Sheepe, Goats, and Camels, with poore people, and their household-stuffe. The five and twentieth day from *Moyffe*, and the same day came to a Village, called *Sesmon Dermal*. The sixe and twentieth in the morning, wee passed ouer a very high Mountaine, vpon the top whereof are two Springs of very good water, and the same day we came to *Augow* : and to the North-east of the Village is a stony Bridge, and very good water passeth vnder it : And here we found a man hurt with Theeues. The seuen and twentieth we went from *Augow*, and the same day we rested at *Hausapans*, which standeth vnder a Mountaine, and hath to the West of it vpon a little Hill, a small round white Castle : And here is Bread, Cheese, Hens, Raisins, and Milke. The eight and twentieth day we went from *Hausapans*, and the same day we rested at *Cuskesar*, where is nothing but a round house vpon a Hill : but there is a new Cana building. The nine and twentieth day we went from *Cuskesar*, and the same day rested at *Gerdoun*. And this day we saw many Theeues vpon the Mountaines. The thirtieth day we departed from *Gerdoun*, and the same day came to *Yestacas*, which standeth vpon a Rocke in a deepe Valley : and here wee found Bread, Ennap, and Battegh. Here I payed twice as much Toll as in any other paid.

20 The first day of October we departed from *Yestacas* : and the second day in the morning wee came to *Boial*, which is a Village of great store of fruit. And here wee met with the *Bassa* of *Shiras*, which had in his companie about a thousand Camels, besides Horses, and Asnillios. And here are many Villages and Houses together. The second of October at night wee left *Boial*, and the third day lodged at *Moydar*. The fourth day we departed from *Moydar*, and the same day I came to the Citie of *Hispahan*, where the King of *Persia* sometimes keepeth his Court. At the entring in of the gate of *Hispahan*, groweth on either side of the gate a Chest-nut tree, one to the East, and another to the West, then we passed ouer many waters : and at the entring into the principall Towne is a Castle to the South-west of the gate. And here they haue in their Hamam a certaine Ointment to anoint their bodies withall, which is called *Doma*, which taketh away all the haire of a mans bodie. To the East of *Hispahan* is a very long and great Valley, where are many Villages and Houses. The carriage of one hundred Mauns of Merchandise from *Shiras* to *Hispahan*, costeth seuentie Shehides, and from *Hispahan* to *Cassan* sixtie Shehides. *Hispahan* is a Citie that vseth great store of Anil, maketh the greatest store of Muskaille, and hath the best Cotton that euer I saw. The Maun of Cotton wooll is worth here twelue Shehides ; and the Maun of Rice, seuen Beste ; the Maun of Dracken, two Beste ; and the Maun of Ennap, two Beste ; the Maun of Non, three Beste ; and Laghem, foure Beste. The Cattal of Sugar is worth here foure hundred Tomaun, and Anil fortie Mamodies the Maun. The Maun of *Hispahan* is one and an halfe of *Shiras*. Also at the entring in and going out of the gates of *Hispahan*, euery Hemmel payeth one Gasbi. The seuenth day of October, I came out of the Can at *Hispahan*.

30 The ninth day of the said moneth I departed from *Hispahan*, and the same day lodged at *Sen*. The tenth day from *Sen*, and the same day at *Shesers Can* : and also this day at night, at a great Village called *Calenda*, which hath great plentie of all sorts of fruits. The eleuenth day from thence, and the same day at *Shen*, also a Towne of great store of fruit. And this day in the morning, we descended downe a very high Mountaine. At *Calenda* euery summe of goods payeth one Gasbi. The twelfth day we went from *Shen*, and the same day we came to *Garratcoy*, and the same day departed from thence, and in the afternoone reached vnto the Citie of *Cassan*. And presently vpon the comming of any Caffell to *Cassan*, there is one that doth take a note of all the goods, what it is, and how much of euery sort : which note he deliuereth to the *Vizier*, which is the name of the Gouvernour of *Cassan*, which is greater then a *Basha*. To the South-west or West of this Towne, is all Mountaynous, and to the North of it are diuers Villages and Valleys, and to the South-east is a low Mountaine, and white, as if it were by the Sea side. The foureteenth day at the comming of the Caffell to *Cassan*, they brought newes that seuen ships of the *Portugals* were arriued in *Ormuz* from *Goa*. The Carauan *Basha* had for guarding of the Caffell from *Lar* to *Cassan*, twentie Tomaun, which were in number five hundred Camels. The summe of an Asse, which is two Mauns of *Lar*, costeth the carriage from *Lar* to *Cassan*, sixtie Mamodies. The seuenteenth day of October, went a Caffell from *Cassan* to *Casbin*. From *Yesla*, which is ten daies iourney to the South from *Cassan*, commeth great store of Cotton-wooll, and cloath made of Cotton ; and the Maun of Cotton-wooll is worth in *Cassan*, eight Mamodies, Creams is worth sixe Tomaun the Maun. The vse is in this Citie, when they burie their dead, that three carrie the Corps to the graue, two before and one behind. Wood is sold in *Cassan* for one Beste the Maun. He that writeth vp the goods that come to *Cassan*, taketh vpon euery Tomaun that is sold in the Towne, one Mamodie : and the like order is in *Tauris*. There was a Caffell of one hundred

*Auglamor.**Augalm.**Moyffe.**Sesmon Dermal.**Augow.**Hausapans.**Cuskesar.**Gerdoun.**Yestacas.**October.**Boial.**Moydar.**Hispahan, now
the chiefe Ci-
tie of Persia.**Sen.**Shesers Can.**Calenda.**Shen.**Garratcoy.**Cassan.**Yesla.*

hundred and fiftie Camels comming from *Ormus* to *Cassan*, all carried away by two hundred Theeues; therefore men must goe strong in those theeuiſh parts. The Batman of *Cassan* maketh two and an halfe of *Aleppo*. Pepper is worth the Maun in this Citie, fortie Shehides, Meckhikan and Bepella ſeuentie Mamodies, Drachen one hundred Shehides, and Angarra fixe Mamodies the piece. And eightie make fiftie Mauns of *Tauris*, which is foure hundred and fiftie Lerras of *Venice*. Gingebeſ fortie Shehides: Silke eightie Shehides. And fixe Mauns of Silke make one Maun of all other things.

The fourth day of Nouember we departed from *Cassan*, and the ſame day lodged at a Caſal, called *Senſen*: the Can is old, and ſtandeth to the Eaſtward of the Village. And this Caſal ſtandeth vpon a round rotten hill like a Caſtle: and to the Weſt of it, is a rew of ſmall Trees, and two great Trees in the rew. And neere to *Senſen* is a Village, called *Bedra*, which hath a ſmall Caſtle. The fifth day from *Senſen*, and the ſame day we reſted at *Casmona*; which is a ſmall Village in a great Plaine, and hath an old Caſtle ſtanding to the South of the Towne. And here we paid vpon Barr one Gasbeke. The ſixt day from *Casmona*, and the ſame day at *Comm*, which is a very great Citie. And to the Eaſt South-eaſt of the Towne, are diuers greene Towers, whereof three ſtand together, beſides fixe others very high. And to the North of the Towne is a bridge of ſtone. The ſeuenth day we departed from *Comm*, and the ſame day we came at *Gaffarawan*, which is a new Can to the Eaſtward of the high-way. And here wee paid vpon euery ſumme of goods on Gasbeke. The eight day we departed from *Gaffarawan*, and the ſame day we came to a Citie, called *Sowwa*: and we lay all night in a great field, incloſed with a wall round about. The ninth day, we went from *Sowwa*, and the ſame day wee came to *Daung*, which ſtandeth to the Weſt of the high-way. And here we paid vpon euery Barr one Gasbeke. The tenth day we departed from *Daung*, and the ſame morning paſſed by another Mangel, called *Sang*: and the ſame day we came to *Arraſſan*, which is a Village that hath diuers houſes built like Hay-cocks. And heere a Theefe would know of me of what place I was. And at *Arraſſan* we paid vpon euery ſumme of goods one Gasbeke. It is alwaies very good for a man that will trauaile, to apparell himſelfe according to the order of euery Country, wherein he ſhall trauaile. The eleuenth day we departed from *Arraſſan*, and the ſame day we came to *Kirra*, which ſtandeth vpon a little round hill. The twelfth day from *Kirra*, and the ſame day at *Paffen*, where is great ſtore of Wall-nut-trees and Wine: and heere two draughts coſt me one Mamodie. The thirteenth from *Paffen*, and the ſame morning paſſed by a Village, called *Auffar*; and to the South of way are two old Towers. Alſo the ſame day we came to *Dessa*, which is nothing but a Can: And heere comming ſomewhat late in the euening, wee could get neither Bread nor Water. The foureteenth we departed from *Dessa*, and the ſame morning paſſed by a towne, called *Sultanas*; which we left to the South-weſt of the way. Alſo the ſame day we came to *Caneſſeras* of the *Shangh*, which is a Can, and new built, and the Water is farre from the Can. The eleuenth day of Nouember it began with froſt, and very cold and great winds; and the foureteenth day in the euening, being at the Kings houſe, it began to ſnow. The ſixteenth day, we departed from *Caneſſeras* of the *Shangh*, and the ſame day we came to a Towne, called *Sangas*. The ſeuenteenth day we went from *Sangas*, and the ſame day we came at a Can, called *Necpaw*. The eighteenth day we departed from *Necpaw*, and the ſame day we came to *Sarcham*, where we found a Sultan, and therefore lay without the Can. The nineteenth wee departed from *Sarcham*, and the ſame day we came to a Towne, called *Meyannan*, where is great plentie of victuals. And here the Batman of Bread is ſold for fixe Gasbekes, and ſeuene Gasbekes is one Beſte. And this morning we met at the entring into the Mountaines twentie Theeues, and preſently after paſſed ouer a bridge, and then ouer a very high Mountaine, where the high-way is paved with ſtone. And neere vnto this *Meyannan* is a very long bridge of Bricke: and heere their Bricke is much like vnto ours; and heere are Muſicians like vnto ours. The twentieth wee departed from *Meyannan*, and the ſame day we came to a Village, called *Turkeman*: and at *Meyannan* wee met with the reſt of our Caſſel. The one and twentieth wee went from *Turkeman*, and the ſame morning paſſed by two Cans, the one called *David Derhauer*, and the other *Abas*. Alſo the ſame day, we came to a Village called *Haggegaw*, whither we came late in the night. The two and twentieth day we departed from *Haggegaw*, and the ſame day we came to a Village, called *Anaſpeng*, where are many ſmall trees. The three and twentieth wee departed from *Anaſpeng*, and the ſame day we came to the great Citie of *Tauris* or *Tauris*. Neere vnto *Tauris* is much Medow ground. This weeke all the *Armenians* keepe faſt. They follow the orders of the *Greekes*: for euery Wednesday and Friday they faſt, and euery Saturday eate fleſh, except it be Eaſter Eue. The fixe and twentieth day of Nouember, I was at their Church in *Tauris*: where firſt they ſung *Psalmes*, and then went to Maſſe: And the Prieſt went round about the Altar three times. The firſt time he cenſored, the ſecond time hee carried the Booke about, and the third time the Chalice. At the beginning of Maſſe, euery man doth kiſſe one another; and after Maſſe kiſſe the Booke, and take holy Bread: and the poore haue pottage and bread giuen them. An hundred Mauns of Merchandize of *Tauris* coſt the carriage from *Cassan* to *Tauris* by *Menel*, one hundred and twentie Shehides. I paid for my ſelfe and eightie two Mauns

Mauns of Merchandize, eightie seven Mamodies, and I was accounted for five and thirtie Batmans. The Batman of *Teuris* maketh nine Lerra of *Venice*, Darchen is worth the Maun in *Teuris*, fiftie Shehides, full full eight and twentie, gold and siluer of Bountaki thirtie Ducats the Lerra, euery dram one Best, Silke one hundred Shehides. The seven and twentieth of Nouember, I paide in *Teuris* for my tribute twelue Shehides and two Bestes. Also I paide for safe conduct betweene *Cassan* and *Teuris*, ten Shehides. In *Teuris* I vnderstood, that a yeere before my coming thither, there was one *Thomas* here with diuers *English-men*, who sold Cremes for one Tomaun and an halfe, and Kerfies for one hundred Shehides the piece. In *Teuris* is a kind of tilke Sattin, called *Atlas*, of nine or ten Gasse long euery piece, and it is sold for three Merchel and an halfe the piece, and the best for foure Croysh, which are good wares for *Arsingam*, and *Arserom* in *Armenia*. In *Teuris* I sold one and twentie Mauns of Mechic, at three Mamodies the Maun, which amount to fixe hundred ninetie three Mamodies. The Batman of *Wan* or *Van* is two and an halfe of *Teuris*. Neere vnto *Teuris* to the Northward, is a very high Mountaine, where Snow doth lie continually. The first day of December, 1581. in the Euening, wee departed from the Citie of *Teuris*, and the same night lodged at a Village called *Souffion*, and here is Wine that is very strong, but not pleasant. The third day from *Souffion*, and the same day at a Towne called *Merent*, where are two high old Towers, and two blunt, standing neere together. And here vpon newes of the passing by the Towne of a *Bassa*, there went out five hundred Horse-men. The fourth day from *Merent*, and the same day at *Iolfa*: and there is a Bridge of wood vpon Boates, there was a stone Bridge, but it is broken. And *Aras* is the name of the Riuer which runneth before the Towne, and the Towne standeth vnder a Mountayne. There are in this Towne three thousand Houses, and they haue seven Churches, and the richest pay euery house twentie Merchel a yeere, and the rest according to their abilitie. The fifth day from *Iolfa*, and the same day we lodged at a good Towne called *Naxnan*, which hath great plentie of victuals, and especially Angour, and also hath Silke. And in the middle way betweene *Iolfa* and this Citie, is a very high round Rocke, much like vnto a Castle. The seventh day from *Naxnan*, and the same day at a Village called *Potta*. And about ten miles to the North-west of this Village, is *Noahs Arke* vpon a Mountayne, which is somewhat high, and hath alwayes Snow lying vpon it, and no man may goe vp it: But they say that Saint *Iokemo* went vp to the top, and in the *Armenian* tongue it is called *Affe Masis*. And at the foot of this Mountayne, is a Church of the *Armenians*. The eighth day from *Potta*, and the same day we came to a Village called *Cambellelea*. This eighth day I was vnder the Arke, and there are two high Mountaynes together, which I left to the West, and they are about three miles asunder, but the highest and that to the Northward of the West, is that whereupon the Arke did rest. The ninth day from *Cambellelea*, and the same day at *Erreman*; here euery Hemel of Silke payeth five Chekins. At the time of the last warres in *Persia*, there were many Christians taken slaues in *Erreman*, and other places. And those of *Arsingam* ransomed seven thousand. Fourteene Batman of *Teuris* are twelue of *Erreman*. In *Erreman* are very many Christians, and yet there is a Church standing of the Christians. To the Northward of this Towne, about a mile, is a stone Bridge, and vnder it, passeth a Riuer called *Sanguina*, which commeth out of the Riuer *Aras*, or *Araxis*: and about foure dayes from *Erreman* or *Reinan*, it meeteth with the Riuer of *Aras* or *Arasb* againe. The twelfth day wee departed from *Erreman*, and lodged the same day at a Casal of Christians, called *Echimassen*, and here are five old Churches, and one of them is ouerthrowne, because a brother and a sister married themselues together in the said Church. The thirteenth day from *Echimassen*, and the same morning we passed by certaine old Towers, where in times past, was a Citie called *Sowmarin*. And in *Echimassen* wee paide two and twentie Shehides for a bribe. And here are many Lyons, for within fixe moneths they haue carried away out of this Casal seven and thirtie persons; and the day before we came thither, was a child carried away out of his mothers armes. Betweene *Naxnan* and *Erreman* is a place where they dig Salt out of the ground. The said thirteene day at night we lay by the Riuer side, where hath beene in times past a Casal. The fourteenth day at a Castle called *Dagswan*, and without the Towne is an old Church of the Christians. At this place euery summe of goods that commeth out of *Persia*, payeth two Aspers, and if it goeth not to *Arserom*, then it payeth five pro cento. A Hen is worth here eight Auctshas. The fifteenth day from *Dagswan*, and the same day at a Casal called *Seraffa*, and here wee lay in a great house, and neere to the Casal passed ouer a Bridge. The sixteenth day from *Seraffa*, and the same day at a Casal called *Cappannac*, and neere vnto *Seraffa* is a Church of Saint *Christopher*. The seuenteenth day from *Cappannac*, and the same day at a Casal called *Comatseur*. The eighteenth day from *Comatseur*, and the same day at a Casal called *Shew banc cupres*: and neere vnto this Casal is a stone Bridge, which a Sheeheard did build. And here all our Merchandizes were searched, and written vp by one that came from *Dagswan*, and another of this Casal that did write all things. The nineteenth day from *Shew banc cupres*, and the same morning passed by a Towne called *Hassen gallawth*, where is a very strong castle, with three wals. And here the houses are built of Fir trees like vnto the houses in the *Alpes*. Also the same day at a Casal called *Bollomash*. The twentieth one day from *Bollomash*, & the same day at *Arserom*. And he that setteth prices vpon all commodities hath

This seemed to be Master *Thomas Hudson* mentioned in the sixth voyage to *Persia*, in Master *Hac.* voyages.

Hee departed from *Teuris* or *Tauris*. *Souffion*. *Merent*.

Iolfa. The Riuer *Aras* or *Araxis*.

Or *Naxinan*.

Potta. *Noahs Arke*.

Cambellelea.

Or *Reinan*.

Sanguina a Riuer.

Echimassen.

Sowmarin.

Salt growing in the ground. *Dagswan*.

Seraffa.

Cappannac.

Comatseur.

Shew banc cupres.

Hassen gallawth.

Bollomash.

hath vpon euery hundreth that is sold two Anil, is worth heere twentie Chekins the Batman.

Arzerum is a plentiful Towne for all kind of victuals, and hath three gates. In *Arzerum* one Batman of Mel or Deps, is worth two Auſſhas. And in this Towne one robbed three shops, and the next morning was hanged. After eight daies abode in this place, the nine and twentieth of December I departed from *Arzerum*, and the same day lodged at a great Casall, named *Pretton*. The thirtieth day from *Pretton*, and the same day at a Casall, named *Shennar*. From *Dagſwan* to *Arzerum*, the women goe in Gaskins like men: and vpon their heads they weare a high round trunke hanged with pieces of Siluer Money; and about that and their chin, they haue a large white cloath, which is all set round about with Buttons of Siluer: & also vpon their heads, they weare a piece of red Silke, which hangeth downe behind them, two or three yards vpon the ground with a fringe: and about their neckes they weare a Coller of Siluer, and thereunto are fastned five or sixe pieces of Siluer made very broad, and to some more. They are the most part blacke, and haue full faces, small feet, great legs, great hands and armes, and their lips not small.

Pretton.
Shennar.

Womens attire

January.
Götter.
Gebesse.

Backerreg.
Bettarreg.
Arſingam.

The Riuer of
Ponnats falleth
into Euphrates.

Serperron.
Ardanſegh.

Shewbanning.

Andre.
Teoltedder.

Longo.
Prassa.
Tocat, Tocat.

Ackelcon.
Burghcarre.
Dadow.

February.

Searradella.
Chagannadel.
Garom.

The first day of January, we departed from *Shennar*, and the same morning passed by a Casall, called *Götter*. Also the same day wee came to a Crauanſall, called *Gebesse*, and the next morning passed by another of the same name. The second day from *Gebesse*, and the same day at a great Casal, called *Backerreg*, where is great plentie of Wine: and here the Batman is sold for sixe Parra. The third of January from *Backerreg*, and the same day at a Casall, called *Bettarreg*, which is neere vnto *Arſingam*. Also the same day I went vnto *Arſingam*, which is within foure daies iourney of *Trebesonda*. The weight and measure of *Arſingam*, do both agree with *Arzerum*: and here Merchel is worth fiftie foure Auſſhas. The cariage of a Mule from *Arzerum* to *Arſingam*, colteth twelue Shehides; and from thence to *Tockat* three Duckats. To the East-ward of *Arſingam*, is a very strong Castle, and to the South of the Towne a stone bridge, which passeth over the Riuer of *Ponnats*. And in this Valley are three hundred and sixty Casals of Christians. The thirteenth day of January we departed from *Arſingam*, and the same day lodged at a Crauanſerras, named *Serperron*. The fourteenth day being Sunday, from *Serperron*: and the same day at a Casal, called *Ardanſegh*: and this day wee passed over the Mountaines of *Chardalor*, with the greatest snow, frost and wind, that euer I was in, and were in danger to haue remained in the Mountaines all night. The 16. from *Ardanſegh*, the same day at a Casal, called *Shewbanning*, which hath a small Church standing vpon a small round Rock. The 17. from *Shewbanning*, the same day at a great Casal, called *Andre*; which is out of the way, and standeth vnder an hill, in a very pleasant Valley. The eighteenth day from *Andre*, and the same day at *Teoltedder*, a Casal by the Riuer side: and this day wee passed by a very great Castle to the North of the water, vpon a very high Mountaine. The nineteenth from *Teoltedder*, and the same day passed over a very high Mountaine: also the same day we lodged at a Casal, called *Longo*; and here we met with the Carauan of *Tocat*: and at the foot of this Mountaine, we met with another Riuer. The twentieth day from *Longo*, and the same day at a Casal, called *Prassa*. The one and twentieth day from *Prassa*, and the same day being Sunday wee came to *Tocat*, and by the way are two Casals, the one called *Namnous*, and the other *Manec*: and *Namnous* is a very great Casal, and hath many Christians. And here they goe to plough with Oxen, one three yards from another. Neere to *Tocat* to the North-East of the town, runneth the Riuer of *Ponnats*, and ouer it is made a great stone bridge: and to the North of the town vpon a high Rock, is a very strong Castle, and to the South of the town is a very high Mountaine, that is sufficient to beate both the Towne and the Castle: and here all their houses that are new built, are made like the building of Lions: and their Ploughs here haue no Coultors, but very long Shares. Tin is worth the Batman in *Tocat*, three hundred Auſſhas, Pambas, sixtie two Auſſhas; and five and twentie graines of Silke, eighty Aspers. The twentie foure and twentie five daies, arriued the Carauan with the Waſſhe: three Batmans of *Tocat* make ten Rotils of *Aleppo*. The Jewes wiues in *Tocat* were vpon their heads very high tires, much like vnto Miters. There is to the Castle of *Tocat* but one gate, and that is to the North; and all that part of the Towne are Christians. The twenty nine, we departed from *Tocat*, and the same day passed over a stone bridge, where is a great Casal: also the same day we came to another Casal, called *Ackelcon*. The thirtieth day from *Ackelcon*, and the same day we passed by a little Casal, called *Burghcarre*. Also the same day at a Village, called *Tackia*. The last day of January, from *Tackia*, and the same day at a Casal, called *Dadow*. And neere to this *Dadow* to the North-east, is a Towne, called *Amasia*: and from thence is carried much Ennebet, and Yeussen to other places.

The first day of Februarie we departed from *Dadow*, and the same day came to a Casal, called *Searradella*, which is parted into two parts. The second day of Februarie, from *Searradella*, and the same day at a Casal, called *Chagannadel*, and ouer it vpon a Mountaine is a great stone. The third day, from *Chagannadel*, and the same day at a Towne, called *Garom*: and to the South-east of the Towne is a Castle. And here, and in *Tocat*, and in *Arſingam*, euery Hemmel of goods payeth two Auſſhas: and here are in the Towne, three Towers. And here the women goe with their viſages couered, and a white cloath about their middles, and another about their heads and shoulders, and their long pendant of frindge Silke hangeth downe behind them: and here the Batman of *Pambucke* is sold for sixtie two Auſſhas. The fourth day from *Garom*, and the

the same day at a Casal, called *Lout*: and here is great plenty of Ennap; and this day wee passed *Lout*.
 ouer a very high Mountaine. And in *Lout* the Women weare a very high attire vpon their heads
 like an hat, and down before them to their eies, hangeth a broad cloath much like vnto a French-
 hood. The fifth day from *Lout*, and the same day we came to a Casal, called *Mourt Larfarrai*. *Mourt Larfarrai*
 And this day about fise of the clocke in the afternoone, was an Earth-quake. Also this day the
Armenians began their fast for Saint *George*. This day we passed ouer a great Riuer, called *Ca-*
salmach, which runneth into the Blacke Sea, or *Pontus Euxinus*. The sixth day from *Mourt-Lar-* *Casalmach, a*
sarrai, and the same day at a Casal, called *Allagour*, which standeth vpon an hill: and heere we *great Riuer*
 found many Theeues neere vnto the Riuer side vnder the ground. The seuenth day from *Alla-* *running into*
gour, and the same day at a Casal, called *Ennebea*. And this day the Carauan was greatly afraid *the Black Sea.*
 of Theeues. And for these three daies all the way is no wood: but neere vnto the Waters side, is *Allagour.*
 Hay and wilde-geese plentie: and this day we left the great Riuer *Ennebea.* *Casalmach*. The eighth day
 from *Ennebea*, and the same day at a great Casal, called *Sarracust*: and heere was a Bride carried *Sarracust.*
 about the Towne on horse-backe, and diuers Women like Maskers. The tenth day from *Sarra-*
cust, and the same day at a little Casal, called *Saddar*. The eleuenth day from *Saddar*, and the same *Saddar.*
 day at a Casal, called *Erandrerra*: and it standeth neere vnto a pleasant Valley; and to the South *Erandrerra.*
 of this place halfe a day is a Citie, called *Angria*, where most of the Grograms and Chamblers
 are made. The twelfth day from *Erandrerra*, and the same day at a Towne, called *Aash*, which *Aash.*
 standeth in a Valley, and hath but one *Maddenna*: and from this Towne wee descended downe
 a very great Mountaine. The thirteenth day from *Aash*, and the same day at a Casal, named *A-*
hemet Shalla, whither we came late in the night. And from *Aash* commeth a Riuer, which run-
 neth to the West. The foureteenth day, from *Ahemet Shalla*, and the same day at a Village, cal- *Garacham.*
 led *Garacham*, which standeth among the Mountaines: and the *Crauanferas* standeth alone. The *Gaye.*
 15. day from *Garacham*, and the same day at a Casal, called *Gaye*. And this day we passed ouer the
 Mountaine *Chambelle*: and vpon this Mountaine we met with a Carauan going for *Tocat*, which
 carried great store of Backam. The sixteenth day from *Gaye*, and the same day at a Casal, called
Carralla: and this day we lost our way. The seuenteenth day from *Carralla*, and the same day at *Carralla.*
 at a Casal, cald *Sowdegan*: and here is a very great *Crauanferas*; and in this Country the women *Sowdegan.*
 wash with their feet: and this day we passed by a Riuer that runneth to the East. The eighteenth
 30 day from *Sowdegan*, and the same day at a Casal, called *Couscherderrom*. And at *Couscherderrom*
 is a very faire *Crauanferas* new built: and for the building thereof, a Merchant of *Agam* gaue
 a Hemmel of Silke. The twentieth day from *Couscherderrom*, and the same day we passed through
 a Towne called *Boufene*: also the same day at a Towne, called *Basarich*. And this day we were *Basarich.*
 cold and wet with Snow. The one and twentieth day from *Basarich*, and the same day we pas-
 sed downe a very great Mountaine: also the same day we lodged at a Casal, called *Korshonnon*. *Korshonnon.*
 The two and twentieth day from *Korshonnon*, and the same day at a Casal, called *Aitfan*. The *Aitfan.*
 three and twentieth day from *Aitfan*, and the same day we came to *Borsa*. The foure and twen- *Borsa.*
 tieth day, three Theeues were executed in *Borsa*, which had robbed seuen or eight yeres between
Borsa and *Stambol*. In *Borsa* all Strangers pay for custome of their Merchandize three *per cento*.
 40 The Kintall of *Borsa* is fortie Hockies: and the Kintall of *Cremes*, is here worth eight thousand
 Anethas. The sixe and twentieth day, I went to the *Hammam*, that is a mile without *Borsa* to
 the West-ward; and the same day passed through foure wooden gates. And the Spout of this
 water commeth in from the South. There are in all foure of these Hammams.
 The first day of March at night, vntill twelue of the clocke, was to the West of the Towne, a
 great light like fire. The fifth day of March in the euening, wee departed from *Borsa*: and this
 day passed ouer a small Riuer, where is a stone bridge. Also this day wee lodged at a Casal of
 Christians, called *Peage*. The sixth day from *Peage*, and the same day passed by a Gulfe of the *Peage.*
 Sea, where is a Towne, called *Gamlech*, and also passed by a Lake of fresh water, which is called *Gamlech.*
Bouchi. Also this day we passed by two *Crauanferas*: and by the way is great store of Bay-trees
 50 growing: Also this day we came to *Samallech*, which is the *Skell*. The eight day from *Samallech*,
 and the same day we landed at the Tower, where they make light for the Ships that passe in and
 out of the Blacke Sea: and the same night wee came to *Skell*. The ninth day of March in the
 morning, we departed from *Skell*, and the same day came to *Galata* and *Constantinople*, by the
Turkes corruptly called *Stambol*. The tenth day, we arriued in *Stambol*, the Carauan of *Nest*:
 And the eleuenth day it was all burned, with one hundred and twentie Cargas more, and eightie
 thousand crownes in Pepper; besides great store of other Merchandize. And the order is to hang
 him, that was the first cause of the fire. The fourteenth day, was a passage Boate with sixtie or
 seuentie persons lost going ouer to *Samallech*; some *Christians*, some *Jewes*, and some *Turkes*. The
Musli in *Constantinople*, is counted like the Pope of *Rome*: and he was the cause, that all *Christi-*
 60 *ans* and *Jewes* were forced to leaue off their turbants. *Torra* is a great Citie in *Natolia*, three daies
 from the Sea: from whence come Grograms, Gaules, Silkes, and Cotton Wooll.
 The fourth day of April, 1582. we tooke our Voyage from *Galata* neere *Constantinople*, and
 the same day lay at a Casal, called *Tarrapea*: and from *Galata* hither came one *Anthonie* a Mer-
 chant of *Sio*, in company with me. And the same day I came from *Constantinople*, the Grand
Signior *Tarrapea.*

He taketh ship
to goe by the
Blacke Sea, vp
the Riuer *Danubius*.
Sissopoli.

Emonna.
Varna.
Caliacca.

Bugdania.

The mouth of
Saint George.
Dolcha.

The Riuer of
Kelle.
A small land.
Saxe.

Tomourra, is al-
so called *Ren*,
by the *Valla-*
chians.
Apparell.

The order of
making *Cai-*
uare.

They make
Caiare of
three sorts of
fish.

Signiors Sonne went out of the Towne with three or foure thousand Horses. Also the *Grand Signior* had another young Sonne borne of two monethes old. The sixth day of Aprill, 1582. wee departed from the Gulfe neere vnto *Tarrapca*, being imbarcked in a Barke laden with Wines of *Candie*, which was to goe vp the Riuer of *Danubius*. The seuenth day in the morning, the wind came vp to the East North-east with very stormie weather: and the same day wee returned to a Towne called *Sissopoli*, which is a good Harbour. And heere are many Wind-mills, and great store of Wine. And to the East of the Harbour are three Islands: and heere they are all *Greekes*. Also the *Turke* doth make here many Gallies. And in this foule weather some of our company wept, and others cryed out: & our foresaile split with the great wind; and we were in greater danger; because they could not of a long time get down their main saile. This great tempest that we had in the Blacke Sea, began vpon Saturday morning about one of the clocke, being the seuenth day of Aprill, as I said before, and continued vntill Tuesday in the morning being the tenth day, with very great Snow and Cold, as if it had bin at Christmas. The twelfth day we set saile from *Sissopoli*, and the same night came to an anchor vnder a Cape of Land, where is a Casal called *Emonna*. The thirteenth day from *Emonna*, and this night we passed by a great Citie called *Varna*, which lyeth within a very great Gulfe, which is a very good Harbor. The fourteenth day in the morning we passed by a Castle called *Caliacca*, which standeth vpon the Cape of a Land, and hath to the Eastward two small Pillars, and neere vnto them a great stone much like a man. The fifteenth day in the morning, wee returned to the Castle of *Caliacca*: and the seuenteenth day toward night, set saile from this Castle. The nineteenth day in the morning, we entred into a mouth of the Riuer *Danubius*, called *Licostoma*. And at the entring in of the Riuer to the Southward is a Beacon: and the depth is on the North-side, but there is neuer aboue eight foot water. And the Countrey on the South-side of the Riuer is called *Dobis*: and the North-side is called *Bugdania*. The two and twentieth day about noone, we entred into the Riuer, where commeth the mouth of Saint George; and that mouth runneth to the East South-east. And *Licostoma*, which we came forth off runneth to the West, and then presently againe to the North. Also this day we arriued at a Casal, called *Dolcha*, which lyeth on the South-side of the Riuer. And here lye out from the Towne certaine small Rocks into the water: And here our ship and the Merchant paid a ceraine small dutie of two or three Crownes. And here Fish, Hens, and Egges are plenty. The three and twentieth day we departed from *Dolcha* the same day about noone, we passed by the Riuer of *Kelle*, which is very broad, and runneth to the North-east. Also this day wee passed by a small land, which lyeth very neere *Saxe*. The foure and twentieth day about noone, wee came to a Towne called *Saxe*, which lyeth vpon the South-side of the Riuer. And ouer against this Towne is an land: and here the Riuer is very broad. And here we were to haue paid a Customs, but paid nothing vntill our comming to *Tomourra*. The foure and twentieth day in the afternoone from *Saxe*: and the five and twentieth day we arriued at *Tomourra*. And this *Tomourra* lyeth vpon the North-side of the Riuer, and is in *Bugdania*. In *Tomourra* the children go much after the order of *India*, with small Rings of Wiar through their eares. And the women goe with great knobs of siluer hanging vpon the vpper part of their eares; and with a great Roll of Linnen Cloth about their heads, much like a *Turkes* Turbant, and vpon that a small cloth: and the vpper bodies of their garments are set round about with great knobs of siluer like buttons. And the yong Maids weare their haire pleyted, and thereupon diuers pieces of siluer hanging: and vpon the Crowne of the head a round broad Brooch of siluer set with stones; and their sleeues great and short; and about their armes two great hoopes of siluer, and at their Girdles five or six paire of *Knives*: and about their neckes they weare nothing. The common sort goe for the most part bare-footed. The five and twentieth day, we came to *Tomourra*, a Bark from *Constantinople*, which came from thence in eight dayes. The ship that I came in from *Constantinople*, was twentie seven foot broad of my feet: and the poope more then thirtie foot high from the water, and could stow in hold but two Buts of heighth one vpon another, except it were in the middle. In this Town of *Tomourra* are sold twentie Egges for an Asper, and a good Hen for two Aspers, and Beefe, Bacon Bread, Wine, Beere, and Mede plenty, and very good fresh fish more then of any thing else. Here are sold for one Asper two Pikes, either of them better then three spans long, & three Carpes either of them a span & an halfe long. Also here is great store of Sturgeons & Herings in this Riuer. The order of their making of *Caiare* of their Sturgeons, is this. The *Caiare* or *Roe* must be taken whole out of the Fish; and then slash it a little with a Knife, and so salt it wel, for three dayes and three nights, and put it in a Barrell or Fat, and make an hole vnderneath, that the water or Salt that commeth from the *Caiare* may void forth: and after these three dayes are past, take it and wash it very well with fresh water, vntill the Salt bee cleane gone from it: and after this put it in Barrells for the space of other three dayes, & one must tread it downe with his clean feet: also you must make an hole vnder the Barrell for the water to void away; and then lay some great stones vpon it to presse it, and to make it hard: and after these three dayes bee past, take out the bottome and set in a new; and so it may be carried through out the World. And the names of the three fishes, of the *Roes* whereof they make it, are these: Sturgeon, and *Mourrouna*, and *Mersienne*. And the best times of the yeare to make it in, are Iune and Iuly. In this Towne

Towne of *Tomourra* are certaine Merchants of *Sio*, that are Lords of the same; and in times past it hath beene a faire Towne: But the *Tartars* haue two or three times spoyled it, and once they carried away fiftie persons out of it, and the Countries neere adioyning. And about the yeare of our Lord 1530. the *Turke* subdued this Countrey and a great part of *Hungarie*, and all, as they say, by the Treason of the Prince of *Transilvania*.

The first day of May, 1582. wee landed our goods: And Signior *Iocamo Alberri* paid for May. fraught of euery Butte of his Wine sixtie Aspers from *Constantinople* to this place. This day in They land their goods. They take their iourney again by land. the Euening, we departed by Land from *Tomourra*, which is called *Ren*, in the Language of *Wallachia*. *Tomourra* is called *Ren* by the *Wallachians*. The fourth day of May, wee passed by a Casall, where the Master of the Casall would The Riuer of *Prut*. haue taken away our fore-mans Horse: and the same day in the afternoone we passed ouer a long Bridge, and presently after a small Riuer called *Prut*. *Hus*. *Padwellia*: and here one of our *Muckers* Horses were againe taken. The tenth day we came to a Casall called *Sutfourre*, where we passed againe ouer the *Prut*. The eleuenth day in the morning, wee came to *Tas*, and here the Toll-master is a *Greeke*, and is called *Nicola Neuerredde*. To the South of *Tas* is the Castle with a paire of Gallows before it, and round about it is a wall of great trees of wood: and to the South-west of the Towne is a great Lake: and vpon the farther side of the Lake is a great Monasterie. The women here goe in *Turkish* Gownes, and great Turbants, with two or three great bosses set with stones on either side of their Turbants, and their Gownes downe before with the like, and in their eares great bosses with a Chaîne of small Pearle made fast to both their eares. And the Maides goe with an Attire vpon their heads like vnto a Mitre, and vpon that their haire bound a crosse: and some of the Children goe sewed through their Eares with pack-thred like the *Indian* fashion. The custome of a Cloth in *Tas* is one Ducke of Gold, and of a Kerlie a Doller, and of euery Carpet that costeth one hundred Aspers, twelue Aspers; and of euery Oxe and Cow foure and twentie Aspers, except they belong to the Merchants of *Poland*, and then they pay but twentie Aspers. And euery Butte of Wine payeth five Dollers and tenne Aspers: And euery Butte of Muskadell payeth in *Constantinople* fixe Chechins, and in *Eluona* foure. The sixteenth day in the afternoone, wee departed from *Tas*: And the seuenteenth day we lodged at *Steffennes*. The eighteenth day wee passed ouer the Riuer of *Prut*, which is three leagues from *Chotym*, and the same day at a Casall called *Leues*, which standeth in a Vale and hath a Lake of water standing in the middle of it. The nineteentth day in the morning at *Chotym*, and to the North of the Towne is the Castle which lyeth neere to the Riuer of *Nyester*, and this Riuer parteth *Bugdania* and *Polonia*. The twentieth day about noone, we departed from *Chotym*, and the same day beeing Sunday, wee came to the strong Frontier Towne of *Poland*, called *Camienitz*, which standeth in a Valley: and the Castle standeth to the West of the Towne. *Camienitz* the frontientowne of *Poland* vpon the *Turke* Apparell.

In this Towne all Merchants Strangers pay custome for their goods two and an halfe per cent. The women in *Camienitz* goe with their Coates close bodied, and the neather bodies gathered like a Frocke: and vpon their heads a fine Cloth like a Call; and vpon that a long piece of white Lawne, that hangeth downe to the ground, and vpon that a blacke Veluet Hat. Their Girdles are set with great studs of Siluer and Gold: and they are very faire women, but not very commendable for their Chastitie, for most of them will be drunke. They vse in the morning to drinke much burnt Wine, and afterward Mede. And there are very few houses in the Towne, but they sell Beere and Mede; and the Borrow-masters sell Wine. And if a Gentlewoman goe abroad, all her men goe before her, and the Gentlemen ride before, and their men behind. The womens Garments are very long: and in the Villages by the way, the Maides goe with their haire hanging downe behind them, and a Garland vpon their heads: and they vse to dance much like the *Moores*. The young Maides of *Camienitz* weare their haire pleyted, and bound vpon about their heads, and with a blacke band of Veluet. The three and twentieth day we tooke our Iourney from *Camienitz*, &c.

His Iourney thorow *Poland* to *Dantrik*, and comming to *Hull* by Sea, is omitted.

CHAP. III.

Observations of Master Iohn Cartwright in his Voyage
from Aleppo to Hispaan, and backe againe: published by
himselfe, and here contracted.

§. I.

Of Euphrates, Orpha, Caracemit, the Curdi, Armenians, Bithlis,
Van, and Arraret.



Being rested in Aleppo two monethes and better, Master Iohn Mildenall and my selfe tooke our leaue of the Consull and Merchants, with a full intent and purpose to trauell vnto the great Citie Labor, in the Great Mogors Countrey in the East Indies: lodging all that night on a thinne Turkish Carpet in Woods-caine, where the * Carauan was assembled, to the end that wee might bee with the foremost: for delay in such trauell doth produce great and ineuitable danger. From

* A Carauan is a great many of Camels laden, not much vnlike our Carriers here in England. Tedish a Village of note. The Valley of Salt. 2. Sam. 8. 13.

Euphrates.

Time and manner of going downe the Riuer.

Aleppo wee spent three dayes Iourney vnto the bankes of Euphrates, passing by many Villages not worth the naming, and fertile Plaines, abounding with all sort of prouision necessary for mans life. One of those Villages is a Village of note vnto this day, called by the Countrey people Tedish, where the Iewes keepe a Monument in remembrance of the great Synagogue, holden there in the yeare from the Creation 3498. Neere vnto this Towne is the Valley of Salt memorable for that great ouerthrow which David gaue the Aramites, when hee slue of them in one battell eightene thousand men. Here also Campson Gaurus the Great Sultan of Egypt fought that deadly and mortall Battell with Selymus the first, the Great Turke; where hee lost his life being trodden, without regard, to death, both by his owne Souldiers and pursuing Enemies. Being arriued on the bankes of Euphrates, we found it as broad as the Thames at Lambith; but in some places it is narrower, in some broader, running with a very swift streame and current, almost as fast as the Riuer of Trent. At this place doth this Riuer beginne to take his name, being heere all gathered into one Channell, whereas before it commeth downe from the Lake Chieldor-Giol in Armenia, in manifold armes and branches, and therefore is called by the Countrey people, by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here it is that Merchants vse to passe downe by Barke vnto Babylon, thereby to auoid and shunne the great charge and wearisomnesse of trauell through the Desart of Arabia. Which passage they make sometimes in fiftene dayes, sometimes in twentie dayes, and sometimes in thirtie dayes, answerable to the rising and falling of the Riuer: and the best time to passe thither is either in Aprill or October, when the Riuer doth swell with abundance of Raine. The Boates are flat-bottomed, because the Riuer is shal- low in many places; so that when they trauell in the Moneths of Iuly, August, and September, they find the Riuer at so low an ebbe, that they are faine to carry with them a spare Boat or two, to lighten their owne, if they should chance to fall on the shoales. Euery night after Sun-set, they fasten these Boates to a stake, the Merchants lying aboard, and the Mariners vpon the shoare, as neere as they can vnto the same. In this passage downe the Riuer, you shall meet with diuers troupes of Arabians, who will barter their prouision of Dyet (for they care not for money) as Hennes, Kids, Lambe, Butter, and sowre Milke, for Glasses, Combes, Corall, Amber, Kniues, Bread and Pomegranates, Pils, wherewith they vse to tanne their Goats skinnes, in which they Churne with all. All of them, as well Women, Children, and Men are very good Swimmers, who oftentimes will swimme to the Barke side with Vessels full of Milke vpon their heads. These people are very theeuish, and therefore in your passage downe good watch must bee kept. But to returne where we left, wee were constrained by the deepnesse of the Riuer to ferrie ouer our whole Carauan, which consisted of a thousand persons, besides Camels, Horses, Mules, and Asses, by reason of which multitude we spent a whole day in transporting ouer the said Carauan. The gaines of which transportation yeelded the Ferriman a Shaughee, which is fise pence English vpon a Beast.

Bir. Mesopotamia.

Orpha.

* See sup. c. 2.

Being ouer the foresaid Riuer, wee arriued at Bir and entred into the famous Prouince of Mesopotamia; The Turkes doe call it Diarbech. This Prouince of it selfe is most fruitfull, but by the Turkish Wares much ruined and wasted: neuerthelesse, there are some Cities of great importance. About two dayes Iourney from Bir, wee came to Orpha, a Citie of great account and estimation, which many suppose to haue beene the famous Citie Edessa. As yet there remaine certaine Monuments of Baldwin * in Latine letters. The aire of this Citie is very healthfull, the Countrey fruitfull, onely wood excepted, and therefore in stead thereof, they burne the dung of Camels and other beasts, dried in the Sunne. This Citie is built foure-square; the West

West part standing on the side of a rockie Mountaine, and the East part trendeth into a spacious Valley, replenished with Vineyards, Orchards, and Gardens: the walls are very strong, furnished with great store of Artillerie, and contayne in circuit three *English* miles: and for the gallantnesse of the site, it was once reckoned the Metropolitall seat of *Mesopotamia*, howsoever it is now translated to *Caramida* or *Caraemit*. There is in this Citie a Fountaine full of fishes, so vsed to hand, that they will receiue any substance that shall bee offered vnto them: both *Iewes*, *Armenians*, and *Turkes* reported vnto vs, that this Fountaine was *Jacobs Well*, and that here hee serued his Vncle *Laban* twice seuen yeeres, for faire and beautifull *Rachel*.

Gen. 29. 13. 27.
The *Scruano*
at the walls of
Orpha. 1603.
Let the Geo-
grapher vse his
owne libertie:
I giue you the
Author.

The gates of this Citie were much battered, a little before our comming by *Eliazgee* the *Scriuano*, and the Rebels his followers; hee drew the Citizens to a composition of fittie thousand Chekins, and so departed. Memorable also is this Citie, then called *Carras*, for the great battell which was fought before it betweene the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, when *Marcus Crassus* was Generall on the one side, and *Surena* on the other side.

Caraemita

At this Citie hauing paid our Custome, which is a Doller on a summe of goods, our Carauan was licenced to depart: and at our ordinary houre, which was three of the clocke in the afternoone, we set forward towards the ancient Citie *Amida*, now called *Caramida* or *Caraemit*, five dayes journey from *Orpha*, traueilling sometimes ouer rough and craggie Mountaines, and sometimes through most delightfull Playnes and Valleys: amongst which there is one of note, enuironed about with a Pale of Mountaines, in such wise that there is but one entrie and pas-

sage: where * *Aladeules* is said to haue had his Paradise.

* See hereof
in *M Polo* long
before that
time of *Senex*
de Monte,
which this *Aladeules* imita-
ted, if the re-
port be true.

At the end of five dayes trauell, wee arrived at *Caraemit*, which is to say, The blacke Citie, either for the stone wherewith it is built, being like vnto let in colour, or for the fertilitie of the soyle round about it, which is of a dusky colour. This Citie is seated vpon a marvellous high Rocke, and containeth in circuit very neere sixe miles; and though it be sufficiently fortified by nature, yet is it enuironed with a double wall: the outmost is somewhat decayed, but the inmost is well repaired, being fenced with great store of Artillerie. It is gouerned by a *Bassa*, who commandeth ouer twelue *Sanzacks*, and thirtie thousand *Tymariots*: and is now become the Metropolitall Citie of *Mesopotamia*. There were mustred from this Citie, when *Amurat* the third inuaded *Persia*, in the yeere 1578. twelue thousand Souldiers, the Captaine being well checked by Generall *Mustapha* for bringing so few. The Souldiers of this Citie for the most part are Archers, not of any courage, but very effeminate, and accustomed to the vse of the *Scimitarre*. During our abode at this place (which was fourteene dayes) we lodged in a very faire Caine built of free-stone; for which lodging we payed to the Master of the Caine five Shaughes a piece: all which time nothing fell out worthie obseruation, but the cruell execution of a petie malefactor, who hauing but pilfered away certaine small wares, was mounted on a Camell, with his armes spread abroad, hauing two sockets-holes bored in his shoulders blades, into which were set two flaring torches, dropping continually on his skin to his greater torment, and in the end, hauing carried him in this pitifull manner through the principall streets of the Citie, they brought him to the place of execution, and there ganced him on a great Iron hooke, suffering him so to hang till he died. Passing through the South-gate of this Citie, wee payed to the Porter of the gate a Shaughee vpon a beast, descending from the Citie into a most fertile and fruitfull Plaine, where are many Gardens and Orchards, and places of great refreshment.

A most cruell
execution.

Through this Plaine runneth the great Riuer *Euphrates*, with a very swift current; and is as broad here sometimes of the yeere as the *Thames* at *London Bridge*, but now was much dried vp, by reason of the heate in Summer, making thereby many Ilands and demi-Ilands, where the Citizens of *Caraemit* during the Summer season doe vse to pitch their Tents, to enioy the freshment of the Aire and Riuer: but in the Winter it swelleth so abundantly ouer the said Ilands and bankes, that neither man nor beast is able to passe ouer: to auoide which inconuenience, there is, a mile distant from the Citie, a stone-bridge of twentie arches, made ouer the said Riuer. This euening we pitched two miles from the Citie, and stayed all that night of purpose for some Merchants that were behind: Here wee exchanged our Camels, and in stead of them tooke Mules, a creature farre more fit to trauell ouer craggie Rockes and Mountaines then Camels: for now we were within a few dayes journey, to passe ouer the high Mountaines of *Armenia*, called in Scripture the Mountaines of *Ararat*: which trauell with Camels is not onely laborious, but very dangerous, if the ground should proue moist or slabby; for then being laden with great burdens, they cannot goe onwards, neither are they able to passe with their huge burdens, through the streight passages which are in those Mountaines.

Euphrates.

Two dayes journey from *Caraemit*, we rested at the foot of a great rockie Mountaine, being one of the Heads out of which *Tygris* floweth, and runneth downe with a swift current to *Balsara*, and so dischargeth it selfe in the *Persian Gulfe*. Strangely doth it issue out of three Rockes admirably hanging, that a man as he passeth vnder them, would imagine them to bee readie to fall on his head. And for the strangenesse of the site, the *Turkes* haue builded three Bridges in the midst of those Rockes, to passe from one vnto another, thereby to behold Natures wisdom

One of the
Heads out of
which *Tygris*
floweth.

Three Bridges;

in

in framing them so wonderfull. Wee went to view the same, but through the huge ouer-falls, which came farre off within those Mountaines, and the steepnesse of the same, together with the hideous noise, and whistling murmuring, wee found not so great contentment aboue, as wee did beneath.

Gall trees.

The next day we spent ouer many high Mountaines, on the top whereof grew great quantitie of Gall-trees, which are somewhat like our Oakes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree in this place a man shall not gather a pound of Galls: at euening we pitched againe on the bankes of *Euphrates*; and in the morning passed the said River, but not by Barge as before, which was likely to haue bred no small annoyance to our whole Carauan; for through the swiftnesse of the streame, and deepnesse of the Channell, many Beasts with their ladings had beene carried away and drowned, if there had not beene in time a shallow Foord discovered, which had in such sort raised the depth of the Channell, making as it were a shelve for our Commodious passage: by helpe whereof there was not so much as one man or beast that perished.

Euphrates.

The description of the Curdies, a most theeuish people. The Curdies worshippers of the Deuill.

We were no sooner ouer, but forth-with we were encountred with a certaine troope of people, called the *Curdies*, which some thinke to be a remnant of the ancient *Parthians*. This rude people are of a goodly stature, and well proportioned, and doe neuer goe abroad without their Armes, as Bowes and Arrowes, Scimitarre and Buckler, yea and at such time, when a man for age is ready to goe downe to his graue. They doe adore and worship the Deuill, to the end hee may not hurt them or their Cattell, and very cruell are they to all sorts of Christians; in which regard, the Countrey which they inhabite, is at this day termed *Terra Diaboli*, the Land of the Diuell. They participate much of the nature of the *Arabians*, and are as infamous in their *Latrocinies* and robberies, as the *Arabians* themselves. They liue vnder the commandement of the great *Turke*, but with much freedome and libertie. This theeuish company did sundry times arrest our Carauan, affirming that their Prince had sent for a Dollar on a summe of goods, without the payment whereof (being five seuerall times demanded) wee should not passe through their Countrey. One Village of note is there in this Countrey, wholly inhabited by the *Curdies*, being five daies iourney from *Caraemit*, and three daies iourney from *Bitchish*, called by the Countrey people *Manuscute*. This Towne is seated in a most fertile and fruitfull Valley, betweene two Mountaines, abounding with Pasture and Cattell: and about a mile from it, is an Hospitall dedicated to Saint *Iohn the Baptist*, which is much visited as well by *Turkes* as *Christians*, who superstitiously affirme, that whosoever will bestow either a Sheepe, Kid, or some piece of Money to releue the poore of that place, shall not onely prosper in his iourney, but obtaine forgiveness of all his sinnes. To the Governour of this Village, wee paid for our custome a Shaughee on a summe of goods, and so were dismissed. The next day following, we passed ouer many craggy and steepe Mountaines, and at the last rested our selues and wearied beasts on the banke of *Euphrates*, being the out-most bounds on this side of *Mesopotamia*, and so entred the day following on the Borders of *Armenia* the great, which is by some distinctly diuided into three parts; the North part whereof being but little, is called *Georgia*: the middle part *Turcomania*: and the third part by the proper name of *Armenia*.

Manuscute.

Indulgence.

Euphrates.

It is now called *Turcomania*, and was the first seate of the *Turkes*, after their first comming out of *Seythia*, who left their naturall seates, and by the *Caspian* Ports passing through the *Georgian* Countrey, then called *Iberia*, neere vnto the *Caspian* Sea; first ceased vpon this part of *Armenia*, and that with so strong an hand, that it is by their posteritie yet holden at this day, and of them called *Turcomania*.

Armenian manners. Women Archers.

At our first entrance into this Countrey, we trauelled through a goodly, large, and spacious Plaine, compassed about with a rewe of high Mountaines, where were many Villages, wholly inhabited by *Armenians*; a people very industrious in all kind of labour: their Women very skilful and actiue in shooting, & managing any sort of weapon, like the fierce *Amazones* in antick time; and the women at this day, which inhabit the Mountaine *Xatach* in *Persia*. Their families are very great; for, both Sons, Nephewes, and Nieces, doe dwell vnder one roofe, hauing all their substance in common: and when the Father dyeth, the eldest Sonne doth gouerne the rest, all submitting themselves vnder his Regiment. But when the eldest Sonne dyeth, the gouernment doth not passe to his Sonnes, but to the eldest Brother. And if it chance to fall out, that all the Brethren doe dye, then the gouernment doth belong to the eldest Sonne of the eldest Brother, and so from one to another. In their dyet and cloathing, they are all fed and clad alike, liuing in all peace and tranquillitie, grounded on true loue and honest simplicitie.

The Armenians are a populous Nation.

The Armenians gouerned by two Patriarchs

To discourse how populous this Nation is at this day, is needlesse, since they inhabit both in *Armenia* the greater, and *Armenia* the lesse, as also in *Cilicia*, *Bithynia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Persia*. Besides the principall Cities of the *Turkish* Empire, be much appopulated with them, as *Brusia*, *Angori*, *Trabisonda*, *Alexandria*, *Grand-Caire*, *Constantinople*, *Cassa*, *Aleppo*, *Orpha*, *Cara-emit*, *Van*, and *Iulpha*: for that they are very laborious in transporting Merchandize from one Citie to another, by which meanes, through the customes which are paid in euery Citie, the Coffers of the *Grand Signior* are wonderfully enriched. This people haue two Patriarchs, to whom they giue the name of *Vniuersall*: the one keepeth his seate in the Citie of *Sis* in *Caramania*,

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mania, not farre from *Tharsus*: the other in the Monastery of *Ecmeczin*, neere vnto the Citie *Ernan* in this Countrey. Vnder these two Patriarchs are eightene Monasteries, full freight with Friers of their Religion; and foure and twentie Bishopricks. The maintenance allowed in times past vnto each of these two Patriarchs, was a Maidin on an house; each Patriarch hauing vnder him twentie thousand households: but now that large beneuolence the great *Turke* hath seized into his owne hands; and therefore now they are constrained to liue on the Almes of the people, going continually in Visitation from one Citie to another, carrying their Wiues and whole family with them.

The people of this Nation haue amongst them the Christian * Faith, but at this day it is spotted with many absurdities. They hold with the Church of *Rome* in the vse of the Crosse, affirming it to be meritorious, if they make the same with two fingers, as the Papists vse; but idle and vaine if with one finger, as the *Iacobites*. They adorne their Churches in euery place with the signe of the Crosse, but for other Images they haue none, being professed enemies against the vse of them. In keeping ancient Reliques they are very superstitious, and much deuoted to the blessed Virgin *Mary*, to whom they direct their prayers. They imitate the *Dioscorians* in eating Whit-meats on Saturday, which to doe on Wednesday and Friday were a deadly sin: neuertheless, they will not refraine from the eating of flesh on euery Friday, betweene the Feast of the Passouer & the Ascention. They abstain fise Sabboths in the yeare from eating flesh, in a remembrance of that time which the Gentiles did sacrifice their Children vnto Idols. They celebrate the Annunciation of the Virgin *Marie* on the sixt of Aprill, the Natiuitie of our blessed Sauior on the sixt of Ianuary, the Purification the fourth of February, and the Transfiguration the 14. of August. The ministrations of their Liturgie or Seruice, is performed in their natie language, that all may vnderstand: but in their Seruice of the Masse for the dead, they are most idolatrous, vsing at the solemnizing thereof, to sacrifice a Lambe, which they first lead round about the Church, and after they had killed it and roasted it, they spread it on a faire white Linnen cloath, the Priest giuing to each of the Congregation a part and portion thereof. They are (vnlesse some few families) so farre from yeelding obedience vnto the Sea of *Rome*, that they assume all Antiquitie vnto themselves, as hauing retained the Christian Faith from the time of the Apostles. Many Iesuites and Priests haue beene sent from *Rome*, to bring this oppressed Nation vnder her gouernment, but they haue little preuailed; for neither will they yeeld obedience, nor be brought by any perswasion to forsake their ancient and inueterate errours, to become more erroneous with her.

* The Religion of the Armenians is spotted with many absurdities.

Crossings and Crosses.

Lamb-sacrifice

Hauing well refreshed our selues amongst these Villages, wee proceeded in our ordinary trauell, but ere we had passed two miles, certaine troopes of *Curdies* incountred our Carauan, with a purpose and intent to haue robbed the same, but finding themselves too weak to contend with so great company, they departed vntill the next day following, when againe they met with vs in a very narrow passage betweene two Mountaines, where they made a stay of our whole Carauan, exacting a Shaughee on euery person, which to purchase our peace we willingly paid; and so arriued that euening at *Biblis* an ancient Citie, but a Citie of much crueltie and oppression, where little Iustice and right is to be found to releue distressed passengers.

This Citie standeth in a pleasant Valley, by which runneth a little Riuer, falling out of the Mountaines *Anti-Tauris*, it was once a Towne in the Confines of the *Persian* Kingdome, bordering vpon *Mesopotamia*, and had a Castle kept with a Garrison of *Persian* Souldiers, before such time as *Solyman* the Magnificent did conquer these Countries, which was in the yeare 1535. In which yeare there was a memorable battell fought betweene the two great Bassaes of *Caire* and *Syria*, conducted by *Vlemas* the *Persian* Traitor; and *Delymenthes* a right Nobleman of *Persia*. The two Bassaes and *Vlemas* were commanded by *Solyman* (in his returne from the spoile of *Tauris*) to follow him with eightene thousand good Souldiers in the rereward of his Army, to receiue and repress the sudden assaults of the *Persians*, if need should require. But *Delymenthes* with fise thousand *Persian* Souldiers pursued the *Turkes*, and ouertooke them in the aforesaid Valley; and being furthered in this venterous designement, both by the darknesse of the night, and the abundance of raine which fell at the same instant, as if it had beene wished for, on a sudden got within the *Turkes* Campe: where the *Persian* Souldiers, as Wolues amongst Sheepe, did such speedy execution amongst the sleepy *Turkes*, that the two great Bassaes and *Vlemas* had much adoe to get to horse, and saue themselves by flight. Few of all that great Army escaped the sword of the *Persians*. There was three great *Sanzacks* slaine, one taken, and the other fled, eight hundred *Ianizaries* seeing themselves forsaken of their Captaines, laid downe their Harquebusses, and other Weapons, and yeelded themselves vpon *Delymenthes* his word. In memoriall thereof they still keepe that day (which was the thirteenth of October) as one of their solemne Holy-daies. In *Biblis* we stayed two daies; and at our departure paid vnto the Gouernor of the said Citie, a Dollar on a summe of goods, and so set forwards towards the great Citie *Van*, three daies iourney farther. In which trauell we had a very wearisome and painefull iourney, ouer high Mountaines and craggy Rockes, the way being exceeding narrow, that a beast could hardly passe with his burthen, without much heauing and tumultuous shouldering. The

Biblis.

The great battell fought betweene two great Bassaes & Delymenthes, a valiant Nobleman of Persia.

which

- Hand-made passage. which narrow passages the *Turkes* told vs, was by the commandement of *Amurat* the third, the Great *Turke*, cut through by the maine industrie of labourers, for his Armie to passe, like that incredible worke, which *Haniball* with Vinegar wrought vpon the *Alpes*. In this place our trauell was very dangerous, by reason of a brackish Lake or little Sea, called, The Lake
- Arctamar* lake. *Arctamar*, which was vnder the Rocke, ouer which wee passed, and wee enforced to ride shoaling on the side of the said Rocke, that had not our Mules beene sure of footing, both they and we had perished, with an insupportable downe-fall in that Sea. Two miles from this shoare in the aforesaid Lake are two Ilands, called, The *Ecmenicke* Ilands, inhabited onely by *Armenians*, and some *Georgians*, which two Ilands doe bring forth and yeeld such store of Cattel, and plentie of Rice, Wheat, and Barley, the Garners and Store-houses for all the Countrey round about. 10
- The *Ecmenick* Ilands. Being arriued at *Van*, our *Caraman* rested in the Suburbs of the said Citie, not daring to presume to enter the Citie, by reason that the *Bassa* was gone to fetch in a rebel, that was risen vp in those parts; in whose absence the Citie, vnder the *sub-Bassa*, was no better gouerned then it should bee. On the West side of this Citie lieth a pleasant and delightfull Plaine, wherein the *Ianizaries* twice a weeke doe exercise themselves after their manner in the feats of Warre. On the North side runneth the Lake *Arctamar*, called in antique time the *Moore* or *Marish*, *Martiana*, or *Margiana*, or *Mantiana*. Out of this Lake is caught yeerely an innumerable quantitie of Fish like our Herring, which being dried in the Sunne, they disperse and sell them ouer all the Countrey thereabout.
- The Lake *Arctamar* called in ancient time *Martiana*. This Citie is double walled with hard quarrie stone, and is the strongest Towne in all these parts, being fortified with great store of brasse Ordnance, and a strong Castle mounted on an high Rocke, to command and defend the Citie. It was once vnder the gouernement of the *Persian*, but *Solyman* the Magnificent in the yeere 1549. with a puissant Armie did besiege the same, which after ten dayes siege was yeelded vnto him by the *Persian* Gouernour, vpon condition, that the *Persian* Souldiers there in Garrison, might with life and libertie depart with their weapons, as Souldiers: which was by *Solyman* granted, and so the Citie was surrendred vp into his hands from the *Persian* King, who neuer since could get the same into his possessions. It is gouerned now by a *Bassa*, who hath vnder him twelue thousand *Timariots*. 20
- The description of *Van*. At this Citie we stayed five dayes, paying a Doller on a Summe of goods, and passed from thence to a *Turkish* Village, called *Gnusher*, the houses standing in two seuerall places, the one rewf fit for the Winter, and the other for the Summer season. Here wee began the ascent of the high Mountaines of *Ararat*, and about noone-tide we beheld *Bruz*; the very crest of the *Periardo* Mountaines, now called *Cheilder Monte*, the hills of *Periardo*. These Mountaines so called, are very famous by the rising of many notable great Riuer, which doe so fructiferate the Countrey thereabouts, that the barbarous people call it *Leprus* (which is to say, *Fruitfull*) viz. First, the Riuer *Araxis*, which running out of a certaine *Marish*, with many armes doth wonderfully enrich that Champaine and drie Countrey. This Riuer springeth out of the hill *Taurus* in this part, where *Periardo* is situate, on the side of the Hill *Abo*, and so runneth by East euen to the confines of *Seruan*, and windeth it selfe towards the West, and by North, where it is ioyned with the Riuer *Cirus*, and then passeth to *Artaxata*, now called *Nassuan*, a Citie of the *Armenians*, right against *Reinan* another Citie, and so watereth *Armenia*, and coursing along the Plaine of *Araxis*, dischargeth it selfe into the *Caspian* Sea, on the one side by South leaving *Armenia*, and on the other side by North leaving the Countrey *Seruania*; whose chiefe Citie is *Eris*. The Riuer *Cirus* likewise springeth out of *Taurus*, and so descending into the Champaines and Plaines of *Georgia*, charging it selfe, and being greatly encreased with other Riuer, it is ioyned with *Araxis*, and so maketh his issue also into the *Caspian* Sea. This Riuer the Inhabitants of the Countrey at this day call by the name of *Ser*, in their owne Language, but the *Turkes* call it *Chiur*. Out of these Mountaines also springeth the Riuer *Canac*, which maketh (as it were almost) an Iland, a little on this side the Citie *Eris*, and afterwards vnite it selfe in the Channell with *Araxis*, and so runneth into the *Caspian* Sea. 30
- Gnusher*. The Riuer *Araxis* springeth out of the Hill *Taurus*. *Nassuan*. *Reinan*. The Riuer *Cirus*. The Riuer *Canac*. Two other Mountaines are of great note in this place; the one is *Anti-Taurus*, now called *Mons Niger*, The blacke Mountaine, which runneth vp into *Media*; and the other *Gordans*, the tops of which Mountaines are couered continually with white and hoary Snowes. The Mountaine *Gordans* is enuironed with many other petie Mountaines, called the *Gordans* Mountaines; on the tops whereof (as wee passed) wee found many ruines and huge foundations, of which no reason can be rendred. 40
- The Mountaine *Anti-Taurus*. The Mountaine *Gordans*. The *Turkes* call the Mountaine *Gordans* *Angri-daugh*, the *Armenians* *Messis-Saur*: it is so high, that it ouer-tops all the Mountaines thereabout. There issueth out of the foot of this Hill a thousand little Springs, whereof some doe feed the Riuer *Tygris*, and some other Riuer, and it hath about it three hundred Villages inhabited by *Armenians* and *Georgians*; as also an ancient Monastery dedicated to Saint *Gregorie*, very large and spacious, able to receiue *Shangh Tamas* the great King of *Persia*, and most of his Armie, who for the austere and strict life that he saw in those Religious men, made him to spare it, and to change his determination, hauing a full purpose 50
- Gordicus Mons*, whereon *Noahs* Arke rested.

purpose before to haue destroyed it. About this Monasterie groweth great plentie of Graine, the Graine being twice as big as ours, as also Roses and Rheubarb, which because they haue not the skill to drie it, that Simple is of no esteeme or value. On the top of this Mountaine did the Arke of Noah rest, as both *Iewes*, *Turkes* and *Armenians* affirmed. Some Friers of Saint *Gregories* Monasterie told vs, that euen at this day some part of the Arke is yet to be seene on the top of this Mountaine, if any could ascend thither; but the way (as they say) is kept by Angels, so that whosoever shall presume to goe vp (as once a Brother of that Monasterie did) shall be brought downe in the night season, from the place which hee had gayned by his trauaile in the day time before.

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§. II.

of Araxis, Chiulfal, Sumachia, Derbent, Sechieres, Aras, Tauris, Soltania, Casbin, Argouil, and Gilan.

From the foot of this Mountaine, we spent a dayes iourney further towards *Chiulfal*, which day wee trauelled through very many narrow Lanes in those Mountaines, and very deepe Valleys, wherein the Riuer *Araxis* with most outrageous turnings and windings, and his many rushing down-falls amongst the Rockes, doth euen be-
20 deafe a mans eares, and with his most violent roaming in and out, doth drowne and ouerwhelm, whosoever by miserable chance falleth downe head-long from the top of those narrow passages, which are vpon the Mountaines. And vpon the crests of the said Mountaines, on the side of the said narrow passages, there grow most hideous Woods and antique Forrests, full of Beeches: Trees like Poplers carrying Mast fit for Hogs, and Pine-trees; where the horroure of darknesse, and silence which is oftentimes interrupted, onely by the whistling winds, or by the crie of some wild beasts, doe make the poore passengers most terribly afraid.

The Riuer Araxis.

At length our Carauan ferried ouer the foresaid Riuer, and so we arriued at *Chiulfal*, a Towne situated on the frontiers betweene the *Armenians* and the *Atropatians*, and yet within *Armenia*,
30 inhabited by Christians, partly *Armenians*, partly *Georgians*: a People rather giuen to the trafficke of Silkes, and other sorts of wares, whereby it waxeth rich and full of money, then instructed in weapons and matters of warre. This Towne consisteth of two thousand houses, and ten thousand soules, being built at the foot of a great rockie Mountayne in so barren a soyle, that they are constrained to fetch most of their prouision, onely Wine excepted, from the Citie *Nassuan*, halfe a dayes iourney off, which some thinke to be *Artaxata*, in the confines of *Media*, and *Armenia*. The building of *Chiulfal* are very faire, all of hard quarrie stone: and the Inhabitants very courteous and affable, great drinkers of Wine, but no brawlers in that drunken humour, and when they are most in drinke they powre out their prayers, especially to the Virgin *Mary*, as the absolute commander of her Sonne Iesus Christ, and to other Saints as Intercessors.
40 It is subiect and tributarie to the Scepter of *Persia*, and contrariwise, both by nature and affection great enemies to the *Turke*. This Towne was much indangered in the warres betwixt *Amurat* the great *Turke*, and *Mahomet Codibanda* the *Persian* King, ready to bee swallowed vp of both. One while the *Bassa* of *Reiman*, on the great *Turkes* behaife, made an inrode vpon them with a thousand and five hundred Harquebusiers, whom they were faine to pacifie with a very bountifull present, excusing themselves, that if they had beene backward in bringing vnto him their voluntarie tributes, it was done for feare, lest they should haue fallen into the displeasure of *Mahomet Codibanda* their King: who no doubt, if he should haue vnderstood any such matter, would haue beene ready to destroy their Countrey, and deprive them of their libertie and liues. The *Bassa* was no sooner departed with this answer and their present, but forthwith *Aliculi-Cham* was sent by the *Persian* King with threethousand Souldiers, and with this direction, that
50 if the Countrey were subdued by the *Turkes*, he should fight against it: and if it had voluntarily yeelded it selfe vnto them, he should not onely recouer it, but also burne it, and bring away all the chiefe men of the Countrey for prisoners and slaues. To auoide which danger, these poore *Chiulfalini* were glad to present the *Persian* Prince with great and more liberall gifts, then they did their enemy *Bassa*. Thus these miserable people, in the midst of Armes and Squadrons of the enemy, were constrained, what with presents, and what with lies, notably to preferue their liberties, and their liues in safetie.

The description of Chiulfal.

The Chiulfalines great drinkers of Wine, but no quarrellers in drinke. Cup-deuotion. Chiulfal much indangered in the last warres betweene the *Turke* and the *Persian*.

Within a dayes iourney and a halfe of this Towne, is the *Chalderan* Plaines; memorable for the battell fought there, on the seuenth day of August, in the yeere 1514. betweene the two
60 great Emperours *Ismael* King of *Persia*, and *Selymus* the first, Emperour of the *Turkes*. In which battell, *Selymus* lost about thirtie thousand men. At *Chiulfal* we stayed eight dayes, and passed againe the Riuer *Araxis*, leauing the noble Kingdome of *Armenia*, called now *Turcomania*, because of the *Turcomanes* a people that came out of *Scythia* (as before wee noted) who liue as Sheepheards in their Tents, but the native people giue themselves to husbandry, and other man-
nuall

The mortall battell fought betweene *Selymus* the first, Emperour of the *Turkes*, and *Ismael* the Sophic of *Persia*.

Atropatia exceeding fruitfull.

Sumachia.

A most barbarous Spectacle in *Sumachia.*

The Persian Prince punisheth the Inhabitants of *Sumachia*, with diuers kinds of tortures and deaths.

Derbent builded by *Alexander the Great.* *Caucasie* Port. The great Wall which *Alexander* builded betwene *Derbent* and *Teflis*.

Sechi.

Eres made *Mamodan* Silkes.

nuall sciences, as working of Carpets and fine Chamlets, we were no sooner ouer, but wee entered into *Media*; which by some is diuided into *Media Atropatia*, and *Media the Great*.

The whole Countrey is very fruitfull, and watred with the Riuer *Araxis*, and *Cyrus*, and other Riuers that are famous, euen in antique Writers. Diuers Cities are there in this Kingdome, but my purpose is to speake onely of those which we saw in these parts. viz. *Sumachia*, *Derbent*, *Sechi*, *Eres*, and *Aras*. *Sumachia* is the Metropolitick City of *Siruan*; and lyeth betwene *Derbent* and *Eres*; where the Kings of *Siruan* vsed to keepe their great and sumptuous Courts, chiefly inhabited by *Armenians* and *Georgians*. In this City our *English* Merchants did trafficke much, and had an house giuen them by *Obdowlocan*, in the yeere 1566. (as reuerend Master *Hackluit* doth relate) who then raigned there vnder the *Persian* King. In this Citie wee saw the ruines of a most cruell and barbarous Spectacle, that is to say, a Turret erected with free stone and Flints, in the midst of which Flints, were placed the heads of all the Nobilitie and Gentry of that Countrey: which fell out on this occasion. This Countrey of *Siruan*, in time past was of great renoune, hauing many Cities, Townes, and Castles in it; the Kings thereof being of great power, able to wage warre with the Kings of *Persia*, but through their diuersitie in Religion, the *Persian* made a conquest of them, razing downe to the ground their Cities, Townes, and Castles, that they should not rebell, and also putting to death their Nobilitie and Gentry, and for the greater terrour of the people, placed their heads in the foresaid Turret.

About a mile distant from this Towne, is the ruines of an old Castle, once esteemed to be one of the strongest Castles in the world, and was besieged by *Alexander the Great*, a long time before hee could winne it. And a little further off, was a Nunnery most sumptuously builded, wherein was buried (as they told vs) the body of *Ameleke Canna*, the Kings Daughter, who slew her selfe with a Knife, for that her Father would haue forced her (shee professing chastitie) to haue married with a Prince of *Tartary*: vpon which occasion the Virgins of this Countrey doe resort thither once a yeere to lament her death. This Citie is distant from the *Caspian* Sea, with Camels seuen dayes iourney, and from *Derbent* sixe dayes iourney; it was in the yeere 1578. yeelded vp vnto *Mustaffa*, the Generall of the *Turkish* Armie, without resistance, who presently did surprize the Citie, intreating all the Inhabitants in friendly manner, without doing or suffering any outrage to bee done vpon them; but for this their Infidelitie in voluntarie yeelding themselues to follow the Religion of the *Turkes*, when as they were not induced thereto by any necessitie; *Emirhamze* eldest Sonne to *Mahomet Codibanda* King of *Persia*, coming with his Armie into *Seruan*, did with great crueltie punish the miserable and infortunate Commons of this Citie, making their houses euen with the ground, destroying both the old and new walls thereof, and bringing the whole land to nought, that sometimes was so desired, a receipt of the *Turkes*.

Sixe dayes iourney from this Citie, lyeth *Derbent*; This Citie hath sundrie names giuen vnto it by Writers: Sometimes it is called *Derbent*, because it is in figure narrow and long: and sometimes *Demir-Capi*, because there were the Iron Gates, that were sometimes the entrance into *Scythia*: and sometimes *Alessandria*; because it was first erected by *Alexander the Great*, when he warred against the *Medes* and *Persians*; at which time also he made a Wall of a wonderfull height and thicke, which extended it selfe from this Citie, to a Citie in *Armenia*, called *Teflis*, belonging to the *Georgians*. And though it bee now razed and decayed, yet the foundation remaineth: and it was made to this purpose, that the Inhabitants of that Countrey, newly conquered by *Alexander*, should not lightly flie, nor their enemies easily inuade them. This Citie is seated vpon an high Hill, and builded all of Free-stone much after our buildings, being very high and thicke: neuerthelesse, it neuer grew great nor famous, and euen in these dayes, there is no reckoning made of it: and the reason is, because of the situation, seruing for passage onely out of *Tartaria* into *Persia*, and out of *Persia* into *Tartaria*, receiuing those that trauell too and fro, not as Merchants and men of Commerce, but as passengers and travellers; and to speake in a word, it is seated in a very necessary place, as the case standeth, by reason that it is Ports of the *Caspian* Sea, but not profitable vnto it selfe: much like as it is in the passages of the *Alpes*, where though the *French-men*, *Switzers*, *Dutch-men*, and *Italians*, continually doe passe by them; yet was there neuer found a meane Citie, much lesse any Citie of state and importance.

About foure dayes iourney from *Sumachia*, is *Sechi*, which also at the same time as *Sumachia* offered themselues to *Mustapha*, as vassals and subiects to the *Turkes*, who all were gladly entertained of him, and some of the chiefe of them apparelled in silke and gold, and honored with great magnificence, and in the end had all protection promised vnto them. Here also standeth the Citie *Eres*, most fruitfully watered with the Riuer *Araxis* and *Cyrus*, and hath yeelded in times past great store of thole fine white Silkes, commonly termed by the Merchants *Mamodan* Silkes, whereof at this day, there is not to be found, no, nor a very small quantitie, by reason of the monstrous ruines and ouerthrowes, that hath happened in these Countreies, partly by the Armies of the great *Turke*, and partly by the Armie of the *Persians*, which still had succeeded one another in their cruell incursions, and bloudie inuasions. For after the people of *Sechi* and

and *Eres* had yeelded themselves voluntarily without any resistance vnto *Mustapha* great *Amirats* Generall; *Emirhamze* the *Persian* Prince, came vpon them with his Armie, as vpon rebels, to inflict deserued punishment. In effecting of which his purpose, hee spared neither sexe, nor age, nor any condition, but though the persons were vnequall, yet was the punishment equall to all, carrying away with him the two hundred peeces of Artillerie, that were left in the Fort by *Mustapha*, and presently sent them to *Casbin* to his father.

There is also in this Kingdome another Citie, that bordereth vpon the *Georgians*, called *A-
rassé*, being the most chiefe and opulent Citie in the trade of Merchandise, partly by the aboun-
dant growth of Silke there nourished, partly by other good and necessary commodities, there
10 growing and there brought, as rough and smooth Galles, Cotten wooll, Allome; besides all
kinds of Spices, and Drugs, and Diamonds, and Rubies, and oher Stones brought out of the East
Indies. But the principall commoditie is raw Silke of all sorts; so that from hence hath beene
and is carried yeerely five hundred, and sometimes a thousand mules laden of Silke to *Aleppo* in
Syria. From this towne we spent six daies trauell to *Tauris*, passing ouer the Riuer *Araxis*, leaving
Media Atropatia, and entring into *Media* the great. The chiefe of this Country is *Tauris*, memo-
rable for the resistance once of the Prophet *Daniel*, whoneere vnto the same, builded a most magni-
ficent Castle, which many yeeres remained a maruellous Monument; the beautie whereof was so
liuely and perfect, that continuance of time did little deface it, being very fresh and flourishing in
the time of *Iosephus*. In this Castle were all the Kings of *Media*, *Persia*, and *Parthia* for many
20 yeeres together intombed. But now time hath worne it out, it faring with buildings as with
mens bodies, they wax old, and are infeebled by yeeres, and loose their beautie: neuerthelesse,
Ecbatana now called *Tauris* remaines in great glory vnto this day. It is seated at the foot of the
Hill *Orontes*, eight dayes iourney or there abouts from the *Caspian* Sea, and is subiect to Windes,
and full of Snow; yet of a very wholesome ayre, abounding with all things necessary for the
sustentation of man: wonderfull rich, as well by the perpetuall concourse of Merchandises; that
are brought thither from the Countries of the East, to bee conueyed into *Syria*, and into the
Countries of *Europe*; as also of those that come thither out of the Westerne parts, to be distri-
buted ouer all the East. It is very populous, so that it feedeth almost two hundred thousand
persons: but now open to the fury of euery Armie without strength of wals, and without Bul-
30 warkes, sauing a Castle built of late by the *Turkes*. The buildings are of burnt Clay, and rather
low then high. On the South side of this Citie, is a most beautifull and flourishing Garden, large
and spacious, replenished with sundry kinds of Trees, and sweete smelling Plants, and a thou-
sand Fountaines and Brookes, deriued from a pretie Riuer, which with his pleasant streame di-
uides the Garden from the Citie: and is of so great beautie, that for the delicacy thereof, it is
by the Countrey Inhabitants, called *Sechis-Genet*, that is to say, *The eight Paradises*: and was in
times past, the standing house of the *Persian* Kings, whilest they kept their residence in this Ci-
tie, and after they with-drew their seate from thence, by reason of the *Turkish* warres to *Casbin*,
became the habitation and place of aboad for the *Persian* Gouvernors. Sundry mutations euen of
late yeeres hath this Citie indured both by the great *Turke* and the *Persian*. For in the yeare
40 1514. it was yeelded to *Selymus* the *Turkish* Tyrant, who contrary to his promise, exacted a
great masse of Money from the Citizens, and carried away with him three thousand families, the
best Artificers in that Citie, especially such as were skilfull in making of Armour and weapons,
onely to enrich and appopulate the great Citie *Constantinople*. Afterwards, in the yeare 1535. it
was againe spoyled by *Solyman* the *Turkish* Emperour, who gaue the whole Citie for a prey vnto
his Souldiers, who left neither house nor corner thereof vnrafsacked, abusing the miserable Citi-
zens with all manner of insolency: euery common Souldier without controlement, fitting him-
selfe with whatsoever best pleased his greedy desire or filthy lust: beside the most stately and
royall Palace of King *Tamas*, together with the most sumptuous and rich houses of the Nobilitie,
were by the great *Turkes* commandement all rased downe to the ground, and the greatest part of
50 the best Citizens, and beautifull personages of all sort and condition were carried away captiues.
And in the yeare 1585. it was miserably spoyled by *Osman Vizier*, vnto *Amurat* the third,
who commanded his Souldiers to doe the worst that possibly they could or might doe to it. *Abas*
now King of *Persia*, reposing no lesse confidence in his owne good fortune, then the valour of
his Souldiers marched in the yeare 1603. with his Army directly to the Citie of *Tauris*, and that
with such expedition, that he was come before it, before any such thing was feared, much lesse
prouided for. In which siege he for battery vsed the helpe of the Canon, an engine of long time
by the *Persian* scorned, as not befeeming valiant men, vntill that by their owne harmes taught;
they are content to vse it, being with the same, as also with skilfull Canoniers, furnished by the
Portugals from *Ormuz*. So that after sixe weekes siege, this Citie was surrendred into the *Persi-*
60 *ans* hands, to the great reioycing of all *Persia*, together with the whole Country of *Seruan*, ex-
cept a Fort or two which still stands out.

At this Citie we paid a Doller on a summe of goods, and five Shaughes to the keeper of the
Caine wherein we lodged, and set forward to the wealthy Citie of *Casbin*, distant from *Tauris*
ten daies iourney; passing the three first daies ouer many rough and craggy Mountaines, full of a
D d d d d d d thou-

Arasse the most
chiefe and o-
pulent Citie in
the trade of
Merchandise
that is in all
Seruania.

The Castle
which *Daniel*
the Prophet is
said to haue
builded.
Iosephus Antiq.
lib. 10. 11.

The descripti-
on of *Tauris*.

Tauris yeeldeth
to *Selymus* the
first, 1514.

Sacked by *So-
lyman*. 1535.

Miserably spoi-
led by *Osman*
Vizier, 1583.

thousand difficulties, which were the more increased by wonderfull great snowes that were fallen, by meanes whereof many Passengers, Horses and Mules (if our guide had not beene good) had perished in one common destruction. Every night we had great flashes of lightning, and huge Thunder-claps, with great store of raine and snowes, which did much annoy our whole Caravan. We had no sooner left those hard passages, but we were forthwith encountred by a gallant troop of *Persian* horse-men, who lay vp and downe the Borders by the Kings Commandement, to murder all *Turkish* Merchants that should passe that way: vpon reuenge of the death of a *Persian* Merchant, who being richly arriued at *Van*, (a little before our comming) was iniuriously depriued both of his goods and life. Hereupon the Gouvernour of this troope, demanded of our *Caravan-Bassa* (who was a *Chinlphalin*) to deliuer vp into his hands, all the *Turkie* Merchants that were in our company; to which request he durst not condescend affirming, that there was none but *Jewes* and *Christians* vnder his conduct; and withall bestowed on him a bountifull present, of two hundred and fiftie Dollers, which was leuied amongst vs.

Our first entry
into the *Persian*
kingdome.

Duzim.

Darnah.
Great quiet in
Persia.

By this time we came to the full Borders, and out-most bounds then of the great *Turkes* Dominion, so farre as the *Othoman* Empire on this side doth extend; and so entred into the Territories of the *Persian* King: both which are diuided by the high Mountaine *Duzim*, and by a pretie Riuer that runneth at the foote thereof. This night we rested at a *Persian* Village, called *Darnah*, much ruined, but seated in a very delightfull place, both for Springs of Water, and plenty of all things. For heere we bought foure Hens for five pence, a Kid for ten pence, and thirtie Egges for two pence. From *Darnah* we spent three daies further to *Soltania*, a very ancient Citie, traueilling by many *Persian* Villages, and finding euery man at his labour, and neighbour with neighbour going from one Towne to another, which bred much contentment, and made vs wonder at the great peace and tranquillitie, which the Commons of *Persia* liue in about the Commons of *Turkie*. The ruines of many faire Christian Churches we beheld, but not without pitie, built all with great Arches and high Towers, elaborate with Gold, and other rich paintings to to the beautifying of the same.

The descripti-
on of *Soltania*.

A most horri-
ble and terri-
ble tempest,

At *Soltania* wee safely arriued. This desolate Towne is on euery side enuironed with huge Mountaines, whose tops are to be seene a farre off, alwaies couered with deepe Snowes, called in ancient time *Nyphates*, *Caspins*, *Coathras* and *Zagras*, taking their beginning no doubt of *Caucasus*, the Father of Mountaines; which ioyning one to another, some one way, some another, doe diuide most large and wide Countries. Before this Towne lyeth a very great and spacious plaine, memorable for that dreadfull and horrible Tempest, which fell on *Solyman* the *Turkish* Emperour, and his whole Armie, in the yeare 1534. For whilest hee lay incamped in these plaine fields with his Army, there fell downe such an horrible and cruell Tempest from the Mountaines, as the like whereof the *Persians* had neuer seene before at that time of the yeare, being in the beginning of September; and that with abundance of Raine, which froze so eagerly as it fell, that it seemed the depth of Winter, had euen then of a sodaine beene come in: for such was the rage of the blustering Winds, striuing with themselves, as if it had beene for victorie, that they swept the Snow from the top of those high Mountaines, and cast it downe into the plaines in such abundance, that the *Turkes* lay as men buried aliue in the deepe Snow, most part of their Tents being ouerthrowne, and beaten downe to the ground, with the violence of the Tempest and weight of the Snow, wherein a wonderfull number of sicke Soldiers and others of the baser sort which followed the Campe perished, and many other were so benumbed, some their hands, some their feete, that they lost the vse of them for euer: most part of their beasts which they vsed for carriage, but specially their Camels were frozen to death. Neither was there any remedy to be found for so great mischiefes, by reason of the helish darknesse of that tempestuous night, most of their fires being put out, by the extremitie of the storme: which did not a little terrifie the superstitious *Turkes*, as a thing accounted of them ominous.

The descripti-
on of *Casbin*.

From *Soltania* we spent foure daies trauell to *Casbin*, passing by many Villages, where we paid a Shaughee a piece to the *Beg* or Gouvernour of the Village, not as a custome, but as a free gratuitie, and so entred into the Territories of *Casbin*, a Citie very wealthy, by reason of the Kings Palace, and the great concourse of Merchants which resort thither. It was in ancient time, called *Arsacia*, as in *Strabo*; but now tearmed *Casbin*, which in the *Persian* language, signifieth chastisement, or a place of punishment, because the Kings were wont to banish or confine such persons, as for their offences and misdemeanours, had deserued such chastisement. This Citie is seated in a goodly fertile plaine of three or foure daies iourney in length, furnished with two thousand Villages, to serue the necessary vses thereof: but euill builded, and for the most part all of Bricks, not hardned with fire, but onely dried in the Sunne; as are most parts of the buildings of all *Persia*. It is now one of the seats of the *Persian* Kings Empire, which was translated by King *Tamas*, (this Kings Grand-father) from *Tauris*, who built one goodly *Seraglio* for himselfe, and another for his Women, and hath beene euer since continued by his Successors, though the King that now reigneth, make most of his abode in *Hisspaan*, fourteen daies iourney farther towards the East. There are three places in the Citie most of note: viz. the Kings Palace, the

Bassars,

Bassars, and the *At-Maidan*. The gate of the Kings Palace, is built with stone of diuers colours, and very curiously enamuled with Gold: on the ceiling within, is carued the warres of the *Persian* Kings, and the sundry battels fought by them against the *Turks* and *Tartars*; the pauements of the roomes beneath, and Chambers aboue are spread with most fine Carpets, wouen and telfued with Silke and Gold, all Ensignes and Monuments of the *Persian* greatnesse. There is likewise in this Citie sundry *Bassars*, where in some you may buy Shaffes and Tulipants, and *Indian* cloath, of wonderfull finenelle: in others Silkes of all sorts, as Veluets, Damaskes, Cloath of Gold and Siluer: in others infinite Furres, as Sables and Martine out of *Muscovia*, and *Agiam* Furres brought from *Corassan*. In a word, euery street hath a seuerall Science or Trade, wherein

Bassars are certaine streets of Traffike.

10 is sold whatsoever is fit and necessary for the vse of man.

The *At-Maidan*, is the high speech or chiefe Market place in this Citie; and is foure-square, containing in circuit very neere a mile; and serues as a Bursie for all sorts of Merchants to meete on, and also for all others to sell whatsoever Commodities they possesse, so that in one place is selling of Horses, Mules and Camels; in another place Carpets, Garments, and Felts of all sorts; and in another, all kind of Fruits, as Muske-mellons, Anguries, Pomegranats, Pistaches, *Adams* Apples, Dates, Grapes, and Raisins dryed in the Sunne. In this place do sit daily twelue Sheriffes, that is, men to buy and sell Pearle, Diamonds, and other pretious stones, and to exchange Gold and Siluer, to turne *Spanish* Dollers to great aduantage into *Persian* Coyne; and to change the great pieces of the *Persian* Coyne, as *Abbasses*, *Larines*, and such like into certaine

20 *Brasse* Monies for the poore. They will also lend vpon any pawne, and that with as great interest as our diuellish Brokers and Scriueners take in *London*. Finally, the strength of this Citie consisteth not in walls and bulwarkes, but in the Souldiers that are continually maintained in and about this Citie; for out of *Casbin*, and in the Villages belonging vnto the same, are maintained twenty thousand Souldiers on horsebacke, howsoeuer in this Kings Fathers time were liued but twelue thousand.

Two places neere to this Citie, are very remarkable; the one is the Citie *Arduuil*; the other *Giland*. *Arduuil* is a Citie foure daies iourney from *Casbin*, and two from *Soltania*. A Citie of great importance, where *Alexander* the great did keepe his Court, when he inuaded *Persia*. It is a towne much esteemed and regarded, by reason of the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Persia*, which

Arduuil the first place that received the *Persian* superstition.

30 for the most part lye there intombed: and so is growne a place of their superstitious deuotion; as also because it was the first place which received the *Persian* Sect, wherein *Giuni* the first Author thereof did reside and raigne.

The other place neere to *Casbin*, remarkable in the Country of *Gilan*, in the Prouince of *Hirania*. The North part of this Kingdome is full of thicke Woods and shadowy Groues, wherein grow diuers sorts of Trees, but specially Cedars, Beeches and Oakes, a fit harbour and shelter for Tygres, Panthers, and Pardies, which wilde beasts make the passage in those places very dangerous: but neere to the Sea side it is full of pasture, and very delightfull, by reason of the manifold sweete Springs which issue out of the Mountaine neere adioyning. Many principall Cities are there in this Countrey, as *Bestan*, *Massandran*, *Pangiazer*, *Bachu* and *Gheilan*, Cities of such

40 state and condition, as deserue to haue a Gouvernour of the same dignitie, that the *Bassa* is with the *Turkes*: Concerning *Bachu*, it is a very ancient Hauen-towne, very commodious for Ships to harbour in, as also profitable to vent Commodities, by reason that *Arduuil*, *Tauris*, *Eres*, *Sumachia*, and *Derbent*, lye not many daies from thence. Neere vnto this Towne, is a very strange and wonderfull Fountaine vnder ground, out of which there springeth and issueth a maruellous quantitie of blacke Oyle, which serueth all the parts of *Persia* to burne in their houses; and they vsually carrie it all ouer the Countrey, vpon Kine and Asses, whereof you shall oftentimes meete three or foure hundred in company. *Gheilan* and the rest stand likewise altogether in Traffike: *Gheilan* being but foure easie daies trauell from *Casbin*, and very neere vnto the *Caspian* Sea.

Bachu. Oyle springeth out of the ground.

50 From *Casbin* we set forwards to the great and populous Citie of *Hispaan*, lodging euery night either in a *Persian* Village, or in a faire Caine built of stone, where we found all kind of prouision necessary for our selues and beasts, traouelling sixe or seuen in a company: company sufficient, by reason of the great peace and tranquillitie, which the *Persians* liue in aboue the *Turkes*; and so hauing spent sixe daies, we arriued at *Com*, a very ancient Citie. This Citie is called by *Ptolomie*, *Guriana*, and was so great in times past, that the Inhabitants affirmed vnto vs, that when it was in his flourishing estate, it was twice as big as *Constantinople*; but it was much ruinated by *Tamerlane*, and euer since hath lien in the dust without repaire, *Cassan* carrying away the Trade of Merchandize from her, which was once the Mistresse and Lady thereof. It is well seated for water, and all other necessities, hauing a spacious Riuer running by it, with a stone bridge ouer the same: the which we no sooner passed, but we entred into the bounds of *Parthia*; a Kingdome

The Citie *Com*, once twice as big as *Constantinople*.

60 once famous, but now so mingled with *Persia*, that the very name of *Parthia*, is quite extinguished among them.

p. III.

Of Cassan and Hispaan. Of the Persian King and Government. Of
Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY.The description
of Cassan.

After two daies trauell from Com, wee arriued at Cassan, a principall Citie in Parthia, very famous and rich, howsoever *Ortelius* and others make no mention of it. This Citie is seated in a goodly Plaine, and because it hath no Mountaines neere it, but within a daies iourney, the heate is very fastidious, as great almost as it is in *Ormuz*: 10
the Spring and Haruest is sooner in this Climate, then in any other parts of the Persian Dominions. It wanteth neither Fountaines, Springs, nor Gardens, but aboundeth with all necessities whatsoever: consisting altogether in Merchandize, and the best Trade of all the Land is there, being greatly frequented with all sorts of Merchants, especially out of *India*. The people are very industrious and curious in all sciences, but especially in weauing Girdles and Shashes, in making Veluets, Sattins, Damaskes, very good *Ormuzenes*, and Persian Carpets of a wonderfull finenesse; in a word; it is the very *Magazeen* and Ware-house of all the Persian Cities for these stuffes. Here may you buy all manner of Drugs and Spices, and Turkasses, with store of Pearle, Diamonds, and Rubies; as also all sorts of Silkes, as well wrought as raw. I am perswaded, that in one year there is more Silke brought into Cassan, then is of Broad-cloth brought into the 20
Citie of London. This Citie is much to be commended for the ciuill and good gouernment, which is there vsed. An idle person is not permitted to liue among them: the childe that is but sixe yeare old is set to labour: no ill rule, disorder, or riot, is there suffered. For they haue a Law among them, (resembling the *Egyptian* Law which *Diodorus* mentioneth) whereby euery person is compelled to giue his name to the Magistrates, therewith declaring what kind of life hee liketh, how he liueth, and what art hee exerciseth. And if any doe tell vntruly, is either well beaten on the feete, or imployed in publike slavery. The greatest annoyance that this Citie is infested withall, is the abundance and multitude of blacke Scorpions, of an exceeding great- 30
nesse, which many times doe much harm, if a speciall care be not had of them. At this citie Master *John Mildnall* and my selfe parted company; he traueiling to *Labor* in the East Indies; and my selfe setting forwards to the great Citie of *Hispaan*, three daies trauell distant from Cassan.

Ciuill and
good gouern-
ment.The Persian
law against
idlenesse.
Scorpions:
Of M. Mildnall,
ye haue sup. l. 3.
t. 1.The descripti-
on of Hispaan.The fort of
Hispaan.The Kings
Seraglio.The Kings
Garden.The Guard of
the Kings Pa-
lacc.

This Citie in times past, was called *Ecatompolis*, the Citie of a hundred gates: and well it may keepe that name still, since the huge wals of the same containe in circuit an easie daies iourney on horsebacke, and is become the greatest Citie in all the Persian Dominions: which is so much the more magnified and made populous, by reason of the Kings residence therein. Very strong is this Citie by situation, compassed about with a very great wall, and watered with deep Channels of running Springs, conueighed into it, from a part of the *Coronian* Mountaines, which are as a wall inaccessible about it. On the North side is erected a strong Fort or Castle, being compassed about with a wall of a thousand and seuen hundred yards, and in the midst thereof is built a Tower, or rather a strong keepe, sundry Chambers and lodgings therein, but stored with 40
little Ordnance. On the West side of this Citie standeth two *Seraglias*, the one for the King, the other for his Women; Palaces of great state and magnificence, far exceeding all other proud buildings of this Citie: the wals glister with red Marble, and pargeting of diuers colours, yea all the Palace is paved with Checker and Tesselled worke, and on the same is spread Carpets wrought with Silke and Gold: the windowes of Alabaster, white Marble, and much other spotted Marble; the Poasts and Wickets of massie Iuory, chekered with glistering blacke Ebony, so curiously wrought in winding knots, as may ealier stay, then satisfie the eyes of the wondring be-
holder. Neere vnto this Palace, is a Garden very spacious and large, all flourishing and beauti-
full, replenished with a thousand sundry kinds of grafts, trees, and sweet smelling Plants, among which the Lilly, the Hyacinth, the Gilly-flower, the Rose, the Violet, the Flower-gentle, and 50
a thousand other odoriferous flowers, doe yeeld a most pleasant and delightfull sight to all beholders. There are a thousand Fountaines, and a thousand Brookes; among them all, as the father of them all, a pretie Riuer, which with his milde course and delightfome noyse, doth diuide the Garden from the Kings Palace; neither is this Garden so straitly lookt vnto, but that both the Kings Souldiers and Citizens, may and doe at their pleasures oftentimes on horse-backe, repaire thither to recreate themselves in the shadowes and walkes of those greenes.

And as a Guard for the gate of this sumptuous Palace, the King keepeth certine orders of Souldiers: whereof the most Noble and the greatest in number, are called *Churchi*, which are as it were, the Kings Pensioners, being eight thousand in number, all of them diuided vnder seuerall Captaines: which Captaines do yeeld obedience to the generall Captaine, called *Churchi-Bassa*, 60
a man alwaies of great authoritie. Next vnto this order is another, called *Eshul*, to the number of a thousand, distinguished also vnder particular Captaines, and the chiefe Captaine is called *Eshul-Bassa*. All these are maintained by certaine Townes and Villages, which are Feudataries to the Crowne of *Persia*; and they receiue at certaine times of the King, armor, horses, apparell, and

and Tents, euery one as hee is in place and degree : with this strong Garrison is the King daily attended vpon, and maintayneth the Maiestie of his Court, especially when hee rideth in progresse.

And for the gouernment of this Citie, there is besides the King and the Prince twelue *Sultanes*, but three especially are appointed by the King, for the generall gouernment of the whole Empire, hauing their seuerall distinct charges. One hath the care of all Martiall Affaires throughout the Kingdome : and the other two receiue all the Reuenues, keeping a iust account thereof, which two we may call Treasurers. Next vnto these are the *Mordari*, two great Chancellours, whose Office is to write all Orders, Commandements, and Letters concerning the gouernment of the Kingdome : one of them keepeth the Seale, and the other the Pen. Besides, these there are two *Caddi*, that is, two Iudges ; who make Answer and giue Sentence onely in matters of Controuersie and ciuill Quarrels ; but as touching criminall Causes, they haue no further authoritie, then to frame Examinations of Witnesses, and to make declaration thereof, which they call the *Sygill*, and this *Sygill* they deliuer vp into the hands of the *Sultan*, that is eyther Gouernour of the Citie, or else of the Empire, and he causeth execution to bee done according to custome. And looke as *Hispaan* is gouerned, so other Cities haue the selfe-same Magistrates, all being at the Kings disposition and appointment.

Concerning the Church gouernment, there is in this Citie, first the chiefe of the Law whom they call the *Mustaedini*, a wicked and prophane Priest : and in the other subiect Cities are certaine peculiar heads, obedient to this chiefe Priest, who are not cholen and displaced at his pleasure, as the Popish Bishops are by the Pope, but by the King himselfe, who is not onely a King, but a Priest, as *Mahomet* and *Aly* were. But to auoid trouble, the King granteth that fauour and putteth ouer that burden from himselfe vnto others, to whose iudgement, he also referreth himselfe, whensoever any consultation is touching their Law or prophane Superstition. Vnder this great Priest are *Califes*, and these doe daily execute seruice in the Moschees or Temples. The chiefe of these *Califes* is hee that putteth the Horne vpon the Kings head, when hee is first intronized. A Ceremonie once performed in *Caseneere Babylon*, but since *Solyman* the Turkish Emperour wonne *Assyria* from the *Persian*, it hath bene sometimes performed in *Casbin*, and sometimes in *Hispaan*.

Finally, the Inhabitants of this Citie doe much resemble the ancient *Parthians* in diuers things, but specially in their continuall riding. They ride on horse-backe for the most part, on horse-backe they fight with the Enemie, they execute all Affaires as well publike as priuate on horse-backe, they goe from place to place on horse-backe, they buy and sell, and on horse-backe they conferre and talke with one another ; and the difference betweene the Gentleman and the slaue is, that the slaue neuer rieth, nor the Gentleman neuer goeth on foote. Besides, the nature of people is arrogant seditious, deceitfull, and very vnquiet, but that the fiercenesse of their nature is much restrayned by the Kings seuerer gouernment. To sensualitye they are much inclined, hauing three sorts of women, as they terme them, viz. honest women, halfe honest women and Courtezans ; and yet they chastise no offence with like extremitie as Adulterie, and that as well in the halfe honest woman, as in the honest. Last of all they are full of craftie stratagems, and are breakers of their promise (a vice that is very inbred in all *Barbarians*.) Not content with any mans gouernment long : and louers of Nouelties.

Abas, howsoever by the shedding of much blood * he was saluted King, vpon the death of his Father, yet hath he so carryed the matter, that now he is exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subiects, in so much that when they will confirme any thing by solemne Oathes, they will swear by the head of *Abas* the King, and when they wish well to any man, they vsually say, King *Abas* grant thee thy desire.

This Prince is very absolute both in perfection of his bodie, and his minde (but that he is in Religion a professed *Mohumetan*) excellently composed in the one, and honourably disposed in the other. Of an indifferent stature, neither to high nor to low. His countenance very sterne, his eyes fierce and piercing, his colour swarrie, his Mustachees on his vpper-lip long, with his beard cut close to his chinne, expressing his martiall disposition, and inexorable nature, that at the first a man would thinke to haue nothing in him, but mischief and crueltie. And yet he is of nature courteous, and affable, easie to bee seene and spoken withall : his manner is to dine openly in the company of his greatest Courtiers, delighting much in hawking and hunting accompanied with his Nobilitie, and the Ambassadors of forraigne Princes. Hee will oftentimes runne, leape, and proue masteries with his chiefe Courtiers, beeing himselfe a most excellent Horseman and cunning Archer.

Vsually euery morning he visiteth his Stables of great Horses, and according to an old custome of the *Persian* Kings, the Souldiers of his Court (before mentioned) doe receiue Horses at his hands, as he is in place and degree. And these their Horses are of singular vertue, equall with those of the old time, which (as *Strabo* writeth) were accustomed to bee fed and brought vp in *Armenia* for the Kings vse. They are wonderfull swift in course, fierce in battell, long breathed and very docible : when they are vnladled, they are gentle and milde, but when they are armed,

The order of the *Persian* dignities in *Hispaan*.
The *Sultanet*.
The Treasurers.
The great Chancellours.
The *Caddi*, or Iudges.

The *Mustaedini*.

The *Califes*.

The nature of the *Persians*.

The *Persians* giuen to sensualitye.

The *Persians* very inconstant.

* As some affirme by *Matthew* of his elder brother & of his father ; so this Author : but Sir *A. Sberley* saith otherwise, as in the next Chapter you may see. The description of the *Persian* King.

The *Persian* Horses very good.

The weapons
of the Persian
Souldiers.

they are warlike, hardie, and manageable euen at the pleasure of the Rider. And I haue seene of them sold for a thousand, and sometimes a thousand and sixe hundred Duckets a peece.

After hee hath viewed his Horses, hee passeth into his Armoury, certaine buildings neere vnto his Palace, where are made very strong Curiaffes, or Corselets, Head-pees, and Targets, most of them able to keepe out the shotte of an Harquebusier, and much more to daunt the force of a Dart. Heere also the King furnisheth his Souldiers, not only with Curiaffes, Head-pees, and Targets; but with Bowes and Arrowes, Pouldrones, and Gauntlets, and with Launces made of good Ash, armed at both ends; with Simatars and shirts of Maile, most finely and soundly tempered, wherewith both themselves and their Horses are defended in time of Warre.

The Kings ex-
ercises in the
At-Maidan.

By this time hauing spent most of the fore-noone, he returneth againe into his Palace, and there remaynes till three of the clocke in the after-noone, at which time he makes his entry into the *At-Maidan*, which is the great Market place or high street of *Hispaan*: round about this place are erected certaine high Scaffolds, where the multitude doe sit to behold the warlike exercises performed by the King and his Courtiers, as their running and leaping, their shooting with Bowes and Arrowes, at a marke both aboue and beneath, their playing at Tennis, all which they performe on Horse-backe with diuers moe too long to write of. In this place also is to be seene seuerall times in the yeare, the pleasant sight of Fire-workes, of Banquets, of Musickes, of Wraflings, and of whatsoever Triumphs else is there to be shewed, for the declaration of the ioy of this people.

His Iustice.

Besides, the King very often in this place, in the presence of the Princes and Peeres of the Realme, will giue iudgement in diuers causes: in the execution of Iustice hee is very seuer, as well to the greatest as to the meanest, not sparing (as might be shewed) to hang vp his chiefe *Caddi* or Iudges, when he shall perceiue how that vpon bribes and fauour they delay the Suits of his Subiects, against the cleere and manifest truth: And I haue seene him many times alight from his Horse, onely to doe Iustice to a poore bodie. Besides, hee punisheth Theft and Manslaughter so seuerely, that in an Age a man shall not heare either of the one or of the other. So that since King *Abas* came vnto the Crowne, full twentie yeares and vpwards, the *Persian* Empire hath flourished in sacred and redoubted Lawes, the people demeaning themselves after the best manner they can, abundance of Collections comming plentifully in, the Rents of his Cham-ber were increased more then euer they were in his Grandfather *Tamas* his time, Armes, Artes, and Sciences doe wonderfully prosper, and are very highly esteemed.

Sir Anthony
Sherleys arriual
in Persia.

To this great Monarch, came Sir *Anthony Sherley* Knight, with sixe and twentie Followers, all gallantly mounted and richly furnished; whose entertaynement was so great, that the *Persians* did admire, that the King should vouchsafe such high fauour to a meere stranger without desert or tryall of his worth. Of whose bountie the World may iudge, since within three dayes after his first arriuall, the King sent him fortie Horses furnished with Saddles, and very rich trappings; foure of them fit for the proper vse of any Prince, twelue Camels for cariage, together with sixe Mules, foure and twentie Carpets, most of them rich and faire, three Tents or Pavilions, with all other necessities of house; and lastly, sixe men laden with siluer. (*But of this yee haue heard himselfe.*)

¶. IIII.

The returne of the Author by the way of Persia, Sufiana, Chaldæa, Assyria, and Arabia.



Auing tooke my leaue of Master *Robert Sherley*, and the rest of my Countrey men, I left them to the mercy of the King (whose bountie and goodnesse by their returne hath plentifully shewed it selfe) and betooke my selfe to the protection of the Almighty, to bring me in safetie againe into my owne Countrey: being in my returne, accompanied with one *Signior Belchior Dios d' Croce*, an *Armenian Portugall*, or *Portugall Armenian*, and one *Christophero a Greeke*, who were sent with Letters from the *Gouernour of Goa*, to the King of *Spaine*, but lost afterwards their liues and Letters by shipwracke in the *Venetian Gulfe*. From *Hispaan* we spent ten dayes trauell to *Siras*, by perswasion of some *Persian* Merchants that were bound for *Aleppo* with vs, traueiling through the very heart of *Persia* it selfe, paying now and then a *Shaughee* a peece to certaine Villages in the way, no matter of importance worth the relating till we come to the Citie it selfe.

The description
of *Siras*, the
ancient *Perse-
polis*.
The Riuer
Bindamir.

Siras is situated on the Bankes of *Bindamir*, a great and famous Riuer, which courseth through *Persia*, and the Kingdome of *Lar*, and so emptieth it selfe into the *Persian Gulfe*, and was once the Metropolitall seat of all the Kingdome, vntill of late yeares, *Hispaan* hath gained that priuiledge from her. Notwithstanding it is large and spacious contayning very neere ten miles in circuit, and lyeth iust in the Road way which leades from *Hispaan* to *Ormuz*.

In and about this Towne are to be seene the ruines of many ancient Monuments: as two great gates, that are distant one from the other the space of twelue miles, which shewes the circuit of this Citie, as it was in the time of the Monarchie, to be both large and spacious. On the South-side we viewed the ruines of a goodly Palace, builded, as they say, by King *Cyrus*; a Palace much magnified by *Aelianus* in his first Booke *de animalibus*, cap. 59. And on the North-side the ruines of an old Castle, which seemes was girt about with a three-fold wall: the first wall being foure and twentie foot high, adorned and beautified with many Turrets and Spires: the second was like vnto the first, but twice as high; and the third was foure square, being foure score and ten foot high. All fabricated of free stone. On each side were twelue Gates of Brasse, with
10 Brazen Pales set before them very curiously wrought, all which did shew the magnificence of the Founder. On the East-side of this ruinous Castle, some foure Acres of ground distant, is a Mountayne, on which was erected a goodly Chappell, in which most of the *Persian* Kings in anticke times were intombed. And though this Citie hath endured sundry mutations and changes, yet is it not to bee esteemed one of the least Cities in *Persia*: for out of it in short time is leued twenty thousand Horsemen well armed. Besides, it is one of the greatest and most famous Cities of the East, both for traffique of Merchandize; as also for most excellent Armour and Furniture, which the Armourers with wonderfull cunning doe make of Iron and Steele, and the Iuice of certayne Herbs, of much more notable temper and beautie, then are those which are made with
20 vs in *Europe*; not onely Head-pieces, Curiaßes, and compleate Armours, but whole Caparisons for Horses, curiously made of thinne plates of Iron and Steele.

Old Monuments.

Excellent Armour made in Syras.

From *Siras*, hauing spent eight dayes trauell and better, we entred into the Prouince of *Susiana*, now called *Cusistan*, but in old time *Affyria*. The bounds of this Countrey, North-wards is on the South part of *Armenia*, East-ward on a part of *Persia*: West-ward on *Mesopotamia*: and South-ward on a part of the *Persian* Gulfe, which part is full of Fennes and marish Bogges, without either Port or Hauen. The Climate in that part is exceeding hot, and very much infested with bituminous matter, which both spoiles the growth of Trees, and corrupt the waters, whereby it comes to passe, that the people are not long liued.

Trauelling two dayes further from the entrance into this Kingdome, we rested at *Valdac*, once the great Citie *Susa*, but now very ruinous. Close by this ruinous Towne swimmeth the famous Riuer *Choaspes*, which after many turnings and windings through the Countrey of *Susiana*, dischargeth it selfe in the *Persian* Gulfe. The water of this Riuer is very delicate to the taste.
30

The description of *Susa*. The Riuer *Choaspes*.

Hauing passed ouer this Riuer, we set forward towards *Mosul*, a very ancient Towne in this Countrey, fixe dayes journey from *Valdac*; and so pitched on the bankes of the Riuer *Tygris*. Here in these Plaines of *Affyria*, and on the bankes of *Tygris*, and in the Region of *Eden*, was *Ninive* built by *Nimrod*, but finished by *Ninus*. It is agreed by all profane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that this Citie exceeded all other Cities in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it seemes by the ruinous foundation (which I thoroughly viewed) that it was built with foure sides, but not equall or square; for the two longer sides had each of them (as we ghesse) an hundred and fiftie furlongs; the two shorter sides, ninetie furlongs, which amounteth
40 to foure hundred and eightie furlongs of ground, which makes threescore miles, accounting eight furlongs to an *Italian* mile. The walls whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such a breadth, as three Chariots might passe on the rampire in Front: these walls were garnished with a thousand and five hundred Towers, which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and a Strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times. Now it is destroyed (as *God* foretold it should bee by the *Chaldeans*) being nothing else, then a sepulture of her selfe, a little Towne of small trade, where the Patriarch of the *Nestorians* keepes his seat, at the deuotion of the *Turkes*. Sundry times had wee conference with this Patriarch; and among many other speeches which past from him, he wished vs, before we departed, to see the Iland of *Eden*, but twelue miles vp the Riuer, which hee affirmed, was vndoubtedly a part of *Paradise*.

The description of *Ninive*. The magnificent building of *Ninive*, by *Ninus*.

This Iland lies in the heart of the Riuer *Tygris*, and is (as we could ghesse) in circuit ten *English* miles, and was sometimes walled round about with a wall of strong defence, as appeares by the ruinous foundation of Bricke which there remayneth. And howsoeuer the beautifull Land of *Eden* is now forgotten in these parts, with those flourishing Countries of *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*, being all swallowed vp into meere Barbarisme, yet this Iland still retaines the name of the Ile of *Eden*.

The description of the Iland of *Eden*. Of *Paradise*, see my *Pile. l. i. c. 3.* This Author also had here inserted a discourse thereof, here omitted. In stead whereof, I haue presented you with the Map. The description of New *Babylon*, now called *Bagdat*.

From the Iland of *Eden* wee returned to *Mosul*, and stayed there eight dayes, and so went downe the Riuer *Tygris* to *Bagdat*, or New *Babylon*, being carried not on Boat, as downe the Riuer *Euphrates*, but vpon certaine Zatarres or Rafts, borne vpon Goats skins blowne full of wind like Bladders. Which Rafts they sell at *Bagdat* for fire, and carrie their skins againe home
60 vpon Asses by Land, to make other Voyages downe the said Riuer.

By this Riuer the Citie *Bagdat* is very abundantly furnished with all kind of provision, both of Corne, Flesh, Fowle, Fish, and Venison of all sorts; besides great store of Fruit, but especially of Dates, and that very cheape. This Citie by some is called, New *Babylon*, and may well be, because it did rise out of the ruines of old *Babylon*, not farre distant, being nothing so great,

HONDIUS his Map of Paradise.



Cleere Skie,

Bagdat yeelded
vnto the Turks.A Caliph is a
man reueren-
ced of all Ma-
hometan Prin-
ces, and hath
an old priui-
ledge in the
choise and
confirmation
of the Assyrian
Kings and Sul-
tans of Egypt.The Tower of
Babel.

great, nor so faire: for it contaynes in circuit but three *English* miles; and is built but of Bricke 40
dried in the Sunne: their houses also being flat roofed and low. They haue no raine for eight
moneths together, nor almost any cloud in the Skie night nor day. Their Winter is in No-
uember, December, Ianuarie, and Februarie, which moneth are neuerthelesse as warme as our
Summer in *England*. In a word, this Towne was once a place of great trade and profit, by rea-
son of the huge Carauans, which were wont to come from *Persia*, and *Balsara*: but since the
Portugals, *Englismen*, and *Hollanders*, haue by their traffique into the East *Indies*, cut off almost
all the trade of Marchandize into the Gulfs of *Arabia*, and *Persia*, both *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*,
and *Bagdat* in *Assyria*, are not now of that benefit, as they haue beene, either to the Merchant,
or Great *Turke*, his Tributes both in *Egypt*, and his Customes in this place being much hindred
thereby. After it continued vnder the *Tartar* and *Persian* gouernement, vntill it was taken by 50
Solyman the *Turkish* Emperour, for *Tamas* the *Persian* King, who (after it was yeelded vnto
him) according to an old superstitious manner, receiued at the hands of a poore Caliph, the En-
signes and Ornaments of the Kings of *Assyria*: so this Citie, with the great Countreies of *Assy-
ria*, and *Mesopotamia*, sometimes famous Kingdomes of themselves, and lately part of the *Per-
sian* Kingdome, fell into the hands of the Great *Turke*, in the yeere 1534. and so haue conti-
nued euer since, Prouinces of the *Turkish* Empire.

Having staid twentie dayes at *Bagdat*, wee put our selues into the companie of a *Chian*,
who was bound from the *Bassa* of *Bagdat* for *Constantinople*, being in number sixteene persons
and no more, to trauell through a great part of *Chaldea*, and the Desart of *Arabia*. So soone as
we were out of this Citie, we passed ouer the swift Riuer *Tygris*, on a great Bridge made with 60
Boats, chayned together with two mightie Chaynes of Iron: and so entred into a part of *Bag-
dat*, on this side of the Riuer, like *London* and *Southwarke*, where we staid foure dayes.

Two places of great antiquitie did wee thoroughly view in the Countrey: the one was, the
ruines of the old Tower of *Babel*, (as the Inhabitants hold vnto this day) built by *Nimrod*, the
Nephew

Nephew of *Cham*, *Noahs* sonne. And now at this day, that which remayneth is called, the remnant of the Tower of *Babel*: there standing as much, as is a quarter of a mile in compasse, and as high as the stone-worke of *Pauls* Steeple in *London*. It was built of burnt Bricke cimented and ioyned with bituminous Mortar, to the end, that it should not receiue any cleft in the same. The Bricks are three quarters of a yard in length, and a quarter in thicknesse, and betweene euery course of Bricks, there lieth a course of Mats made of Canes and Palme-tree leaues, so fresh, as if they had beene layd within one yeere.

The other place remarkable is, the ruines of old *Babylon*, because it was the first Citie, which was built after the Flood. Some doe thinke, that the ruines of *Nimrods* Tower, is but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*, and that therefore many Trauellers haue beene deceiued, who suppose that they haue seene a part of that Tower which *Nimrod* builded. But who can tell whether it be the one or the other? It may be, that confused Chaos which wee saw, was the ruines of both, the Temple of *Bel* being founded on that of *Nimrod*.

The description of old Babylon.

From the ruines of old *Babylon* wee set forwards to *Aleppo*; traueilling, for the most part, through the Desart *Arabia*. Hauing spent three dayes and better, from the ruines of old *Babylon*, we came to a Towne, called *Ait*, inhabited onely with *Arabians*, but very ruinous. Neere vnto which Towne is a Valley of Pitch very maruellous to behold, and a thing almost incredible, wherein are many Springs, throwing out abundantly a kind of blacke substance like vnto Tarre and Pitch, which serueth all the Countries thereabouts to make staunch their Barkes and Boats; euery one of which Springs maketh a noise like a Smiths Forge, in puffing and blowing out the matter, which neuer ceaseth night nor day, and the noyse is heard a mile off, swallowing vp all weighty things that come vpon it. The *Moeres* call it, The mouth of Hell.

The mouth of Hell.

Three daies spent we on this Desart, and so arriued at *Anna*, a towne of three miles in length, but very narrow, inhabited altogether with *Curdies*, a most theeuish people. Here we stayed two daies, and could not be suffered to passe without a present to the Gouvernor of this towne, which came to a Ducket a piece. Close by this Towne runneth the Riuer *Euphrates*, with a very swift current, which doth maruellously fructiferate the Countrey round about, whereby wee prouided our selues of all necessaries fit for trauell through the rest of the Desart.

Anna a Towne in Arabia.

From this Towne we proceeded, and euery second night, through the good discretion of our Guide, we pitched on the banke of the Riuer *Euphrates*, which much refreshed our selues and wearied beasts, beholding euery day, great Droues of wild beasts, as wild Asses all white, Gasels, Wolves, Leopards, Foxes, and Hares. And now to winde vp all, in passing from *Babylon* to *Aleppo*, they ordinarily with Camels spend fortie dayes, traueilling through this sorry and barren Desart, lying vnmanured, because of the scarcitie of moysture. Howbeit, we vsed not their seruice, by reason of the speed which the *Chians* made for *Constantinople*, so that the trauell which the Carauan is fortie dayes about, we passed in eightene dayes in much securitie, and so in great safety, by the mercy of God, I arriued againe in *Aleppo*.

40

CHAP. V.

The Peregrination of BENIAMIN the sonne of IONAS, a Iew, written in Hebrew, translated into Latin by B. ARIAS MONTANVS.

Discovering both the state of the Iewes, and of the world, about foure hundred and sixtie yeeres since.

50



AN Epitome of the Relations of Benjamin the sonne of Ionas of Tudela, of the Province of Nauarra, or Cantabria, who earnestly undertaking a Iourney, and traueilling very many and the most remote Countries, hath described all those things, which either he himselfe saw, or receiued * from men of approued credit, and reported the same in Spaine: nor hath hee onely mentioned such things, but the greatest part also of the renowned and principall men (Israelites) who abode in euery particular place by him diligently viewed. At length returning into the Countrey of Castella, hee declared all these things to his people, in the yeere 933. (after the Iewish account, from the Creation.)

* That is, of Iewes whose Faith is displeasing to God, and contrary to all men; the faithfulness also of their relations is not without suspi-

cion in some Relations receiued from them, in some but Iewish Fables. A good Author in the things hee hath seene, and few euer haue seene more. His Vniuersities here often mentioned, vnderstand Synagogues or Schooles of Iewes: and the Gouvernours of Iewes to be but in those Schooles, or some petie rule ouer their owne, bought by money, &c. Let the Reader also obserue that some things may be true which seeme strange, and that the *Turkes* in *Europe*, they and the *Tartars* in *Asia* haue much altered the face of the World since *Beniamins* Trauels, which happened about A.D. 1160.

60

p. I.

Of the Iewes and their Synagogues, Schooles, or Vniuersities, and other
his Observations in Europe.

Cesar Augusta.
Tortosa.
Tarracona.

Barchinonia.
a The Iewes
call their Rab-
bins and Stu-
dents in Tra-
ditions by this
arrogant name
and the stile of
their tradition
Lecture was,
ὁ σοφὸς δ' εὐσε-
πῆς.

Gerunda.

Narbona.

b If the Iewish
braggarts may
be belceued, I
cannot learne,
and learned
men denie
that the Iewes
in their pre-
sent confusion
haue any cer-
taine Genea-
logies either
Royall or
Priestly,
though here
you shall meet
with both.

Bidrasch per-
adventure Bo-
siers.

c Synagogue
or Schoole,
and Students
vnder the Rab-
bins.

Mompelier.
The famous
nesse of Mons
Pessulanus.

Lunel.

After the Pha-
rilie.

Salomo the
Priest.

Pothiaquiers.

Consistorie.

Nogheres.

Iewish Vniuer-
sities or Syna-
gogue-schoole

Rhodano.

Prouence.

Arelatum.

Massilia.

Beniamin the sonne of Ionas, of approued memorie hath said: First, departing from the Citie *Cesar Augusta*, according to the direction of the Riuer *Iberus*, I came to *Tortosa*, and from thence I went to *Tarracona*, and ancient Citie built by the sonnes of *Enac*, and the *Grecians*, the like excellencie of which building is found in no other Coun-tries of *Spaine*; and the Citie it selfe bordereth vpon the Sea. But two dayes journey from thence I entred into *Barchinonia*, in the which there is a sacred Synagogue frequented by a wise and prudent men, and also adorned with noble men, among whom are, Master *Seseth*, and *Sealthiel*, and *Selomoth* the sonne of *Abraham*, the sonne of *Hbazzidai* of happie memorie. And it is little, but a fine Citie, seated vpon the very Sea shoare, diuers Merchants from all Countries resorting thither, being a famous Mart-towne for the *Grecians*, *Pisanes*, *Genueses*, *Sicilians*, *Egyptians*, *Alexandrians*, and out of the Land of *Israel*, and all the borders thereof. But departing from thence one dayes journey and an halfe, I came to *Gerunda*, where there is a little Synagogue of the *Iewes*. Three dayes journey from thence, I went to *Narbona*, which Citie giueth Lawes to the rest: for out of it, the Law goeth forth into all Countries; where, there are wise men, both great, and honourable, especially *Kalonymos* the sonne of the great and honou-20 rable *Theodorus* of good memorie, of the seed of *Dauid* b by true descent and genealogie, who hath Inheritances and Lands from the Princes of the Countries, fearing the force or violence of no man. *Abraham* also, principally, is Head of the assemblie, and *Machir*, and *Iehuda*, and others like vnto these, the Disciples of Wise-men: and, there are almost three hundred *Iewes* therein at this day. Foure leagues from thence, I came vnto the Citie *Bidrasch*, in the which there is an Vniuersitie c adorned with the Disciples of Wise-men; whose Heads are, *Selomoh Hhalpetha*, and *Ioseph* the sonne of *Nathanael* of good memorie. But, travelling two dayes journey from thence, I went to *Mons Tremulus*, in times past, *Pessulanus*, now called by the Inhabitants, *Mompelier*; a Citie conuenient for trafficke and merchandizing, two leagues distant from the Sea, frequented by diuers Nations for the entercourse of merchandise, *Idume-* 30 *ans*, and *Ismaelites* of *Algarba*, *Longobardes*, and from the Kingdome of great *Rome*, and out of all the Land of *Egypt* and *Israel*, from all the Countrey of *France*, *Spaine*, and *England*, and of all the languages of the Nations are there found, by meanes of the *Genueses* and *Pisani*. The Schol-lers also of the Wise-men are there very famous in this Age, especially *Reuben* the sonne of *Theo-* *dorus*, and *Nathan* the sonne of *Zacharias*, and the chiefe of all, *Semuel*, and *Selamias*, and *Mar-* *docheus*, who is now dead. Some among them are very rich, and liberall vnto the poore; who helpe all that come vnto them.

Foure leagues from thence standeth *Lunel*, a famous Vniuersitie of such as applie themselves to the studie of the Law of the *Israelites* day and night; where that great Master *Messulam* of happie memorie was then, with five wise and rich ionnes, *Ioseph*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Aharon*, and 40 *After* the Pharisee, who being separated from the eyes of the world, studieth day and night, fasting, and perpetually abstayning from the eating of Flesh; and hee is greatly conuersant in the opinions and traditions of the ancient, and great *Moses Nisus*, and old *Samuel*, and *Salomo* the Priest, and Master *Iudas* the Physician, the sonne of *Thebon* a Spaniard: and there is a Synagogue, there, of three hundred *Iewes*, almost: but it is two miles distant from the Sea. Foure leagues from thence standeth *Pothiaquiers*, a great Castle, in the which are fortie *Iewes* almost, and a great Consistorie with *Abraham* the sonne of *Dauid* of happie fame, a friendly man, and very learned, both in disciplinary, and also in the sacred bookes, vnto whom very many resort from remote places for the learning of the Law, and being most curteously entertayned in his house, are taught: and if any want abilitie to defray their charges, hee liberally bestowed his 50 owne money for all vses; for he is very rich. There are also other learned men there, as *Ioseph* the sonne of *Menabhem*, and *Benbeneseth*, and *Beniamin*, and *Abraham*, and *Isaac* the sonne of *Moses* of commendable memorie. About foure leagues from thence is *Nogheres* the Towne, called, The Burrough of Saint *Egidius*, where there is an Vniuersitie of *Iewes*, consisting almost of an hundred Wise-men, the chiefe whereof are, *Isaac* the sonne of *Jacob*, and *Abraham* the sonne of *Iudas*, and *Eliezer*, and *Isaac*, and *Moses*, and *Jacob* the sonne of the great Master *Leui* of excellent memorie: this Towne is three miles distant from the Sea, and is situated neere vnto a great Riuer, called *Rhodano*, which runneth through all that Countrey, which is called, *Prouincia*: but there, is the most noble and honourable *Abba* the sonne of *Isaac* of approued memorie, made Gouvernor by the principall Lord. From thence, after I had trauelled foure leagues, 60 I came to the Citie *Arelatum*, where there are almost two hundred *Israelites*, among whom the chiefe are, *Moses*, *Tobias*, and *Isaias*, and *Selomoh*, and honourable *Nathan*, and Master *Abba Meri* a famous man. But three dayes journey from thence I was brought to *Massilia*, a Citie renowned for excellent and wise men, famous for two Colledges of three hundred *Iewes* almost

most One of the Colledges lyeth neer vnto the Sea shore below, about which the other standeth, as it were a certaine Tower, seated in an higher place: and there is a great Consistorie * among them adorned with the Disciples of Wisemen, with *Simon* the Sonne of *Antolin*, and his Brother *Iacob* and *Lebaarus*, who are accounted the chiefe in the higher Colledge: but in the lower, rich *Iacob Pirpsienus*, and *Abraham*, and *Mair*, and his Son-in-law *Isaac*, and another *Mair*. And this Citie, for Trade of Merchandize, is very famous on the Sea shoare, from whence taking ship, in foure dayes sayling you come to *Genoa*, a Citie standing on the Sea-side, where there were two *Iewes* who were Brethren, *Samuel* the Sonne of *Calaam*, and his Brother of *Sephtha* a Citie of *Africa*, good men. But the Citie is compassed with walls, subiect to no King; but gouerned by a Magistrate, who is ordayned by the will and consent of the Citizen.

* For their Synagogue affaires and permitted government among themselves. *Genoa*.

- At *Pisa* were *Moses*, and *Hbajm*, and *Ioseph* with almost twentie *Iewes*. The Citie it selfe is not fortified with walls; and is foure miles distant from the Sea, whereunto they goe in Vessels by the Riuer which runneth through the middest of the Countrey it selfe, and entreteth into the Citie. Foure leagues from thence standeth *Luca*, a great Citie, where I found almost fortie *Iewes*; and the principall Masters amongst them, *David*, *Samuel*, and *Iacob*, learned men. It is fixe dayes Iourney from thence to *Rome*, sometimes a very great Citie, and head of the Empire of the Nations. And there were almost two hundred *Iewes* there, honest men, paying Tribute to no mortall man; among which, some are the Seruants of *Alexander* the Pope, the Supreme Prelate of all the Christian Religion. And there were very learned men there, and especially *David Magnus*, and *Iehiel* the Popes Seruant, an excellent yong man, and wise, often frequenting his house, as gouernour of the house, and all the Domestick Affaires. And he is the Nephew of *Nathan*, the Author of the Booke and Commentaries *Aaruch*: *Ioab* also the Sonne of Great *Solomon*, and *Menabem* are heads of the Assembly, and *Iehiel* dwelling beyond *Tiber*, and *Beniamen* the Sonne of *Sabthi*, of good memory. But the Citie of *Rome* it selfe is diuided into two parts, betweene which the Riuer *Tiber* runneth. And in the former part standeth a very great Temple, called the *Romane* Capitoll, at the which the house of Great *Iulius Caesar* stood. Moreouer, there are huge Buildings, and admirable workes, beyond other which may bee found in the whole World. But the Citie it selfe, if you ioine the inhabited part with that which is razed, and without Inhabitant, containeth the space of foure and twentie miles. And in it are eightie Palaces of eightie Kings, from the Reigne of *Tarquinius* vntill the Reigne of *Pipin* the Father of that *Charles* who first vanquished *Spaine*, possessed by the *Ismaelites*. But the Palace of *Titus* is without *Rome*; who was not receiued by the three hundred Senators, because that in the siege of *Hierusalem* hee had spent three yeares, that is to say, one yeere beyond his determined time: and there is also part of a Church, to wit, of the Palace of *Vespasian*, of a very great and most firme building. Besides, there is the Palace of King *Malgalbinus*, containyng three hundred and sixtie small Palaces according to the number of the dayes of the yeare, and the compass thereof, as farre as we might gather by the ruines, containeth three miles. But in times past a battaile was fought in that Palace, wherein about an hundred thousand men in number were slaine; whose bones gathered together on a heape, are to be seene euen vntill this day. And the Emperour hath ingrauen the resemblance of that fight on all the sides of the houses in Marble stone, with innumerable opposite factions of men, and the representations of Horses, Armes, and warlike furniture, that he might leaue a wonderfull Monument of the ancient Warres vnto Posteritie. In the same place a rewe of building is found lower then the ground of the Earth, where the Emperour and his Wife *Augusta* are found, orderly seated in Chaires of Estate, and almost an hundred other men Seruants of the Empire, all embalmed by the arte of the Apothecarie, euen vntill this day.

Luca.

Rome.

Pope Alex. 3. which succeeded *Adrian* the fourth, an Englishman, A. 1159 In the time of *Fredericke Barharossa*, Henry the Second, then K. of England.

The Author of the Booke of *Aaruch*.

The Capitoll. Very many of these ruines are now altogether wasted for the vse of matter for other buildings. That which he addes of *Titus*, is a Iewish aspersi- on, he being called *Orbis deliciae*.

Peradventure the Author said *Galbinus*, or *Galenus*. Sepulchres.

Salomons Pillars.

Capua.

Puteoli. Iewish Tradition. *Surrentum*.

- And in a Church, two Brazen Pillars are found, the worke of King *Salomon*, with that Inscription ingrauen in *Hebrew* on either side, *Salomon* the Sonne of *Dauid*. And it was told mee by the *Iewes* liuing at *Rome*, that euery yeare the ninth day of the moneth *Ab*, those Pillars distill sweate like water. There is also a Vault, wherein *Titus* is reported to haue hidden the Vessels of the Sanctuary brought from *Hierusalem*. There is the representation of an Horse made of Brasse, gilded. Besides, there are buildings and other workes, and Monuments at *Rome*, which no man is able to reckon.

- Departing from *Rome*, in two dayes Iourney I came to *Capua*, sometimes great, built, as they say, by King *Capis*, a goodly Citie, yet to be disliked for the waters, and therefore very vnwholsome for children especially: wherein there were almost three hundred *Iewes*, and some among them very wise, and of great renoume: but, the chiefe were *Lampassus* and *Samuel*, Brethren, and famous *Zaken*, and *Dauid* a renowned man, whom some call our Prince. From thence I went to *Puteoli*, sometimes called *Surrentum*, a great Citie, which *Sinan Hadar-Ghezzer* built, being put to flight through feare of King *Dauid*, and brought into that place: but by reason of the inundation of the Sea, his people with two parts of the Citie were ouerwhelmed and drowned: and at this day, the Towers, and seats of Iudgement are seene drowned in the waters, which sometimes, were in the middest of the Citie. And in the same place a Fountaine springeth, in the

* Naturall
lime, or a
clammie kind
of clay like
Pitch.
* It is not a-
miss to relate
these Jewish
Tales hatched
by arrogant
Superstition,
and nursed by
Superstitious
credulitie. Our
Author tels
what his coun-
treymen told
him. One truth
we may learne
of Lyes. Not
to build Faith
on Tradition.
Naples.
Salernum.
Malfi.

Beneuentum.

* A Synagogue
Malchi.
Apulia.

Asculum.

Tarnaa.

Miquoles deuar.

Tarentum.

Baruedis.
Ornedo.

Ocropos.

Lebta.
The beginning
of the King-
dome of Em-
manuel, then
Emperour of
Constantinople.
Achilon.
Natolicon.
Patra.
Lepantum.
Cores.
The Moun-
tayne Paros.
Corimthus.
Thebe in Boe-
tia two thou-
sand Jewes
workers of
Purple and
Scarlet.

the which * *Bitumen* is found, commonly called *Petroleum*, which beeing gathered out of the waters whereon it floateth, is preferred for the vse of Medicine. There are also naturall bathes with most medicinable waters, which are frequented by diuers sicke persons with profitable vse, especially by the *Longobardes*, who in the Summer time come thither to seeke remedie. Departing from thence, a way of fiteene miles in length is made vnder the Mountaynes; and it is a worke made by *Romulus* the first King of the *Romanes*, through feare * of *Dauid* the King of *Israel*, and *Ioab* the chiefe Captaine of *Dauids* Armie. Hee made the like worke also in the Mountaynes, and vnder the Mountaynes, where *Naples* now standeth, a famous and most strongly fortified Citie, situated on the Sea, built by the *Gracians*. Fiue hundred *Jewes* almost dwelt there, among whom, the most renowned, are *Ezechias*, and *Salum*, and *Elias* the Priest, 10 and *Isaac* of the Mountayne *Hor*. One dayes Iourney from thence I was brought to *Salernum*, a Citie famous for the Schooles of the Physicians, in the which, there were almost sixe hundred *Jewes*, but among these, *Indas* the Sonne of *Isaac*, and *Melchisedecke* a great man of the Citie *Sipontum*, and *Salom* the Priest, and *Elias* the Greeke, and *Abraham Narbonensis*, and *Thimon*, were famous for their Learning. The Citie it selfe on the side of the Continent, is fortified with wals, on the other side it lyeth vpon the Sea-shoare, and hath an exceeding strong Tower vpon the top of an Hill.

Halfe a dayes Iourney from thence is *Malfi*, in the which were twentie *Jewes* almost, and the chiefe among these were *Hhananeel* the Phisician, and *Elizeus*, and honourable *Abuel*. All the Inhabitants of this Countrey apply themselues to negotiation and Merchandize, and negle- 20 cting the care of sowing the ground, liue vpon bought Corne, because they dwell in exceeding high Mountaynes on the very tops of the Rockes: yet they abound with other Fruits, Vineyards, places where Oliues grow, Gardens, and Orchards, inuincible of all other men by reason of the situation of the place. But *Beneuentum* is one dayes Iourney distant from thence, a great Citie, partly seated vpon the Sea-shoare, and partly vpon a Mountayne: and there is an Vniuersitie * there, consisting almost of two hundred *Jewes*, and the chiefe of these, are *Colonymus*, and *Zerah*, and *Abraham*, famous men. Two dayes Iourney from thence in *Malchi*, in the Countrey of *Apulia*, so called of *Pul*, that is to say, Beanes; there were almost two hundred *Jewes*; the chiefe whereof were *Abhimaghats*, and *Nathan*, and *Saddoq*. But, from thence in one dayes Iourney only I came to *Asculum*, where I found about fortie *Jewes*, and among them, the 30 principall, *Contilus*, and *Tsemabh* his Sonne-in-law, and *Ioseph*. From thence two dayes Iourney to *Tarnaa*, situated vpon the Sea-shoare, in which place, they who go to *Hierusalem* for the cause of Religion, vse to assemble together, as into a Haven most commodious for that Nauigation. And there was an Vniuersitie there, consisting of two hundred *Israelites* or thereabouts, and the most renowned among them, were *Elias*, and *Nathan* the Preacher, and *Iacob*: the Citie it selfe is great and fine. One dayes Iourney from thence standeth *Miquoles deuar*, which great Citie was destroyed by *Gulielmus* King of *Sicilia*: and it is not only without *Israelites*, but also destitute of the people of their owne Nation, and vtterly wasted. From thence in halfe a dayes Iourney I came to *Tarentum*, which is the beginning of the Iurisdiction of *Calabria*, inhabited by the *Gracians*; a great Citie, where are three hundred *Jewes* almost, and some of them learned, 40 especially *Maali*, and *Nathan*, and *Israel*. From hence, in one dayes Iourney I went to *Baruedis*, built vpon the Sea shoare, where are ten *Jewes* Dyers of Wooll. From whence *Ornedo* is two dayes Iourney distant, seated vpon the Sea, appertayning to the Countrey of the *Gracians*, and there are about fiue hundred *Jewes* there, the chiefe whereof were *Menahem*, *Caleb*, *Mair*, and *Maali*. Taking ship from thence, in two dayes I was brought to *Ocropos*, where there was one *Jew* only, named *Ioseph*; and hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of *Sicilia*.

From thence, in two daies sayling I came to the Towne *Lebta*, which is the beginning of the Kingdome of *Emanuel Grecian*; and there, I found about an hundred *Jewes*, whose heads are *Se-lubbias* and *Ercules*. From thence in two daies Iourney I came to *Achilon*, where there were almost ten *Jewes*, the chiefe whereof is *Sabthi*. Halfe a daies Iourney from hence standeth *Nato-* 50 *licon*, seated in the entrance of the Sea. From hence, in one dayes Iourney by Sea, I came to *Patra* the Citie of *Antipater*, one of the foure Kings of the *Gracians*, among whom the Kingdome of deceased *Alexander* was diuided: and there, ancient great buildings are to bee seene, in the which there were almost fiftie *Jewes*, and among them, the chiefe were *Isaac*, *Iacob*, and *Samuel*. From thence, halfe a dayes Iourney by Sea, I came to *Lepantum*, where, about an hundred *Jewes* dwell neere vnto the Sea, the principall whereof are *Gafarias*, and *Salum*, and *Abraham*. From thence, in one dayes Iourney and an halfe, I went to *Cores*, where, almost two hundred *Jewes* dwell, haning in the Mountayne *Paros* possessions of their owne, which they inhabit: and among them the chiefe are *Selomoh*, *Hhaijm*, and *Iedaia*. From thence in three dayes Iourney, I 60 came to *Corinth*, and found three hundred *Jewes*, the principall whereof are *Leo*, *Iacob*, and *Ezechias*. Three dayes Iourney from thence, I came to *Thebes* that great Citie, where, there are two thousand *Jewes*, the most excellent workemen of Purple and Scarlet, in the Countries of *Gracia*, among whom there are most learned men, and very skilfull in the repetitions, and disciplines, the

the chiefe of this age; among whom, were that great Master *Aaron Cutans*, and his brother *Moses*, and *Hbaiah*, and *Elias Thurbinnus*, and *Iectan*, with whom, none in all *Gracia* are comparable, * but onely at *Constantinople*. From thence in one dayes iourney to *Argiopum*, seated vpon the Sea, a great Citie, and frequented by a great number of Merchants from all Countries, and there are about an hundred *Iewes* there, and the chiefe among them are *Elias*, *Passeterius*, and *Emanuel*, and *Caleb*. From hence to *Iabusterisa*, is one dayes iourney, and this Citie standeth vpon the Sea coast, in the which there are almost an hundred *Iewes*, *Ioseph*, *Samuel*, and *Nethania*, being the principall. *Robinca* is one dayes iourney onely distant from thence, where were an hundred *Iewes* almost, ouer whom *Ioseph*, *Eliezer*, and *Isaac* had the command.

* This Jewish
honor in lat-
ter times hath
happened to
Theſſalonica,
now *Saloniſki*,
to have the
moſt, and moſt
learned of that
Nation.

Аргументъ.

Labuflerisa.

Robnica.

Sinox Potamon

Gardegbi

Armilon.

Biffina.

* Kings in that time vsd to sell dignities to the *Jewes* for money, and places of gouernement amongst themselves, whereby in matters of their Religion and more especially *Jewish*, they were exempt from ordinary Magistrates.

See in my Pil-
grimage l. a. r. 10
\$.7. King Johns
Charter, where
by James a lew
obraynerh

Presbyteratum
omnium Iudaeo-

rum totius An-
glie : and anon

ther of Rich. I.
Secundum legem

et consuet. Iu-
daismi, and in

most Townes
two Not ties

leaves, and two
Chr Plans. &c.

I adde this
long Note. left

any should
think the

ewes had firm
le freedoms

or power in
his time of

their maledi-
tion in any

lace. *nitricis*.

parma.
anisthol.

labiden alias
labiron.

That is be-

vixit the Me-
terranean and

To all sorts

Men or Re-
ions.

Ant Sophies.
podromus.

10 From thence, in one dayes iourney to *Simon Patamon*, where are almost fiftie *Iewes*, the chiefe whereof are *Salomo*, and *Iacob*. And it is the beginning of *Balachia*, whose Inhabitants dwell in the Mountaynes called *Balachi*, comparable with *Deare* in swiftnesse, who descending from the Mountaynes, driue away booties, and carrie away spoyles from the *Gracians*, hetherto vanquished by none, by reason of the inaccessible roughnesse of the places and Mountaynes in which they inhabit, easie to bee passed, and knowne onely vnto themselves. Nor are they *Christians* nor *Iewes*, although many among them are called by Iewish names; and boast that they were sometimes *Iewes*, and call the *Iewes* their Brethren, whom when they finde, they vse surely to spoyle them, but kill them not, as they doe the *Gracians*: Lastly, I obserued no forme of Religion among them. From thence, in two dayes iourney I went to *Gardeghi* a defaced and wasted Citie, retayning a few Inhabitants *Gracians* and *Iewes*. From hence to *Armilon* is two dayes iourney, a great Citie seated vpon the Sea, a common Mart Towne for the *Venetians*, *Pisanes*, *Genueses*, and other Nations, with large and spacious Fields; where I found about foure hundred *Iewes*, and the chiefe of them *Siloh*, and *Ioseph* the Gouvernour, and *Salomon* the principall. From this Citie to *Bissina*, is one whole dayes iourney, where are an hundred *Iewes* almost, and great *Sabibi*, and *Selomoh*, and *Iacob* haue the chiefe authoritie among them. From hence in two dayes by Sea, I arriued at *Seleuca*, built by *Seleucus*, one of those foure Kings who arose after *Alexander*: the Citie it selfe is very great, in the which there are about fise hundred *Iewes*, and the chiefe of these is *Semuel* made Gouvernour ouer his Nation, by the King of the Citie, together with his sonnes the Disciples of wise men, and *Sabibah* his sonne in Law, and *Elias*, and 30 *Michael*: and those *Iewes* apply themselves to Handy-crafts whereon they liue. From thence, in two dayes I came to *Mitrici*, where were almost twentie *Iewes*, among whom, the principall were *Isaias*, *Machir*, and *Eliab*. From thence, wee made two dayes iourney to *Darma*, in the which there are about an hundred and fortie *Iewes*, and the chiefe of them *Michael* and *Ioseph*. *Canisthol* is one dayes iourney onely distant from this Citie, where are almost twentie *Iewes*.

From thence we travelled three dayes journey to *Aabidon*, seated vpon the sea shoare: and travelling five dayes journey among the Mountaines, I came to *Constantina*, an exceeding great Citie, and the head of the Kingdome of *Ianan*, whom they call *Greekes*, the principall seate of the Emperour *Emanuel*, whose command twelue Kings obey: for every one whereof there are severall Palaces at *Constantinople*, and Towers, and Countries; and vnto these the whole land is subiect. The principall and chiefeft is called the great *Aphrippos*; the second, *Miga Demastocos*; the third, *Rominos*; the fourth, *Makdacos*; the fifth, *Alchafom Magli*: the rest haue names like vnto these. The compasse of the Citie of *Constantinople* containeth eighteene miles, the halfe part whereof standeth vpon the Sea, but the other halfe on the Continent: and it is seated vpon two armes of the Sea, or exceeding great mouthes of Riuer, * into one of the which, the waters flow from out of *Russia*, but into the other from *Spaine*. And it is frequented by many Factors, from the Prouinces and Countries of *Babylon*, *Senaar*, *Media*, *Persia*, and all the Kingdomes of the Land of *Egypt*, and *Canaan*, and the Kingdomes of *Russia*, *Vngaria*, and *Psi-
anki*, *Buria*, *Longobardia*, and *Spaine*. The Citie it selfe is common d and without difference, vnto the which Merchants resort out of all Countries, travelling both by Sea and Land: it hath none equall with it in the World, except *Bagdat*, that mightie Citie of the *Ismaelites*. Heere is the most famous Temple of Saint *Sophia*: and the Patriarch of the *Gracians* dwelleth heere: nor doe they agree with the Doctrine of the Pope of *Rome*. There are other Temples also, as many in number, as the dayes of the yeare. But it hath that exceeding great Treasure, almost beyond all estimation, by the Offerings and Riches yeerely brought from diuers Countries, Ilands, Castles, Forts, and places, so that no Temple of the whole World may bee compared with the Riches thereof. And in the midst of the Temple there are Pillars of Gold, and Siluer; huge Candlestickes, Lanthornes, Lampes, and other Ornaments of Gold and Siluer, more then any man is able to reckon.

60 Next adioyning to the walls of the Temple, there is a place built for Princely Pastimes, called *Hippodromus*, where, yeerely vpon the birth day of Iesus of *Nazareth*, great Spectacles are publikey presented; and there, all sorts of men with all manner of Habits of the whole World, are shewed before the King and Queene. Lions also, and Beares, Leopards, and wild Asses are brought forth into the place where these Spectacles are to bee scene, that they might fight together: and Birds also after the same manner: and I suppose that in no Countrey of the World

fuch

Eeeeeee

Bilberne, the
Palace of the
Emperour E-
manuel.
Emperors Pa-
lace, Throne,
Wealth, and
Reuenues.

Gracian pompe

Merry Greekes,

The Soldans
Thogarma.
Turkes.

Pera, where
now the Chri-
stians dwell.

Iewes hated.

Iewish Tanners

Pera.

such Princely Sports are to be seene. But surely King *Emanuel*, besides that Palace left him by his Ancestors, hath built him another vpon the Sea shoare, which they call *Bilberne*: the Pillars, and walls whereof, he hath ouer-layed with beaten Gold and Siluer; whereon hee hath ingrauen all the Warres made by him and his Ancestors. And hee hath prepared a Throne there for himselfe, of Gold and Precious Stones; and hath adorned it with a Golden Crowne hanging on high by Golden Chaines; the compasse whereof is equall with the Throne it selfe, beset with Precious Stones and Pearles, the price whereof no man is able to value; of so great a lustre, that putting no Torch vnto them, they shine and may be seene in the night. Moreover, there are other innumerable things in the same place, and incredible to bee told; and Tributes are yeerely brought into that Palace, wherewith the Towers are filled with Scarlet and Purple Garments and Gold; so that the like example of building and riches, can no where else bee found in the World. And it is affirmed that the Reuenue only of the Citie it selfe, gathered of the Markets, Hauens, and Tribute of Merchants, amounteth to twentie thousand Crownes a day. Furthermore, the *Gracians* themselves, Inhabitants of the Countrey, are exceeding rich in Gold and Precious Stones, and are attyred with most sumptuous Apparell, their Garments beeing made of Crimson, intermingled with Gold, or embroydered with Needle-worke, and are all-carried ypon Horses much like vnto the Children of Kings. The Countrey it selfe being very large, aboundeth with all sorts of Fruits, and hath also great plentie of Corne, Flesh, and Wine; nor the like Riches in the whole World are to be found. They are also learned, and skilfull in the Discipline of the *Gracians*, and giuing themselves wholly to pleasure, they eate and drinke every one vnder their Vine, and vnder their Figge-tree: and of all Tongues of the Nations, which they call *Barbarians*, they hyre Souldiers to fight with the *Soldan* King of the Children of *Thogarma*, who are commonly called *Turkes*, because they themselves through idlenesse, and delights are made vnapt and vnmanly for the Warres, and seemed vnto mee very like vnto women through a certaine impotencie of delights.

But no *Iewes* dwell within the Citie, for they are excluded from them by an arme of waters, and being inclosed betweene that and another arme of the Sea of *Sophia*, they are not so much as permitted to come into the Citie but by Boate, and that for the cause of Traffique and Commerce. And there are about two thousand *Iewes*, who are assembled with the Masters, that is, the Disciples of Wisemen, among whom, *Abtalion* the Great, and *Abdias*, and *Aaron Cuspus*, and *Ioseph Sarginus*, and *Eliakim* the Gouverneur, haue the chiefe authoritie: certaine of them are Artificers of Silken Garments, but very many are Merchants, and they very rich. No *Iew* is there permitted to bee carryed on Horse-backe, except *Solomon* the Egyptian, the Kings Physician, through whose seruice the *Iewes* are comforted, and ease their captiuitie, which they feele to be grievous.

For all the *Iewes* are very much hated of the *Gracians*, without any difference of the good and euill; by reason of the Tanners, who while they dresse skinnes, powre out the filchy water into the Streets before their owne doores: and therefore they are all oppressed together with a grievous yoke, and are beaten in the Streets, and violently compelled to serue. But the *Iewes* themselves are rich, as I haue said, and good men, and mercifull, and obseruers of the Commandements, who patiently endure the misery of Captiuitie. The place wherein they dwell is called *Pera*.

II.

The Estate of the Iewes, and Relations of the World in the higher parts of Asia, Syria, Palestina, Damascus, and the parts adioyning.

Doroston.

Galipolis.

Calas.

Mityle.

Hicha.

Mastick.

Isnos.

Rhodus.



Two dayes sailing from thence, I came to *Doroston*, where there is an Vniuersity of about foure hundred *Israelites*, the chiefe whereof are *Moses*, *Abias*, and *Iacob*. From thence in two dayes journey to *Galipolis*, where are almost two hundred *Iewes*, and the principall of these, are *Elias Caphis*, and *Sabthai-Zutra*, and *Isaac Migas*: But *Migas* signifieth a Tower in that Language, which is now the *Gracians* Mother Tongue. *Calas* is two dayes journey distant from hence, where were almost fiftie *Iewes*, and the chiefe Masters among them were *Iudas*, and *Iacob*, and *Semaïas*. Two dayes journey from thence being brought to *Mityle*, one of the Islands of the Sea, I found Vniuersities of *Israelites* in tenne places. Travelling three dayes journey from thence I came to *Hicha*, where were almost foure hundred *Iewes*, whose heads are *Elias*, and *Thimam*, and *Sabthai*: and there are the Plants from which Masticke is gathered. But, from hence, after two dayes journey standeth *Isnos*, in the which almost three hundred *Iewes* dwell: among whome *Semarias*, *Ghobadias*, and *Ioel*, haue the preeminence: and very many Assemblies of the *Israelites* meete together there. From thence in three dayes sayling I arrived at *Rhodus*, where I found almost foure hundred *Iewes*: and

* Farmers of
the customes.

* The Talmud
or Traditions.

Tyrian Glasse.
Sugar.
The ruines of
old Tyrus.

Akadi.

Ghaco.

Affer.

The Land of
Israel.

The Riuer Ca-
dumin.

Niphas.

Gadi.

Elias.

Achab.

The Riuer

Chifon. Chapbar.

Nahun.

Casarea.

Siferia.

Gad.

Cuthai.

Samaritanes.

Cesar.

Cacos.

Ceila.

Keghila.

Sargoreg.

Luz.

Sebaste.

Samaria.

Nebilus.

Sichem.

Ephraim.

Gerizim.

Ebal.

Aharonites.

The Sepulcher
of Ioseph.

furnished with a most commodious Hauen, which it containeth within it selfe, and receiueth in ships, betweene two Towers built on both sides: so that a Brazen Chaine beeing extended from one Tower vnto the other by the *Publicans*, * seruing for the gathering of the Custome, all entrance and going out of ships by night, may be entred, and no man can possibly conuay any thing taken out of the ships. Nor doe I thinke, any Hauen in the World, to bee found like vnto this. The Citie it selfe, as I haue said, is goodly, and in it there are about foure hundred *Iewes*, among whom some are very skilfull in Disciplinary * Readings, and especially *Ephraim* the *Egyptian* Iudge, and *Main*, and *Carchasona*; and *Abraham* the head of the Vniuersitie. Some of the *Iewes* liuing there haue ships at Sea for the cause of gaine. There are artificiall Workemen in Glasse there, who make Glasse, called *Tyrian Glasse*, the most excellent, and of the greatest estimation in all Countries. The best and most approoued Sugar also is found there. Ascending the walls of new *Tyrus*, old *Tyrus* is seene ouerwhelmed, in time past and couered with the Sea, distant a stones cast out of a Sling, from the new: but if any please to take Sea in a Skiffe or Boate, hee seeth the Tower, Market places, Streetes, and Palaces in the bottome. But new *Tyrus* is famous for publike Traffique, whereto they resort from all places.

In one dayes iourney from thence I came to *Akadi*, which was sometimes *Ghaco*, the bound of the Tribe of *Affer*, and the beginning of the Land of *Israel*, seated vpon the great Sea, famous for the Hauen, where all Christians going by ship to *Hierusalem* are receiued into the which the Riuer running through the Citie it selfe, floweth a Riuer called *Cadumin*. And there are almost two hundred *Iewes* there, and the Chiefe among them, are *Sadok*, and *Iapheth*, and *Iona*. From thence three leagues to *Niphas*, which selfe-same Citie is hidden *Gad*, bordering vpon the Sea shoare, nigh vnto which on the one side standeth *Carmel* the Mountayne, and at the foot of the Mountayne are the Sepulchers of very many *Israelites*, and in the Mountayne it selfe the Caue of the Prophet *Elias* is to be seene, neere vnto which the Christians haue built a Chappell, called *Saint Elias*. But on the top of the ridge of the Mountayne there remayneth the signe of the Altar broken downe and burned in the dayes of *Achab*, whereof notable mention is made in the Historie of *Elias*. And the place of that Altar is Circular, beeing almost foure Cubits ouer, in the Diameter; vnder the Mountayne it selfe, on the side thereof, the Riuer *Chifon* descendeth. *Capbar-Nabbum* is foure leagues distant from thence, retayning the ancient name, a very high place which exceedeth *Carmel* in prospect.

But hauing passed sixe leagues from thence, I came to *Casarea*, which the Inhabitants call *Siferia*, the ancient name thereof was *Gad* of the *Palaestines*, in the which there were tenne *Iewes*; and two hundred *Cuthai*, that is to say, *Samarite Iewes*, whome they commonly call *Samaritanes*. And it is a very faire and goodly Citie seated on the Sea, re-edified and amplified by the Emperour *Cesar*, and called by his name, *Casarea*. From whence, departing in halfe a dayes iourney I came to *Cacos*, which sometimes was *Ceila*, or *Keghila*, in the which there are no *Iewes*.

Againe from hence, in halfe a dayes iourney I went to *Sargoreg*, which by the Ancient was called *Luz*, where there is one *Iew* only, and he a Dyer of Woolles. Trauelling one dayes iourney from thence, I came to *Sebaste*, which selfe-same Citie is *Samaria*, wherein the Palace of *Achab* the King of *Israel* is yet discerned. But it hath beene a very strong and well fortified Citie, seated on a Mountayne, delightfull through the Fountaynes, and Riuers of Water, Gardens, Orchards, Vineyards, and places where Oliues grow: and hath no *Iew* inhabiting. Two leagues distant from hence is *Nebilus*, in time past called *Sichem*, in the Mountayne of *Ephraim*; where no *Iewes* are: and the Citie lyeth in a deepe Valley betweene the Mountaynes *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, or *Hebal*, in which there are about an hundred *Cuthai*, Obseruers only of the Law of *Moses* alone (these, as I said, they call *Samaritanes*.) But they haue Priests, of the Posteritie of *Aaron*, the Priest resting in peace, who intermarry with none other, but with the women or men of their owne Family, that they may preserue their Race and Kindred without mixture: and there they are commonly called *Aharonites*: notwithstanding they are Ministers and Priests of the Law of those *Samaritanes*. But they offer Sacrifices, and burne burnt Offerings in the Synagogue which they haue in the Mountayne *Garizim*, alleaging that which is written in the Law. And thou shalt giue a blessing vpon Mount *Garizim*. But they say, that it is the very house of the Sanctuary: and they lay the burnt Offering in the Feast of Easter, and other Festiual dayes vpon the Altar, built in the Mountayne *Garizim*, of the stones taken out of *Jordan* by the Children of *Israel*, and they vaunt that they are of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. Among them is the Sepulcher of *Ioseph* the Iust, the Sonne of *Iacob* our Father, resting in peace, as hath beene said. And the bones of *Ioseph* carryed out of *Egypt* by the Children of *Israel*, are buried in *Sichem*. But they want three Letters *V. H. R. H E*, of the name of *Abraham*, *Heth*, of the name of *Ishbac*, and *Ghain*, of the name of *Iaghabac*, in stead whereof they put *Aleph*, that is, *Spiritus tennis*. By this manifest token they are conuicted not to be of the Posteritie and Seed of *Israel*, seeing they acknowledge the Law of *Moses*, excepting these three Letters, which they know not. But they keepe themselves from the defiling of the dead, and of bones, and also of the flaine, and of the Graue.

They

- They haue also this custome, to put off the garments which they daily weare, when they are to goe into the Synagogue, and to wash their bodies with water, and put on other garments provided onely for this vse. And this is their daily custome. But, the Mountaine *Garizim* is pleasant with Fountaines, and Gardens: and contrarily, *Ghebal* is drie, full of Rockes and Stones, and betweene both, as wee haue said, the Citie *Sichem*: it selfe is seated. Foure leagues from thence is Mount *Gilboagh*, which the Christians call Mount *Gilbor*, consisting of a most barren and dry soyle. From whence, after foure leagues, you come to the Valley of *Aialon*, which the Christian Inhabitants of the Countrey call, *Val de Luna*; from whence, hauing trauelled the length of one league, I came vnto the Mountaine *Moria*, to *Garaan*, called the Towne of *David*, a Citie in time past called, *Gibghon* or *Gabaon*, where no *Iewes* are. Hauing passed three leagues from thence, I entred into *Hierusalem*, a little Citie, fortified with three walls, wherein there are many sorts of men, *Iacobites*, *Armenians*, *Grecians*, and *Gorgeri*, or *Georgij*, and *Franks*, of all the Languages of the Gentiles. And there is an house prepared there, for the dying of Woolls and Cloaths, which the *Iewes* hyre euery yeere, of the Kings, vpon that condition, that they onely might exercise that Art. And there are *Iewes* dwelling in an angle of the Citie, vnder the Tower of *Dauid*, in which Tower, the walls of the old building are yet remayning, built by our Ancestors, to the heighth of ten cubits, almost, from the very foundation. But that which remayneth beside these, is the building of the *Ismaelites*. And there is no building in the whole Citie, comparable with that Tower of *Dauid* in strength. There are also two houses there, called Hospitals, the Inhabitants whereof being Christians are, called *Hospitalers*: and they are Horse-men; out of whose two Colledges, foure hundred men, almost, goe forth furnished to the Battell: and in those houses, all sicke persons comming thither, are receiued, and cured, all plentie of necessarie things for the maintenance of life, as well to the sicke, that are liuing, and recouering, as to the dead, for their funerall, being abundantly and sufficiently ministered. But that second house is called, The Hospitall of *Salomon*: for, it standeth in the place of the Palace, sometimes built by *Salomon*. Foure hundred of them therefore doe daily goe forth to the battell: and all these associates are sworne, and bound by an Oath, besides many other more, who assemble thither, out of the Land of the *Franches* and *Italians*: voluntary making a Vow, which, remayning there a yeere or two, they performe. Moreouer, there is a very great Temple there, which they call, The Sepulchre, the Sepulchre of *Iesus of Nazareth*, for the visiting whereof the Pilgrims assemble. *Hierusalem* hath foure gates, the one is named, The Sleepe of *Abraham*; the other, The gate of *Dauid*; the third, The gate of *Sion*; and the fourth, The gate of *Iehosaphat*. But this is before the holy House, which sometimes stood, in the which now, there is a Church called, The Temple of the Lord, situated in the very place of the ancient Sanctuarie: but the very Temple of the Lord, now so called, is a certaine huge and goodly Arch, built by *Ghemar Ben Alchetab*, now frequented by the Christians, who haue no Image or Picture in that place, but onely resort thither to pray.
- Right ouer against this place there is a wall built, of the walls which were in the Sanctuarie, which they now call, The gate of Mercy: and vnto this gate, the *Iewes* come to pray, before the wall, in the Court. There also, I meane, at *Hierusalem*, in the house which was *Salomons*, are the Stalls of Horses seene, built by *Salomon*, a very strong building, and consisting of very great stones: of which manner of building the like example is not to be seene in all the Land. The Fish-pool also is yet remayning, wherein the ancient killed their Sacrifices: and euery one of the *Iewes* write their name there in the wall. Going out at the gate of *Iehosaphat*, they goe into the Desart, called The Wildernesse of the people, in the which there is the Monument of the Hand (or Pillar of *Absalon*, and the Sepulchre of *Uzia* the King, and a great Fountaine of the waters of *Siloabb* running into the Brooke *Kedron*: and nigh vnto the Fountaine, a great building from the dayes of our Ancestors. But little store of water is found in the Fountaine, and the greatest part of men liuing at *Hierusalem*, drinke raine-water, gathered in priuate Cisternes. But, from the Valley of *Iehosaphat*, vnto the Mountaine of Oliues, they continually ascend: for nothing lieth betweene the Citie and that Mountaine, but this Valley. And from the Mountaine it selfe the *Sodomitical* Sea is seene: but from that Sea vnto the heape of Salt, into the which *Lots* wife was turned, are two leagues. For that heape continueth still, which, being diminished by the flockes, sometimes by licking, encreaseth againe to the accustomed greatnesse: from the Mountaine of Oliues alio, all that plaine Countrey is seene, through which the Riuer *Stim* runneth euen vnto the Mountaine *Nebo*.
- Right ouer against this new *Hierusalem* standeth the Mount *Sion*, on the which no entire and whole building is seene, except one Temple of the Christians. Before *Hierusalem* also, three houses, as it were, of buriall are seene, wherein the *Israelites* were sometimes buried, and the forme of the Graues is yet decent and conspicuous, but it is daily diminished by the Christians, who digge vp the stones for the building of their priuate houses. That space and length of *Ierusalem* is compassed with great Mountaines. But, in the Mountaine *Sion*, are the Sepulchres of the Familie of *Dauid*, and of those Kings who arose after *Dauid*; but the place it selfe is commonly vnknowne. For, it hapned fifteene yeeres since, that one wall of the Temple,

The Mountain
Garizim.
The Mountain
Ghebal.
Gilboagh,
Gilbor.
The Valley of
Aialon.
The Valley of
the Moone.
Garaan Dauid.
Gibgon, Gabaon.
Hierusalem.
Iacobites, Arme-
nians, Grecians,
Georgians, and
Franches, inhab-
iting Hierusa-
lem.

Hospitalers of
the military
Order of Saint
Johns, and of
the Dutch Or-
der of Saint
Marie, sup. l. 8.
c. 6. §. 5.
Salomons Hos-
pitall, or the
Templers.

The Sepulchre
of Iesus.

Or the gate of
Abraham.

The Temple
of the Lord.

Ghemar Ben Al-
chetab.

No Image in
the Temple.

The Gate of
Mercy.

The Pillar of
Absalon.

The Sepulchre
of King Uzia.

The Fountaine
of Siloabb.

The Mountain
of Oliues.

The Sodomiti-
call Sea.

The Pillar of
Salt, into the

which the wife
of Lot was tur-
ned.

The Riuer Si-
tim.

The Mountain
Nebo.

The Mount
Sion.

which I said to be in the Mount *Sion*, fell downe, which when, at the commandement of the Patriarch, the Priest of the Temple determined to repaire; he appointed about twentie stones in number to be digged out of the ancient foundations of the walls of Mount *Sion*, for the repairing of the worke of the Temple. And among them, there were two men confederates, and friends; whereof the one, on a certaine day early in the morning brought the other home with him vnto a priuate Banquet, and after they had taken their breakfast together, when they came to their worke, being demanded by the Ouer-seer of the worke, why they came so late, they answered, that they would make amends for that houre with continued labour.

In the meane space, while all the rest went to dinner, and while they performed that which they had promised, hauing taken away a certaine stone, and finding the mouth of a Caue, they 10 said one vnto the other: Let vs enter in, to see whether any Treasure lye hidden heere. Going therefore in, they proceeded so long, vntill they came vnto a certaine Palace supported with Marble Pillars, ouer-layed with Gold and Siluer, before which, there was a Table, and there vpon a Scepter, and a golden Crowne: and this was the Sepulchre of *Dauid* the King of *Israel*, on whose left hand was the Sepulchre of *Salomon*, with the like gorgeous adorning, and many other, of the other Kings of *Iuda* of the Family of *Dauid*, who had beene buried there: and there were Chests locked vp, but what they contayned, is yet to men vnknowne. But, when those men determined to enter into the Palace, being stricken with the blast of a whirle-wind, they fell downe dead vpon the Earth out of the mouth of the Caue. And they lay in the same place vntill the euening: when being raised againe with another blast, they heard a voice like 20 vnto the voice of a man, saying vnto them: Arise, and goe forth of this place. Wherevpon being much moued, and stricken with an exceeding great feare, they went forth trembling, and reported the whole matter to the Patriarch, which, calling vnto *Abraham* surnamed *Pius*, a Constantinopolitan *Pharisee* liuing at *Hierusalem*, he caused to be declared by the same two men; who being demanded what he thought, he said, that it was the place of the Sepulchres of the house of *Dauid*, appointed for the Kings of *Iuda*. But, the next day after, both those men lying in their beds, were found grievously sicke at home through feare, who said, that they would neuer, vpon any conditions, enter in thither againe, affirming, that it was vtterly vnlawfull for any man to desire to goe thether, where God forbade him. Wherefore, by the commandement of the Patriarch, the place was shut vp, and concealed from the eyes of men vntill this day, by 30 the labour of men: but *Abraham Pius*, of whom I haue spoken, declared the whole matter vnto mee.

Bethlehem *Iuda* is two leagues distant from thence, next vnto which, within halfe a mile, almost, there is the Sepulchre of *Rachael*, in a place where two wayes meete: and the Graue is made with twelue stones, according to the number of the Sonnes of *Iacob*; and ouer the Tombe there is an Arch supported by foure Pillars. Moreouer, the stones of the Tombe are ingrauen with many diuers names of the *Iewes* passing by that way. But, in *Bethlehem* there are twelue *Iewes*, Dyers of Wools. The Fields of the Towne haue Riuers of waters, Welles and Fountaynes.

Trauelling fixe leagues from hence, I came to *Hebron*, seated in a Plaine: for *Hebron* the an- 40 cient Metropolitan Citie stood vpon an hill, but it is now desolate. But in the Valley there is a field, wherein there is a duplictie, that is, as it were two little Valleyes, and there the Citie is placed, and there is an huge Temple there, called Saint *Abraham*: and that place was the Synagogue of the *Iewes*, at what time the Countrey was possessed by the *Ismaelites*. But, the *Gen- tiles*, who afterward obtayned, and held the same, built fixe Sepulchres in the Temple by the names of *Abraham*, *Sara*, *Isaac*, *Rebecca*, *Iacob*, & *Lia*. And the Inhabitants now tel the Pilgrims, that they are the Monuments of the Patriarkes: and great summes of money are offered there. But surely to any *Iew* comming thither, and offering the Porters a reward, the Caue is shewed with the Iron Gate opened, which from Antiquitie, remayneth yet there. And a man goeth downe with a Lampe light into the first Caue, where nothing is found, nor also in the second, 50 vntill he enter into the third, in the which there are the fixe Monuments of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, *Sara*, *Rebecca*, and *Lia*; the one right ouer against the other: and each of them are ingrauen with Characters, and distinguished by the names of euery one of them, after this manner, *Sepulchrum Abraham patris nostri, super quem pax sit*, and so the rest, after the same example. And a Lampe perpetually burneth in the Caue, day and night, the Officers of the Temple continually ministring Oyle for the maintenance thereof. Also in the selfe-same Caue, there are tuns full of the bones of the ancient *Israelites*, brought thither by the Families of *Israel*, which euen vntill this day, remayne in that selfe-same place. But in the very field of *Duplictie*, the Monuments of the ancient house of our Father *Abraham*, are yet extant and to be seene, and a Fountayn springeth out before it, and no man may build an house there, for the reuerence of *Abraham*. 60

Beth-Gebarin is two leagues distant from thence, which was sometimes called *Maressa*, where there were only three *Iewes*. Fiue leagues Iourney from hence I came to *Torondolos Gabaleris*, which was sometimes called *Sunam*, where are three hundred *Iewes*. Three leagues from thence, is Saint *Samuel* of *Silo*, to wit, a Towne in time past called *Siloh*, two leagues distant

The Sepulcher
of Dauid and
Salomon.

Jewish Fable, or
pia fraus of A-
braham Pius.

Bethlehem.
The Sepulcher
of Rachel.

Hebron.

The Temple
of Saint Abra-
ham.

Abrahams
house.

Beth-Gebarin.

Maressa.

Torondolos Ga-
bra'elis, Sunam.

Silo.

stant from *Hiernsalem*, where there is a great Temple, and therein the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Samuel*, translated by the Christians from *Ramath*, which is *Rama*, after that the *Ismaelites* were expelled thence, and the Towne taken, where before the bodie of *Samuel* was preserved, buried in the Synagogue of the *Jewes*. And now, as I haue said, there is a goodly and great Temple in *Silo*, named by them *S. Samuel of Silo*: and it remayneth euen vntill this day.

Departing from thence, and hauing trauelled three leagues towards the Mountayne *Moria*, I came to *Pesipua*, which is *Gibgha*, the Countrey of *Saul*, otherwise called *Gibgha of Benjamin*, where are no *Jewes*. *Beth-Nobi* is three leagues distant from hence, the same beeing also called *Nob*, a Citie belonging to the Priests, where were two *Jewes*, Dyers, and in the middle of that way, are those two Rockes, famous through the memory of *Ionathan*, whereof the one is named *Bolsen*, and the other *Sina*. Departing from thence, after three leagues I came to *Ramas*, which, in time past, was *Harama*; part of the walls and buildings whereof remayneth, euen from ancient times, and it is confirmed by the Inscriptions of stones yet continuing, and the marks, ruines, and situation are shewed, of a very great Citie, sometimes, where now there are only three *Jewes*. And there is yet seene a field of the *Israelites*, two miles long, furnished with many Sepulchres of the *Israelites*. Fiue leagues from hence standeth *Gapha*, in time past *Iapho*, called *Iope* by others, seated on the Sea; where there is only one *Jew*, and he, a Dyer of Wooll. From hence, I trauelled three leagues to *Ebalin*, it is the same Citie which was sometimes called *Iebna*, wherein the site of an ancient Schoole is yet seene, and there is no *Jew* there. And this is the furthest bound of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. From whence, hauing passed three leagues, I went to *Palmis*, sometimes called *Asdod* or *Asotus*, in time past, the most famous Citie of the *Palastines*, but now destroyed: and in it there is no *Jew*. From whence *Ascalon* is two leagues distant. This is *Ascalon* surnamed the new, built by *Esdra* the Priest, vpon the Sea shoare, which in the beginning, was called *Benibera*. This is foure leagues distant from the ancient *Ascalon* of the *Palastines*, long since wasted. But, this new one is a very great and goodly Citie frequented by many men resorting thither from all places for the cause of their Affaires, for that it is seated in part of the bounds of *Egypt*. And in it there are almost two hundred learned *Jewes*, among whom *Tsamabb*, and *Aharon*, and *Salomo*, haue the preeminence. There are also about fortie of those Students, who are called *Literall*, that is, conuersant in the simple meaning of the sacred Books, and about three hundred *Cuthei*, or followers of the Doctrine of the *Samaritanes*. And in the middle of the Citie there is a Well, which in the Language of the *Ismaelites*, the Inhabitants call *Bir Abraham Alchelil*, that is to say, the Well of Great *Abraham*, opened by *Abraham* in the dayes of the *Palastines*. From hence I passed to *Seguras*, the ancient name whereof was *Lud*, from whence in one dayes Iourney and an halfe, I came to *Zarezin*, which is *Iesreghel*, where there is a certayne great Church: and there is only, one *Jew* there, a Dyer of Woolles. Foure leagues from hence is *Sipuria*, sometimes called *Tsipori*, where are the Sepulchres of that great Master called *Hakados*, and *Hhaijab*, who came vp out of *Babylon*, and of *Ionas*, the Sonne of *Amuhay* the Prophet, who are buried in the Mountayne: and beside these, there are also many other ancient Sepulchers. Three leagues from hence, is *Tiberia*, neere vnto *Jordan* at the Lake, called the Sea of *Kinereth*, or *Genezareth*, into the which *Jordan* floweth, and runneth out towards the Salt Sea into the Land of the Plaine: and this place is called *Asdath-hapisga*, and going forth from thence, it falleth into the Sea of *Sodom*, which is called the Sea of Salt. But, at *Tiberia*, there are almost fiftie *Jewes*: and the chiefe among these, are *Abraham* the Seer, and *Muchtar*, and *Isaac*. And in that place there are hot waters springing out of the ground, which they call the Bathes of *Tiberia*; and the Synagogue of *Caleb* the Sonne of *Iephune* is there, not farre from the Bathes. There are also very many Sepulchres of the *Israelites* there, and the most famous, those especially of *Iohn* the Sonne of *Zachai*, and of *Ionathan* the Sonne of *Leni*: all these are in the lower *Galiley*. From hence, in two dayes Iourney I came to *Timin*, which in time past was called *Tammatha*, famous for the Sepulchre of *Samuel* the Iust, which is yet to be seene, furnished also with other Sepulchers of the *Israelites*. From thence, after one whole dayes Iourney, standeth *Ghasth*, sometimes called *Gus Hhaleb*, where there are about twentie *Jewes*. Trauelling fixe leagues from hence, I went to *Maran*, the ancient name whereof was *Maron*. In it are the Sepulchers of *Hilel* and *Samai* in a Caue, with twentie Sepulchers of both their Disciples, and other Monuments also, as of *Benjamin* the Sonne of *Iephat*, and *Iebuda* the Sonne of *Bathira*. Sixe leagues from thence is *Galmah* famous for the great buildings of the Sepulchers of the *Israelites*, where there are fiftie *Jewes*. *Kadis* is halfe a dayes Iourney distant from hence, called also *Kades Nephthalim*, vpon the banke of *Jordan*, where are the Sepulchers of the Ancient, of *Eliezer* the Sonne of *Gharoch*, and *Eliezer* the Sonne of *Azarias*, and *Hunus* surnamed *Rotundus*, and *Rasbac*, and *Iose* of *Galiley*. And the Monument of *Barak* the Sonne of *Abinogham*, is yet remayning there. Departing from this place one whole dayes Iourney, I came to *Balijus* in time past called *Dan*, nigh vnto which there is a Caue whence *Jordan* issueth, which hauing run three miles, receiue the waters of *Arnon*, comming out of the borders of *Moab*. Before the Caue it selfe, the markes of the Altar or Statue appeared, which one *Micheas* dedicated, adored by the children of *Dan* in those dayes; not farre also from thence, the place of the Altar is

seene,

Ramath.
Rama.
Silo.
The Temple
of *Samuel.*
Moria.
Pesipua.
Gibgha of Saul,
or *Beniamin.*
Beth-Nobi.
Nob.
Ionathan.
Bolsen.
Sina.
Ramas.
Harama.

Gapha.
Iapho.
Iope.
Ebalin.
Iebna.

Palmis.
Asdod.
Asotus.
Benibera.

Karaim Jewes,
admitting the
Scripture, not
Traditions.

Seguras.
Lud.
Zarezin.
Iesreghel.
Sipuria.
Tsipori.
Hakados.
Hhaijab.

Ionas.
Tiberia.
Jordan.
The Sea of *Ki-*
nereth, or *Gene-*
zareth.
Asdath-hapisga.
Bathes.

Iohn.
Ionathan.
Timin.
Tammatha.
Ghasth.
Gus Hhaleb.
Maran.
Maron.

Hil l.
Samai.
Galmah.
Kadis.
Kades Nephtha-
lim.
Barak.
Balijus.
Dan.

The head of
Jordan.
Arnon.

Damascus.
Noradinus. Of
him see before,
1.8.c.3.
Amna.
Pharphar.
Hermon.

* Mahumetan
Church of Da-
mascus.
Bone of a
Giant.

Enak.

m Head of the
Synagogues,
as that James
which was by
King Johns
Charter Pref-
byter of all the
Jewes in Eng-
land.
Karaim.
Galgad.
Gilead.
Salcata.
Saleca.
Baghal-Beik.

* That is, of a
certain Deuil,
to whom too
many things
are ascribed by
Superstition.
Thadmur.

Kiriathin.
Kiriathaim.
Hamath.
The Riuer
Iabok.
Great Earth-
quakes, of
which see 1.8.
c.2. & 3.
Siba.
Hhatfor.
Lamdin.
Hhaleb, happi-
ly Aleppo.
Aram Tsoba.
Algub.
Baalit.

seene, erected by *Ieroboam* the Sonne of *Nabat*, whereon that Golden Calfe was dedicated. And hitherto the bound of *Israel* extendeth on the side of the furthest Sea. From whence I made two dayes journey to the Citie of *Damascus*, the beginning of the Kingdom of *Noradinus*, King of the children of *Thogarma*, who are commonly called *Turkes*. The Citie it selfe is exceeding great and very faire, compassed with walls, but the whole Countrey is wonderfully beautified with Gardens and Paradises, contayning fifteene miles on euery side. There is no Citie, elsewhere, in all the fruitfull Countrey, seene like vnto this: which the two Riuers, *Amna* and *Pharphar*, falling downe from the Mountayne *Hermon* doe enrich. For the Citie standeth vnder the Mountayne *Hermon*. The Riuer *Amna* runneth into the Citie it selfe the waters whereof are conueyed through Pipes, into all the houses of the Nobilitie, and also into the Market places and streets. And the Countrey it selfe is much frequented through the Affaires of all Countries. But *Pharphar* running by the Citie it selfe, doth water all the Gardens and pleasant places. And there is a Synagogue of the *Ismaelites* in the Citie, which they call *Gumagh Dumesq*, that is, the * Mosche of *Damascus*, the like building whereof is no where seene in the World: and the Inhabitents say, that it was the Princely Palace of *Ben-Hadad*. And there is a wall of Glasse built by the workmanship of the *Magicians*, distinguished with holes equall in number with the dayes of the Sun, so that euery day the Sun entring in at euery hole goeth thorow the twelue degrees fitted to the houres of the day, and so sheweth the time of the yeare and day. But within the Palace it selfe there are houses or little Bathes made of Gold and Siluer, wherein there is a Throne of the same matter, like vnto a great Vessell, so that it may receiue three men bathing together. Within the Palace I saw the rib of a man hanging, of one of the *Enakims*, which was nine *Spanish* handfuls long, and two handfuls broad: and it is reported, that he descended from the most ancient Kings of *Enak*, named *Abchamaz*, as by the ingrauen stone of his Sepulchre is declared; whereon it is also written that he reigned ouer the whole World. But at *Damascus* there are about three thousand *Israelites*, among whom there are the Disciples of wisemen, and such as are rich. And the Head^m of the Assembly of the Land of *Israel* dwelleth there, whose name is *Esdra*, and his Brother *Sar Salom* the chiefe Iudge, and *Ioseph* the fift of the Assembly, and *Masliabh* the head of the order of the Readers, and *Mair* the Crowne and glory of the wise men, and *Sadik* the Physician. There are also, almost, two hundred of the *Literall Expositors*, but of the *Cuthai*, almost foure hundred: among all whom there is great concord and peace, yet notwithstanding, these diuers Factions inter-marry not each with other.

Departing from *Damascus*, in one whole dayes journey I went to *Galgad*, which was sometimes called, *Gilead*, a large Countrey, flowing with Riuers and Fountaines of water, replenished with Gardens and Orchards, in the which there are about threescore *Israelites*. Halfe a dayes journey from hence standeth *Salcata*, which Citie was sometime called, *Saleca*. From whence the other *Baghal-Beik* is halfe a dayes journey distant, the ancient name whereof was *Baghala*, seated in the Valley vnder *Libanus*, built by *Salomon*, for the sake and vse of *Pharaos* Daughter. And part of the building of the Palace yet remayneth, the stones whereof are iust twentie *Spanish* handfuls in length, and twelue in bredth, among which there is not one at all, that is not worne: and it is commonly reported, that that building was not made by the hand of man, but of * *Asmodey*. And in the very entrance of the Citie, a great Fountaine bursteth forth, and runneth through the middest of the Citie. There is also *Thadmur* seated in the Desart, built likewise by the commandement of *Salomon*, after the same manner of building and greatnesse of the stones: and it is compassed with a wall, solitary, as I said, and remoued from other Habitation, and some dayes journey distant from *Baghala*. But, in this Citie *Thadmur*, there are foure thousand *Jewes*, valiant, and ready and prepared for the battel: who make warre with the Children of *Edom*, and with the Children of *Garab*, or the *Arabians*, commonly called, subiect vnto the Kingdome of *Noradinus*: and they helpe the bordering *Ismaelites*. Among these, *Isaac*, surnamed *Gracus*, and *Nathan*, and *Uziel*, haue the pre-eminence. Halfe a dayes journey from thence I came to *Kiriathin*, called *Kiriathaim* in time past, in the which there are no *Jewes*, except one Dyer of woolls. From whence departing one whole dayes journey, I entred into *Hamath*, retayning the ancient name, seated vnder the Mountaine *Libanus*, nigh vnto the Riuer *Iabok*. But, in those dayes it hapned, that the Citie being shaken with a great Earthquake, aboue fifteene thousand men perished in one day: and no more then seuentie men were remayning aliue, the chiefe is, *Ghola* the Priest, and old Father *Galeb*, and *Muchtar*. *Siba* is halfe a dayes journey distant from hence, sometimes called, *Hhatfor*: from the which, *Lamdin* is no further remoued then three leagues. In two dayes journey from thence I went to *Hhaleb*, the ancient name of which Citie and Countrey was *Aram Tsoba*: and it is the Princely seat of King *Noradinus*, within the which there is a very great Palace, compassed with a wall, and there is no Fountaine, Well, or Riuer in the whole Citie: but they drinke raine-water gathered in Cisternes, which in the *Ismaelitish* Language they call, *Algub*. There are about one thousand five hundred *Israelites* here, whose Heads are, *Moses* the *Constantinopolitan*, and *Israel*, and *Seth*. But traouelling two dayes journey from hence, I came to *Baalits*, in time past *Pethoran*, and nigh

nigh vnto the Riuer *Euphrates*, where euen vntill this day, the Tower of *Balaam*, the sonne of *Beghor*, remayneth (let the name of the wicked be abolished) built according to the number of the houres of the day: and in that Citie there are few *Iewes*. From thence, it is halfe a dayes journey to *Kelagh Geber*, which the Ancients called, *Selagh Midbera*, the *Latines*, *Petra Deserti*. The *Arabians* onely retayned this, after they fled into the Desarts, being violently expelled by the *Turkes*, from their habitations and Cities. But here there are almost two thousand *Iewes*, and the chiefe of these, *Sedekias*, *Hbajja*, and *Salomo*.

Balaam.

Kelagh Geber.
Selagh Midbera.
Petra Deserti.
The Arabians.

10

§. III.

Of Mesopotamia, Mosul, Bagdat; the Calipha; the numbers, Synagogues, and Priviledges of the Iewes in it, and the places adioyning.



Ne dayes journey distant from hence is *Dakia*, which was sometime called *Chalne*, the beginning of the Land of *Senaar* (which is *Mesopotamia*) it lieth out in length betweene the Kingdome of the *Turkes*, and the Countrey *Sangasar*. And there are almost seuentie *Iewes* there, ouer whom, *Zachai*, and *Nedib*, otherwise called *Sagi*

Dakia.

Chalne.

Senaar.

The Turkes.

Sangasar.

Sagi Nehor.

c That is, Very

honourable.

Hharan.

Alchabor.

Habor.

Madai.

Media.

Gozen.

Neisibin.

Nisibis.

Gezir Ben-Gha-

mar.

Hidkel.

Tygris.

Ararat.

Taurus.

The Arke of

Noe.

Ghamar-Ben-

Alchetab.

Al-Musfal.

Assur.

d That is, a

Prince.

e Skillfull in

Astrologie, in

the Arabian

Language.

Musfal the be-

ginning of

Persia.

Ninine.

Adbael.

The Syna-

gogues of Ab-

dia, Ionas, and

Nabhum.

Rababa.

Rebboboth.

Euphrates.

Karkefia.

Charchamis.

Al Iobar.

Pumbeditha.

Sepulchres.

Captaine of

the Captiues

banished thi-

ther.

Hbarda.

Ghukbera.

Iechonias.

Inda,

20 *Nehor*, and *Ioseph*, haue the pre-eminence. And in this place standeth the Synagogue built by *Esdra*, returning from *Babylon* to *Hierusalem*. Two dayes journey from thence is ancient *Hharan*, in the which there is also a Synagogue of the like building, made by the commandement of the same *Esdra*: but that place, where the house of our Father *Abraham* was, containeth no building; yet is it religiously respected by the *Ismaelites*, and frequented by them for the offering vp of their supplications. Departing from thence, we trauelled two dayes journey to the place where a Riuer issueth forth, called by the Inhabitants *Alchabor*, the same also in time past being called, *Habor*, which runneth forth into the Prouince *Madai* or *Media*, and falleth into the Mountaine *Gozen*. And there are about two thousand *Iewes* there. From hence, after two dayes journey, is *Neisibin* or *Nisibis*, a great Citie, abounding with Riuers of water, where are, almost, a thousand *Iewes*. From whence, traueilling two dayes journey, we came to *Gezir Ben-Ghamar*, which Citie is containd within the bankes of the Riuer *Hidkel*, which the people of the West call *Tygris*, at the foot of the Mountaines *Ararat* or *Taurus*, foure miles, almost, distant from the place where the Arke of *Noe* rested: but *Ghamar-Ben-Alchetab* hauing taken that Arke from the ridge of the Mountaine, being remoued, fitted it for the vse of the *Ismaelites* Mosche, neere vnto which, standeth the Synagogue of *Esdra*, euen vnto this day, whereunto, the *Iewes* going out of the Citie, assemble on festiuall dayes, to pray. And in that Metropolitan Citie of *Gezira Gamar Ben-Alchetab*, there are, almost, foure thousand *Iewes*, *Mubbhar*, and *Ioseph*, and *Hbajja*, being the chiefe.

Two dayes journey distant from thence is *Al-Musfal*, the name whereof was sometime, 40 Great *Assur*, where are seuen thousand *Iewes*: the principall whereof are, *Zachai ha d Nassi*, of the posteritie of King *Dauid*; and *Ioseph*, surnamed *Barhan al pelech*, Counsellor of King *Zinaldin*, Brother of *Noraldinus* the King of *Damascus*. And this Citie is the beginning of the Kingdome of *Persia*, and retayneth that ancient largenesse and greatnesse, seated vpon the Riuer *Hidkel*, betweene which and the ancient *Niniue*, there is onely a Bridge: but *Niniue* is vtterly destroyed: yet there are Streets, and many Castles within the space of the ancient circuit, from which vnto the Citie *Adbael*, is one leagues distance. But *Niniue* was built vpon the banke of *Hidkel*. And in the Citie *Assur* there are now three Synagogues of three Prophets, of *Abdia*, of *Ionas* the sonne of *Amithai*, and *Nabhum* the Sonne of *Elcussens*. Departing from thence, and traueilling three dayes journey, I came to *Rababa*, by the Antient, called *Rebboboth*, seated nigh vnto the Riuer *Euphrates*, in the which, there are almost two thousand *Iewes*, whereof *Ezechias*, *Abud*, and *Isaac*, are accounted the chiefe. And it is a very great and goodly Citie, compassed about with walls, and very well fortified, and furnished with goodly Suburbs of Gardens, and places of delight. Vpon the banke of the same Riuer standeth *Karkefia*, sometime called *Charchamis*, one dayes journey onely, distant from *Rababa*; in the which, there dwell about five hundred *Iewes*, *Isaac*, and *Elhana* being the chiefe. Two dayes journey from hence, we went to *Al-Iobar*, the ancient name whereof, was *Pumbeditha*, seated in *Nahardugha*: in the which, there are about two thousand *Iewes*, among whom there are many Disciples of the Wise-men, and the chiefe of these are, Great *Hen*, and *Moses*, and *Eliakim*. The Sepulchres of the Masters, *Iuda*, and *Samuel*, are there accounted memorable. Before each Sepulchre stand two Synagogues, built by them before their death. There also remayneth the Sepulchre of *Bestenai* 60 *Hanassi*, who was Head of the Transmigration, and *Nathan*, and *Neheman* the sonne of *Papha*. Departing from hence, I trauelled five dayes journey to *Hbarda*, in the which, there are about fifteene thousand *Iewes*, among whom *Zachen*, and *Ioseph*, and *Nathanael*, are the chiefe. From this Citie, it is two dayes journey to *Ghukbera*, the chiefe Citie, built by *Iechonias* the King of

Juda, in the which there are almost ten thousand *Iewes*, *Iehosuah* and *Nathan* being the principall.

Bagdad,
Calipha.
* That is, Em-
peror of the
Belecuers, who
leade their
liues sorrow-
fully or peni-
tently.
Caliphas place
at *Bagdat*.

* That is, hum-
ble obseruers.

This is obser-
ued by the
greatest *Mabu-*
metans: the
Great *Turke*
himselfe still
professing the
exercise of
some trade,
though per-
haps more for
shew then in
such serious re-
spect as this.
Meka.
Eliman or the
South Coun-
trei; so they
call *Arabia*.

Treason pre-
uated.

The Buildings
of the Palace.

Ramadan, the
Ismaelites
Easter.

Arabia.
Persia.
Tuboth.
Bosra.

Two dayes iourney distant from hence standeth *Bagdad*, a great Citie, the beginning of the Kingdome of *Calipha*, named * *Amir Almumanin Alghabassi*, of the Progenie of him, whom the *Ismaelites* call their Prophet, who hath the chiefe authoritie ouer the whole Doctrine and Sect of the *Ismaelites*: and for this cause he is accounted reuerent and honorable, to all the rest of the Kings of the *Ismaelites*: for hee ruleth ouer them all, as a certaine high Priest of them all. And within the Citie of *Bagdad* it selfe he hath a Palace, built in a plat of ground of three miles, and within the Palace, there is a Wood furnished with all kinds of Trees of the whole world, not onely with fruitfull Trees, but also barren, replenished also with all sorts of Beasts, and in the midst of the Wood, an huge standing Poole of water, conueyed from the Riuer *Tigris*. But the *Calipha* walking or supping in that Wood for recreation, his seruants exercise Hawking and Filhing, and hee goeth vnto this place accompanied with the traine of his Counsellors and Princes. And the proper name of this great King is * *Al-Ghabassi Hbaphesi*, who loueth the *Israelites* very well, being skilfull in the tongues, studious in reading the Law of *Moses*, who being expert in the *Hebrew* Language, both readeth, and also writeth learnedly. But hee hath made this Religious vow vnto himselfe, that he would receiue the vse neither of meate, drinke, nor apparell, but through the labour of his owne hands: for he is an artificiall maker of the most excellent fine Mats and Couerlets, which, being marked with his owne Seale, he deliuereth to his principall seruants, to be sold in the Market, but the Noble-men of the Countrey buy them, and with the money of that trade, he procureth maintenance for himselfe: and hee is a man of an honest behauiour, and faithfull, and religious after his manner, and most curteously saluteth, and speaketh vnto all men. But the *Ismaelites* may not lawfully behold him. But the Pilgrims who goe vnto that famous house, called *Meka*, seated in the Countrey of *Eliman*, from the most remote Countries, trauell this way through an earnest desire they haue to salute *Calipha*; and hauing entred into the Palace, they crie out, O our Lord, the light of the *Ismaelites*, and the Sunne-beame of our Law, shew vs the brightnesse of thy face: to whose words hee inclineth not his minde. But then, the Princes his familiar friends and seruants speake vnto him with these words: Our Lord, spread abroad thy peace vpon these men comming from remote Countries, whom an admirable desire hath enforced to flye vnto the shadow of thy glory. In the selfe same houre therefore, taking vp the wing of his garment, hee letteth it downe out of the Window, which, the Pilgrims comming vnto it, religiously kisse. And hauing heard this answer from one of those familiar Princes, Goe in peace, for now our Lord, the light of the *Ismaelites* hath receiued, and giuen you peace: for he is supposed by them to be, as it were, he whom they call their Prophet. They therefore most ioyfully returne euery one into their Countrey, after they haue beene dismissed in this manner with such speech of the Prince, and returning home, are receiued by their brethren, kinsfolke, and familiar and inward friends, with the kissing of their garments. And euery one of those Princes who serue the *Calipha*, haue their feuerall Palaces within that huge Palace, yet they goe all bound with Iron Chaines, and ouer all their houses there are watchfull keepers set, lest any one should attempt any sudden inuouation against that mightie King. For it happened once, that his brethren conspiring against him, made a certaine other, one of their number, ruler ouer them; wherefore he established it by decree, that all the children of his whole stocke and familie, should be bound with Iron Chaines, lest they should againe enterprize the like attempt against the mightie King. But euery one liueth in a priuate Court, reuerenced with great honour, and hath Cities, Townes, and Countries, from the which he yeerely receiueh tributes and reuenues, brought vnto him by the Tresurers: and they feast, and giue themselues to pleasure all their whole life. But in that Palace of the mightie King, there are buildings of an admirable greatnesse, the Pillars whereof are of siluer and gold, and the inner parts of the houses are ouer-laide with these metals, and beautified with all kind of Precious stones and Pearles: out of the which Palace he goeth forth once only in the yeere, on that festiual day or Easter, which they call *Ramadan*. And on that day, great multitudes of men from diuers and remote Countries, flocke together to see his face. And he is carried vpon a Mule, attired in princely garments, intermingled with gold and siluer, hauing his head adorned with a Myter, shining with stones of incomparable price: but he weareth a blacke Handkerchiefe vpon the Myter, by carrying whereof, he openly confesseth the shamefacednesse of this world; as if he should haue said: This great Maiestie which yee behold, darkenesse will obscure in the day of death. Moreouer, all the Nobilitie of the *Ismaelites* accompanie him, attired with very goodly and costly garments, and sitting vpon Horses, the Princes of *Arabia*, the Princes of *Media*, and *Persia*, and the Princes of the Countrey of *Tuboth*, which is three moneths iourney distant from *Arabia*. But he commeth forth of his Palace to the great house (as they call it) of Prayer, built in the gate *Bosra*: for that is accounted their greatest house of Prayer. Moreouer, as well the men as women, all who celebrate that day are cloathed with Purple and silken garments. You may also finde through all the wayes and streets, all kindes of Instruments, Songs, and Dances, playing when he passeth by: and *Calipha* himselfe the mightie King is saluted by all, in these words: Peace bee vpon thee our Lord the

the King, He, I say, kisseth his owne garment, wherewith sometimes, but sometimes only with his hand stretched forth, he signifieth peace and salutation vnto them. And thus hee goeth vnto the Court of prayer, where ascending into a wooden Turret, he interpreteth his Law in a Sermon, from an higher place. But then the wise men of the *Ismaelites* arising, hauing wished all happinesse vnto him, congratulate his greatnesse and excellent pietie, evidently knowne by many examples, which they desire to be perpetuall. And surely, all enlarge this gratulation, answering, *Amen*. And afterward he blesseth them all. Then presently a Camell being brought, is killed by him, for this is accounted their Paschall feast, of the flesh whereof he commandeth small pieces to be distributed to those Princes his seruants, who are to taste of the beast slaine by their sacred King, at which present they greatly reioyce. And these things being performed after their manner, they depart from that house of Prayer. But the King returneth another way: then hee came, by the banke of the Riuer *Tigris*, himselfe alone. For the rest of the Princes and seruants returne by the Riuer, being carried in Boates before him, vntill hee enter into the Palace. And that way is diligently kept: all the yeere by Watchmen, lest peraduenture any one enter into that place, which is sacred, through the steps of his feete. All that whole yeere after he is coneyned within the Palace, neuer to goe forth to any other place. But he is of a faire behauiour, and according to that sect of his, iust and godly. And hee hath built a Palace beyond the Riuer, on the very banke of a certaine Arme of the Riuer *Euphrates*, which floweth from the other side of the Citie, in the which he hath built great houses and Market-places, and also Hospitals, fit for the curing of poore sicke men, and almost threescore Physicians Store-houses are reckoned there, being all abundantly furnished with all necessary kindes of Spices, Medicines, and other fit things brought from the Kings house: whatsoever therefore is thought commodious for Medicine, and food, and for the whole cure, is giuen to all the sicke brought thither, at the Kings cost; vntill they happen to bee recovered. Besides, there is another Palace in the same place, which is called *Dar Almaraphan*, that is, the house of Mercie, for the including of all mad persons found in the Countrey; euery one whereof are bound with Iron Chaines, vntill they returne to their wits: for then they are euery one permitted to depart vnto their houses; the men to whom that charge is committed, looking vnto it, and examining the same euery moneth. All these things are ordained by that King, for the bestowing of almes and benefit commonly, to all comming thither, who are either mad, or troubled with any other disease. For, as we haue said, he is of a mercifull and kind disposition, and of a good minde.

And in the same Citie, called *Bagdad*, there are about a thousand *Iewes*, liuing in great quietnesse and peace, and very honestly vied vnder the dominion of that King, surnamed, *the Great*, among whom there are some very learned men, the chiefe of the Assemblies, greatly conuersant in the studie of the Law of *Moses*. But there are ten Assemblies there, the head of the greatest whereof, is *Samuel* the sonne of *Heli*: next, the heads of the other Assemblies are, *Gaon Sagan* the *Leuite*, of the second: but of the third, *Daniel Sod*: of the fourth, *Eliezer Habbaber*: and *Eliezer Ben Tsamabb*, head of the Order, who is descended from the Prophet *Samuel*, and with his Brethren playeth cunningly vpon muscall Instruments, that is, vpon the *Psalteries*, with the same skill which was then vied when the house of the Sanctuarie was yet standing: hee is head of the fift Assembly: and of the sixt *Hhasadai*, the flower of his Companions: *Haggai Hanaassi* ruleth the seuenth Assembly: *Esdra* the eight: *Abraham*, surnamed *Abutabar* the ninth: the tenth and last, *Zachau Ben Basathnai*. All these are called *Vacant*, because they doe no other thing but gouerne the Societie. But they exercise iudgements, and execute iustice to all the *Iewes* of that Countrey all the dayes of the weeke, except the second day wherein they all assemble before Great *Samuel*, the head of the Assembly, and honor of the *Iacobides*, who, together with those ten *Vacants*, the heads of the Assemblies, doe iustice to euery one requiring the same. Notwithstanding the greatest of all these, is *Daniel* the sonne of *Hhasdai*, called the head of the Captiuitie, who hath a booke of his Genealogie, deriued euen from *Dauid*. The *Iewes* call him *our Lord*, and the head of the Captiuitie. And the *Ismaelites* call him *Sidna Ben Dauid*, that is, *our Lord, the sonne of Dauid*. And he hath great authoritie ouer all the Congregations of the *Israelites*, vnder the hand of *Amir Almonin*, Lord of the *Ismaelites*: whose decree was this, pertaining euen vnto his Posteritie, adding and deliuering also a Seale of authoritie ouer all the Colledges of the *Israelites*, whatsoever contayned within the iurisdiction of his Law, to whom for the cause of honor, he hath commanded all men, as well *Ismaelites* as *Iewes*, to arise vp and salute, and Nations also of whatsoever faction; he that shall doe otherwise, let him be punished with an hundred stripes. But when he commeth forth to visit the Great King, he is guarded with a great number of Horse-men, *Iewes* and *Gentiles* accompanying him, a Cryer going before him, proclayming these words: *Prepare yee the way for the Lord the sonne of Dauid, as it is meete*; and they proclaime it in their Language. But he is carried vpon an Horse, cloathed with lilken and embroydered garments, he adorneth his head with a Miter, vpon the Miter he weareth a white Shash, and vpon the Shash a Chaine. And all the Colledges of the *Israelites* of the Countrey of *Senaar*, *Persia*, *Gharfan*, and *Seba*, which is now called *Aliman*, and *Diarbeich*, and of all the Countrey of *Mesopotamia*, and the Prouince *Rut*, whose Inhabitants dwell in the Mountaynes

His blessing
the people.Learned men
or students of
Mahomet's Law.

Camell killed.

Caliphas kee-
ping home.
Palace betwixt
Tigris and Eu-
phrates.All these build-
ings (it
seemes) were
destroyed by
the Tartars.Hospitals.
Dar Almaraph-
than, a Bethle-
hem Hospital
for the Mad.

Iewes at Bagdad.

The head of
the Captiuitie,
who, and of
what qualitie.The power
which theIewes had, was
both limited
to Iewish cases
and persons.and vnder the
Saracen Magi-
strates inspec-
tion, as the
Greece Patri-
arke and BB.vnder the
Turke, a Turkish
power, dearly
bought, and
executed atwill of the
seller, where
Iewish affection
hath not en-
larged.The Countrey
of Senaar, con-
taining
Persia, which
charfane, and
Seba, which is
also Aliman,and Diarbeich,
Alania.

Alania.
Der bent.
Sicria.
The Moun-
taines *Asna*.
Gerganei, who
also are the
Gergasai.

a So is the Con-
stantinopolitan
Patriarch, now
forced to giue
to the *Turkes*,
4000. Duckets
tribute, and al-
most as much
to the *Bassas*:
at other times,
not admitted
to sit with
them. *Gerlach*.

ep.
The manner
of creating the
Head of the
Captiuitie.
b That is,
Schollers of
Rabbins, and
Students of
the *Talmud*.

28. Synagoga
in Bagdat.

Gehiaga.

Resen.

Babel.

The ruines of
Nabuchodonosors
Palace.

The Fornace
of burning
Fire into the
which *Hana-
nias*, *Misael*,
and *Azarias*
were cast.

Hbilan.

The Tower of
Babel.

Lagzar, in the
Spanish tongue
called, *Mazari*.
The Bricks

are 8. inches
broad, 6. thick,
12. long, with
Canes betwixt,
the building is
not now a mile
about, some
say, but a quar-
ter: perhaps a
good part car-
ried away
since the time
of *Beniamin*.
Naphabb.
The Syna-
gogue of *Eze-
chiel* the Pro-
phet.

of *Ararat*, and of the Countrey *Alania*, which is inclosed round about with very high Moun-
taines, and haue no entrance or way to goe forth except the Iron Gates placed there by *Alexan-
der*, where that Nation called *Alan* dwelleth: besides, of the Countries of *Sicria*, and all the
Land of *Thogarmin*, euen vnto the Mountaines *Asna*, and of the Prouince of the *Gerganei*, euen
vnto the Riuer *Ghishon*. But the *Gerganei* are the same People that are called *Gergasai*, now
Christians, and vnto the Gates of the best Countries and Lands, euen vnto *India*, I say, the
Colledges of all these Countries, through the authoritie and power of this man, Prince of the
Captiuitie, chuse euery one their Head and Minister, who being chosen, come vnto him to
receiue authoritie, and imposition of hands: and vnto him, Gifts and Presents are brought from
all the borders of the Land. And he hath publike houses, let for aduantage, which they call
Fondaci, and hath also Orchards and Gardens in *Babylon*, and very many possessions receiued
from his Ancestors by the right of Inheritance, but no man dare violently take or carrie away
any thing from him. He hath also houses to be let, and of Merchandizing, for the vse of the
Jewes. He receiueh also a certaine tribute yeerely out of the Markets, and from the Merchants
of the Land, besides that which he receiueh, brought vnto him from remote Countries. There-
fore he is exceeding rich, and diligently conuersant and learned, as well in the sacred as in o-
ther bookes of humane knowledge: and he feedeth many of the *Israelites* by his daily hospi-
talitie. But, at what time any man of this Familie is made Head of the Captiuitie, hee bring-
geth forth great summes of money, and giueth first vnto the King himselfe, and next vnto the
Princes and Magistrates. And the same day wherein the King layeth his hand vpon him, to grant
him authoritie and principalitie, the second Chariot of the King is prepared and couered for
him to ascend into it, and to be brought from the Palace vnto his owne house with great pompe
and singing, and with the striking vp of Drums, and sound of the Fluits. But he himselfe exer-
ciseth the imposition of hands towards the men of the Assemblie. And the *Jewes* Inhabitants of
that Metropolitan Citie are the *Disciples of b Wise-men*, and very rich: and eight and twentie
Synagogues are numbred in the Citie of *Bagdat* it selfe, and in *Parech*, or the Suburbs which are
beyond *Tigris*. For the Riuer runneth through the Metropolitan Citie it selfe. But that great
Synagogue, which appertayneth to that man who is the Head of the Captiuitie, is built with
marble stones, diuers and most excellent, of all colours, garnished with Gold and Siluer: and
in the very Pillars, Verses of the Psalmes are read, ingrauen in golden letters. Moreouer, before
the Arke, the ranks of ten seats are there distinguished with marble steps; in the highest where-
of, the Head of the Captiuitie sitteth with the chieft of the Familie of *David*. But the Me-
tropolitan Citie it selfe is great, in the which also a Citie, like a Castle is contayned, fortified
with a wall of three miles circuit about. The Countrey aboundeth with the most excellent
Palme-trees, Gardens and Orchards, of all the Land of *Senaar*, and is frequented by the most
gallant Merchants and Factors of all Countries, and maintayneth learned men and Philosophers,
and Students of all the Mathematicall Artes, Diuinations, and Inchantments.

Departing two dayes iourney from thence I came to *Gehiaga*, the ancient name whereof was
Resen, sometimes a great and very famous Citie, in the which there are almost fise thousand *Is-
raelites*; and they haue a great Synagogue, with a place of buriall next vnto the Synagogue: 40
and in the burying place a Caue, famous for the Sepulchres of certaine ancient learned men.
One dayes iourney distant from hence, standeth that ancient *Babel*, contayning thirtie miles in
compasse, but now vtterly destroyed, where the ruines of *Nabuchodonosors* Palace are yet seene,
inaccessible to men, by reason of the diuers and noysome kinds of Serpents and Dragons liuing
there. Not aboue twentie miles distant from these ruines, twentie thousand *Israelites* dwell,
who powre forth their prayers in the Synagogues; the chiefe whereof is that vppermost an-
cient Floore of *Daniel*, built with square stones and Bricks, and the Temple and Palace of *Na-
buchodonosor* of the same matter, and the Fornace of burning fire, into the which, *Hananias*,
Misael, and *Azarias* were cast. And all these things are seene in the Valley well knowne to
all. From thence we passed fise miles to *Hbilan*, where are almost ten thousand *Israelites*, diuided 50
into foure Synagogues, whereof one was the Synagogue of *MAar*, who lieth buried there:
next vnto whom also, are the Sepulchres of Great *Zegbarm* the sonne of *Hama*, and of Great
MAar: and the *Jewes* daily assemble thither to pray. From thence, are foure miles vnto the
Tower which the Children of the diuision began to build, which was made of that kinde of
Bricke, which in the *Arabian* Language is called, *Lagzar*. The length of the Foundation con-
teyneth almost two miles, but the bredth of the walls is two hundred and fortie cubits: and
where it is broadest, it contayneth an hundred Canes. Betweene the space of ten Canes, there
are wayes made out at length throughout the whole building in the forme of a wreathed rundle;
ascending which from the highest place, the fields are beheld twentie miles off: for the Coun-
trei it selfe is very broad and plaine. But this building was sometimes stricken with lightning 60
from Heauen, and destroyed euen vnto the lowest part.

Halfe a dayes iourney from hence is *Naphabb*, where are almost two hundred *Jewes*: and
the Synagogue of that Great *Isaac*, surnamed *Naphbans*, is there, who lieth buried right ouer a-
gainst it. Three leagues from thence is the Synagogue of *Ezechiel* the Prophet, nigh vnto the
Riuer

- Riuer *Euphrates*; and in the same place right ouer against the Synagogue, are threescore Towers in number, and betwene euery Tower also, there are seuerall Synagogues, and in the Court of the Synagogue there is an Arke; and behind the Synagogue, the Monument of *Ezechiel* the sonne of *Buz* the Priest, vnder a great and very goodly Vault, built by *Iechonias* King of *Iuda*, together with fve and thirtie thousand *Iewes*, who followed him by *Euilmerodak* deliuered out of Prison. And this place is betwene the Riuer *Cobar*, and the Riuer *Euphrates*. And *Iechonias*, and they who came with him, are engrauen in the very walls; *Iechonias* first, but *Ezechiel* last. And this place is holy, euen vnto this day. And vnto that place at a certaine time, many assemble for the cause of prayer, from the beginning of the yeere vnto the feast of *Jewish Pilgrimage* yeerely.
- 10 Expiations: and there they liue most pleasant dayes. And that principall man, whom they call the Head of the Captiuitie, with the other Heads of the Assemblies, come hither also from *Bagdat*, and abide all in that field for two and twentie miles together, pitching their Tents in diuers places. Moreover, the *Arabian* Merchants come thither, and the greatest and most frequented Faires are kept there. But at this time, a great Booke, renowned for authoritie and antiquitie, written by *Ezechiel* the Prophet, is brought forth, wherein they reade on the day of Expiation. And vpon the Sepulchre of *Ezechiel*, a Lampe continually burneth day and night, since it was first lighted by the same Prophet, for the which, Oyle and Thread are ordinarily distributed and tempered. There is also a certaine great sacred Temple there, full of bookes kept as well from the time of the first house, as of the second: and it is and was the
- 20 some, that they who had no children, should consecrate their Bookes in that place. Moreover, Vowes are made in that place, to be performed by the *Iewes* dwelling in *Media*, and *Persia*. The principall men also of the *Ismaelites* resort hither to pray, among whom the authoritie and reuerence of the Prophet *Ezechiel* is great, the name of which place in their Language is, *Darmelibha*, that is, *The house of the Congregation*: and thither all the *Arabians* come for cause of prayer. About halfe a mile distant from this place, the Sepulchres of *Hananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*, are seene, with each of their great and goodly Arches. And although warre happen in those Countries, there is no mortall man that dare violate or touch these places; neither of the *Iewes* nor *Ismaelites*, for the reuerence of the Prophet *Ezechiel*. From thence you trauell three miles to the Citie *Alkotsonath*, in the which there are almost three hundred *Iewes*, and
- 30 there also are the Sepulchres of Great *Papha*, and *Huna*, and Master *Ioseph Suenus*, and of *Ioseph* the sonne of *Hhama*. And right ouer against euery one of them, there are seuerall Synagogues, in the which the *Iewes* daily assemble for the cause of prayer. From hence to *Ghein Sapha* are three leagues, where is the Sepulchre of *Nahum* the sonne of *Elcusans* the Prophet. It is one dayes iourney from thence to *Caphar le Paras*, a famous place for the Sepulchres of *Hhassidai*, and *Ghakiba*, and *Dusa*. *Capharmehamidbar* is halfe a dayes iourney distant from thence, where Master *David*, and *Iehuda*, and *Kuberia*, and *Sehora*, and *Abba* lie buried. One dayes iourney from thence is the Riuer *Liga*, where the Sepulchre of King *Sedechia* is, beautified with a great Arch. One dayes iourney from hence standeth the Citie *Kupha*, famous for the monument of King *Iechonias*, of great workmanship, right ouer against which, a Synagogue is built; and in
- 40 this place there are almost seuen thousand *Iewes*. One dayes iourney and an halfe from thence standeth *Suria*, which the Ancient called, *Matha Mahbasia*, in the which the Heads of the Captiuitie, and the chiefe of the Assemblies, were in the beginning: and great men are buried there, *Sarica*, and his sonne *Haai*, and *Saadias* the sonne of *Pjumas*, and *Semuel* the sonne of *Hhophin* the Priest, and *Sephanias* the sonne of *Chussi* the sonne of *Gedolia* the Prophet, and very many other of the Heads of the Captiuitie, Princes of the Familie of *David*, and principall men of the Assemblies, who abode here in the beginning, before the destruction thereof. You trauell two dayes iourney from hence to *Sephithib*, situated in *Nabardagha*. But from thence to *Elnachar*, is one dayes iourney and an halfe, called also *Pebeditha*, seated vpon the banke of *Euphrates*, where his Synagogue is seene, who by the figure *Antonomasia*, is called *Rab*, and of
- 50 *Samuel*, nigh vnto the which also are their Monuments.

§. IIII.

Strange reports, if true, of the *Aliman Iewes*. Of *Persia*, and *DAVID EL ROI*.
Of the *Nisbor Iewes*, and some places of *India*.

- 60 **F**rom thence traueiling through the Defart, you goe vnto the Countrey *Seba*, which is now called, the Land of *Aliman*, bordering vpon the Countrey *Senaar* on the North, the length whereof containeth one and twentie dayes iourneys to be made through the Defarts: and in this Countrey those *Iewes* dwell, who are called, the Sonnes of *Recab*, otherwise, the men of *Theima*. For *Theima* is the beginning of their Dominion, whom now *Hanan Hanassi* gouerneth. And the Citie of *Theima* it selfe is great, and populous. Their Countrey is extended sixteene dayes iourney, betwene the Mountaines which

F f f f f f

are

are called, *Northberly*, beautified with great and well fortified Cities, and not subiect to the yoke of any forraine Nation: from whence the Inhabitants going forth, spoyle all the bordering and also the remote Nations, how many soeuer they be, euen vnto the *Arabians*, who are in league

Vertomannus mentioneth *Arabian Iewes* potent and cruell, secured more by Desarts and Hills, then any greatnesse of their owne: as also in *Abassia* some *Iewes* liue in manner free, on steep Hills. But this freedome is a continual slavery, and siege; the *Arabians* alwaies endangering the one, and as it were, besieging them, as the *Abassines* the other. Neither yet doe I thinke but their Countrey is here enlarged far, by the *Iewish* relations to our Author. For, Cities and Townes in *Arabia* seeme not to be so frequent and populous.

Iewes called Mourners. See my Pilg. l. 2. c. 10. §. 2. *Theima.*

Telimaas.

This seemeth a genealogicall Fable, as some other Relations which he had from his countrymen. My rule is *assiduum illud, cui bono.* If a Iew build his *Iewish* Temple, or a *Iesuite* his *Romish-Catholike* Church, I look with both eyes, and scarcely beleue Relation, or pretended Reuelation and Miracle.

Thenai the Metropolitan Citie of the Countrey

Theima.

Tilmaas. *Chibar.* Sic perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur. *Credat Iudas appella.*

Here and else where make difference of what he saw, and what he receiued of his fabulous countrymen.

Chibar.

Hodu. *India.*

The Riuer *Vira.*

Neasat. *Bosra.*

Samara. *Esdra.*

Artaxerxes.

Chuzsethan.

Elam.

Susan Habira.

The Palace of

Assuerus the

King.

The Sepulchre

of *Daniel.*

bewayle *Hierusalem*, continually abstayning from Flesh, and Wine, and alwaies cloathed with mourning and poore apparell, dwelling in holes or little Cottages, and fasting euery day except the Sabbath, with continuall prayers also beseeching the sacred Maiestie, and begging the mercy of God towards the deliuerance of the Captiuitie of *Israel*. All the *Iewes* also desire the same; to wit, the men of the Countrey of *Theima*, and *Telimaas*, in the which there are almost an hundred thousand *Iewes*: among whom *Selomoh Hanassi*, that is the chiefe, and his brother *Hhanan Hanassi*, are of the Progenie of *Dauid the King*: which the Booke of the Familie from age to age deriued, plainly declareth. And all these goe with their garments rent, and fast fortie daies, for all the *Iewes* sakes liuing in Captiuitie. But that Prouince hath about fortie Cities, two hundred Townes, and an hundred Castles. But the Metropolis and Head is *Thenai*, and the surname of the *Iewes* inhabiting in all those Cities, containeth almost three hundred thousand men. Moreouer, that chiefe Citie is largely compassed with very wide and ample walls, so that it hath fields within it, and affoordeth the abilitie and commoditie of sowing and reaping Corne. For, it containeth fiftene miles in length, and as many also in bredth. And the Palace of *Salomon Hanassi* is there: and the Citie it selfe is very faire, and furnished with most pleasant Gardens and Orchards. *Tilmaas* also is no lesse goodly and great a Citie, which about an hundred thousand *Iewes* inhabit, seated betweene two very high Mountaines, and very strongly fenced, full of learned and wise men, of the which, many are rich. *Chibar* is three dayes journey distant from *Tilmaas*: and they report, that they are *Reuben*, and *Gad*, and the Tribe of *Manasse*, taken by *Salmanasar* the King of the *Assyrians* and sent hither, and that they built these great and well fortified Cities, and going forth of these places they made warres, and yet warre with all the bordering Kingdomes; and that no man is able to come vnto them, by reason of the vast and huge Desarts, voyd of all succour for eightene dayes journey together. And *Chibar* is also a great Citie, where fiftie thousand *Israelites* dwell, whereof many are learned men, and very many most valiant, who make warre with the children of *Senaar*, and with the Northerne Countries, and the bordering Inhabitants of *Eliman*. But this is *Hodu*, that is pertaining to *India*, from which you are to trauell fise and twentie dayes journey vnto the Riuer *Vira*, which runneth through the Countrey of *Eliman*, where three thousand *Israelites* dwell. Trauelling seuen dayes journey from hence, you come to *Neasat*, where are seuen thousand *Israelites*, among whom, *Nedaiar* is accounted a great man. But, from thence you trauell fise dayes journey to *Bosra*, seated on the Riuer *Tigris*, in which, there are a thousand *Israelites*, of the which very many are the Disciples of the Wise-men, and many are accounted rich.

Two dayes journey distant from hence, is the Riuer *Samara*, the beginning of the Countrey of *Persia*, with a Citie of the same name, wherein a thousand and fise hundred *Iewes* dwell. And that place is famous for the Sepulchre of *Esdra*, the Scribe & Priest, who comming Embassador from *Hierusalem* to *Artaxerxes* the King, dyed there. But before his Sepulchre a great Synagogue is built by the ancient Fathers, and on the other side, the *Ismaelites* haue built an House of Prayer, for the great affection they bare towards that man: which also is the cause, that the *Ismaelites* loue the *Iewes* resorting vnto that place to pray. Foure miles distant from thence standeth *Chuzsethan*; called *Elam* in former time, the Countrey of the *Elamites*, a very great Citie, but for the most part, now destroyed, wasted, and without Inhabitants: among the ruins wherof, *Susan Habira* is yet to be seene, the huge Palace of *K. Assuerus*, built with very goodly workmanship, many parts and examples of Art yet remayning of that Princely and admirable building. In this Citie there are seuen thousand *Iewes*, who are assembled in fourteene Synagogues; and before one of them standeth the Sepulchre of *Daniel*: and the Riuer *Tigris* runneth through the Citie it selfe, and also diuideth the habitation of the *Iewes*: and on the one side of the Riuer, they are all very rich whosoever dwell there, and they haue Market places very well furnished with Merchandizes and Trading: but on the other dwell all the meaner and poorer fort, who haue no Markets, no Trading, nor Gardens or Orchards, so that vpon a certaine time they conceiued enuie against the other, and supposed that the riches and fertilitie happened vnto them, through the Neighbour-hood of *Daniel* the Prophet buried there: wherefore they required of them, that the Sepulchre of *Daniel* might bee permitted to bee translated vnto their

Quarter. Which when it was constantly denied, they first fell to brawling, and afterward to battell and fight, with great slaughter on both sides for many dayes together, vntill at length being both weary, they agreed vpon Couenants and conditions, that euery other yeere, the Tombe stone of *Daniel* should be carried ouer vnto the other side: and that for some little while was done and renued, but in the meane space it happened, that *Senigar Saa* the Sonne of *Saa* the mightie Emperour of all the Kings of the *Persians* came thither, whose command fise and forty Kingdomes obay.

Senigar Saa, the Emperour of the *Persians*, obeyed by forty fise Kings.
The Riuer *Samra*.
Samarboth.
Gozen.
Ghisbor.
The Mountayns *Haphthon*.
Myrrhe or Muske.

He is called in the *Arabian* Language *Sultan alporas alkabir*, that is, *The Great King of Persia*: and his Dominion is extended from the mouth of the Riuer *Samra*, euen vnto the Citie *Samarboth*, and vnto the Riuer *Gozen*, and vnto the Countrey *Ghisbor*, and the Cities of *Media*, and the Montaynes *Haphthon*, and vnto those excellent Countries, where beasts are maintayned, from which dissolued Myrrhe cometh. And all the Dominion of this Emperour containeth foure monethes and foure dayes iourney. When therefore hauing sometime staid in this City, he had seene the Tombe stone of *Daniel* to bee carried ouer from one quarter of the Citie vnto the other, and that very many of the *Iewes* and *Ismaelites* went with it, demanding and vnderstanding the cause, he thought it a shamefull thing, that such irreuerence towards *Daniel* should bee tolerated: but hauing diligently measured the space betweene both parts, hee hung vp the Tombe stone of *Daniel* put into an Arke of Glasse, in that middle place, fastened to an huge Beame with Brazen Chaines, and commanded a great Temple to be built, dedicated to the vse of a Synagogue, and open for all men of the whole World, and denied to no mortall man, whether *Iew* or *Aramite* purposing to enter into the same to pray. And that Arke hangeth vpon the Beame euen vntill this day. Moreouer, that Emperour forbade by an expresse Edict, that no man should take fishes out of the Riuer for one mile downe the Riuer, and for another mile vp the Riuer, for the reuerence and honour of *Daniel*.

From hence to *Robad-Bar* are three dayes iourneyes, where also, almost twentie thousand *Israelites* dwell: among whom there are very many Disciples of the Wisemen, and also rich; but these liue as Captiues vnder the power and authoritie of a strange Prince. In two dayes iourney from thence you come to the Riuer *Vaanath*, where are foure thousand *Iewes*, almost. But foure dayes iourney from that Riuer, lyeth the Countrey *Molbhaath*, the Inhabitants whereof beleue not the Doctrine of the *Ismaelites*. But they dwell in very great Mountaynes and they obey an Elder, whose seate is in the Countrey *Alchefsifin*: and among these, there are two Colledges ^a of the *Israelites*, and they goe forth to the warres together with them. Nor are they subiect to the Dominion of the King of *Persia*, who liue in very high Mountaynes, from whence descending they inuade the bordering Countries, and driue away booties; and returne againe into their Mountaynes. They feare the force and violence of no man. But the *Iewes* who dwell among them, are the Disciples of the Wise-men, and obay the Head of the Captiuitie of *Babylon*. You trauell fise dayes iourney from hence to *Ghaaria*, where are fise and twentie thousand *Israelites*. And it is the beginning of the Vniuersities ^b of the Inhabitants of the Mountaynes *Haphthon*, which it is certainly knowne, to be more then an hundred in number. And in these places, the Countrey of *Media* beginneth. And these are of the first Captiuitie carryed away by King *Salmanasar*. But they speake the *Chalday* Language, and among them are the Disciples of Wise-men. And the chiefe Citie *Ghamaria* pertayning to the Kingdome of *Persia* is neere vnto them within one dayes iourney. But they are vnder the power and dominion of the King of *Persia*, to whom they pay Tribute. And the Tribute appointed in all the Kingdome of the *Ismaelites*, is, that all the Males aboue fiftene yeares old, should pay yeerely, one Golden *Amircus* apiece. And the Golden piece of Money called *Amircus*, valueth one *Spanish Morabetine* piece of Gold and an halfe.

Robad-Bar.
The Riuer *Vaanath*.
Molbhaath.
Alchefsifin.
^a Synagogues.
Ghaaria.
^b Synagogues.
Haphthon.
Media.

It is now twelue yeeres since a certayne man, named *Dauid Elroi*, arose out of the Citie *Ghamaria*, who was the Disciple of *Hhasdai*, the Head of that Captiuitie, and of *Iacob* the honourable, Head of the Assembly of *Leui*, in the Metropolitan Citie of *Baghdad*, and became very learned in the Law of *Moses*, and in the Bookes of Doctrine, and also in all externall wisdom, and in the Language and Writing of the *Ismaelites*, and in the Bookes of the Magicians and Inchanters. He therefore put on this minde, that he would rayse Armes against the King of *Persia*, and gathering together those *Iewes*, who dwelt in the Mountaynes *Haphthon*, making warre with all Nations, hee would goe vnto *Hierusalem* to winne it by assault. And that hee might perswade the *Iewes* thereunto, he vsed lying and deceitfull signes, affirming, that hee was sent from God to vanquish *Hierusalem*, and to free them from the yoke of the Nations; so that with many of the *Iewes*, he procured credit vnto himselfe, and obtayned the name of their *Messias*. The King of the *Persians* hearing the fame of this matter, sent for him to talke with him, vnto whom hee went without any feare at all; and being demanded whether he were the King of the *Iewes*, hee boldly answered, that it was so; and forth-with he was commanded to be apprehended, and cast in Prison: in the which who so are included by the Kings sentence, are kept there all their life. But that Prison is in the Citie *Dabasthan*, nigh adioyning to the great Riuer *Gozen*: Now after three dayes, a Councell of the Princes and Ministers being gathered together by the King, in the

A Golden piece of money called *Amircus*.
The *Spanish Morabetine* Golden piece of money.
The History of *Dauid Elroi*.
Dabasthan.

which they determined to consult and treat concerning this attempt of Innouation begunne by the *Iewes*, suddenly that *Dauid* was present there, looked out of Prison of his owne accord, no man knowing thereof; whom when the King saw, wondring he demanded: who hath brought thee hither, or deliuered thee out of Prison? to whom hee answering: Mine owne wisdom, saith he, and my industry. For I am nothing afraid of thee, or of thy seruants. Then the King crying out, Apprehend him, saith he. To whom the Princes and seruants answered, that surely, his voice was heard of all, but that his shape was seene of no man. Wherefore the King vehemently wondering at his wisdom, was astonished. But, hee saith against the King: Behold, I make my way, and hee beganne to goe before, the King following him: but all the Nobilitie and Seruants followed the King. And when they came to the banke of the Riuer, *Dauid* spreading abroad the Napkin which he carried vpon the waters, leaping in, passed ouer; and at that time he was seene of all, wondring at the Spectacle of his passing ouer, whom to pursue and take with little Boates, they attempted in vaine, and all proclaimed, that no Inchanter in the World might be compared vnto him: but hauing trauelled the same day ten dayes journey, comming to *Elghamarai*, through the vertue of an vninterpretable name, hee declared vnto the *Iewes* what had hapned vnto him, they wondring at the wisdom of the man. But the King of the *Persians* sending Messengers vnto *Bagdad*, certified *Almirus Almunadinus* the great Calpha of the *Ismaelites*, of this matter, & requested that he would cause *Dauid Elroi* to be with-held from such Enterprizes by the principal head of the captiuitie, and the chief Rulers of the Assemblies; otherwise vnlesse they took order for this matter, he threatned publike destruction to al the *Iews* living in the Kingdome of *Persia*. All the Vniuersities of the Countrey of *Persia* stricken with exceeding great feare of the matter, sent letters vnto that principal man, who was accounted the head of the captiuitie & to the heads of all the Assemblies, whatsoeuer they were remayning in *Bagdad*, to this purpose: *Why shall we dye in your eyes, as well we as all the Vniuersities subiect vnto this Kingdom? restrayne this man, we beseech you, least innocent blood be shed.* Therefore the Head of the Captiuitie, and the Chiefe Rulers of the Assemblies wrote these or the like Letters vnto *Dauid*: *We will giue you to understand, that the time of our deliuey is not yet come, and that our signes haue not yet beene seene; for a man is not made strong through the wind. Wherefore, foretelling, wee enioyne you altogether to abstayne from such determinations, enterprizes, and attempts; if otherwise, be reiectd of all Israel.* They also by Messengers aduertized *Zachai Hanassi*, who was in the Countrey *Assur*, and *Ioseph* surnamed the Seer, *Burhan Alpelech*, living there, that *Dauid Elroi* might be repressed by Letters written from them; which was diligently regarded by them, but all in vaine: for he would not forsake that wicked way, wherein he persisted, vntill a certaine King of the *Togarmim* arose called *Zinaldin*, who is subiect vnto the King of *Persia*, and hee sending ten thousand pieces of Gold vnto the Father in Law of *Dauid Elroi*, perswaded him to end these troubles, by killing his Sonne in Law priuily: which when hee had vndertaken to performe, he thrust *Dauid* thorow with a Sword, lying in bed at his house; and this was the end of his determinations, and vaine subtiltie. Nor yet, he being dead, was the anger of the King of the *Persians* appeased towards those people of the Mountaynes, and other *Iewes* subiect to his Dominion: wherefore the *Iewes*, by Messengers, required helpe of the Head of the Captiuitie. He therefore going vnto the King himselfe, appeased him with mild and wise speeches, and hauing presented and giuen many Talents of Gold, he so confirmed him, that afterward great quietnesse happened to the whole Countrey.

But from this Mountayne, which wee haue described, you trauell ten dayes journey to great *Hbamdau*, and the principall Citie of the Countrey of *Media*, in the which there are about fiftie thousand *Iewes*: and in that Citie, right ouer against one of the Synagogues, are the Sepulchres of *Mardocheus*, and *Esther*. *Debarzethaan* is foure dayes journey distant from hence, where foure thousand *Iewes* dwell nigh vnto the Riuer *Gozen*. But from thence you trauell seuen dayes journey to *Asbahan* a very great Metropolitan Citie, contayning twelue miles space, in the which there are about fiftene thousand *Israelites*, ouer whom Great *Salom* ruleth, made Go- uernour, by the Head of the Captiuitie, ouer this Vniuersitie, and all the rest of the *Israelites*, who dwell in the Castles of *Persia*.

Departing from hence, I trauelled foure dayes journey to *Siaphaz*, the Metropolitan Citie of *Persia*, and also the most ancient, called *Persidis*, from whence the name was giuen to the whole Countrey, in the which there are almost ten thousand *Iewes*. From *Siaphaz* in seuen dayes journey you come to the Citie *Gimah*, seated in a very large place nigh vnto the banke of the Riuer *Gozen*, frequented with the most famous Trading of all Nations and Languages, in a Plaine and very ample soyle, where are about eight thousand *Iewes*. The furthest Citie of this Kingdome, great and famous *Samarcheneth*, standeth fide dayes journey from *Gimah*, where are fiftie thousand *Israelites*, ouer whom Master *Abdias Hanassi* ruleth, and among them, there are many wise and rich men. In foure dayes journey from hence you come to *Tubot* a Metropolitan Citie, in the Woods whereof sweet swelling *Mosse* * is found. Trauelling continually eight and twentie dayes journey from thence, I came vnto the Mountaynes *Nisbon*, which hang ouer the Riuer *Gozen* flowing from them, and are ascribed vnto the Kingdome of *Persia*, where are many *Israelites*.

Elghamarai.

Elroi, that is,
the Seer.Zinaldin King
of the Turkes.Hbamdau.
Media.The Sepul-
chers of Mar-
docheus and
Esther
Debarzethaan.
Asbahan, or Hi-
spahan, now the
Seat Royall of
Persia.

Siaphaz.

Gimah.
Samarcheneth.
Samarcan.
Tubot.
Mosse, or
Muske,
The Moun-
taines Nisbon,
or Nisbor.

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- raelites*. And they say, * that in those Cities of the Mountaynes *Nisbor*, foure Tribes of the *Israelites* inhabit, carried away in the first Captiuitie by *Salmanasar* the King of the *Assyrians*, to wit, *Dan*, *Zabulon*, *Affer*, and *Nephthali*: as it is written. And he carryed them away into *Lahh-lahh* and *Habor*, the Mountaynes *Gozen*. Mountaynes of *Media*. Their Countrey is extended twentie dayes iourney in length, with many Cities and Castles inhabited; all Mountaynous; almost by which the River *Gozen* runneth on the one side. But the Inhabitants themselves are vnder the subiection of no Nation, but are ruled by a certaine *Gouernour*; whose name is now, *Ioseph Amarcala* a *Leuite*: and among them are the Disciples of Wise-men. They till grounds and make warre with the Borderers, the Children of *Chus*, and trauell on warfare through the
- 10 Desarts. They haue amitie with *Copher Althorech*, worshippers of the winds, a people who leade their liues in the Desarts, These neither eat bread, nor drinke wine: but eat the raw flesh of beasts, as well cleane as vncleane, and those either new killed, and yet trembling through the life blood, or also dry, but vnboyled, and also deuoure the members taken from liuing beasts. They want a Nose, but in stead thereof they haue two holes in their faces, wherewith they breathe: They are friends to the *Israelites*. But, it happened fifteene yeares since, that inuading the Countrey of *Persia* with a great Armie, they vanquished the Metropolitan Citie *Rai*, and hauing made a mightie slaughter vtterly wasted it, and spoyling the houses and fields, carried away a great bootie, returning through the Desarts, the like example whereof, for many Ages, was neuer seene or heard in *Persia*. Wherefore the King of the *Persians* being vehemently enraged, determined vtterly to abolish from the Earth, the name of that Nation, first, hatefull to
- 20 him alone, not daring to attempt any such matter in the times of his Ancestors. Leuying therefore an Armie for warfare, and seeking some Guide, to whom the places of that Nation were knowne, a certaine man voluntarily offered himselfe, who affirmed, that hee was of the same Nation, and knew their dwellings. But being demanded what was needfull for the performing of the Voyage, he answered, that they had need of prouision of bread and water for fifteene dayes iourney: which of necessitie should be spent in a very great Wildernesse: following whose counsell, when they had ended fifteene dayes iourney, beeing destitute of necessarie food and drinke for men and beasts, yet notwithstanding, they neither saw the place whether they intended to goe, nor any tokens of habitation. The Guide therefore being called for by the King,
- 30 when he was demanded, where is your word, whereby you vndertooke to shew vs the Enemies; answered, that he had gone out of the way: wherefore, at the commandement of the angry King he was put to death.
- And now, part of the men and beasts began to perish through famine. But by the Kings Decree it was publikely commanded, that whatsoeuer prouision of victuall was found with any man, should be imparted to the company, and that the beasts should also bee diuided. After this manner, therefore they wandered thirteene dayes more through the Wildernesse, and at length came vnto the Mountaynes *Nisbor*, in which the *Iewes* inhabit. The Armies therefore of the *Persians* rested themselves in the Gardens and Orchards, whereof there were very many in that place, and nigh vnto the Fountaynes: for it was the season of the yeare when fruits are ripe.
- 40 They therefore ate and spoyled, and saw no man comming forth vnto them: but beheld very many Cities and Towers in the Mountaynes afarre off.
- Therefore the King sent two of his Seruants to demand, what Nation dwelled in those Mountaynes, and that they should passe ouer vnto them, going ouer the River either by Boat or swimming. But they found a great Bridge fortified with Towers furnished, and with a doore shut; but beyond the Bridge, there was a great Citie. The Spyes therefore crying out before the Bridge, a certaine man came forth, by whom being demanded, what doe you seeke, or of what Country are you, they vnderstood them not, vntil a certaine Interpreter came, who vnderstood the *Persian* Language: to whom demanding, they answered, we are the Seruants of the King of the *Persians*, sent to demand who you are, and whom you serue. To whom he answered, we
- 50 are *Iewes*, and serue no King or Prince of the *Gentiles*, but a certaine principall man of the *Iewes*. And being demanded concerning the worshippers of the winds, the children of *Chus* of *Cophar Althorech*, they answered; they are a Nation ioyned in league with vs: and whosoever goeth about to hurt them, wee suppose hee would harne vs. The Spyes therefore returning vnto the King, reported the whole matter vnto him; who was vehemently afraid. But the next day after, the *Iewes* denounced warre against the King of *Persia*, who said, that hee came not to make warre against them, but against his Enemies of *Cophar Althorech*. And if they would fight with him, he would reuenge that iniurie, by killing all the *Iewes* who dwelt in the Kingdome of *Persia*: for he was very well assured, that they were stronger then hee in that place; besides, hee intreated that they would not assaile him with battell, but would suffer him to fight it out by dint of Sword against *Copher Althorech*, and that they would sell him prouision of victuall and food conuenient for his Armie. Consulting therefore together, it pleased the *Iewes* to consent vnto the King of *Persia*, for all the *Israelites* sakes dwelling in his Kingdome. The King therefore being admitted with all his Armie, spent fifteene dayes there, beeing most honourably entertayned among them: but in the meane space, the *Iewes* declared the whole matter by Messengers
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* Marke this, they say, a tale deuised by a *Iewish* Fabler: Foure Tribes. *Lahblah*.

Copher Althorech.

Or rather they are flat-nosed: for so are both *Tartars* and *Chinno Rai*.

The Mountaynes *Nisbor*.

and Letters, vnto their Confederates *Copbar Althorech*: which being knowne, gathering their forces together, they expected the enemy at the passage of the Mountaynes; and in a conuenient place for their purpose, they gaue the *Persian* so mightie an ouerthrow, comming vnto them, that being vanquished and put to flight, they compelled him to returne into his own Countrey with a very small number. But it happened, that one *Iew* of this Prouince named *Moses*, deceitfully seduced by a certaine *Persian* Horseman, followed the King of *Persia*, and when they came into *Persia*, being brought into seruitude, hee was possessed by the same Horseman. But, when at a certaine time, they who exercised their Bowes, sported in presence of the King, one *Moses* was shewed vnto him, who was most excellent in the dexteritie of shooting: who being demanded of the King by an Interpreter, openly declared the manner of his condition: and was presently enfranchised, clothed with Purple and Silken Garments, and enriched with Kingly Gifts: and was required, that he should receiue their Religion, the hope and condition of great Riches being propounded, and also the gouernment of the Kings House promised: which when he courteously denyed to doe, yet was he placed by the King, with great *Salom* the Prince of the Vniuersitie of *Achphahan*; whose Daughter also he married by consent of the Father, and the selte-same *Moses* told me all this Historie.

p. V.

Of India, Ethiopia, Egypt, his returne into Europe: Sicilia, Germanie, Prussia, Russia, France.

Chenazthian.
Tigris.
Haidu, the Indian Sea.
Nekrokis, perhaps Ormus.



And when I departed out of these Countries, I went into the Countrey *Chenazthian*, nigh vnto which the Riuer *Tigris* runneth, which falling from thence runneth downe into *Hodu*, that is, the *Indian Sea*, and compasseth the Iland *Nekrokis* about the mouth thereof, contayning the space of sixe dayes iourney, in the which there is only one Fountaine, and they drinke no other water then what is gathered from the showres; for it wanteth Riuers, and that Land is neither sowed, nor tilled: yet is it very famous through the Trading of the *Indians*, and Ilands seated in the *Indian Sea*, and Merchants of the Countrey of *Senaar*, and *Eliman*, and *Persia*, bringing thither all sorts of Silken and Purple Garments, Hempe and Cotton, Flaxe, and *Indian Cloth*, which they call *Moch*, Wheate, Barley, Millet, and Oats great plentie, also all sorts of Meates and Pulse, which they barter and sell among themselves. But the *Indian* Merchants bring exceeding great plentie of Spices thither. And the Ilanders execute the office of Factors and Interpreters among the rest, and by this art only they liue. But in that place there are about five hundred *Iewes*.

Kathipha.
The stone
Bdellius. I think
the storie of
Pearles by
some Fabler,
was thus corrupted
to our
Author.
The moneth
of March.
The moneth
of August.
* The Pearle
Oysters.
Our people
call *Haautan*
Zeilan.
Worshippers
of the Sunne.
The *Chussites*
starre gazers.

Taking Ship from hence, sayling with a prosperous winde, in ten dayes I was brought to *Kathipha*, where are five thousand *Iewes*: in these places the stone called *Bdellius* is found, made by the wonderfull workmanship of Nature. For on the foure and twentieth day of the Moneth *Nisan*, a certaine dew falleth downe into the waters, which being gathered, the Inhabitants wrap vp together, and being fast closed, they cast it into the Sea, that it may sinke of it owne accord into the bottome of the Sea, and in the middle of the moneth *Tisri*, two men being let downe into the Sea by ropes, vnto the bottome, bring vp certaine creeping * Wormes which they haue gathered, into the open Ayre, out of the which (being broken and cleft) those stones are taken. In seuen dayes iourney from thence I came to *Haaulam*, which is the beginning of their Kingdome who worship the Sunne in stead of God; to wit, a Starre-gazing Nation descended from the Children of *Chus*. They are men of a blacke colour, sincere, and of very great fidelitie both in promises and receits, and also in gifts. They haue this custome, that such as come vnto them from other remote Countries, hauing receiued them into the Hauen, they cause their names to be set downe in writing, by three Scribes, and so carry their names vnto the King; and afterward bring the parties themselves also vnto him, whose Merchandises being receiued into his protection, the King commandeth to be left landed in the fields, without setting any watchman to keepe them. Moreouer, one Gouverner sitteth in a publike house, vnto whom, whatsoever any man in the whole Countrey hapneth to leese, is brought, and is easily receiued by the owner thereof, being there required, so that the certaine tokens be shewed, wherby the lost thing may be knowne. And this fidelitie and honest dealing is common and publike in all that Kingdome. All this country from Easter vnto the beginning of the yeere, through all the Spring time and Summer, burneth with outrageous heate: wherefore, from the third houre of the day vntill the Euening, all men lye close shut vp in their houses. But afterward, Candles and Lampes being lighted, and orderly set throughout all the streetes and markets, they worke and exercise their Arts and Professions all the night; for they cannot at all doe it in the day time by reason of the exceeding heate. And in this Countrey Pepper groweth vpon Trees planted by the Inhabitants in the fields of euery particular Citie. And euery one of them haue their proper Gardens, are assigned and knowne. The shrub it selfe is very little, and bringeth forth a white seede, which being

Pepper.

being gathered by them, is put into Basons, and being steeped in hot water is set forth in the Sunne, that it might bee dried, and being hardned, may be preserved; and so it getteth a blacke colour. Cinamon and Ginger are found there, and very many other kindes of Spices. The Inhabitants of this Countrey burie not their dead, but being embalmed with diuers Drugs and Spices, they place them in seates, and cloathe them with Nets, set in a certaine order according to their seuerall families, but their flesh dryeth with the bones, and becommeth so stiffe that they seeme euen like vnto the liuing. And euery one of the liuing know their Ancestors from many yeeres descents. But they worship the * Sunne, with many and great Altars euery where built, about halfe a mile without the Citie. Commonly therefore, early in the morning they run forth and goe vnto the Sunne, vnto which vpon all the Altars there are Images consecrated, made by the Magicke Arts, according to the similitude of the circle of the Sunne; and when the Sunne ariseth, those Orbes seeme to be inflamed, and sound with a great crackling or rustling noyse. And they haue euery one their seuerall Box in their hands, as well the women as the men, and all together offer Incense to the Sunne. This way of theirs is folly vnto them. But among this Nation, in all places, the *Jewes* whose summe at the most amounteth to a thousand houses in all, are of no lesse blacke a colour then the Inhabitants themselues, yet are they good and honest men, and embracers of the Commandements, who obserue the Law of *Moses*, and are not accounted altogether vnskilfull in the bookes of Doctrine and Customes.

How they em-
balme their
dead.

* They are
since become
Mahumetans,
as in all the
Indian Ports
usually they
are.

Departing out of their Countrey, in two and twentie dayes I sayled vnto the Ilands *Cheuerag*, the Inhabitants whereof worship the Fire, and are called *Dugbyn*; but among them thirtie thousand *Jewes* dwell. And the *Dugbyn* haue their Priests in euery place, consecrated to the superstition of their Temples: But the Priests are the most skilful Sorcerers and Inchanters of the whole world, in euery kinde of this vanitie. And before euery Temple there is a great and large field, in the which a mightie fire burneth euery day, which they call *Elhotha*, and they vse to make their Children passe through this fire to purge them; and also cast their dead into the midst of the fire to be burned. Moreouer, there are some of the Nobilitie of the Land, who solemnely bequeathe or vow themselues to the fire aliue. But when any man of these declareth such his intended deuotion to his familiars, acquaintance, and kindred, presently with the great reioycing of all, and with the common voyce, hee heareth these words: *Blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee*. On what day therefore the vow is to bee performed, being first entertained with a great Banquet, if he be rich, he is carried on Horse-backe, but if hee be poore, hee is brought on foote, accompanied with a multitude of his friends and others, vnto the entrance of the field, from whence beginning his race, he leapeth into the fire; but then all his familiars, cousins and kindred, reioyce with exceeding great ioy, striking vp the Drum, and dancing vntill he be wholly burned. But three dayes after, two of the chiefe Priests going vnto his house, command the whole family to prepare the house of their Father, who would be present with them the same day, and declare vnto them what they were to doe. Calling therefore vnto them certaine witnesses of the Citie, behold, Satan taking vpon him his shape, is present, of whom the wife and children demand how it fareth with him in that other world: to whom he answering, I came, saith he, vnto my companions, by whom I am not receiued, vntill I pay those things which I owe to my familiar friends and kindred: so presently, hee distributeth his goods to the children, and commandeth all the debts to be paid to the Creditors, and whatsoever is owing by the debtors, to be demanded, the witnesses receiuing and setting downe in writing all his words and commandes, of whom notwithstanding he is not seene: but then saying that he will goe his way againe, he vanisheth.

Cheuerag.
Dugbyn.

Fire worship-
ped.
Elhotha.

The error of
the worship-
pers of the
fire.

*Deuillish de-
lusion*.

From these Ilands it is fortie dayes sayling to the Countrey of * *Sin*, which is in the East, they sayle three dayes iourney to *Gingala*, which is performed in fiftene daies dayes by Sea, where are almost a thousand *Israelites*. From hence in seuen dayes sayling I came to *Cholan*, where none of the *Israelites* are. But from thence in twelue dayes I went to *Zebid*, in which Countrey there are few *Jewes*.

* Here the
author rela-
teth a tale re-
lated to him, of
men carried by
Griffons, &c.
which I haue
omitted.

From hence in eight dayes I came to the Midland *Hodu*, that is, *Ethiopian India*, which by the name of their owne Nation is called *Baghdan*, the same is *Gheden*, which Countrey is ascribed to the Countrey of *Thelassar*, in which Countrey there are huge Mountaines and very well knowne; and in these, many of the *Israelites* dwell, subiect to the yoke of none of the *Gentiles*: and they haue Cities and Towers built on the ridges of the Mountaynes, from whence descending with armed forces, they invade the Countrey *Hamaghtam*, with warre, which selfe same Countrey is *Lubia*, belonging to the dominion of *Edom*, the Inhabitants whereof are called *Lubij*, or *Lybies*: which being often robbed and spoyled, the *Israelites* returne backe againe vnto their Mountaynes, where they are not afraide, that any mortall man would make warre against them. But of those *Israelites* who dwell in this Countrey of *Ghadan*, very many trauell into *Persia*, and *Egypt* for the cause of trafficke. From thence vnto the Country called *Azzuan*, you trauell twentie dayes iourney through the Wildernesse of *Seba*, nigh vnto the Riuer *Pisson*, which descendeth from the Mountaynes of *Chus*, that is, *Ethiopia*. And these *Azzuanes* haue a King, who in the *Ismaeliticke* Language is called *Sultan Alhabas*. Some part of these men liue

Zebid.
The mid-land
Hodu.
Baghdan.
Gheden.
Thelassar.
Hamaghtam.
Lubia.
Lubij.
Lybies.
The Countrey
Azzuan,
Pisson.
Chus.

after

Cham.
Hhalaun.
The Wildernes
Tfabbara.
Zeuilan.
Hhauila.
Geena, or Gi-
nea.

Chus.
Alhhabas.
Kits.
Egypt.
Pium.
Pithon.
Misraim, or
Cayro.

* Of these two sorts, see my Pilgr. l. 2. c. 8. §. 1. the Israelites were those of Palestina of later dispersion, the other of the former Babylonian dispersion, to whom Saint Peter wrote his former Epistle. Gbirbhakym. The divisions of the sacred Lessons.

* Rulers and Over-seers of their Synagogues. Soan, or Tsoghan.
Misraim.

They were called Rebels for that schisme, of which see sup. lib. 8. cap. 3.

July and August.

The moneth of August and September.

The Nilosium I haue omitted, as being before expressed in l. 7. c. 8. &c.

The vse of the trane of fishes.

The water of Nilus medicinale. Hhabas, from whence the people are called Hhabasini, whom the Grecians, amisse, call Abissini, the Countrey of Prete Ianni. * About September. a At the end of Februarie. b In the moneth of March. c A kinde of Wheate growing in India.

after the manner of bruit Beasts, and feede vpon Herbes found nigh vnto the bankes of the Riuer *Pisson*, they wander naked through the fields, so that they seeme to be voyde of the sense and minde of other men. They vse the Act of Generation without difference, and with whomsoever they meete, hauing no regard of kindred, acquaintance or familiaritie, age or qualitie of degree: they inhabit an exceeding hot Countrey. When the rest of the *Azzuanei* assaile these to make a prey of them, setting wheaten Bread, Rayfins, and dry Figs in the field, they take them running to the meate; and carrying them away, they sell them in *Egypt*, and other bordering Kingdomes. And these bee those blacke Slaues very well knowne to all, of the Posteritie of *Cham*. From *Azzuuan* you trauell twelue dayes iourney vnto *Hhalaun*, where are three hundred *Jewes*. But from thence traueilling in troopes you goe fiftie dayes iourney through the Wildernes, called *Al Tfabbara*, into the Countrey *Zeuilan*, which selfe same is *Hhauila*, to wit, that which is vpon the Coast of *Geena*, or *Ginea*. But in that Wildernes there are many Mountaynes of Sand, which being sometimes mooued and scattered through the violence of the Windes, ouerwhelmeth and killeth the whole troopes of traueilling men: but such as could auoide or escape such danger, returne laden with many things, as Iron, Brasse, and diuers kindes of Fruites, and Pulse, and also Salt: besides, they carrie Gold, and most precious Pearles. And this Countrey is in the Land of *Chus*, named *Alhhabas*, lying towards the West. From *Hhalaun* in thirteene dayes iourney, you come to the Metropolitan Citie *Kits*, which is the head of the beginning of *Egypt*; in it there are about thirtie thousand *Jewes*. From thence to *Pium*, is five dayes iourney: this in time past was called *Pithon*, where there are twentie *Jewes*, and yet at this day no small Monuments are seene, of the workes made by our Fathers, in the building of that Citie. From thence you trauell foure dayes iourney to *Misraim*, a great Citie, seated nigh vnto the bankes of *Nilus*, from which the name is giuen to all the Countrey, where are two thousand *Jewes*, diuided into two * Synagogues; the one of the *Israelites*, called the *Synagogue Saamijn*; and the other of the *Babylonians*, called the *Synagogue Gbirbhakym*. The one and the other obserue diuers rites and customes in the distribution of the annuall readings. For the *Babylonians* vse euery weeke to reade one *Parassa*, after the same manner which is common throughout all *Spaine*; and therefore euery yeere they finish the Law. But the *Israelites* diuide euery *Parassa* into three orders or degrees, and so they reade ouer the Law in three yeeres. And both these after a solemne manner, twice in the yeere powre forth their prayers together, to wit, vpon the day of the reioycing of the Law, and on the Festiuall day of the Law giuen. Among all these *Nathaniel* hath the chiefe authoritie, being the greatest of the Nobilitie, and head of the Assembly; who ruleth all the Vniuersities of *Egypt*, and appointeth Masters and Church-wardens. * And he is among the chiefe and most familiar seruants of the great King, in the Palace and throne of the Princely seate *Soan*, settled in the Citie *Misraim*, which Citie is the Metropolitan Citie to the children of *Ghereb*, that is, to all the *Arabians*: but the Kings name is *Amir Almumanin Eli* the sonne of *Abitaaleb*: all the Inhabitants of which Countrey are called *Moredim*, that is, *Rebels*, who haue estranged themselves from *Amir Almumanin Alhhabazzi*, remayning in *Bagdad*: wherefore there is great and perpetuall dissension betweene both the Kings. But he hath a Throne in the Palace *Soan*, dedicated vnto him. And he commeth forth twice in the yeere, once at the time of their feast of Easter, and againe in those dayes when the Riuer *Nilus* ouerfloweth. And *Soan* it selfe is compassed, and fortified with walls, but *Misraim* hath no walls, but is environed with *Nilus* on the one side. And this is a very great citie, furnished with many market places & publike houses, and hath many rich *Jewes*. The Country it selfe neuer saw either Raine, Ice, or Snow, but burneth with outrageous heate. It is watered with *Nilus*, which once euery yeere vehemently swelling in the Moneth *Elul*, couereth and ouer-floweth all the Land for fiftene dayes iourney; the Waters continuing all *Elul* and *Tisri*, and making the earth fruitfull. And the policie and diligence of the ancient was such, that in an Iland which the Riuer maketh, a Pillar should be erected, &c. And the Fishes of that Riuer are very fat, the Trane wherof being molten, is preferred for the vse of Candles. But whosoever being abundantly glutted with those Fishes, drinketh the water of the same Riuer, feeleth or suffereth no harme at all. For that water is both drinke and also medicine against such repletions. And there hath beene a perpetuall question, and a diuers opinion among men, concerning the ouerflowing of *Nilus*, but the *Egyptians* suppose, that at the same time when this Riuer ouer-floweth, it vehemently raineth in the higher Countries, that is, in the Land of *Hhabas*, which we said to be named *Hhauila*. At what time the Riuer doth not ouer-flow, nothing is sowed in *Egypt*; and hereupon sterilitie and famine follow. The fields are sowed in the Moneth * *Marbbesuan*, *Nilus* being now receiued into his Chanell: but Barley is reaped in the Moneth a *Adar*, and Wheate the next Moneth after, that is, b *Nisan*, and in the same Moneth Cherries are ripe, and Almonds, and Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease-cods, and Beanes, Lentiles, Ruches and c Spelt, and diuers kindes of Pot-hearbs, as Purslane, Asparagus, and Lettice, Corianders, Succorie, Coleworts, and Grapes. Lastly, the

Messaana.
Lunid.
Calabria.

Panormus.

* The Jewes
call Romans I-
dumeans, and
Mahumetans
Ismaelites.
Kefamburk.
Aschenaz.
Konphelinas.
Mosella.

a Speedie lyel
and how long
lie they in it
for denying
the truth?

We can scarce
coniecture the
new names of
these Cities.
Bohem.

Praga.
Pin.

The beafts
Veergares, o-
therwise called
Sables.
Prussia.
Sarphat.
Sanad, or Zaa-
nad, or Zzod.

the Mountaine *Sinai*, and is a Bay of the *Indian* Ocean bending towards *Damiata*; in the which Bay sayling one dayes journey by Sea, you come to the Iland called *Tunis*, and the same is other-
wise called *Hhanas*, where are almost fortie *Israelites*. And hitherto extendeth the Kingdome
of *Egypt*. Departing from thence, in twentie dayes journey by Sea, I was brought to *Mes-
sana*, which is the beginning of the Iland of *Sicilia*. But *Messaana*, or *Messina*, as it is now cal-
led, standeth vpon a Straight of the Sea, named *Lunid*, lying betweene *Calabria* and the Iland
of *Cicilia* it selfe: and two hundred *Jewes* are there. The soyle of the Iland is most fruitfull,
and replenished with all good things, and beautified with Gardens, and Orchards. In this place
the Pilgrims assemble who determine to goe to *Hierusalem*; for, from hence is the best and most
commodious passage into *Syria*. From hence I trauelled two dayes journey to *Panormus*, a great
Citie, contayning two miles in bredth, and as many in length. In this Citie a princely house
is excellently built by King *Guilielmus*. One thousand five hundred *Jewes*, or thereabouts, re-
mayne in that place: and very many besides of the *Idumeans**, and *Ismaelites*.

All the Colledges of the *Jewes* of *Germanie* are seated nigh vnto the great Riuer *Rohenus*,
from the Citie *Colonia*, which is the beginning of the Kingdome, vnto the Citie called, *Kesam-
burk*, in the borders of *Germanie*: which space is fiftene dayes journey long. This Countrey,
in time past, was called, *Aschenaz*. These are the Countries in *Germanie*, in the which the Col-
ledges of the *Israelites* are, who are all accounted worthie men, by the Riuer *Mosella*, and *Kon-
phelinas*, and *Odranchab*, and *Kuna*, and *Kotania*, and *Binga*, and *Garmezza*, and *Mastheran*.
Therefore all the *Israelites* remayne disperfed throughout all Countries. But whosoever shall
hinder *Israel* that it may not be gathered together, shall neuer see the good signe, nor liue with
Israel. But at what time God shall visite our Captiuitie, and exalt the Horne of his Christ, then
euery one shall say: I will bring forth the *Jewes*, and gather them together. And in these Ci-
ties are the Colledges and Schollers of Wise-men, and they loue their brethren, and speake
peace vnto all that are neere and farre remoued, and ioyfully and with reioycing receiue Guests
comming vnto them, and celebrating a feast for their entertaynement, say: O our Brethren re-
ioyce, for the Diuine saluation shall come very speedily*, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye.
And except, fearing, we doubted that the end was not yet come, surely, we had been already ga-
thered together: but notwithstanding we cannot yet, vntill the time of the song, and the voyce
of the Turtle be heard, and the Embassadors come, and say: Let God alwaies be magnified. They
use to write Letters one vnto another, whereby they confirme each other in the Doctrine of
Moses. And bewayling *Sion*, and lamenting *Hierusalem*, they aske mercy at the hands of God,
and giue themselues to prayer, cloathed in mourning attire, and earnestly bent to abstinence.
These Metropolitan Cities therefore which wee haue mentioned, are in *Germanie*, furnished
with Colledges of the *Israelites*. Besides, there are *Astranburk*, and *Danirasburk*, *Mandatrach*,
Pessinghes, *Bamburk*, *Sar*, and *Rasenburk*, which is also the end of the Kingdome; in which
Metropolitan Cities, many of the *Israelites* are, Disciples of the Wise-men, and rich. From
thence and beyond, is the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, now called *Praga*, and it is the beginning of
the Land of *Sclauonia*, the Inhabitants whereof are called *Cananites*, by the *Jewes* dwelling there.
These people sell their sonnes and daughters to all those Nations: and the *Russes* doe the like.
But that Countrey is farre extended, from the gate of *Praga* vnto the gate of the great Citie
Pin, which standeth in the furthest end of the Kingdome. The whole Countrey is mountay-
nous, and very full of Woods, in the which those Beasts are found, named *Veergares*, and the
same are called *Sables*. The weather is so cold in the Winter, that for that season, no man may
safely come forth out of the house. And hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of *Prussia*. Retur-
ning from hence, I came into the Kingdome of *France*, which Countrey was called, *Sarphat*,
by the Ancient. Trauelling sixe dayes journey from the Citie *AL-Sanad*, I came to *Paris*, the
greatest Citie of the whole Kingdome of King *Lodonicius*, seated nigh vnto the Riuer *Sa-
ban*: in which there are Disciples of Wise-men, the most learned of all those who at this day
remayne in all the Countrey, who applie themselues day and night vnto the studie of the Law,
hospitall men, and curteous towards all the Brethren that passe that way, and companions of
all their Brethren the *Jewes*. The mercifull God bee mercifull vnto them and vs, and confirme
vpon vs and them, that which is written: And he shall bring backe, and gather thee together
from all the Nations, among whom the Lord thy God hath disperfed thee. Amen, Amen.

CHAP. VI.

A Relation of a Voyage to the Easterne India. Obserued by EDWARD TERRY, Master of Arts and Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.

TO THE READER.

10 **M**After Terry had found a fitter roome, if he had not come late, and as in India, so here also had attended that Honorable Embassadour, Sir T. Roe. But his tardy comming hath made vs entertayne him, not with lesse welcome in substance, but with lesse conuenience in Seat-ceremonie; being forced to place him as he comes, in a lower messe, but with equall cheere. Yea himselfe makes good cheere by his presence, and presents his whole messe, and all the Table and Attendants with rich Cates of Sea and Land varieties farre fetched and deere bought by him, and here imparted gratis; whether wee understand it of the Author, or (as I undertake) of the Readers. How many Eare-rings and Breast-brooches giue (that which they take, the) place to Saint Georges Garter worne neere the utmost and lowest confines of our
20 Microcosme. Take this as a good fare-well draught of English-Indian liquor. And as contraries set neere their contraries make the best lustre, so this our Scholer-Christian-Preacher-Traveller, hauing (as Travellers wont) lighted into companie of a few before; a halfe-turkised Christian, with diuers Turkes following immediatly after; shineth as a Gemme in the darke, and as a Precious-stone amongst a heape of itones. Thus here although some of his rayes are by the Attrier taken away to preuent reiterations of things deliuered in the former relations of Sir Tho. Roe, or others; Neither doth our Author come here altogether unfitly to guide vs from Persia, (where wee haue made long stay) by the way of India and Arabia, and lastly, with a Portugall Vice-roy wee meane to ship our selues homewards, taking some Religious in companie for some better knowledge of Africa, and the Christianitie there.

Those that goe downe to the Sea in ships: that doe businesse in great waters: These see the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe. Ps. 107. Qui nescit orare, discat nauigare.

Things remarkable obserued in his Voyage to the Indies. Sea-fight with the Portugals.

40 **A**Pologies very often call Truth into question. Hauing therefore nothing for to countenance these my rude Relations but the certaintie of them; I omit all vnnesessarie introductions: vsing no further Preface then this, that the Reader would vndoubtedly beleue, what the Relator doth most faithfully deliuer.

So to make an entrie vpon the first beginning of our Voyage, the third of Februarie, 1615. our Fleete (consisting of fixe goodly ships, the *Charles*, *Vnicorne*, *Iames*, *Globe*, *Swan*, and *Rose*, all vnder the command of Captaine Benjamin Ioseph) fell downe from *Gravesend* into *Tilburie Hope*.

50 The ninth of March (after a long and tiring expectation) it pleased God to send vs what we desired, a North-east wind: which day wee left that weary Road, and set sayle for *East India*. The wind was fauourable to vs till the sixteenth day at night, at which time a most fearefull storme ouertooke vs, we being then in the Bay of *Portugall*. In this storme wee lost sight both of the *Globe*, and *Rose*. The *Globe* came againe into our Companie, the two and twentieth following; but the *Rose* was no more heard of, till her arriue at *Bantam*, about fixe Moneths after. This storme continued violent till the one and twentieth.

The eight and twentieth, we had sight of the *Grand Canaries*, and that Mountaine which threatens the Skie, in the Iland of *Teneriffa*, commonly called, *The Peake*, which by reason of its immense height, in a cleere day may be seene more then fortie leagues at Sea, (as the Mariners report.) These Ilands lie in eight and twentie degrees of North latitude.

60 The one and thirtieth, being Easter day, we passed vnder the Tropick of *Cancer*; and the seuenth of Aprill, the Sunne was our Zenith. From that day vntill the fourteene, wee were becalmed induring extreme heate. The sixteenth, we met with winds which the Mariners call, *The Turnadoes*, so variable and vncertaine, that sometime within the space of one houre, all the two and thirtie seuerall winds will blow. These winds were accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and with extreme rayne, so noysome that it makes mens clothes presently to stinke vpon their backes. The water likewise of these slimy vnwholsome showres, wheresoever it stands, will in short time bring forth many offensive creatures. These *Turnadoes* met with vs when we were about twelue degrees of North latitude, and kept vs companie ere they quitted

Pico de Teneriffa.

Turnadoes.

ted vs, till wee were two degrees South-ward of the Equinoctiall, vnder which wee passed the eight and twentieth of Aprill. The nineteenth of May being Whitsunday, wee passed the Tropicke of *Capricorne*. So that we were seuen weekes compleat vnder the Torrid Zone.

Whales.
Dolphins.

Betweene the Tropickes we saw almost euery day different kindes of fishes in greater abundance then else-where. As the great *Leuiathan*, whom God hath made to take his pastime in the Seas. Dolphins, Boneetooes, Albicores, Flying fishes, and many others. Some Whales we saw of an exceeding greatnesse, who in calme weather often arise and shew themselves about the water, where they appeare like to great Rockes, in their rising spowting vp into the Ayre with noyse a great quantitie of water, which falls downe againe about them like a showre. The Dolphin is a fish called for his swiftnesse the arrow of the Sea, differing from many other in that hee hath teeth vpon the top of his tongue, he is pleasing to the Eye, smell, and taste, of a changeable colour, fin'd like a Roach, couered with very small scales, hauing a fresh delightsome sent a-boue other fishes, and in taste as good as any. These Dolphins are wont often to follow our ships, not so much (I thinke) for the loue they beare vnto man as some write) as to feed themselves with what they find cast ouer-board. Whence it comes to passe, that many times they feed vs, for when they swimme close to our ships, we strike them with a broad Instrument, full of Barbes, called an Harping Iron fastened to a Rope by which we hale them in. This beautifull Dolphin may bee a fit Embleme of a Race of men, who vnder sweet countenances carrie sharpe tongues. Boneetooes and Albicores are in colour, shape, and taste much like to Mackerils, but grow to be very large. The Flying fishes of all other liue the most miserable liues, for beeing in the water, the Dolphins, Boneetooes, and Albicores persecute them, and when they would escape by their flight, are oftentimes taken by rauinous fowles, somewhat like our Kites which houer ouer the water. These flying fishes are like men, professing two trades, and thrue of neither.

Boneetooes
and Albicores.
Flying fishes.

But to proceed in our passage, the twelfth of Iune early in the morning, wee espyed our long wished for Harbour, the Bay of *Soldania*, about twelue leagues short of the Cape of *Good Hope*, wherein we came happily to an Anchor that fore-noone. Heere wee found one of the Companies ships, called the *Lion*, come from *Surat*, and bound for *England*, who hauing a faire gale put to Sea the fourteenth day at night.

Soldania.

We made our abode in this Harbour till the eight and twentieth following, on which day we being well watered and refreshed, departed, when the *Swan* our fift ship tooke her way for *Bantam*. The nine and twentieth, we doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, whose latitude is in thirtie five degrees South. Off this Cape there setteth continually a most violent Current Westward, whence it comes to passe, that when a strong contrarie wind meets it, their impetuous opposition makes the Sea so to rage, that some shippes haue beene swallowed, but many endangered in those Mountaynes of water. Few ships passe that way without a storme. The two and twentieth of Iuly, we discovered the great Iland of *Madagascar*, commonly called *Saint Laurence*, we being then betwixt it and the Mayne: we touched not at it, but proceeding in our course, the fift of August following, came neere to the little Ilands of *Mobilia*, *Gazidia*, *Saint Iohn de Castro*, called in generall the Ilands of *Comora*, lying about twelue degrees Southward of the Equator.

Iles of *Comora*.

The sixt early in the morning, our men looking out for Land, espyed a Sayle about three or foure leagues off, which stood in our course directly before vs. About noone, the *Globe* our least ship (by reason of her nimblenesse, sayling better then her fellowes) came vp with her on the broad side to wind-ward, and according to the custome of the Sea hailed her, asking whence she was; She * answered indirectly, of the Sea, calling our men Rogues, Theeues, Heretickes, Deuils, and the conclusion of her rude complement was in loud Canon Language, discharging seuen great Peeces of Artillerie at our *Globe*, whereof fixe pierced her through the Hull, maiming some of her men, but killing none. Our *Globe* replied in the same voyce, and after that fell off.

* Fight with a Portugall Carracke, mentioned before in Sir T. Roe, and M. Child: but here more fully deliuered, and therefore againe expressed, that it might appeare who were true causes of the quarrell, as also that it was a priuate quarrell and not of State, or Princes, but of *Meneles* and *Ioseph* the Captaines, with the persons vnder their commands: one offering the other vindicating wrong. So may the Reader obserue of former fights with *Beast*, *Downton*, &c. not the Spanish King warring with his Maiestie of *England*, but the Portugall Merchants and Commanders in the Indies, enuying to others that Trade, which might lessen their gaines there: as in *Magellans* Voyage they did to the Spaniards, which also you haue seene in the *Dutch*, and may obserue of men of the same Trade in euery street of *London*. The old Verse of *Hesiod*, *Kai nepemēs nepemēs*, &c. shewes this Nature sue the first Brother which Nature had seene. If Portugals hereby led, haue offered wrong to the English, and suffered right from them, it is but as in cases twixt English Gentlemen or Merchants at home, sauing that this bodie is more Giantly, and of greater consequence, as the concurrence of more priuate purses and persons, and yet no State-warre: with which except in our Prayer, we haue nothing to doe. In like case of Trade, I suppose the Portugals would now quarrell with the Spaniards in their East, and these with them in their West. I am sure that in the Indies, *Dutch* haue taken *Dutch*, and English other English (not of that East-Indian Company) notwithstanding subiection to one and the same Crowne or State.

About three of the clocke in the after-noone, the *Charles* our Admirall came vp with her so neere, that we were within Pistoll shot. Our Commander Captaine *Ioseph* proceeded religiously, offering Treatie before hee thought of reuenge. So we saluted her with our Trumpets, shee vs with her wind Instruments, then we shewed our men on both sides aloft; this done, Captaine *Ioseph* called to them that their principall Commander might come aborad, to giue an account for the iniurie they had lately before offered vs; their answer was, they had neuer a Boat, our Com-

mander

mander replied, he would send them one, and immediately caused his Barge to be manned, and sent off to them, which brought backe one of their Officers, and two other meane fellowes with this bold message from their Captaine; that he had promised not to leaue his ship, and therefore forced he might, but neuer would be commanded out of her.

Captaine *Ioseph* receiued the Message, and vsed them which brought it ciuilly, commanding that they should be shewed, how we were prepared for to vindicate our selues; which made the poore *Portugals* to shake more then an Ague, and vpon it desired our Commander to write a few words to theirs, which with their perswasion happily might make him come. Captaine *Ioseph* willing to preferue his honour, and to preuent blood, consented, and forth-with caused a few
 10 words to this effect to be written vnto him. That, *Whereas he the Commander of the Carrack, had offered violence to our ship, they sailed peaceably by him, he willed him to come speedily, and giue reason for that wrong; or else at his perill, &c.* So he discharged those *Portugals*, sending one of our Masters Mates backe with them, with those few words and this Message; *that if hee refused to come, he would sinke by his side, but that hee would force him before hee left him.* (*Morientium verba sunt Prophetica*, his words came to passe, for he himselfe before he stird, fell by a great shot that came not long after from the Carracke side.) The Captaine of the Carracke (notwithstanding all this) was still peremptorie in his first answer. So our men returning, Captaine *Ioseph* himselfe made the three first shot, which surely, did them great mischiefe, as we imagined by the loud out-
 20 cry we heard from them, after they were discharged. This done, the Bullets began to flye on both sides. Our Captaine cheering his company, ascended the halfe Decke, where hee had not beene the eight part of an houre, but a great shot from the Carrackes Quarter, depriued him of life in the twinkling of an Eye; it hit him on the brest, beating out of his bodie his heart, and other of his vitals, which lay round about him scattered in his diffused blood. After Captaine *Ioseph* was slaine, the Master of our ship continued the fight about halfe an houre: then knowing that there was another to be admitted into that prime place of command, the night approaching, for that time gaue ouer; putting out a Flagge of Councill to call the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall (Captaine *Henry Pepwell*) who was to succeed, and the other Masters aboard, for to consult about the prosecution of this Encounter. The night beeing come, wee now proceeded no farther. The Carracke stood still on her course, putting forth a light at her Poole for vs to fol-
 30 low her, and about midnight came to an Anchor vnder the Iland of *Mohilia*, which when wee perceiued, we let fall our Anchors too.

The seuenth, early before it began to dawne, we prepared for a new assault, first commending our selues to God by Prayer.

The morning come, we found the Carracke so close to the shoare, and the neereft of our ships at the least a league off, that we held our hands for that day, expecting when shee would weigh her Anchors and stand off to Sea (a fitter place to deale with her.) In the after-noon we cheested our late slaine Commander, and without any ceremonie of shot, vsuall vpon such occasions (because our Enemies should take no notice) cast him ouer-board against the Iland of *Mohilia*.

A little before night the Carracke departed to Sea, wee all loosed our Anchors, opened our
 40 Sayles, and followed. The day now left vs, and our proud Enemy (vnwilling as it should seeme to escape) put forth a light as before, for vs to follow him (as afterward we did to purpose) the night well nigh spent, we commended againe our selues and cause to God. This done, the day appeared in a red Mantle, which proued bloudie vnto many that beheld it. And now you may conceiue that our foure ships are resolu'd to take their turnes one after the other, that they may force this proud *Portugall*, either to bend or breake. Our *Charles* playes her part first, and ere shee had beene at defiance with her Aduersary halfe an houre, there came another shot from the Enemy, which hitting against one of our Iron Peeces, that lay on the halfe Decke, brake into shiuers, dangerously wounding our new Commander, the Master of our ship, and three other of the Mariners which stood by. Captaine *Pepwells* left Eye was beaten all to pieces; two other
 50 wounds he receiued in his head; a third in his legge, a ragged piece of this broken shot sticking fast in the bone thereof, which seemed by his complayning to afflict him more then all the rest. The Master had a great piece of the brawne of his arme strooke off, which made him likewise vnseruiceable for a time. Thus was our new Commander welcommed to his authoritie, wee all thought his wounds mortall, but hee liued till about fourteene moneths after, when hee dyed peaceably on his bed, in his returne for *England*.

The Captaine and Master both thus disabled, deputed their authoritie to the chiefe Masters Mate, who behaued himselfe resolutely, and wisely. So we continued, *alternis vicibus*, shooting at our Aduersary as at a Butte; and by three of the cloke in the after-noon had beat downe her mayn-mast, her Mizen-mast, her foretop-mast; and moreouer, had made such wounds in her thick
 60 sides, that her case was so desperate, shee must either yeeld or perish. Her Captaine (called *Don Emanuel Meneses*, a braue resolute man) thus distressed, stood in for the shoare, being not farre from the Iland of *Gazidia*. We pursued as farre as we durst without hazard of shipwracke; then we sent off our Barge with a Flagge of Truce to speake with him; he waied vs with another; so Master *Connocke* (our chiefe Merchant) employed in that businesse, boldly entred his ship, and

Resolute Spi-
rits of both
Commanders:
Captaine *Ioseph* slaine.

Captaine *Pepwell* wounded,
with the Ma-
ster and others
Captaine *Pepwell* dyeth 14.
moneths after.

*Virtus in hoſte
laudanda.*

Don Emanuel
Meneſes, his va-
lorous reſolu-
tion.

Carrack wrac-
ked and burnt.
She was repor-
ted of incredi-
ble wealth,
both in money
and commo-
dities.

The Ilands
fertilitie.

White Paper
well ſold.

and deliuered theſe words to him, and his company; that he had brought them life and peace if they would accept it, with all telling Don Emanuel, hee had deſerued ſo well by his vndaunted valour, that if he would put himſelfe into our hands, he ſhould be entertayned with as much honour and reſpect as euer any Captiue was. But (*Duris vt Ilex tota bipennibus -- ducit opes animumq; ferro*) Hee as an Oke gathered ſtrength from his wounds, contemning the miſerie hee could not preuent, anſwering Maſter Connocke thus, that no infelicities ſhould make him alter his firſt reſolution; how that hee would ſtand off to Sea, if poſſibly he could, and encounter with vs againe, and then if fire and Sword forced him, he might unhappily be taken, but he would neuer yeeld, and if we tooke him aliue, he hoped that he ſhould find the reſpect of a Gentleman, and till then we had our Anſwere.

So our Meſſenger was diſcharged, and ſhortly after this diſtreſſed ſhip wanting her wings, 10
was forced by the wind and waues vpon the adiacent Iland *Gazidia*, where ſhe ſtuck faſt between two Rocks: thoſe that were left aliue in her by their Boats gat vpon the ſhoare, which when they had all recouered, willing (it ſhould ſeeme) to conſume what they could not keepe, they ſet her on fire to make her a coale; rather then we ſhould make her a Prize. The poore *Portugals* after they had left their ſhip, were moſt inhumanely vſed by the barbarous Ilanders, who ſpoyled them of all they brought aſhoare for their ſuccour; ſome of them beeing ſlaine in the oppoſition, and doubtleſſe, had made hauocke of them all, had they not beene relieved by two ſmall *Arabian* ſhips there in Trade, which in hope (I ſuppoſe) of ſome great reward, tooke them in, and conueyed them ſafely to their owne Citie *Goa*.

In this combate we loſt out of our foure ſhips but five men (too many by that number) three 20
out of our Admirall, and two out of the *Iames*; beſides we had ſome twentie in our whole fleet hurt, which afterward recouered. But of ſeuene hundred which ſayled in the Carracke, there came not aboue two hundred and fiftie to *Goa*, as afterward we were credibly informed. In this fearefull oppoſition, our *Charles* made at her Aduerſarie three hundred ſeuentie and five great ſhot (as our Gunners reported) to theſe wee had one hundred Muſquetiers, that played their parts all the while. Neither was our enemy idle, for our ſhip receiued at the leaſt one hundred great ſhot from him, and many of them dangerous ones through the Hull. Our Fore-maſt was pierced through the middeſt; our mayne-maſt hurt, our mayne-ſtay, and many of our mayne Shrouds cut in ſunder. But I haue dwelt too long vpon a ſad Diſcourſe, I make haſte to reſreſh my ſelfe vpon the pleaſant Iland.

After we ſaw the Carracke fired which was about mid-night, wee ſtood off and on till mor- 30
ning, to ſee if we might find any thing in her aſhes; of which when wee deſpayred, wee ſought about for ſuccour to comfort our wounded and ſicke men on the ſhoare. The Land was very high, againſt which the Sea is alwayes deepe, ſo that it was the tenth day following ere wee could be poſſeſſed of a good Harbour; which enioyed, we found the Iland very pleaſant, full of goodly Trees, couered all ouer with a greene Veſture and exceeding fruitfull, abounding in Beeues, Kids, Poultry, Sugar-canes, Rice, Plantens, Oranges, Coquer-nuts, and many other wholeſome things; of all which wee had ſufficient to releue our whole company, for a ſmall quantitie of white Paper, and few glaſſe Beades, and Penie Knives. For inſtance wee bought as many good Oranges as would fill an Hat, for halfe a quarter of a ſheet of white Paper, and ſo 40
in proportion all other prouiſion. Much of their Fruites the Ilanders brought vnto vs in their little Canoes (which are long narrow Boates cut like Troughes out of firme Trees) but their cat-tell we bought on ſhoare; where I obſerued the people to bee ſtreight, well limmed, able men, their colour very tawnie, moſt of the men but all the women (I ſaw) vnclothed hauing nothing about them but to hide their ſhame. Such as were couered had long Garments like to the *Arabians*, whoſe Language they ſpeake, and of whoſe Religion they are, *Mahometans*, very ſtriſt as it ſhould ſeeme, for they would not endure vs to come nigh their Churches. They haue good conuenient houſes for their liuing, and faire Sepulchres for their dead. They ſeeme to liue ſtriſt-ly vnder the obedience of a King, whoſe place of reſidence was ſome few miles vp in the Coun-
trei. His leaue by Meſſengers they firſt craued, before wee had libertie to buy any prouiſion. 50
Their King aduertized of our arriual, bade our Commander welcome with a Preſent of Beeues, and Goats, and choiſe Fruites of his Countrey, and was recompensed, and well contented againe with Paper, and ſome other *Engliſh* Toyes. Wee ſaw ſome *Spaniſh* money amongſt them, of which they made ſo little reckoning, that ſome of our men had Rials of Eight in exchange for a little Paper or a few Beades. What they did with our Paper, we could not gheſſe.

The Coquer-nuts (of which this Iland hath abundance) of all the Trees in the Forreſt (in my opinion) may haue preeminence, for meereſly with it, without the leaſt helpe from any other, a man may build, and furniſh a ſhip to Sea; for the heart of this Tree will make Plankes, Timbers, and Maſts, a Gumme that growes thereon, will ſerue to calke our ſhip. The Rind of the ſame Tree will make Cordage and Sailes, and the large Nut thereof beeing full of kernell, and plea- 60
ſant liquor, will for a need ſerue for thoſe that ſayle in this ſhippe for meate and drinke, and the ſtore of theſe Nuts for Merchandize.

Now, well ſtored with theſe Nuts, and other good prouiſion, after fixe dayes abode there, the breaches our ſhip receiued in fight being repayed, and our men well reſreſhed, wee put a-
gaine

gaine to Sea toward East India the sixteenth, and a prosperous winde following vs, passed happily vnder the Line without the least heate to offend vs, the foure and twentieth day ensuing. Our course was for the Iland of *Succotora*, neere to the mouth of the Red Sea, from whence comes our *Aloes Succotrina*, but an aduerse gale from the *Arabian* shoare kept vs off, that wee could by no meanes recover it. We passed by it the first of September. The immediate yeere before our English fleet touching at this Iland, learned this Apothegme from the petie King thereof, who coming to the water side, and hearing some of our winde Instruments, asked if they played *Dauids* Psalmes (of which, being a *Mahometan*, he had heard.) Hee was answered by one that stood by, they did; He replied thus, That it was an ill inuention of him that first mingled Musicke with Religion; for before (said he) God was worshipped in heart, but by this in sound. I insert not this relation to condemne musick in Churches, Let him that bids vs prayse the Lord with stringed Instruments and Organs, plead the Cause.

Succotora.

Precise Mahometan Apothegme.

But to returne to my discourse. Missing our Port at *Succotora*, wee proceeded on our voyage, and the fourth of September kept a solemne funerall, in memorie of our slaine Commander, when after a Sermon, the small shot and great Ordnance, made a loud peale to his remembrance. The sixt of September at night, to our admiration and feare, the water of the Sea seemed as white as milke, others of our Nation, since passing on that course, haue obserued the like, but I am yet to learne what should be the true cause thereof, it being farre from any shoare, and so deepe, that wee could fetch no ground. The twentieth one, wee discovered the mayne Land of East India; and the twentieth two, had sight of *Diu* and *Damon*, Cities lying in the skirts thereof, well fortified and inhabited by *Portugals*. The twentieth fve, we came happily to an Anchor in *Swally* Road, within the Bay of *Cambaya*, the harbour for our fleet while they make their stay in the Easterne India. And thus in a tedious Passage haue I brought my Reader as far as East India, let him now bee pleased for a while to repose himselfe vpon the Shoare, there to take a view of the populous Court, and the no lesse fruitful, then spacious Territories of the great *Mogol*.

Funerall for Capt. Joseph.

Water of the Sea in this place alway white, as in former voyages is seene.

§. II.

30 Description of the Mogols Empire, and the most remarkable things of Nature and Art therein.

Although yee haue this description before, pag. 578. with the Map also; yet for the differing method, and clearing of some things there more doubtfull, I haue here added this also, abbreviating it in some such things as are the same with the former, to which it may be in diuers things a kind of Glosse, as Sir T. Roes Map to both. The former seemed imperfectly written in the number of the corles or miles which here seeme more exactly. The differing names may also helpe to further knowledge; of which I had sought better instruction before the presse if I might, as I

THe large Empire of the great *Mogol* is bounded on the East with the Kingdome of *Mang*: West with *Persia*, and the mayne Ocean Southerly: North with the Mountaynes of *Caucasus*, and *Tartaria*. South with *Decan* and the Gulfe of *Bengala*. *Decan* lying in the skirts of *Asia*, is diuided between three *Mahometan* Kings, and some other *Indian Rhaiaes*. This spacious Monarchie, called by the Inhabitants *Indostan*, diuiding it selfe into thirtie and seuen seuerall and large Prouinces, which anciently were particular Kingdomes; whose names with their principall Cities, and Riuer, their Situation, and Borders, their extent in length and breadth, I first set downe beginning at the North-west.

40 First, *Candahor*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyes from the heart of all his Territorie North-west; it confines with the King of *Persia*, and was a Prouince belonging to him. 2. *Cabul*, the chiefe Citie so called, the extreamest North-west part of this Emperours Dominions: it confineth with *Tartaria*; the Riuer *Nilab* hath its beginning in it, whose Current is Southerly, till it discharge it selfe in *Indus*. 3. *Multan*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyes South from *Cabul*, and *Candahor*, and to the West ioynes with *Persia*. 4. *Haiacan*, the Kingdome of the *Baloches* (a stout warlike people) it hath no renowned Citie. The famous Riuer *Indus* (called by the Inhabitants *Skind*) borders it on the East; and *Lar* (a Prouince belonging to *Shah-Abas*, the present King of *Persia*) meetes it on the West. 5. *Buckor*, the chiefe Citie called *Buckor succor*. The Riuer *Indus* makes a way through it, greatly enriching it. 6. *Tatta*, the chiefe Citie so called. The Riuer *Indus* makes many Ilands in it, exceeding fruitfull and pleasant. The chiefe Arme meetes with the Sea at *Synde*, a place very famous for curious handi-crafts. 7. *Soret*, the chiefe Citie is called *Ianagar*. It is a little Prouince but rich, lyes West from *Guzarat*, and hath the Ocean to the South. 8. *Ieselmeeere*, the chiefe Citie so called, it joyneth with *Soret*, *Buckor*, and *Tatta*, lying to the West of it. 9. *Attack*, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth on the East side of *Indus*, which parts it from *Haiacan*. 10. *Peniab*, which signifieth fve Waters, for that it is seated among fve Riuer, all tributaries to *Indus*, which somewhat South of *Lahor* make but one Current: it is a great Kingdome, and most fruitfull, &c. *Lahor* the chiefe Citie is well built, very large, populous, and rich; the chiefe Citie of Trade in all India. 11. *Chishmeere*, the chiefe Citie is called *Siranakar*, the Riuer *Phat* passeth through it, and so creeping about many Ilands slides to *Indus*. 12. *Banchish*, the chiefe Citie is called *Bishur*: it lyeth East, Southerly from *Chishmeere*, from which it is diuided by the Riuer *Indus*. 13. *Iengapor*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth vpon the Riuer *Kaul*, one of the fve Riuer that water *Peniab*. 14. *Ienba*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of *Peniab*. 15. *De lli*, there signific.

Surat.

Idoll Matta.
Tongue sacrifice.
Pilgrimage.

Ganges.

Goer his iour-
ny from hence
to China, fol-
loweth in the
next booke.
Mogols great-
nesse.Plentie of vi-
ctuals.

Fine breads

Cakes & por-
table hearths.

15. *Delli*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth twixt *Ienba* and *Agra*, the River *Iemni* (which runneth through *Agra*, and falleth into *Ganges*) begins in it. *Delli* is an ancient great Citie, the seate of the *Mogols* Ancestors, where most of them lye interred. 16. *Bando*, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth *Agra* on the West. 17. *Malway*, a very fruitfull Prouince, *Rantipore* is the chiefe Citie. 18. *Chitor*, an ancient and great Kingdome, the chiefe Citie so called. 19. *Guzarat*, a goodly Kingdome, and exceeding rich, inclosing the Bay of *Cambaya*. The River *Tapte* watereth *Surat*, it trades to the Red Sea, to *Achin*, and to diuers other places. 20. *Chandis*, the chiefe Citie called *Brampoch*, which is large and populous. Adioyning to this Prouince, is a pe-
tie Prince, called *Partapsha*, tributarie to the *Mogol*, and this is the Southermost part of all his Territories. 21. *Berar*, the chiefe Citie is called *Shapore*, the Southermost part whereof doth
likewise bound this Empire. 22. *Narnar*, the chiefe Citie called *Gebud*, it is watered by a faire River, which emptieth it selfe in *Ganges*. 23. *Gwalior*, the chiefe Citie so called, where the King hath a great treasury of Bullion. In this Citie likewise there is an exceeding strong Cakle wherein the Kings prisoners are kept. 24. *Agra*, a principall and great Prouince, the chiefe Citie so called. From *Agra* to *Labor* (the two choise Cities of this Empire) is about foure hundred *English* miles, the Countrey in all that distance euen without a Hill, and the high way planted on both sides with Trees, like to a delicate walke. 25. *Sanbal*, the chiefe Citie so called, the River *Iemni* parts it from *Narnar*, and after at the Citie *Helabass* falls into *Ganges*, called by the Inhabitants *Ganga*. 26. *Bakar*, the chiefe Citie called *Bikaneer*, it lyeth on the West side of *Ganges*. 27. *Nagracutt*, the chiefe Citie so called, in which there is a Chappel most richly set forth, both seled and paued with plate of pure gold. In this place they keepe an Idoll, which they call *Matta*, visited yeerly by many thousands of the *Indians*, who out of deuotion cut off part of their tongues, to make a sacrifice for it. In this Prouince there is likewise another famous Pilgrimage, to a place called *Lallamaka*, where out of cold Springs and hard Rocks, there are daily to be seene incessant eruptions of fire, before which the Idolatrous people fall downe and worship. 28. *Syba*, the chiefe Citie is called *Hardwair*, where the famous River *Ganges* seemed to begin, issuing out of a Rocke, which the superstitious *Gentiles* imagine to bee like a Cowes head, which of all sensible Creatures they loue best. Thither they likewise goe in troopes daily for to wash their bodies. 29. *Kakares*, the principall Cities are called *Dankalee* and *Purbola*, it is very large and exceeding mountaynous, diuided from *Tartaria* by the Mountaynes of *Caucases*: it is the farthest part North, vnder the *Mogols* subiection. 30. *Gor*, the chiefe Citie so called, it is full of Mountaynes. The River *Persilis* which dischargeth it selfe in *Ganges*, beginnes in it. 31. *Pitan*, the chiefe Citie so called; the River *Kanda* waters it, and falls into *Ganges* in the Confinnes thereof. 32. *Kanduan*, the chiefe Citie is called *Karbakatenka*, the River *Sersily* parts it from *Pitan*; that and *Gor* are the North-east bounds of this great Monarchie. 33. *Patna*, the chiefe Citie so called; the River *Ganges* bounds it on the West, *Sersily* on the East; it is a very fertile Prouince. 34. *Ieshal*, the chiefe Citie called *Raiapore*, it lyeth East of *Patna*. 35. *Meuat*, the chiefe Citie called *Narnol*; it is very mountaynous. 36. *Vdessa*, the chiefe Citie called *Iokanat*; it is the most remote part East of all this Kingdome. 37. *Bengala*, a most spacious and fruitfull Kingdome, limited by the Gulfe of the same name, wherein the River *Ganges* diuided in foure great Currents, loseth it selfe.

And here a great errour in our Geographers must not escape mee, who in their Globes and Maps, make *India* and *China* Neighbours, when many large Countries are interpoied betwixt them, which great distance will appeare by the long trauell of the *Indian* Merchants, who are vsually in their iourney and returne, more then two yeeres from *Agra* to the walls of *China*. The length of those forenamed Prouinces is North-west to South-east, at the least one thousand Courses, euery *Indian* Course being two *English* miles. North and South, the Extent thereof, is about fourteene hundred miles, the Southermost part lying in twentie degrees; the Northermost in fortie three of North latitude. The breadth of this Empire is North-east to South-west, about fiftene hundred miles.

Now, to giue an exact account of all those forenamed Prouinces, were more then I am able to vnder-take, yet out of that I haue obserued in some few, I will aduenture to ghesse at all, and thinke for my particular, that the great *Mogol*, considering his Territories, his Wealth, and his rich Commodities, is the greatest knowne King of the East, if not of the World. To make my owne coniecture more apparent to others. This wide Monarchie is very rich and fertile, so much abounding in all necessities for the vse of man, as that it is able to subsist and flourish of it selfe, without the least helpe from any Neighbour.

To speake first of that which Nature requires most, *Food*; this Land abounds in singular good Wheate, Rice, Barley, and diuers other kindes of Graine to make bread (the staffe of life) their Wheate growes like ours, but the Graine of it is somewhat bigger and more white, of which the Inhabitants make such pure well-relished bread, that I may speake that of it, which one said of the bread in the Bishoprick of *Leige*, it is, *Panis, pane melior*. The common people make their bread vp in Cakes, and bake it on small Iron hearths, which they carry with them when as they iourney, making vse of them in their Tents, it should seeme an ancient custome,

as may appeare by that president of *Sarah*; when shee entertayned the Angels, *Genes. 18.* To their Bread they haue great abundance of other good prouision, as Butter, and Cheefe, by reason of their great number of Kine, Sheepe, and Goats. Besides, they haue a beast very large, hauing a smooth thicke skinne without haire, called a Buffelo, which giues good Milke: the flesh of them is like Beefe, but not so wholesome. They haue no want of Venison of diuers kinds, as red Deare, fallow Deare, Elkes, and Antelops; but no where imparked: the whole Kingdome is as it were a Forrest, for a man can trauell no way but he shall see them, and (except it bee within a small distance off the King) they are euery mans Game. To these they haue great store of Hares, and further to furnish out their feasts, varietie of Fish and Fowle; it were as infinite as needlesse to relate particulars. To write of their Geese, Duckes, Pigeons, Partridges, Quails, Peacocks, and many other singular good Fowle, all which are bought at such easie rates, as that I haue seene a good Mutton sold for the value of one shilling, foure couple of Hennes at the same price, one Hare for the value of a penie, three Partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest. There are no Capons amongst them but men.

Butter and
Cheefe.
Buffelo.
Venison and
free Game.

The Beeues of that Countrey differ from ours, in that they haue each of them a great Bunch of grisselly flesh which growes vpon the meeting of their shoulders. Their Sheepe exceed ours in great bob-tayles, which cut off are very ponderous, their wooll is generally very course, but the flesh of them both is altogether as good as ours.

Beeues.
Sheepe.

Now, to season this good prouision, there is great store of Salt: and to sweeten all, abundance of Sugar growing in the Countrey, which after it is well refined, may be bought for two pence the pound, or vnder.

Salt and Sugar

Their Fruits are very answerable to the rest, the Countrey full of Musk-melons, Water-melons, Pomegranats, Pome-citrons, Limons, Oranges, Dates, Figs, Grapes, Plantans (a long round yellow fruit, in taste like to a *Norwich* Pearre) Mangoes, in shape and colour like to our Apricocks, but more luscious, and (to conclude with the best of all) the Ananas or Pine which seemes to the tast to be a pleasing compound, made of Strawberries, Claret-wine, Rose-water, and Sugar, well tempered together. In the Northermost parts of this Empire they haue varietie of Apples and Peares. Euery where good roots, as Carrets, Potatoes, and others like them as pleasant. They haue Onions and Garlicke, and choyce herbs for Salads. And in the Southermost parts, Ginger growing almost in euery place. And here I cannot choose but take notice of a pleasant cleere liquor called *Taddy*, issuing from a spongie tree that growes straight and tall, without boughs to the top, and there spreads out in branches (somewhat like to an *English* Colewort) where they make incisions: vnder which they hang small earthen Pots to preferue the influence. That which distills forth in the night, is as pleasing to the taste as any white Wine, if drunke betimes in the morning. But in the heat of the day the Sunne alters it so, as that it becomes heady, ill relished, and vnwholsome. It is a piercing medicinable drinke, if taken early, and moderately, as some haue found by happie experience, thereby eased from their torture inflicted by that shame of Physicians, and Tyrant of all maladies, the Stone.

Fruits.

Ginger.
Taddy.

At *Sarat*, and to *Agra* and beyond, it neuer raines but one season of the yeere, which begins neere the time that the Sunne comes to the Northerne Tropicke, and so continues till his returne backe to the Line. These violent Raines are vshered in, and take their leaue with most fearefull tempests of Thunder and Lightning, more terrible then I can expresse, yet seldome doe harme. The reason in Nature may be the subtiltie of the Aire, wherein there are fewer Thunder-stones made, then in such Climates where the Aire is grosse, and cloudy. In those three moneths it raines euery day more or lesse, sometimes one whole quarter of the Moone scarce with any intermission, which abundance of Raine with the heat of the Sunne doth so enrich the ground: (which they neuer force) as that like *Egypt* by the inundation of *Nile*, it makes it fruitfull all the yeere after. But when this time of Raine is passed ouer, the Skie is so cleere, as that scarcely one Cloud is seene in their Hemisphere, the nine moneths after.

Raines and
Thunders.

And here the goodnesse of the soyle must not escape my Pen, most apparent in this, for when the ground hath bene destitute of Raine nine moneths, and lookes like to barren Sands, within seuen dayes after the Raine begins to fall, it puts on a greene Coate. And further to confirme this, amongst many hundred acres of Corne I haue beheld in those Parts, I neuer saw any but came vp as thicke as the Land could well beare it. They till their ground with Oxen, and foot-Ploughs. Their Seed-time is in May, and the beginning of Iune: their Haruest in Nouember, and December, the most temperate moneths in all their yeere. Their ground is not enclosed vnlesse it be neere Townes and Villages, which (though not expressed in the Map for want of their true names) stand very thicke. They mowe not their Grasse (as we) to make Hay, but cut it either greene or withered on the ground as they haue occasion to vse it. They sowe Tobacco in abundance, but know not how to cure and make it strong, as those in the Westerne *India*.

Soyle and
tillage.

Townes and
Villages thicke.
Tobacco.

The Countrey is beautified with many Woods and great varietie of faire goodly trees, but I neuer saw any there of those kinds which *England* affords. Their Trees in generall are sappie, which I ascribe to the fatnesse of the soyle: some of them haue Leaues as broad as Bucklers, others are parted small as Ferne, as the Tamarine trees which beare a sowre fruit that growes

Woods and
Trees.

- Indian fig-tree,
See of it my
Pilg. l. 1. 6. 3.
- Flowers.
- Riuers.
- Ganges water
lighter then
others.
Wels and
Tankes.
- Raacke and
Cohha.
- Beetele or Be-
tele.
- Houses and
streets.
- No Glasse.
- Indico and
cotton. Of In-
dico, see in
Finches Journal
- India the cen-
tre of the
Worlds coynce.
- somewhat like our Beanes, most wholesome for to coole and cleanse the bloud. There is one Tree amongst them of speciall obseruation, out of whose branches grow little sprigs downeward till they take root, and so at length proue strong supporters vnto the Armes that yeeld them, whence it comes to passe that these Trees in time grow vnto a great height, and extend themselues to an incredible bredth. All the Trees in those Southerne parts of *India* still keepe on their greene Mantles. For their Flowres they rather delight the Eye then affect the Sense, in colour admirable, but few of them, vnlesse Roses, and one or two kinds more, that are any whit fragrant.
- This Region is watered with many goodly Riuers, the two principall are *Indus* and *Ganges*, where this thing remarkable must not passe, that one pinte of the Water of *Ganges* weigheth 10 lesse by an ounce, then any in the whole Kingdome, and therefore the *Mogol* wheresoeuer hee is, hath it brought to him that he may drinke it. Besides their Riuers, they haue store of Wells fed with Springs, vpon which in many places they bestow great cost in stone-worke: to these they haue many Ponds, which they call Tankes, some of them more then a mile or two in compasse, made round or square, girt about with faire stone-walls, within which are steps of well-squared stone which encompassse the water, for men euery way to goe downe and take it. These Tankes are filled when that abundance of Raine falls, and keepe water to relieue the Inhabitants that dwell farre from Springs or Riuers, till that wet season come againe.
- This ancient drinke of the World is the common drinke of *India*, it is more sweet and pleasant then ours, and in those hot Countries, agreeth better with mens bodies, then any other Li-
quor. Some small quantitie of Wine, but not common is made among them, they call it Raack, distilled from Sugar and a Spicie rinde of a Tree called Iagra. It is very wholesome if taken moderately. Many of the people who are strict in their Religion drinke no Wine at all. They vse a Liquor more healthfull then pleasant, they call Cohha; a blacke seed boyled in water, which doth little alter the taste of the water. Notwithstanding, it is very good to helpe digestion, to quicken the spirits, and to cleanse the bloud. There is yet another helpe to comfort the stomacke for such as forbear Wine, an herbe called Beetele or Paune; it is in shape somewhat like an Iuie leafe but more tender; they chew it with an hard Nut some-what like a Nut-megge, and a little pure white Lime among the leaues, and when they haue sucked out the Iuyce, put forth the rest. It hath many rare qualities, for it preserues the teeth, comforts the braine, strengthens the stomacke, and cures or prevents a tainted breath.
- Their buildings are generally base, except it be in their Cities, wherein I haue obserued many faire Piles. Many of their houses are built high and flat on the toppe, from whence in the coole seasons of the day they take in fresh ayre. They haue no Chimnies to their houses, for they neuer vse fire but to dresse their meate. In their vpper roomes they haue many lights and doores to let in the Ayre, but vse no Glasse. The materials of their best buildings are bricke or stone, well squared and composed, which I haue obserued in *Amadaur* (that one instance may stand for all) which is a most spacious and rich Citie, entred by twelue faire Gates, and compassed about with a firme stone wall. Both in their Villages and Cities, are vsually many faire Trees among their houses, which are a great defence against the violence of the Sunne. They commonly stand so thicke that if a man behold a Citie or Towne from some conspicuous place, it will seeme a Wood rather then a Citie.
- The Staple Commodities of this Kingdome are Indico and Cotton-wooll. For Cotton-wooll they plant seedes which grow vp into shrubs like vnto our Rose-bushes. It blowes first into a yellow blossome, which falling off, there remaynes a cod about the bignesse of a mans thumb, in which the substance is moyst and yellow, but as it ripens, it swels bigger till it breake the couering, and so in short time becomes white as Snow, and then they gather it. These shrubs beare three or foure yeares ere they supplant them. Of this Wooll they make diuers sorts of pure white cloth, some of which I haue seene as fine, if not purer then our best Lawne. Some of the courser sort of it they dye into Colours, or elle stayne in it varietie of curious Figures.
- The ship that vsually goeth from *Surat* to *Moha*, is of an exceeding great burthen. Some of them I beleue at the least fourteene or sixteene hundred tunnes, but ill built, and though they haue good Ordnance cannot well defend themselues. In these ships are yeerely abundance of Passengers: for instance in one ship returning thence, that yeere we left *India*, came seuentene hundred, the most of which number goe not for profit, but out of Deuotion to visite the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* at *Medina*, neere *Meche*, about one hundred and fiftie leagues from *Moha*. Those which haue beene there, are euer after called *Hoggers*, or holy Men. The ship bound from *Surat* to the Red Sea, beginnes her Voyage about the twentieth of March, and finisheth it towards the end of September following, the Voyage is but short, and might easily bee made in two moneths, but in the long season of raine, and a little before, and after it, the winds are commonly so violent, that there is no comming, but with great hazard into the *Indian* Sea. The ship returning, is vsually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, most of it in Gold and Siluer. Besides, for what quantitie of Monies comes out of *Europe*, by other meanes into *India* I cannot answere, this I am sure of, that many Siluer streames runne thither as all Riuers to the

the Sea, and there stay, it being lawfull for any Nation to bring in Siluer and fetch commodities, but a Crime not lesse then Capitall, to carry any great summe thence. The Coyne or Bullion brought thither is presently melted, and refined, and then the *Mogols* stampe (which is his Name and Title in *Persian* Letters) put vpon it. This Coyne is more pure then any I know made of perfect Siluer without any allay, so that in the *Spanish* Riall (the purest money of *Europe*) there is some losse.

They call their Pieces of Money *Roopees*, of which there are some of diuers values, the meanest worth two shillings, and the best about two shillings and nine pence sterling. By these they account their Estates and Payments. There is a Coyne of inferiour value in *Guzarat*, called Mamoodies, about twelue pence sterling, both the former and these are made likewise in halves and quarters, so that three pence is the least piece of siluer currant in the Countrey. That which passeth vp and downe, for exchange vnder this rate is brasse money, which they call *Pices*, whereof three or thereabouts counteruaile a Penny. They are made so massie, as that the Brasse in them put to other vses, is well worth the Siluer they are rated at. Their Siluer Coyne is made either round or square, but so thicke, that it neuer breakes nor weares out.

Their coyne,
Roopees or
Rupias.

Mamoodies.

Pices.

Silke.

Gum-lac.

Gardens.

Discommodi-
ties of that
Countrey.

Scorpions
dangerous.

Flyes trouble
some.

Monsons or
Windes.

Horses and
Prouender.

Now farther for commodities, the Countrey yeelds good store of Silke, which they weaue curiously, sometimes mingled with Siluer or Gold. They make Veluets, Sattins, and Taffataes, but not so rich as those of *Italy*. Many Drugs and Gummes are found amongst them, especially Gum-lac, with which they make their hard Wax. The earth yeelds good Minerals of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Brasse, and they say of Siluer, which, if true, they neede not open, being so enriched by other Nations. The Spices they haue come from other places, from the Ilands of *Sumatra*, *Iana*, and the *Moluccoes*. For places of pleasure they haue curious Gardens, planted with fruitfull Trees and delightfull Flowers, to which Nature daily lends such a supply as that they seeme neuer to fade. In these places they haue pleasant Fountaynes to bathe in, and other delights by sundrie conueyances of water, whose silent murmure helps to lay their senses with the bonds of sleepe in the hot seasons of the day.

But lest this remote Countrey should seeme like an earthly Paradise without any discommodities: I must needes take notice there of many Lions, Tygres, Wolves, Iackals (which seeme to be wild Dogs) and many other harmefull beasts. In their Riuer are many Crocodiles, and on the Land ouer-growne Snakes, with other venomous and pernicious Creatures. In our houses there we often meete with Scorpions, whose stinging is most sensible and deadly, if the patient haue not presently some Oyle that is made of them, to anoint the part affected, which is a present cure. The abundance of Flyes in those parts doe likewise much annoy vs, for in the heate of the day their numberlesse number is such as that we can be quiet in no place for them, they are ready to couer our meate as soone as it is placed on the Table, and therefore wee haue men that stand on purpose with Napkins to fright them away when as wee are eating: in the night likewise we are much disquieted with Musquatoes, like our Gnats, but somewhat lesse: and in their great Cities, there are such abundance of bigge hungrie Rats, that they often bite a man as he lyeth on his bed.

The Windes in those parts, which they call the Monson, blow constantly; altering but few Points, sixe moneths Southerly, the other sixe Northerly. The moneths of Aprill and May, and the beginning of Iune till the Rayne fall, are so extreme hot, as that the Winde blowing but gently receiues such heate from the parched ground, that it much offends those that receiue the breath of it. But God doth so prouide for those parts that most commonly he sends such a strong gale as well tempers the hot ayre. Sometimes the winde blowes very high in those hot and drie seasons, rayising vp thick clouds of dust and sand, which appeare like darke clouds full of Rayne, they greatly annoy the people when they fall amongst them. But there is no Countrey without some discommodities, for therefore the wise Disposer of all things hath tempered bitter things with sweet, to teach man that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any Kingdom, but that of God.

But I will retorne againe (whence I digressed) and looke farther into the qualitie of the Countrey, that affords very good Horses, which the Inhabitants know well to manage. Besides their owne, they haue many of the *Persian*, *Tartarian*, and *Arabian* breede, which haue the name to be the choise ones of the world: they are about the bignesse of ours, and valued amongst them as deare, if not at a higher rate then we vsually esteeme ours. They are kept daintily, euery good Horse being allowed a man to dresse and feede him. Their Prouender a kind of graine, called *Donna*, somewhat like our Pease, which they boyle, and when it is cold giue them mingled with course Sugar, and twise or thrise in the weeke Butter to scoure their bodies. Here are likewise a great number of Camels, Dromedaries, Mules, Asses, and some Rhynocerots, which are large beasts as bigge as the fayrest Oxen *England* affords, their skins lye platted, or as it were in wrinkles vpon their backs. They haue many Elephants, the King for his owne particular being Master of fourteene thousand, and his Nobles and all men of Qualitie in the Countrey, haue more or lesse of them, some to the number of one hundred. The Elephants, though they bee the largest of all Creatures the Earth brings forth, yet are so tractable (vnlesse at times when they

are

are mad) that a little Boy is able to rule the biggest of them. Some of them I haue seenie thirteene foot high, but there are amongst them (as I haue beene often told) fiftene at the least. The colour of them all is black, their skins thick and smooth without haire, they take much delight to bathe themselves in water, and swim better then any beast I know; they lye downe and arise againe at pleasure, as other beasts doe. Their pace is not swift, about three mile an houre, but of all Beasts in the world are most sure of foot, for they neuer fall nor stumble to endanger their Rider. They are most docile Creatures, and of all those we account meereley sensible, come nearest vnto Reason, *Lippius* in his Epistles, 1. Cent. Epist. 50. out of his obseruations from others writes more of them then I can confirme, or any (I perswade my selfe) beleue; yet many things remarkable, which seeme indeed acts of reason, rather then sence, I haue obserued in them. For instance, an Elephant will doe any thing almost, that his Keeper commands him: as if he would haue him affright a man, he will make towards him as if hee would tread him in pieces, and when he is come at him, doe him no hurt: if he would haue him to abuse or disgrace a man, he will take dirt, or kennell water in his trunk, and dash it in his face. Their Trunks are long grisselly snouts hanging downe twixt their teeth, by some called, their Hand, which they make vse of vpon all occasions.

An *English* Merchant of good credit, vpon his owne knowledge reported this of a great Elephant in *Adsmere* (the place then of the *Mogols* residence) who being brought often through the Bazar or Market place; a woman who fate there to sell herbs, was wont vsually to giue him a handfull, as he passed by. This Elephant afterward being mad, brake his fetters, and tooke his way through the Market place; the people all affrighted made haste to secure themselves, amongst whom was this herbe-woman, who for feare and haste, forgot her little child. The Elephant come to the place where shee vsually fate, stopt, and seeing a child lie about her herbs, tooke it vp gently with his trunk, not doing it the least harme, and layed it vpon a stall vnder a house not farre off, and then proceeded in his furious course. *Acosta* (a traueilling Iesuite) relates the like of an Elephant in *Goa*, from his owne experience. Some Elephants the King keeps for execution of Malefactors, who being brought to suffer death by that mightie beast, if his Keeper bid him dispatch the Offender speedily, will presently with his foot pash him in to pieces, if otherwise he would haue him tortured, this vast creature will breake his ioynts by degrees one after the other, as men are broken vpon the wheele.

The *Mogol* takes much delight in those stately creatures, and therefore oft when hee sits forth in his Maiestie calls for them, especially the fairest, who are taught to bend to him as it were in reuerence, when they first come into his presence. They often fight before him, beginning their combat like Rams, by running fiercely one at the other; after, as Boares with their tusks, they fight with their teeth and trunks: in this violent opposition they are each so carefull to preserve his Rider, as that very few of them at those times receiue hurt. They are gouerned with an hook of Steele, made like the Iron end of a Boat-hook with which their keepers sitting on their neckes put them backe, or pricke them forward at their pleasure.

The King traines vp many of his Elephants for the warre, who carrie each of them one Iron Gunne about sixe foot long, lying vpon a square strong frame of wood, fastned with girts or ropes vpon him, which like an Harquebuse is let into the timber with a loop of Iron; at the foure corners of this frame are Banners of Silke put vpon short Poles, within sits a Gunner to make his shot according to his occasion. The Peece carrieth a Bullet about the bignesse of a little Tennis-ball. When the King trauels he hath many Elephants thus appointed for guard. Hee keeps many of them for State to goe before him, who are adorned with bosses of Brass, and some of them are made of masse Siluer or Gold, hauing likewise diuers Bells about them in which they delight. They haue faire coverings either of Cloth, or Veluet, or Cloth of siluer or gold, and for greater state, Banners of Silke carried before them in which is the Ensigne of their great King (a Lion in the Sunne) imprinted. These are allowed each three or foure men at the least, to waite vpon them. Hee makes vse of others to carrie himselfe or his women, who sit in pretie conuenient receptacles fastned on their backes, which our Painters describe like to Castles, made of slight turn'd Pillars richly couered, that will hold foure sitters. Others he employes for carriage of his necessities. Onely he hath one faire Elephant which is content to be fettered, but would neuer indure man or other burthen on his backe.

These vast beasts though the Countrey be very fruitfull and all prouision cheape, yet by reason of their huge bulke are very chargeable in keeping, for such as are well fed, stand their Masters in foure or five shillings, each of them the day. They are kept without doores, whereby a sollid Chaine vpon one of their hind legges, they fasten them to a Tree or some strong post. As they stand in the Sunne the Flyes often vex them, wherefore with their feete they make dust, the ground being very dry, and with their Trunks cast it about their bodies to driue away the Flyes. Whenas they are mad (as vsually the Males are once a yeare for their Females, when they are lustie, but in few dayes after, come againe in temper) they are so mischieuous, that they will strike any thing but their Keeper that comes in their way, and their strength is such, as that they will beate an Horse or Camell dead with their Truncke at one blow. At these times to pre-

uent mischief, they are kept apart from company, fettered with Chaines. But if by chance in their phrensie they get loose, they will make after euery thing they see stirre, in which case there is no meanes to stop them in their violent course, but by lighting of wild-fire, prepared for that purpose, whose sparkling and cracking makes them stand still and tremble. The King allowes euery one of his great Elephants foure Females, which in their Language they call Wiues, the Males Testicles lye about his fore-head, the Females Teates are betwixt her fore-legges. Shee carrieth her young one whole yeare ere she bring it forth. Thirtie yeares expire ere they come to their full growth, and they fulfill the accustomed age of man ere they dye. Notwithstanding, the great plentie of them, they are valued there at exceeding great rates, some of them prized at
10 one thousand pounds sterling and more.

§. III.

Of the people of Indostan, their Stature, Colour, Habit, Dyet, Women, Language, Learning, Arts, Riding, Games, Markets, Armes, Valour, Mahometane Mesquits, Burials, Opinions, and Rites of Religion.

20

NOW, for the Inhabitants of *Indostan*, they were anciently *Gentiles*, or notorious Idolaters, called in generall *Hindoos*, but euer since they were subdued by *Tamberlaine*, haue beene mixed with *Mahometans*. There are besides many *Persians* and *Tartars*, many *Abissines*, and *Armenians*, and some few almost of euery people in *Asia*, if not of *Europe*, that haue residence here. Amongst them are some *Jewes*, but not beloued, for their very name is a Prouerbe, or word of reproch. For the stature of these *Easterne Indians*, they are like vs, but generally very streight, for I neuer beheld any in those parts crooked. They are of a taw-
30 nie or Oliue colour, their haire blacke as a Raven, but not curl'd. They loue not a man or woman, that is very white or faire, because that (as they say) is the colour of Lepers common amongst them. Most of the *Mahometans*, but the *Moolaes* (which are their Priests) or those that are very old and retyred, keepe their chinnes bare, but suffer the haire on their vpper lip to grow as long as Nature will feed it. They vsually shau off all the haire from their heads, reseruing onely a Locke on the Crowne for *Mahomet*, to pull them into Heauen. Both among the *Mahometans* and *Gentiles* are excellent Barbers. The people often wash their bodies, and anoint themselves with sweet Oyles.

Jewes hated.

White in bad estimation.

The Habits both of the men and women are little different, made for the most part of white Cotton-cloth. For the fashion they are close, streight to the middle, hanging loose downward below the knee, they weare long Breeches vnderneath, made close to their bodies that reach to their ankles, ruffling like boots on the smal of their legs. Their feet are bare in their shooes, which
40 most commonly they weare like slippers, that they may the more readily put them off when they come into their houses, whose floores are couered with excellent Carpets (made in that Kingdom, good as any in *Turke* or *Persia*) or somewhat else (according to the qualitie of the man) more base, vpon which they sit, when as they conferre or eate like Taylors on their shop-boards. The mens heads are couered with a long thinne wreath of Cloth, white or coloured, which goes many times about them, they call it a Shash. They vncover not their heads when as they doe reuerence to their Superiours, but in stead of that bow their bodies, putting their right hands to the top of their heads, after that they haue touched the Earth with them, as much as to say, the partie they salute, shall if he please tread vpon them. Those that bee equals take one the other by the Chinne or Beard, as *Ioab* did *Amasa*, 2. Sam. 20. but salute in Loue, not Treacherie. They
50 haue good words to expresse their wel-wishes, as this, *Greeb-a Nemoas*, that is, I wish the Prayers of the Poore, and many other like these most significant.

Attire.

Salutations.

Their women.

The *Mahometan* women, except they bee dishonest or poore, come not abroad. They are very well fauoured, though not faire, their heads couered with Veiles, their haire hangs downe behind them twisted with Silke. Those of qualitie are bedecked with many Jewels, about their neckes and wrists, round about their Eares are holes made for Pendants, and euery woman hath one of her Nostrils pierced, that there, when as shee please, shee may weare a Ring (it should seeme an ancient ornament, Es. 3. 21.)

The women in those parts haue a great happinesse about all I know, in their easie bringing forth of Children, for it is a thing common there for women great with Childe, one day
60 to ride carrying their Infants in their bodies; the next day to ride againe, carrying them in birth their armes.

For



Language and writing.

For the Language of this Empire, I meane the vulgar, it is called *Indostan*, a smooth tongue, and easie to be pronounced, which they write as wee to the right hand. The Learned Tongues are *Persian* and *Arabian*, which they write backward, as the *Hebrewes* to the left. There is little Learning among them, a reason whereof may be their penury of Bookes, which are but few, and they, Manuscripts: but doubtlesse, they are men of strong capacities; and were there literature among them, would be the Authors of many excellent Workes.

Aristotle and Avicenna.

They haue heard of *Aristotle*, whom they call *Aplis*, and haue some of his Bookes translated into *Arabian*. *Auicenna*, that noble Physician was borne in *Samarcandia*, the Countrey of *Tamerlaine*, in whose Science they haue good skill. The common Diseases of the Countrey are bloudie Fluxes, hot Feuers and Calentures, in all which they prescribe fasting as a principall remedie: that filthy Disease the consequence of Incontinencie is common amongst them. The people in generall liue about our Ages, but they haue more old men. They delight much in Musick, and haue many stringed and wind Instruments, which neuer seemed in my eare to bee any thing but discord. They write many wittie Poems, and compose Stories or Annals of their owne Countrey; and professe themselves to haue good skill in Astrologie, and in men of that Profession, the King puts so much confidence, that hee will not vndertake a Iourney, nor yet doe any thing of the least consequence, vnlesse his Wizards tell him tis a good and prosperous houre.

Their yeare.

The *Gentiles* beginne their yeare the first of March, [The *Mahometans* theirs at the very instant (as the Astrologers ghesse) that the Sunne enters into *Aries*, from which time the King keepes a Feast called the *Noocos*, signifying *nine dayes*, which time it continues (like that *Abasuerus* made in the third yeare of his Raigne, *Ester* the first) where all his Nobles assemble in their greatest pompe, presenting him with Gifts, hee repaying them againe with Princely Rewards, at which time being in his presence, I beheld most immense and incredible Riches to my amazement in Gold, Pearles, Precious Stones, Iewels, and many other glittering vanities.

Of this see before in Sir T. Roe.

This Feast I tooke notice of at *Mandoa*, where the *Mogol* hath a most spacious house larger then any I haue seene, in which many excellent Arches and Vaults, speake for the exquisite skill of his Subiects in Architecture. At *Agra* hee hath a Palace, wherein two large Towers, the least ten foot square, are couered with plate of the purest Gold.

Hangings.

There are no Hangings on the walls of his houses, by reason of the heate; the wals are either painted or else beautified with a purer white Lime, then that we call *Spanish*. The floores paved with stone, or else made with Lime and Sand like our Playster of *Paris*, are spred with rich Carpets. There lodge none in the Kings house but his women and Eunuches, and some little Boyes which hee keepes about him for a wicked vse. Hee alwayes eates in priuate among his women vpon great varietie of excellent Dishes, which dressed and prooued by the Taster are serued in

Kings house.

in private among his women, vpon great varietie of excellent Dishes, which dressed and proued by the Taster, are serued in Vessels of Gold (as they say) couered and sealed vp, and so by Eunuchs brought to the King. He hath meate ready at all houres, and calls for it at pleasure. They feede not freely on full dishes of Beeffe and Mutton (as we) but much on Rice boyled with pieces of flesh, or dressed many other wayes. They haue not many roast or baked meats, but stew most of their flesh. Among many Dishes of this kinde, Ile take notice but of one they call *Deu Pario*, made of Venison cut in slices, to which they put Onions and Herbs, some Rootes with a little Spice, and Butter, the most sanorie meate I euer tasted, and doe almost thinke it that very Dish which *Jacob* made ready for his Father, when he got the blessing.

- 10 In this Kingdome there are no Innes to entertaine Strangers, onely in great Townes and Cities are faire houses built for their receit, which they call *Sarray*, not inhabited, where any Passengers may haue roome freely, but must bring with him his Bedding, his Cooke, and other necessities wherein to dresse his meate, which are vsually carried on Camels, or else in Carts drawne with Oxen, wherein they haue Tents to pitch when they meete with no *Sarray*.

Their dyce.

Innes.

- The inferiour sort of people ride on Oxen, Horses, Mules, Camels, or Dromedaries; the women like the men, or else in light Coaches with two Wheelles, couered on the top, and backe, but the fore-part and sides open, vnlesse they carrie women. They will conueniently hold two persons, beside the Driuer, they are drawne by Oxen, one yoke in a Coach, suited for colour, but many of them are white, not very large: they are guided with Cords, which goe through the parting of their Nostrils, and so twist their Hornes into the Coach-mens hand. They dresse and keepe them clothed as their Horses. They are naturally nimble, to which vse makes them so fitting to performe that labour, as that they will goe twentie miles a day, or more with good speed. The better sort ride on Elephants, or else are carried vpon mens shoulders alone, in a light thing they call a *Palanke*, which is like a Couch, or standing Pallat, but couered with a Cannopie: This should seeme an ancient effeminacie sometimes vsed in Rome, *Iuuenal* thus describing a fat Lawyer that fil'd one of them: *Causidici noua cum veniat lectica Mathonis Plena ipso*—

Riding.

- For Pastimes they delight in Hawking, hunting of Hares, Deere, or wilde Beasts: their Dogs for Chase are made somewhat like our Gray-hounds, but much lesse, they open not in the pursue of the game. They hunt likewise with Leopards, which by leaping seale on that they pursue. They haue a cunning deuice to take wild-fowle, where a fellow goes into the water with a Fowle of that kinde he desires to catch, whose skinn is stuffed so artificially, as that it appeares aliuely: He keepes all his body but the face vnder water, on which he layes this Counterfeit; thus comming among them, plucks them by the legs vnder water. They shoote for pastime much in Bowes, which are made curiously in the Countrey of Buffeloes hornes, glewed together, to which they haue Arrowes made of little Canes, excellently headed and feathered; in these they are so skilfull, that they will kill Birds flying. Others take delight in managing their Horses on which they ride, or else are otherwise carried though they haue not one quarter of a mile to goe, the men of qualitie holding it dishonorable to goe on foote.

Pastimes.

- 40 In their houses they play much at that most ingenious game we call Chesse, or else at Tables. They haue Cardes, but quite different from ours. Sometimes they make themselves merry with cunning Iugglers, or Mountebankes, who will suffer Snakes they keepe in Baskets, to bite them and presently cure the swelling with Powders; or else they see the trickes of Apes and Monkeyes.

Slie Fowling.

Shooting.

Chesse, Tables, Cardes, Mountebankes

In the Southerne parts of *Indostan*, are great store of large white Apes, some I dare boldly say, as tall as our biggest Gray-hounds: They are fearefull as it should seeme to Birds that make their Nests in Trees, wherefore nature hath taught them this subtiltie to secure themselves, by building their little houses on the twigs of the vtmost boughs, there hanging like Parle-nets, to which the Apes cannot possibly come.

Large Apes.

Cunning

Birdes.

- 50 Euery great Towne or Citie of *India*, hath Markets twice a day, in the coole season presently after the Sunne is risen, and a little before his setting. They sell almost euery thing by weight. In the heate of the day they keepe their houses, where the men of better fashion lying on Couches, or sitting on their Carpets, haue seruants stand about them, who beating the Ayre with broad Fannes of stiffe Leather, or the like, make winde to coole them: And taking thus their ease, they often call their Barbers, who tenderly gripe and smite their Armes and other parts of their bodies, in stead of exercise, to stirre the bloud. It is a pleasing wantonnesse, and much vsed in those hot Climes.

Markets twice a day.

- I must needs commend the *Mahumetans*, and *Gentiles*, for their good and faithfull Seruice, amongst whom a stranger may trauell alone with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the Countrey, and take them for his guard, yet neuer bee neglected or iniured by them. They follow their Masters on foote, carrying swords and Bucklers, or Bowes and Arrowes for their defence: and by reason of great plentie of Prouision in that Kingdome, a man may hire them vpon easie conditions, for they will not desire aboue fise shillings the Moone, paid the next day after the change, *Quibus hinc toga, calcens hinc est, Et panis, fumusq; domi*.— to prouide themselves all necessities, and for it doe most diligent seruice. Such is their Pietie to their parents, that those

Fidelitie.

those which haue no greater meanes, will impart halfe of it, at the least, to releue their necessities, choosing rather for to famish themselves, then to see them want.

Courage of
some.

There are both among the *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, men of vndaunted courage: those of note among the *Mahometans* are called *Baloches*, inhabiting *Haiacan*, adioyning to the Kingdome of *Persia*, or else *Patans*, taking their denomination from a Prouince in the Kingdome of *Bengala*. These will looke an enemy boldly in the face, and maintaine with their liues their reputation of valour. Among the many sects of *Gentiles*, there is but one race of Fighters called *Rashbootes*, a number of which liue by spoyle, who in troopes surprize poore Passengers, cruelly butchering those they get vnder their power. Those excepted, all the rest in the Countrey are in generall Philanimous, and had rather quarrell then fight, hauing such poore spirits in respect of vs Christians, that the *Mogol* is pleased often to vse this Prouerbe, that one *Portugal* will beate three of them, and one *English-man* three *Portugals*.

Munition.

Vertoman tells
of *Portugal* fugi-
tues, which
at the *Portugals*
first coming,
ran to the *Indi-
ans*, and taught
them this Art.

Touching their Munition for the warre, they haue good Ordnance, made (for ought I could gather) very anciently in those parts. Iron Peeces carried vpon Elephants, before described, and lesser Gunnes made for Foot-men, who are somewhat long in taking their ayme, but come as neere the marke as any I euer saw. They fire all their Peeces with Match, as for Gun-powder they make very good. They vse Lances, and Swords, and Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Their Swords are made crooked like a Faulchion, very sharpe, but for want of skill in those that temper them, will breake rather then bend, and therefore wee often sell our Sword-blades at high prices that will bow, and become streight againe. I haue seene Horse-men there, who haue carried whole Armories about them thus appointed; at their sides good Swords, vnder them Sheues of Arrowes, on their shoulders Bucklers, and vpon their backs Guns fastned with Belts, at the left side Bowes hanging in Cases, and Lances about two yards and a halfe long, hauing excellent Steele heads, which they carrie in their hands: yet for all this Harnesse, the most of them dare not resist a man of courage, though he haue for his defence but the worst of those weapons. The Armies in those Easterne warres, oftentimes consist of incredible multitudes: they talke of some which haue exceeded that mightie Host which *Zerah* King of *Ethiopia*, brought against *Asa*, 2. *Chron.* 14. The musicke they haue when they goe to battell, is from Kettle-drums, and long winde Instruments. The Armies on both sides vually beginne with most furious onsets, but in short time, for want of good Discipline, one side is routed, and the Controuersie not without much slaughter decided.

Mesquits.

The *Mahometans* haue faire Churches, which they call Mesquits, built of stone, the broad side towards the West is made vp close like a Wall; that towards the East is erected on Pillars, so that the length of them is North and South, which way they burie their dead: At the corners of their great Churches which stand in Cities are high Pinacles, to whose tops the *Moolaas* ascend certaine times of the day, and proclaime their Prophet *Mahomet* thus in *Arabian*: *La Alla, illa Alla, Mahomet Resul-Alla*: that is, No God but one God, and *Mahomet* the Ambassador of God. This in stead of Bells (which they endure not in their Temples) put the most religious in minde of their deuotion. Which words Master *Coryat* often hearing in *Agra*, vpon a certaine time got vp into a Turret, ouer against the Priest, and contradicted him thus in a loude voyce: *La Alla, illa Alla, Hazaret-Eesa Ebn-Alla*, No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne of God; and further added, that *Mahomet* was an Impostor: which bold attempt in many other places of *Asia*, where *Mahomet* is more zealously professed, had forfeited his life with as much torture as Tyrannie could inuent. But here euery man hath libertie to professe his owne Religion freely, and for any restriction I euer obserued, to dispute against theirs with impunitie.

Coryats Craditie

Burials neere
Tankes.

Now concerning their burials: euery *Mahometan* of Qualitie in his life time, provides a faire Sepulcher for himselfe and kindred, encompassing with a firme wall a good circuit of ground, neere some Tanke (about which they delight for to burie their dead) or else in a place nigh Springs of Water, that may make pleasant Fountaynes, neere which hee erects a Tombe round or square, vaulted vpon Pillars, or else made close, to be entred with Doores, vnder which are the bodies of the dead interred. The rest of the ground they plant with Trees and Flowers, as if they would make *Elysian* fields, such as the Poets dreamed of, wherein their soules might take their repose. They burie not within their Churches. There are many goodly Monuments of this kinde richly adorned, built to the memorie of such as they haue esteemed Saints, of which they haue a large Kalender. In these are Lamps continually burning, whither men transported with blinde deuotion daily resort, there to contemplate the happines these *Peires* (for so they call them) enioy. But among many faire Piles there dedicated to this vse, the most excellent is at *Secandra*, a Village three miles from *Agra*. It was beganne by *Achabar-sha*, this Kings Father, who there lyes buried, and finished by this present King, who meanes to lye beside him.

Saints Kalender.

Of this see be-
fore in other
Iournals, *Finch*
&c.

Moolaas or
Priests.

Religious.

Their *Moolas* imploy much of their time like Scriueners, to doe businesse for others, they haue libertie to marrie as well as the people, from whom they are not distinguished in habite. Some liue retyred, that spend their dayes in Meditation, or else in giuing good morall Precepts vnto others: these are of high esteeme, and so are another sort called *Seayds*, who deriue themselves from *Mahomet*. The Priests doe neither reade nor preach in their Churches, but there is a set forme

forme of prayer in the *Arabian* tongue, not vnderstood by most of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the *Moolaas*. They likewise rehearse the Names of God and *Mahomet* certayne times every day vpon Beads, like the misse-led Papist, who seemes to regard the number, rather then the weight of Prayers. Before they goe into their Churches they wash their feete, and entring in put off their shooes. As they beginne their deuotions they stop their Eares and fixe their Eyes, that nothing may diuert their Thoughts; then in a soft and still voyce they vtter their prayers, wherein are many words, most significantly expressing the Omnipotence, Greatnesse, Eternitie, and other attributes of God. Many words full of humiliation, confessing with diuers submissiue gestures their owne vnworthinesse: when they pray casting themselves low vpon their faces sundrie times, and then acknowledge that they are Burthens to the Earth, and Poison to the Aire, and the like, and therefore dare not so much as looke vp to heauen, but at last comfort themselves in the Mercies of God through the mediation of *Mahomet*; and many amongst them, to the shame of vs Christians, what impediment soeuer they haue either by pleasure or profit, pray fise times every day, at six, nine, twelue, three and six of the clock. But by the way, they distinguish their time in a different manner from vs, diuiding the day into foure, and the night into as many parts, which they call *Pores*, these are againe subdiuided each into eight parts, which they call *Grees*, measured according to the ancient custome by water dropping out of one little vessell into another, by which there alwayes stand seruants appointed for that purpose, smiting with an hammer a Concaue piece of pure metall, like the inner part of an ordinarie platter, hanging by the brim on a wyre, the number of *Grees* and *Pores* as they passe. For the temperance of many both among the *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, it is such, as that they will rather die, like the Mother and her seuen sonnes, *2. Mac. 7.* then eate or drinke any thing their Law forbids. Such meate and drinke as their Law allowes they vse onely to satisfie Nature, not Appetite; hating Gluttonie, and esteeming Drunkenesse (as indeed it is) a second Madnesse, and therefore haue but one word in their language (*Mest*) for a Drunkard and a Mad-man.

They keepe a solemne Lent, which they call the *Ram-Ian*, about the moneth of August, which continues one whole Moone; during which time, those that bee strict in their Religion forbear their women, and will take neither meate nor drinke so long as the Sunne is aboue their Horizon, but after He is set, eate at pleasure. Towards the end of this Lent they consecrate a day of Mourning, to the memorie of their dead friends, when I haue beheld diuers of the meaner sort make bitter lamentation. (Beside this common sadnesse, there are many foolish women who often in the yeere, so long as they suruiue, moysten the graues of their husbands or children, with affectionate teares.) But when the Night begins to couer the Day of generall mourning, they fire an innumerable companie of Lamps and Lights, which they set on the sides and tops of their houses, and all other most conspicuous places, and when these are extinguished, take foode. The *Ram-Ian* fully ended, the most deuout *Mahometans* assemble to some famous Misquit, where by a *Moola*, some part of the *Alcoran* (which they will not touch without reuerence) is publikely read. They keepe a Feast in Nouember, called *Buccaree*, signifying the *Ram-feast*, when they solemnely kill a Ram, and roast him in memorie of that Ram which redeemed *Ishmael* (as they say) when *Abraham* was readie to make him a sacrifice. Many other feasts they haue in memorie of *Mahomet* and their *Pieres*.

They haue the bookes of *Moses*, whom they call *Moosa Carym-Alla*, *Moses* the righteous of God. *Ibrahim Calim-Alla*, *Abraham* the faithfull of God. So *Ishmael*, the true sacrifice of God. *Dahood*, *Dauid* the Prophet of God. *Selimon*, *Salomon* the wisdom of God, all expressed as the former in short *Arabian* words; to whose particular remembrances they daily sing Ditties: and moreouer, there is not a man amongst them, but those of the ruder sort, that at any time mentions the Name of our blessed Sauour, called there *Hazaret-Eesa*, the Lord Christ, without reuerence and respect, saying, that he was a good man and a iust, liued without sinne, did greater miracles then euer any before or since him; Nay farther, they call him *Rhahow-Alla*, the breath of God, but how he should be the Sonne of God cannot conceiue, and therefore will not beleue. Notwithstanding this, the *Mahometans* in generall thinke vs Christians so vncleane, they will not eate with vs, nor yet of any thing is dressed in our vessels.

Among the *Mahometans* are many called *Deruises*, which relinquish the World, and spend their dayes in solitude, expecting a recompence in a better life; whose sharpe and strict penances they voluntarily vnder-take, farre exceede all those the *Romanists* boast of. For instance, there are some that liue alone vpon the tops of Hills remote from companie, there passing their time in contemplation, and will rather famish then moue from these retyred Cells, wherefore the people that dwell neereft to them, out of deuotion releue them. Some againe, impose long times of fasting vpon themselves til nature be almost quite decayed. There are many other among them they call religious men, who weare nothing about them but to hide their shame, and these like the Mendicant Friars begge for all they eate. Vsually they liue in the Suburbs of great Cities or Townes, and are like the Man our blessed Sauour mentions, about the Citie of the *Gadarens*, which had Deuils, and ware no clothes, neither abode in any house but in the Tombes. They make little fires in the day, sleeping at night in the warme ashes, with which they be-

H h h h h h

smear

Prayer in tri-
known tongue,
Beades.
Gestures of
prayer.Clepsidra clocke
TemperanceMest
Fast and feast.

Bookes

The Maronite
which transla-
ted the Arab
Geographer,
alledge this
reason, that
he was a Chri-
stian, because
he calls Christ
Lord: which
yet you see
the Mahome-
tans doe.
Deruises and
their seuer
strict Rites.

Luk. 8. 27.

smear their bodies. These Ashmen suffer not the Rasor at any time to come vpon their heads, and some of them let their nayles grow like Birds clawes, as it is written of *Nabuchadnezzar*, when hee was driuen out from the societie of men. And there are a sort among them, called *Mendee*, who like the Priests of *Baal*, often cut their flesh with Knives and Launcers. Others I haue seene who out of deuotion put such massie Fetters of Iron vpon their Legs, as that they can scarce stirre with them, and so as fast as they are able, goe many miles in pilgrimage barefoote vpon the parching ground, to visit the Sepulchres of their deluding Saints, thus taking more paines to goe to Hell (*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum*) then any Christian I know doth to goe to Heauen. These marry not, such as doe, *Mahomet* allowes foure wiues, besides they take libertie to keepe as many women as they are able, only the Priests content themselves with one. 10

Notwithstanding this Polygamie, the hot ieaiousies of the lustfull *Mahometans* are such, that they will scarce endure the Brothers or Fathers of their beloued Wiues or Women, to haue speech with them, except in their presence: and Time, by this restraint, hath made it odious for such Women as haue the reputation of honestie, to be seene at any time by strangers. But if they dishonour their Husbands beds, or being vnmarried are found incontinent professing chastitie, rather then they shall want punishment, their owne Brothers will bee their Executioners, who for such vnnaturall acts shall be commended, rather then questioned. Yet there is toleration for impudent Harlots, who are as little ashamed to entertayne, as others, openly to frequent their houses. The Women of better fashion haue Eunuchs in stead of men, to wait vpon them, who in their minoritie are deprived of all that may prouoke ieaousie. 20

Their Marriages are solemnized in great pompe, for after the *Moola* hath ioyned their hands with some other Ceremonie and Words of Benediction, the first watch of the night they begin their jollitie, the Man on horse-backe be he poore or rich, with his friends about him, many Cresset lightly before him, with Drums and wind Instruments and other pastimes: the Woman followes with her friends in Coaches couered, and after they haue thus passed the most eminent places of the Citie or Towne they liue in, returne home and there part with a Banquet, the men and women separated. They marry for the most part at the ages of twelue or thirteene, their Mothers most commonly making the matches. 30

§. IIII.

Of the Gentiles Sects, Opinions, Rites, Priests, and other obseruations of Religion and State in those parts.

Gentiles, eighty and foure Sects.

Those I suppose which our stories call *Brachmanes*. *Pagodes*. *Opinions*.

Tradition of *Adam*.

Marrying in the same Tribe and Trade.

NOW more particularly of the *Gentiles*, which are there distracted in fourscore and foure seuerall Sects, all differing mainly in opinion, which had oftentimes fild me with wonder, but that I know Satan (the father of diuision) to be the Seducer of them all. Their illiterate Priests are called *Bramins*, who for ought I could euer gather, are so sottish and inconstant in their grounds, that they scarce know what they hold. They haue little Churches, which they call *Pagodes*, built round, in which are Images for worship made in monstrous shapes. Some of them dreame of *Elysian* fields, to which their soules must passe over a *Styx* or *Asharon*, and there take new bodies. Others hold, that ere long the World shall haue a period, after which they shall liue here againe on a new Earth. Some *Bramins* haue told me how that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand hands, with a thousand feere, and as many eyes, thereby expressing his power. They talke of foure books, which about six thousand yeeres since were sent them from God by their Prophet *Ram*, whereof two were sealed vp and might not be opened; the other to be read onely by themselves. They say that there are seuen Orbes, aboue which is the Seate of God; that God knowes not petie things, or if he doe regards them not. They circumscribe God vnto Place, saying, that he may be seene, but as in a Mist as farre off, not neere. They beleue that there are Deuils, but so bound in chaines that they cannot hurt them. They call a man *Adam*, from our first father *Adam*, whose wife tempted with the forbidden fruit, tooke it as they say and eate it downe, but as her husband swallowed it, the Hand of God stopped it in his throat, whence man hath a Bunch there, which women haue not, called by them *Adams Apple*. As anciently among the *Iewes*, their Priesthood is hereditarie; for euery *Bramins* sonne is a Priest, and marries a *Bramins* daughter; and so among all the *Gentiles*, the men take the daughters of those to bee their wiues which are of their Fathers Tribe, Sect, and Occupation. For instance, a Merchants sonne marries a Merchants daughter. And euery mans sonne that liues by his labour, marries the daughter of him that is of his owne profession, by which meanes they neuer aduance themselves. These *Gentiles* take but one wife, of which they are not so fearefull as the *Mahometans* of their multitude, for they suffer them to goe abroad. They are married yong, at six or seuen yeeres old (their Parents making the Contracts) and about twelue come together. Their Nuptials, as thole of the *Mahometans*, are performed with much pompe and jollitie. 60

For

- For their Habit it differs little from the *Mahometans*, but many of the women weare Rings vpon their Toes, and therefore goe barefoote. They haue likewise broad Rings of brasfe (or better Metall according to the qualitie of the woman) about the small of the legges to take off and on, haply such as the Prophet meant by the tinkling ornaments about the feete, or the ornaments of the legs, which the *Iewish* women were wont to put on, *Esay* 3. And such as these they haue about their armes. The flaps or nether part of their eares are boared, when they are yong, which hole daily stretched and made wider by things kept in it for that purpose, at last becomes so large, that it will hold a Ring (I dare boldly say, as large as a little Sawcer) made hollow on the sides for the flesh to rest in. Both men and women wash their bodies euery day before they eate, which done, they keepe off their clothes but the couering of modestie, till they haue fed. This outward washing appertaines, as they thinke, to their cleansing from sinne, not vnlike the *Pharisees*, who would not eate with vnwashed hands, *Mar.* 7. Hence they ascribe a certaine Diuinitie to Riuer, but about all, to *Ganges*, daily flocking thither in Troopes, and there throw in pieces of gold, or siluer, according to their deuotion and abilitie, after which they wash their bodies. Both men and women paint on their fore-heads or other parts of their faces red or yellow spots.
- Now farther for their grosse opinions, they beleue not the resurrection of flesh, and therefore burne the bodies of their dead neere some Riuer, if they may with conueniencie, wherein they sowe the Ashes. Their Widowes marrie not, but after the losse of their Husbands, cut their haire, and spend all their life following, as neglected Creatures, whence to bee free from shame. Many yong women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it) when their fiery loue brings them to the flames, as they thinke, of Martyrdome, most willingly: Following their dead Husbands vnto the fire, and there imbracing are burnt with them; but this they doe voluntary, not compelled. The parents and friends of those women will most ioyfully accompanie them, and when the wood is fitted for this hellish Sacrifice, and begins to burne, all the people assembled shoute and make a noyse, that the screeches of this tortured creature may not bee heard. Not much vnlike the custome of the *Ammonites*, who when they made their children passe through the fire to *Moloch*, caused certaine Tabret, or Drums to sound, that their cry might not be heard, whence the place was called *Tophet*, a Tabret, *2. Kings* 23. 10. There is one sect among the *Gentiles*, which neither burne nor interre their dead (they are called *Parcees*) who incircle pieces of ground with high stone walls, remote from houses or Roade-ways, and therein lay their Carkasses wrapped in Sheetes, thus hauing no other Tombes but the gorges of rauinous Fowles.
- The *Gentiles* for the most part are very industrious: They till the ground or else spend their time otherwaies diligently in their vocations. There are amongst them most curious Artificers, who are the best Apes for imitation in the world, for they will make any new thing by patterne. The *Mahometans* are generally idle, who are all for to morrow (a word common in their mouthes) they liue vpon the labours of the *Gentiles*. Some of which poore seduced Infidels, will eate of nothing that hath life, and these liue vpon Herbs, and Milke, and Butter, and Cheefe, and Sweet-meates, of which they make diuers kindes, whereof the most wholesome is Greene Ginger, as well preserved there as in any part of the world. Others will eate Fish, and no liuing thing else. The *Rashbootes* eate Swines-flesh, most hateful to the *Mahometans*. Some will eate of one kinde of flesh, some of another; but all the *Gentiles* abstaine from Beefe, out of the excellent esteeme they haue of Kine, and therefore giue the King yearly (beside his other exactions) great summes of money as a ranome for those Creatures. Whence among other good prouision, we meete there but with little Beefe.
- Those most tender hearted Idolaters are called *Bantans*, who hold *Pithagoras* his *μὴ φάγετε κτήνη*, as a prime Article of their Fath. They thinke that the soules of the best men and women, when their bodies let them out of Prison, take their repose in Kine, which in their opinion are the best of all Creatures. So the soules of the wicked goe into viler beasts, as the soules of Gluttons and Drunkards into Swine; the soules of the voluptuous and incontinent into Monkeys, and Apes; the soules of the furious, cruell, and reuengefull, into Lyons, Tygers, and Wolves; the soules of the enuious, into Serpents; and so into other Creatures according to their qualitie and disposition, successiuelly from one to another of the same kinde, *ad infinitum*; by consequence, beleueing the immortalitie of the world. So that there is not a silly Flie, but if they may bee credited, carries about some soules (haply they thinke of light women) and will not be perswaded out of these grosse opinions, so incorrigible are their sottish errors. And therefore will not deprive the most offensive creatures of their life, not Snakes that will kill them, saying, it is their nature to doe harme, how that they haue reason to shunne, not libertie to destroy them.
- For their workes of Charitie, many rich men build *Sarraas*, or make Wells, or Tankes neere to High-ways that are much trauelled, where passengers may drinke, or else allow Pensions vnto poore men, that they may sit by the High-way sides and offer water vnto those that passe.
- Their day of rest is * Thursday, as the *Mahometans* Friday. Many Festiuals they haue which

Their habit.

Eares and
Eare-rings.

Washing.

Spots.

Burning.

Widowes.

Manner of
wiues burning
with their
husbands.

Parcees.

Gentiles indus-
trie, and idles-
nes of *Mohometans*.Beefe not ea-
ten.

Bantans.

Foolish pittie.
Charitable
workes.* Thursday
Sabbath:Monday to
Peguans,Thursday in
Guinea, Fridayto Moores, Sa-
turday to Iews,Sunday to
Christians. In Ia-na that day
whereon they
haue begunsome great
workes.

they keepe solemne, and Pilgrimages whereof the most famous are specified in the briefe descriptions of *Negracut* and *Cyba*, where people out of deuotion cut off part of their tongues, which (if Master *Coryat* who strictly obserued it, may be beleeued) in a few daies became whole againe. It were easie to enlarge, but I will not cast away Inke and Paper in a farther description of their stupid Idolatries, the summe is, that both *Mahometans* and *Gentiles* ground their opinions vpon Tradition, not Reason, and are content to perish with their Fore-fathers, out of a preposterous zeale, and louing peruersenesse neuer ruminating on that they maintayne, like to vncleane beasts which chew not the Cud.

Now both these *Mahometans* and *Gentiles* are vnder the subiection of the Great *Mogoll*, whose name signifieth a circumcised man, and therefore he is called the Great *Mogoll*, as much to say, the *Chiefe of the Circumcision*. He is lineally descended by the Father from that famous Conquerour of the East, called in our Stories *Tamberlaine*, in theirs *Temar*, who towards his end by an unhappie fall from his Horse, which made him halt to his Graue, was called *Temar-lang*, or *Temar* the lame. The present King is the ninth in a direct Line from that his great Ancestors.

The Emperour stiles himselfe, *The King of Iustice, the light of the Law of Mahomet, the Conquerour of the World*. Himselfe moderates in all matters of consequence which happen neere his Court, for the most part iudging, *secundum allegata & probata*. Tryals are quicke and so are Executions, hangings, beheading, impaling, killing with Dogges, by Elephants, Serpents, and other like according to the nature of the Fact. The execution is commonly done in the Market place. The Gouvernours in Cities and Prouinces proceed in like forme of Iustice. I could neuer heare of Law written amongst them: the King and his Substitutes will is Law. His Vice-gerents continue not long in a place, but to preuent popularitie receiue vsually a remouue yearly. They receiue his Letters with great respect: They looke for Presents from all which haue occasion to vse them; and if they be not often visited will aske for them; yea, send them backe for better exchange. The *Cadee* will imprison Debtors and Sureties, bound with hand and Seale: and men of power for payment will sell their persons, wiues, and children, which the custome of the Land will warrant.

The King shewes himselfe thrice a day; first at Sun-rising at a Bay-window toward the East, many being there assembled to giue him the *Salam*, and crying, *Padsha Salamant*, that is, *Line, O King*: At noone he sees his Elephants fight or other pastimes. A little before Sun-set, he shewes himselfe at a window to the West, and the Sunne being set, returneth in with Drums and wind Instruments, the peoples acclamations adding to the consort. At any of these three times, any Sutor holding vp his Petition to be seene, shall be heard. Betwixt seuen and nine he sits priuately attended with his Nobles.

No Subiect in this Empire hath Land of Inheritance, nor haue other title but the Kings will, which makes some of the *Grandes* to liue at the height of their meanes; Merchants also to conceale their Riches lest they should be made Spunges. Some meane meanes the King allowes the Children of those great Ones, which they exceed not, except they happily succeed in their fathers fauours. His Pensions are reckoned by Horse, of which hee payeth a Million in his Empire, for euery Horse allowing five and twentie pound yearly, raised from Lands thereunto designed. There are some twentie in his Court which haue pay of five thousand Horse, others of foure thousand or three thousand, and so downward. Hee which hath pay of five thousand, is bound to haue two thousand at command, and so in like proportion others. This absolute dependance makes them dissolute Parasites. When he giueth aduancement, he addeth a new name, as *Pharao* did to *Ioseph*, and those pithily significant, as *Mahober Chan*, the beloued Lord; *Chan Iahann*, the Lord of my Heart; *Chan Allan*, the Lord of the World, &c.

The Chiefe Officers of State are his *Treasurer*, the *Master of his Eunnuches* (who is Steward and Comptroller of his House) his *Secretarie*, the *Master of his Elephants*, the *Tent-master*, and *Keeper of his Wardrobe*. These are subordinate Titles of Honour, as *Chan*, *Mirza*, *Vmbra*, or *Captaine*, *Haddee* (a Souldier or Horseman.) Gorgeous Apparell is prohibited by the Sunnes heate, the King himselfe being commonly vested with a Garment, as before described, of pure white Calico Lawne. Blue may not be worne in his presence (the colour of Mourners) nor the name of death sounded in his eares; but such casually is mollified by tearmes to this purpose; *Such an one hath made himselfe a Sacrifice at your Maiesties feet*. That heate of the Countrey makes little sale for *English* cloth, most vsed there for coverings of Elephants, Horses, Coaches. Yet may this King be thought to exceed any other in glorious Thrones and rich Iewels. Hee hath a Throne in his Palace at *Agra*, ascended by degrees, on the top whereof are foure Lions made of massie Siluer, gilded, set with Precious Stones, supporting a Canopie of massie Gold. By the way I may mention, a tame Lion liuing in his Court while I was there, going vp and downe without hurt like a Dogge. His Iewels wherewith hee is daily adorned about his head, necke, wrists, and hilts of his Sword and Dagger, are inualluable. He is on his Birth-day the first of September, (now sixtie times renewed) yearly weighed, and account kept thereof by his Physicians, thereby ghesing at his bodily estate. Part of two Letters to his Maiestie (one you haue before) is here translated out of *Persian*, sent by Sir *Thomas Roe*, but written, one a yeare before the other.

* *Lang*, in the *Persian* signifieth Lame.

Courts of Iustice.

Bribes. Debts.

The *Durbar*.

No Inheritance. The Kings Pensions. See before in Captaine *Hawkins*.

Gen. 41.

Principall Officers.

Blue, mournfull colour.

English cloth.

Tame Lion.

Borne 1562. See of this and other things therefore here omitted, Sir *T. Roes* Journall.

When

When your Maiestie shall open this Letter, let your Royall heart be as fresh, as a sweet Garden; let all people make reuerence at your Gate; let your Throne be advanced higher amongst the greatnesse of Kings of the Prophet Iesus; let your Maiestie be the greatest of all Monarches, who may deriue their counsell and wisdom from your brest as from a Fountayne, that the Law of the Maiestie of Iesus may reuiue and flourish vnder your protection. The Letters of Loue and Friendship which you sent me, and the Presents (tokens of your good affection toward mee) I haue receiued by the hands of your Embassadour Sir Thomas Roe, who well deserueth to be your trusted Seruant; deliuered to me in an acceptable and happie houre. Vpon which mine eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remooue them to any other Object, and haue accepted them with great ioy, &c. The last Letter hath this beginning.

Mogols Letters to his Maiesty.

How gracious is your Maiestie, whose greatnesse God preserve? As vpon a Rose in a Garden, so are mine eyes fixed vpon you. God maintayne your Estate, that your Monarchie may prosper and be augmented, and that you may obtayne all your desires, worthy the greatnesse of your Renowne. And as your heart is noble and upright, so let God giue you a glorious Raigue, because you strongly defend the Maiestie of Iesus, which God yet made more flourishing, because it was confirmed by Miracles, &c.

That which followeth in both Letters, is to testifie his care and loue toward the English. These Letters being written, their Copies were sent to the Lord Embassadour, and the originals rolled vp and couered with cloth of Gold, and sealed vp at both ends; which is the Letter-fashion of those parts.

Sealing Letters.

20 We trauelled two yeares with the Great Mogoll in progresse, in the temperate moneths twixt October and April, there being no lesse then two hundred thousand men, women, and children in this Leskar, or Campe (I am hereof confident) besides Elephants, Horses, and other beasts that eate Corne: all which notwithstanding, wee neuer felt want of any provision, no not in our nineteene dayes trauell from *Mandao* to *Amadanar*, thorow a Wildernesse; the Road being cut for vs in the mayne Woods. The Tents were of diuers colours, and represented a spacious and specious Citie: The Kings Tents red, reared on poles very high, and placed in the midst of the Campe, couering a large compasse, incircled with Canats (made of red Calico stiffened with Canes at euery breadth, standing vpright about nine foot high) guarded round euery night with Souldiers. He remooued ten or twelue miles a day more or lesse according to the conuenience of water. His Wiues and Women of all sorts (which are one thousand at least, provided for in his Tents) are carryed in Palankas, or vpon Elephants, or else in Cradles, hanging on the sides of Dromedaries, couered close and attended by Eunuches. In wiuing, he respects fancie more then honour, not seeking affinitie with Neighbour Princes, but to please his eye at home. *Noore-Mahal* (the name of his best Beloued) signifieth the *Light of the Court*: Shee hath much aduanced her friends, before meane, and in manner commands the Commander of that Empire by engrossing his affections. The King and his Great men maintayne their women, but little affect them after thirtie yeares of their age.

Kings Progresse and Campe.

His Tents.

His women.

40 This multitude of women notwithstanding, the Mogoll hath but fixe Children, five Sonnes and a Daughter. All his Sonnes are called *Sultans*, or Princes, the eldest *Sultan Carsero*, the second, *Sultan Parneis*, *Sultan Caroon* the third, *Sultan Shabar* the fourth, the last is *Sultan Tanch*, which word in the *Persian* signifieth, *A Throne*: so named by the King, who the first houre of his quiet possessing the Throne, had newes of his birth, about nineteene yeares since. The first Sonne by any of his married Wiues, by prerogatiue of birth inherits: the elder Brother beeing there called the *Great Brother*. Although the younger be not put to death, as with the *Turkes*, yet it is obserued, that they suruiue not long their Father, employed commonly in some dangerous expedition. *Achabar-sha* had threatned to dis-herit the present King for abuse of *Anar-kalee*, (that is, *Pomegranate kernell*) his most beloued Wife, but on his death-bed repealed it. This *Achabars* death is thus reported. He was wont vpon displeasure to giue Pills to his *Grandes*, to purge their soules from their bodies; which intending against One, and hauing another Cordiall Pill for himselfe, whiles hee entertayned the other with faire flatteries, by a happie-vnhappie mistake hee tooke the Poyson himselfe, which with a mortall Fluxe of blood in few dayes skiled him: *Neque enim lex in istior vlla est. Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

His children.

Achabar's death.

50 This Kings disposition seemes composed of extreames, very cruell, and otherwhiles very milde; often ouercome with Wine, but seuerely punishing that fault in others. His Subiects know not to disobey, Nature forgetting her priuate bonds twixt Father and Sonne to fulfill that publike. He daily relieues many poore, and will in pietie helpe to carrie sometimes his Mother in a Palanka on his shoulders. He speakes respectfully of our Sauour, but is offended at his Crosse and pouertie, thinking them incompetent to such Maiestie, though told that his humilitie was to subdue the Worlds pride.

The Mogolls disposition.

60 All Religions are tolerated, and their Priests in good esteeme. My selfe often receiued from the Mogoll himselfe, the appellation of Father, with other many gracious words, with place amongst his best Nobles. The Iesuites haue not only admittance into his presence, but incouragements from him by many gifts, with libertie of conuerting to them; and to the subiect, to be without losse of fauour conuerted. He made tryall of one Conuert with many threats to de-

Respect to Priests. Iesuits and Conueris.

terre him from his new profession, and finding him vndauntedly resolute, he assayed by flatteries and promises to re-gaine him, but therein also failing, hee bade him continue, and with a Reward discharged him; hauing told him, that if he could haue frayed or brought him from his Religion, he would haue made him an example for all Wauerers. The chiefe Iesuite was Francis Vaine Braggcs. *cus Corsi a Florentine* by birth, liuing at the *Mogolls Court*, Agent for the *Portugals*, I would I were able to confirme the Reports of their Conuersions. The truth is, they haue spilt the water of Baptisme vpon some faces working on the necessities of poore men, who for want of meanes, which they giue them, are content to weare Crucifixes, but for want of instruction are only in name Christians. (I obserued that of the poore there, fise haue begged in the name of *Marie*, for one in the Name of *Christ*) I also desired to put my hand to this holy Worke, but found it difficult, both by *Mahumetane* libertie for women, and the debauched liues of some Christian-vnchristian men amongst them, *Per quorum latera patitur Euangelium*. Hee which hath the *Key of Dauid*, open their eyes, and in his good time send Labourers into this Vineyard. Amen. Because you haue the transcripts of Letters from the Great *Mogoll*, I haue added here part of a Letter from the Great *Turke*, to his Maiestie, that the Reader may delight himselfe with the strangeness of the stile.

Sultan Achmet Chan, Sonne vnto the Sultran Mehemet
Chan most inuincible.

TO the most glorious of the great Lords that fellow, *Iesus*, elected by the great and mightie of the Christian Faith: Corrector of the things of all the Nations of the Nazaritanes; endued with the brightnesse of Lordship, Honour, Maiestie, and Glorie, King Iames of the Kingdome of England, &c. whose end be with all happinesse and felicitie.

At the comming of this our Imperiall Letter to your Maiesties hands, with our Imperiall signe, you shall vnderstand of the arrivall at our Port (which Port is indeed the refuge of Iustice, and the Gate of Honourable succour, yea, the principall place of all the Kings of the World) of one of your Maiesties Honourable and acceptable Gentlemen, Thomas Glouer, with your Maiesties most friendly and most sincere Letter; the tenour whereof is, That by the good will and pleasure of the sole Creator of the World, your Maiestie hath not only taken in possession the Kingdom of England, but also as heretofore the deceased Queene of England hath bene in sincere and mutuall Friendship and Peace with our Sublime and most happie Port; so your Maiestie also consequently vouchsafeth to manifest and approue the same. Moreover, your Maiestie hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that your will and pleasure is, that the Subiects of your Maiesties Countries, in manner as heretofore they were wont, should come and traffique in these our guarded Dominions, and so to the end accordingly at their pleasures might continue in the same. Finally, all those things that were by it certified vnto our Imperiall Greatnesse, we haue sufficiently comprehended and vnderstood. Now your Maiestie shall vnderstand, that it being from the time of our Father and Grand-father, of most happie Memories, alwaies the custome and vse, and most excellent order, to hold our most high and sublime Port open, now also in conformitie thereof, especially we being by the Diuine grace and fauour seated in the Throne of Iustice, it is not any way prohibited nor forbidden to any person to enter, and to depart from the same. Especially the Queene of England of good Memorie, being in friendship, from the time of our Father and Grand-father of most happie Memorie, it hath bene alwaies the vse and custome to shew vnto her Subiects, who trade and traffique within our Musulmanicall guarded Dominions, all extraordinary fauour, grace, and aide. Now by the great fauour of the Omnipotent God, we being come and established with honour, felicitie, prosperitie and greatnesse in the Seate and Throne of happinesse, in conformitie of the aboue said fauours, before it was on your Maiesties behalfe requested for the renouation of the peace and entercourse, which is betwixt vs, wee haue not only caused to renew the Capitulations for the securitie of the traffique of the Merchants, giuing the same into the hands of your Maiesties Ambassadour, but also, &c.

Written the last day of the Moone, called Giemasillenel, and of the Moones of the yeare of the transmigration of our Prophet, on whom the grace and peace of the highest God continue. 1013.

In the Residence of our Exclse Kingdome of
Constantmople guarded.

CHAP. VII.

The Trauels of LEWIS BARTHEMA or VERTOMAN into Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and India, heretofore published in English by R. EDEN, and here corrected according to R. AMYSIOS Copie, and contracted.

§. I.

His Trauell thorow the Desarts of Medina and Mecha, and their profane Holies.

DEparting from *Venice* with prosperous winds, in few dayes wee arrived at the Citie of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*: where the desire wee had to know things more strange and further off, would not permit vs to tarrie long. And therefore departing from thence, and sayling vp the Riuer of *Nilus*, we came to the Citie of new *Babylon*, commonly called, *Cayro*. It seemed to mee much inferiour to the report and fame that was thereof: for the greatnesse thereof seemed nothing agreeable to the bruit, and appeared no more in circuit then the citie of *Rome*, although much more peopled, and better inhabited. But the large fields of the Suburbs haue deceiued many, being disperfed with in manner innumerable Villages, which some haue thought to haue beene part of the Citie, which is nothing so. For those Villages and disperfed houses, are two or three miles from the Citie, and round about it on euery side.

Departing from *Babylon*, and returning to *Alexandria*, where we againe entred into our Sea, we came to *Barutti*, a Citie on the Sea-coast of *Syria*. From hence wee sayled to *Tripoli*. From thence we came to *Aleppo*. Departing from thence, we came to *Damasco*, in ten dayes iourney.

It is in manner incredible, and passeth all beliefe, to thinke how faire the Citie of *Damasco* is, and how fertile is the soyle. And therefore allured by the maruellous beautie of the Citie, I remayned there many dayes, that learning their Language, I might know the manners of the People. The Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*, and *Mamalukes*, with many Christians, living after the manner of the *Greekes*. When it pleaseth the *Sultan* to extort a certaine summe of Gold of his Noblemen or Merchants (for they vse great robberies and murders (for the *Moores* are vnder the *Mamalukes*, as Lambs to the Wolfe) he sends two Letters to the Captaine of the Castle. In the one is contayned, that with an Oration he innite to the Castle such as pleaseth him. In the other is declared the minde of the *Soldan*, what hee demandeth of his Subiects. When the Letters bee read, with all expedition they accomplish his commandement, bee it right or wrong, without respect. This meanes the *Soldan* inuented to extort money. Yet sometimes it commeth to passe, that the Noblemen are of such strength, that they will not come when they are commanded, knowing that the Tyrant will offer them violence. And therefore oftentimes when they know that the Captaine of the Castle will call them, they flee into the Dominions of the *Turke*. This haue we gathered as touching their manners; wee haue also obserued, that the Watchmen in the Towers, doe not giue warning to the Guard with liuely voyce, but with Drummes, the one answering the other by course. But if any of the Watchmen be so sleepeie, that in a *Pater noster* while he answereth not to the sound of the watch, hee is immediatly committed to prison for one whole yeere. In euery house are seene Fountaines of curious worke embossed and grauen. Their houses outwardly are not beautifull, but inwardly maruelously adorned with variable workes of Marble and Porphyre. Within the Towne are many Temples or Churches, which they call, *Moscheas*. But that which is most beautifull of all other, is builded after the manner of *Saint Peters Church* in *Rome*, if you respect the greatnesse, excepting this, that in the middle is no rooffe or couerture, but is all open: but about the rest of the Temple, it is altogether vaulted. There they obserue religiously the bodie of the holy Prophet *Zacharie*. The Temple hath also foure great double gates of metall, very faire, and many goodly Fountaines within it.

The *Mamalukes* are that kind of men, which haue forsaken our Faith, and as slaues are bought by the Gouvernour. They are very actiue, and brought vp both in learning and warlike discipline, vntill they come to great perfection. As well the little as the great, without respect, receiue stipend of the Gouvernour: which for euery moneth amounteth to six of those pieces of Gold which they call *Saraphos*, beside the meat and drinke for himselfe and his seruant, and also prouision for his Horse. And the more expert they be, and of greater actiuitie, they haue the greater wages. They walke not in the Citie but by two or three together, for it is counted dishonour for any of them to walke without a companion. And if by the way they chance to meet

Cayro.

Damasco.

Christians
Greekes.
A strange
manner to
demand a
Subsidie.

Their Churches.

The bodie of
the Prophet
Zacharias.The Mamalukes.
See Baumgar-
ten in the end
of the former
Booke.

How the *Mamalukes* abuse women.

meet with two or three women (for they lay waite to tarrie for them about such houses whether they know the women resort) licence is granted them , as they by chance first meet with them, to bring them into certaine Tauernes, where they abuse them. When the *Mamalukes* attempt to discover their faces (for they goe with their faces couered) they strue with them, because they will not be knowne : but when the *Mamalukes* persist wantonly to discover them, they say thus vnto them, Is it not enough for you, that you haue abused our bodies as pleaseth you, but that you will also discover our faces? Then the *Mamalukes* suffer them to depart. But sometime it chanceth, that when they thinke to prostitute the daughter of some Gentlemen or Noblemen, they commit the fact with their owne wiues : which thing chanced whilst I was

The women of Damasco.

there. The women beautifie and garnish themselves as much as any. They vse silken apparell, and couer them with cloth of Gossampine, in maner as fine as Silke. They weare white Buskins, and Shooes of red or purple colour. They garnish their heads with many Iewels and Eare-rings, and weare Rings and Bracelets. They marrie as often as them listeth: for when they are wearie of their first marriage, they goe to the *Cady*, and make request to him to bee diuorced from

The *Mahumetans* wiues.

their first marriage. Some thinke, that the *Mahumetans* haue five or sixe wiues together, which I haue not obserued : but as farre as I could perceiue, they haue but two or three. They eate openly, especially in their Marts or Faires, and there dresse they all their meates. They eate

Goats milke.

Horses, Camels, Buffels, Goats, and such other beasts. They haue great abundance of fresh Cheese. They that sell Milke, driue about with them, fortie or fiftie Goats, which they bring into the houses of them that will buy milke, euen vp into their chambers, although they bee three roofes high, and there milke them, to haue it fresh and new. These Goats haue their eares a span long, many vdders or paps, and are very fruitfull. There is great abundance of Mush-

Mushrooms.

rooms, for sometimes there are scene, twentie or thirtie Camels laden with Mushrooms, and yet in the space of three dayes they are all sold. They are brought from the Mountaines of *Armenia*, and from *Asia* the lesse, which is now called, *Turkia* or *Natolia*, or *Anatolia*.

Asia the lesse, now named *Natolia*, or *Turkia*.

The *Mahumetans* vse long Vestures and loose, both of Silke and Cloth. The most part vse Hose of Gossampine cloth, and white Shooes. When any of the *Mahumetans* by chance meeteth with any of the *Mamalukes*, although the *Mahumetan* be the worthier person, yet giueth he place and reuerence to the *Mamaluke*, who otherwise would giue him the Bastonado, and beat

Christians of Damasco.

him with a staffe. The Christians also keepe there many Ware-houses of Merchandise, where they haue diuers sorts of Silkes and Veluet : but the Christians are there euill entreated.

The iourney from Damasco to Mecha, and of the manners of the Arabians

In the yeere of our Lord 1503. the eighth day of the moneth of Aprill, the Carauan being readie to goe to *Mecha*, I entred familiaritie and friendship with a certaine Captaine *Mamaluke*, of them that had forsaken our Faith, with whom being agreed of the price, hee prepared me apparell like vnto that which the *Mamalukes* vse to weare, and giuing me also a good Horse, accompanied me with the other *Mamalukes*. This (as I haue said) I obtayned with great cost, and many gifts which I gaue him. Thus entring to the iourney, after the space of three dayes,

Mezerik.

we came to a certaine place named *Mezerick*, where we remayned three dayes, that the Merchants which were in our companie might prouide things necessarie, as specially Camels, and diuers other things. There is a certaine Prince whom they call *Zambei*, of great power in the

The Prince *Zambei* in Arabia.

Countrie of *Arabia*: he had three brethren, and foure children. He nourisheth fortie thousand Horses, ten thousand Mares, and foure thousand Camels. The Countrie where he keepeth the herds of these beasts, is large, of two dayes iourney. This Prince *Zambei*, is of so great power,

The Prince of Ierusalem. A Prince a Theefe.

that he keepeth warre with the *Soltan* of *Babylon*, the *Gouernours* of *Damasco*, and of *Ierusalem*. In the time of Haruest & gathering of fruits, hee is giuen wholly to prey and robbing, and with great subtiltie deceiue the *Arabians*: for, when they thinke him to bee a mile or two off, hee

Mares.

is with them suddenly betimes in the morning : and inuading their Lands, carrieth away their fruits, Wheat, and Barley, euen as hee findeth it in the sackes : and so liueth continually day and night with such incursions. When his Mares bee wearied with continuall running, hee resteth a while : and to refresh them, giueth them Camels Milke to drinke, to coole them after their great labour. Those Mares are of such maruellous swiftnesse, that when I presently

The Arabians liue by robbetrie.

saw them, they seemed rather to flye then to runne. Note also, that these *Arabians* ride on Horses without Saddles, and weare none other vesture then onely an inward Coat, or Peticoat, except some chiefe men ; for weapon, they vse a certaine long Dart of Reeds, of the length of ten or twelue cubits, pointed with Iron (after the manner of Iauelins) and fringed with Silke. When they attempt any incursions, they march in such order, that they seeme to goe in troups: they are of despicable and little stature, and of colour betweene yellow and blacke. They haue the voyces of women, and the haire of their head long and blacke, and laid out at large. They are of greater multitude then a man would beleue, and are among themselves at continuall strife and warre. They inhabite the Mountaines, and haue certaine times appointed to robbetrie: for this purpose they obserue especially the time, when they are certaine of the passage of the Pil-

Houses borne on Camels backs.

grims, and other that iourney that way to *Mecha*, then like Theeuës they lie in the way and robbe them. When they make these theeuish inuasions, they bring with them their Wiues, Children, Families, and all the goods they haue. Their Houses they put vpon the Camels:

Camels: for other Houses haue they none, but liue onely in Tents and Paulions, as doe our Souldiers.

Tents and Paulions.

Such Tabernacles are made of blacke wooll, and that rough and filthie. But to returne to our Voyage. The eleuenth day of Aprill, departed from *Mezaribe* the companie of Camels (which they call the Carauan) to the number of five and thirtie thousand, with fortie thousand men. But wee were no more then threescore *Mamelukes*, which had taken the charge to guide and guard the Carauan; which was diuided into three parts, some in the front, other in the midst of the Armie, and other in the reare. *Damasco* is from *Mecha* fortie dayes and fortie nights iourney. Departing therefore from *Mezaribe*, we continued our iourney that day, vntill the two
10 and twentieth houre of the day. Then our Captaine, after hee had giuen the watch-word and signe, commanded that euery man should rest and remayne in the place where the signe should be giuen them. Therefore as soone as they heard the signe, by the sound of a Trumpet, they stayed, and after they had vnburdened their Camels, spent there two houres to victuall themselves and their beasts: then the Captaine giuing a new signe, charging their Camels againe, they departed speedily from thence. Euery Camell hath at one feeding five Barley loaues, raw and not baked, as big as a Pomgranate. Taking horse, they continued that iourney the day and night following, vntill two and twentie houres of the day, and at that houre they obserue the order which we haue spoken off here before. Euery eighth day they draw water by digging the ground or sand: by the way neuerthelesse somewhere are found Wells and Cisternies. After euery
20 eighth day, they rest their Camels one or two dayes to recouer their strength. The Camels are laden with incredible burdens, and double charge: that is to meane, the burden of two great Mules. They drinke but once in three dayes. They giue them to eat five Barley loaues as big as a Pomgranate.

This for feare of the Arabians

From Damasco to Mecha.

Perhaps with the sound of a Horne or Trumpet.

Water.

The burden of the Camels:

When they tarrie and rest them at the waters aforesaid, they are euer enforced to conflict with a great multitude of the *Arabians*: but the battell is for the most part without bloudshed: for although we haue oftentimes fought with them, yet was there onely one man slaine on our part; for these *Arabians* are so weake and feeble, that threescore *Mamelukes*, haue often put to the worst, fortie or fiftie thousand *Arabians*. For no *Pagans* are in strength or force of Armes to be compared to the *Mamelukes*, of whose actiuitie I haue seene great experience: among
30 the which this is one. A certaine *Mameluke* layed an Apple vpon the head of his seruant, and at the distance of about twelue or fourteene paces, strooke it off from his head. I saw likewise another, who riding on a saddled Horse with full course (for they vse Saddles as we doe) tooke off the Saddle from the Horse still running, and for a space bearing it on his head, put it againe on the Horse still continuing in his full course.

The feebleness of the Arabians. Pagans. The actiuitie of the Mamelukes.

Passing the iourney of twelue dayes, we came to the Valley of *Sodoma* and *Gomorrha*, where we found it to be true, that is written in holy Scripture: for there is yet to be seene, how they were destroyed by Miracle. I affirme that there are three Cities. There is yet seene, I wot not what, like Bloud, or rather like red Waxe mixt with Earth, three or foure yards deepe. It is easie to beleue that those men were infected with most horrible vices, as testifieth the barren
40 Region, vtterly without water. Those people were once fed with Manna: but when they abused the gift of God, they were sore plagued. Departing twentie miles from these Cities, about thirtie of our companie perished of thirst, and diuers other were buried in the sand, not yet fully dead. Going somewhat further forward, wee found a little Mountaine, at the foot whereof we found water, and therefore made our abode there. The day following early in the morning, came vnto vs foure and twentie thousand *Arabians*, asking money for the water which wee had taken. Wee answered, that wee would pay nothing, because it was giuen vs by the goodnesse of God. Immediately we came to hand-strokes. Wee gathering our selues together on the said Mountaine, as in the safest place, vsed our Camels in the stead of a Bulwarke, and placed the Merchants in the midst of the Armie (that is) in the midst of the Camels, while we fought manfully on euery side. The battell continued so long, that water fayled both vs and
50 our Enemies in the space of two dayes. The *Arabians* compassed about the Mountaine, crying and threatening that they would breake in among the Camels: at the length, to make an end of the conflict, our Captaine assembling the Merchants, commanded a thousand and two hundred pieces of Gold to be giuen to the *Arabians*: who when they had receiued the money, said, that the summe of ten thousand pieces of Gold should not satisfie them for the water which we had drawne. Whereby we perceiued that they began further to quarrell with vs, and to demand some other thing then money. Whereupon incontinent our Captaine gaue commandement, that whosoever in all our companie were able to beare Armes, should not mount vpon the Camels, but should with all expedition prepare themselves to fight. The day following in the
60 morning, sending the Camels before, and enclosing our Armie, being about three hundred in number, we met with the Enemies, and gaue the onset. In this conflict, we lost onely a man and a woman, and had none other damage: we slue of the *Arabians* a thousand and five hundred. Whereof you need not maruel, if you consider that they are vnarmed, and weare only a thin loose vesture, and are beside almost naked: their Horses also being as euill furnished, and without Saddles, or other furniture.

A conceit of Manna, contrarie to Scripture.

Iewes Pigmei.

In the space of eight dayes, wee came to a Mountayne which containeth in circuit ten or twelue miles. This is inhabited with *Iewes*, to the number of five thousand, or thereabout. They are of very little stature, as of the height of five or six spannes, and some much lesse. They haue small voyces like women, and of blacke colour, yet some blacker then other: They feede of none other meate then Mutton. They are circumcised, and deny not themselues to be *Iewes*. If by chance any *Mahumetan* come into their hands, they slay him aliue. At the foote of the Mountayne, we found a certaine hole, wherein the Raine water was receiued. By finding this opportunitie, we laded sixteene thousand Camels, which thing greatly offended the *Iewes*. They wandred in that Mountayne, scattered like wilde Goates or Prickets, yet durst they not come downe, partly for feare, and partly for hatred against the *Mahumetans*. Beneath the Mountayne are seene seuen or eight Thorne trees, very faire, and in them wee found a paire of Turtle Doues, which seemed to vs in manner a miracle, hauing before iournied fifteen dayes and nights, and saw neither Beast nor Fowle. Then proceeding two dayes iourney, wee came to a certaine Citie named *Medina Talnabi*: foure miles from the said Citie, we found a Well. And remayning here one day, we washed our selues, and changed our Shirts, the more freshly to enter into the Citie: it is well peopled, and containeth about three hundred houses, the Walls are like Bulwarkes of earth, and the houses both of stone and bricke. The soyle about the Citie is cursed of God, and is vtterly barren, except that about two stones cast from the Citie, are seene about fiftie or sixtie Palme trees that beare Dates. There, by a certaine Garden, runneth a course of water, falling into a lower Plaine, where also passengers are accustomed to water their Camels. And here opportunitie now serueth to confute the opinion of them which thinke that the Arke or Tombe of wicked *Mahumet* in *Mecha*, to hang in the Ayre, not borne vp with any thing. I affirme this neither to be true, nor to haue any likenesse of truth, I presently beheld these things, and saw the place where *Mahumet* is buried, in the said Citie of *Medina Talnabi*: for we tarryed there three daies, to come to the true knowledge of all these things. When we were desirous to enter into their Temple, wee could not be suffered to enter, without a companion, little or great, of those *Moores*. They taking vs by the hand, brought vs to the place where, they say, *Mahumet* is buried.

Medina Talnabi, that is, the Citie of the Prophet.

The Tombe or Sepulchre of Mahumet. Mahumet was not buried in Mecha.

The Sepulchre of Mahumet, and his fellowes.

Mahumets Librarie.

Cupola.

The Deuill he was.

His Temple is square, and is a hundred Paces in length, and fourescore in breadth; the entrie into it, is by two Gates; from the sides it is couered with three Vaults, it is borne vp with foure hundred Columnnes, or Pillars of white Bricke, there are seene hanging Lampes about the number of three thousand. From the other part of the Temple, in the first place of the *Meschita*, is seene a Tower of the circuit of five Paces, vaulted on euery side, and couered with a cloth of silke, and is borne vp with a grate of Copper, curiously wrought, and distant from it two Paces; and of them that goe thither, is seene, as it were, through a Lettice. Toward the left hand, is the way to the Tower, and when you come thither, you must enter by a narrower Gate. On euery side of those Gates or Doores, are seene many bookes, in manner of a Librarie, on the one side twentie, and on the other side five and twentie, which are of *Mahumet* and is fellowes: within the said Gate is seene a Sepulchre, that is, a graue vnder the earth, where *Mahumet* was buried. There are also his two sonnes in law, *Hali* and *Othman*; *Hali* was his brothers sonne, and tooke to wife *Fatina*, the daughter of *Mahumet*. There are also his two fathers in law, *Bubecher* and *Homer*. These foure were chiefe Captaines of the Armie of *Mahumet*. Euery of these haue their proper bookes of their facts and traditions. And hereof proceedeth the great dissention and discord of Religion and manners among this kind of filthie men, while some confirme one Doctrine, and some another, by reason of their diuers sects of Patrons, Doctors, and Saints, as they call them. By this meanes are they maruellously diuided among themselues, and like beasts kill themselues, for such quarrels of diuers opinions, and all false.

For declaration of the sect of *Mahumet*, vnderstand that in the highest part of the Tower aforesaid, is an open round place. Now shall you vnderstand what craft they vsed to deceiue our Carauan. The first Euening that we came thither, our Captaine sent for the chiefe Priest of the Temple, to come to him: and bid him shew him the body of *Nabi*, that is, the Prophet, and that he would giue three thousand Seraphins of gold. Also that hee had no Parents, neither Brothers, Sisters, Kinsfolke, Children, or Wiues, neither that he came thither to buy Merchandize, as Spices, or any manner of precious Iewels: but onely for very zeale of Religion, and saluation of his soule, and was therefore greatly desirous to see the bodie of the Prophet. To whom the Priest of the Temple, with proude countenance, made answer in this manner: Darest thou with those eyes with the which thou hast committed so many horrible sinnes, desire to see him by whose sight God hath created Heauen and Earth? To whom againe our Captaine answered, thus: My Lord, you haue said truly; neuertheless I pray you that I may finde so much fauour with you, that I may see the Prophet: whom when I haue seene, I will immediately thrust out mine eyes. The Side answered: O Sir, I will open all things vnto thee. So it is, that no man can denie but that our Prophet dyed here, who if he would, might haue dyed at *Mecha*: But to shew in himselfe a token of humilitie, and thereby to giue vs example to follow him, he was willing rather here then elsewhere to depart out of this world, and was incontinent of Angels borne into Heauen, and abides in the presence of God. Then our Captaine said to him: Where is Iesus Christ

the

the Sonne of Marie? To whom the Side answered: *At the feet of Mahomet.* Then said our Captaine againe: *It sufficeth, it sufficeth, I will know no more.* After this, our Captaine comming out of the Temple, and turning him to vs, said: See (I pray you) for what goodly stuffe I would haue paide three thousand Seraphs of gold? The same day at Euening, at almost three a clocke of the night, ten or twelue of the Elders of that Sect of *Mahomet*, entred into our Carauan, which remained not past a stones cast from the Gate of the Citie. These ran hither and thither crying like mad men, with these words, *Mahomet* the messenger of God shall rise againe. O Prophet, O God, haue mercie on vs. Our Captaine and wee all raised with this crie, tooke weapon with all expedition, suspecting that the *Arabians* were come to rob our Carauan: We asked
 10 what was the cause of that exclamation, and what they cryed? for they cryed as doe the Christians, when suddenly any maruellous thing chanceth. The Elders answered: Saw you not the lightning which shone out of the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Mahomet*. Our Captaine answered, that he saw nothing; and we also being demanded, answered in like manner. Then said one of the old men, Are yee slaues? that is to say, bought men: meaning thereby *Mamalukes*. Then said our Captaine, We are indeed *Mamalukes*. Then againe the old man said, You my Lords, cannot see heauenly things, as being not yet confirmed in our Religion. To this our Captaine answered againe, O yee mad and insensate beasts, I had thought to haue giuen you three thousand pieces of gold, but now, O you Dogs, and progenie of Dogs, I will giue you nothing. It is therefore to be vnderstood, that none other shining came out of the Sepulchre, then a certaine flame
 20 which the Priests caused to come out of the open place of the Tower spoken of here before, whereby they would haue deceived vs. And therefore our Captaine commanded that thereafter none of vs should enter into the Temple. Of this also we haue most true experience, and most certainly assure you, that there is neither Iron or Steele, or the Magnes stone that should so make the Tombe of *Mahomet* to hang in the Ayre, as some haue falsely imagined: neither is there any Mountayne neerer then foure miles: we remayned here three dayes to refresh our companie. To this Citie victuals and all kind of Corne is brought from *Arabia Felix*, and *Babylon*, or *Alcayr*, and also from *Ethiopia*, by the Red Sea, which is from this Citie but foure daies iourney.

After that we were wearied with the trumperies of the Religion of *Mahomet*, we determined to goe forward on our iourney: and that by guiding of a Pilot, who directed our course
 30 with the Mariners Box, or Compasse and Card, euen as is vsed in sayling on the Sea. And thus bending our iourney by the South, wee found a very faire Well or Fountayne, from the which flowed abundance of water. The Inhabitants affirme that Saint *Marke* the Euangelist was the Author of this Fountaine, by a miracle of God, when that Region was in manner burned with incredible drinesse. Here wee and our Beasts were satisfied with drinke. I may not here omit to speake of the Sea of Sand, and of the dangers thereof. This was found of vs before we came to the Mountayne of the *Lewes*. In this Sea of Sand we trauelled the iourney of five daies, and five nights: this is a great broad Plaine, all couered with white Sand, in manner as small as Floure: If the winde had blowne from the South (as it came to vs from the North) we had beene all ouerwhelmed with Sand. And although wee had prosperous winde, yet wee could scarcely
 40 see the one the other ten Paces off. And therefore the Inhabitants traelling this way, are inclosed in Cages of wood, borne with Camels, and liue in them, so passing the iourney, guided by Pilots with Mariners Compasse and Card, euen as on the Sea, as we haue said. In this iourney also many perish for thirst, and many by drinking too much, when they find such good waters. In these Sands is found *Momia*, which is the flesh of such men as are drowned in these Sands, and there dried by the heate of the Sunne: So that those bodies are preserved from putrifaction by the drinesse of the Sand: and therefore that dry flesh is esteemed medicinable. When the wind bloweth from the North, then the Sand riseth, and is driuen against a certaine Mountayne, which is an arme of the Mount *Sinai*. There we found certaine Pillars artificially wrought. On the left hand of the said Mountayne, in the top or ridge thereof is a Den, and the entrie into it is by an
 50 Iron Gate. Some saie that in that place *Mahomet* liued in contemplation. Here wee heard a certaine horrible noyse and crye: for passing the said Mountayne, wee were in so great danger, that we thought neuer to haue escaped. Departing therefore from the Fountayne, we continued our iourney for the space of ten dayes: And twice in the way fought with fiftie thousand *Arabians*, and so at the length came to the Citie of *Mecha*, where all things were troubled by reason of the warres betweene two brethren, contending which of them should possesse the Lordship of *Mecha*.

Old men.

False miracles to confirme false Religion.

The fable that Mahomets Tombe hangeth in the Ayre.

The iourney to Mecha.

Journey on the land by Card and Compasse as on the Sea. The Sea of Sand.

Momia.

Mount Sinai.

The den where Mahomet liued in contemplation.

Of Mecha, and why the Mahometans resort thither.

The Sultan of Mecha.

nuall

nuall warre with him. The eighteenth day of May, we entred into the Citie by the North side: then by a declining way, we came into a Plaine. On the South side are two Mountaynes, the one very neere the other, distant onely by a little Valley, which is the way that leadeth to the Gate of *Mecha*. On the East side, is an open place betweene two Mountaynes, like vnto a Vally, and is the way to the Mountayne where they sacrifice to the Patriarkes *Abraham* and *Isaac*. This Mountayne is from the Citie about eight or ten miles, and of the height of three stones cast: it is of stone as hard as Marble, yet no Marble. In the top of the Mountayne, is a Temple or Meschita, made after their fashion, and hath three wayes to enter into it. At the foot of the Mountayne are two Cisternes, which conferue waters without corruption: of these, the one is reserued to minister water to the Camels of the Carauan of *Babylon*, or *Al-cayr*; and the other, for them of *Damasco*. It is raine water, and is deriued farre off. 10

But to returne to speake of the Citie: for as touching the manner of sacrifice, which they vse at the foote of the Mountayne, we will speake hereafter. Enttring therefore into the Citie, we found there the Carauan of *Cayro*, which preuented vs eight daies, and came not the way that we came. This Carauan contained threescore and foure thousand Camels, and a hundred *Mamalucks* to guide them. And here ought you to consider, that by the opinion of all men, this Citie is greatly cursed of God, as appeareth by the great barrenesse thereof, for it is destitute of all manner of Fruits and Corne. It is scorched with drynesse for lacke of water, and therefore the water is there growne to such price, that you cannot for foure Quatrini buy as much water as will satisfie your thirst for one day. Now therefore, I will declare what prouision they haue for victuals. The most part is brought them from the Citie of *Cayros*; There is brought by the Red Sea, from a certaine Port, named *Ziden*, distant from *Mecha* fortie miles. The rest of their prouisions, is brought from *Arabia Felix* (that is) the happy or blessed *Arabia*: so named for the fruitfulness thereof, in respect of the other two *Arabiaes*, called *Petrea*, and *Deserta*, that is, Stonie and Desart. They haue also much Corne from *Ethiopia*. Here we found a maruellous number of strangers, and Peregrines or Pilgrims: Of the which, some came from *Syria*, some from *Persia*, some from *Ethiopia*, and other from both the *East Indies*, the greater and the lesser. I neuer saw in any place greater abundance and frequentation of people, forasmuch as I could perceiue by tarrying there the space of twentie daies. These people resort thither for diuers causes, as some for Merchandize, some to obserue their vow of Pilgrimage, and other to haue pardon for their sinnes: as touching the which, wee will speake more hereafter. 30

In the midst of the Citie is a Temple, in fashion like vnto the *Colossus* of *Rome*, the *Amphitheatrum* I meane, like vnto a Stage, yet not of Marble or hewed stones, but of burnt Bricks: For this Temple, like vnto an *Amphitheater*, hath fourescore and ten or an hundred Gates, and is vaulted. The entrance is by a discent of twelue stayres or degrees on euery part, in the Church porch are sold onely Iewels and precious stones. When you are past the entrance it is close aboue, and the gilded walls shine on euery side with incomparable splendour. In the lower part of the Temple (that is vnder the vaulted places) is seene a marvellous multitude of men: for there are five or six thousand men that sell none other thing then sweet Ointments, and especially a cer- 40

taine odoriferous and most sweet Powder, wherewith dead bodies are embalmed. And from hence, all manner of sweet saours are carried in manner, into the Countries of all the *Mahumetans*. It passeth all beliefe to thinke of the exceeding sweetnesse of the saours, farre surmounting the shops of the Apothecaries. The three and twentieth day of May, the Pardons began to be granted in the Temple, and in what manner, we will now declare. The Temple in the midst is open, without any inclosing, and in the midst also thereof is a Turret, of the largenesse of six paces in circuit, and inuolued or hanged with cloth or Tapestry of silke, and passeth not the height of a man. They enter into the Turret by a Gate of Siluer, and is on euery side beset with vessels full of Balme. On the day of Pentecost, licence is granted to all men to see these things. The Inhabitants affirme that Balme or Balsam, to bee part of the treasure of the *Sultan*, that is Lord of *Mecha*. At euery Vault of the Turret, are fastned grates of Iron, to let in light. The three and twentieth day of May, a great multitude of people began early in the morning before day, seuen times to walke about the Turret, kissing euery corner thereof, oftentimes feeling and handling them. From this Turret about ten or twelue paces, is another Turret, like a Chappell, builded after our manner. This hath three or foure entries: in the midst thereof is a Well of threescore and ten Cubits deepe: the water of this Well is infected with salt Peter. 50

Eight men are thereunto appointed to draw water for all the people: and when a multitude of people haue seuen times gone round about the first Turret, they come to this Well; and touching the mouth or brim thereof, they say thus: *Be it in the honor of God, God pardon me, and forgie me my sinnes*. When these words are said, they that draw the water, powre three Buckets of water on the heads of euery one of them that stand neere about the Well, and wash them all wet from the head to the foot, although they be apparelled with silke. Then the doting fooles dreame that they are cleane from all their sinnes, and that their sinnes are forgiven them. They say furthermore, that the first Turret, whereof we haue spoken, was the first house that euer *Abraham* 60

Sacrifice to *Abraham* and *Isaac*.

Mecha cursed of God. Water very deare.

Ziden. *Arabia Felix*.

Many Pilgrims and Strangers at *Mecha*.

Why so many Nations resort to *Mecha*.

The Temple of *Mecha*. This Temple and the buildings are altered since, by *Soliman*. See hereof, and of these Meccan rites, *inf. c. 9.*

Mecca-Pardons. A Turret in the Temple of *Mecha*. A Gate of Siluer. Balsam or Balme.

A Chappell with a Well in it, in the Temple.

A strange baptisme for remission of sins.

ham builded : and therefore, while they are yet all wet of the said washing, they goe to the Mountaine, where (as we haue said before) they are accustomed to sacrifice to *Abraham*. And remaining there two daies, they make the said Sacrifice to *Abraham* at the foot of the Mountain. When they intend to sacrifice, some of them kill three sheepe, some foure, and some ten : So that the Butcherie sometime so floweth with bloud, that in one day are slaine aboute thirtie thousand sheepe. They are slaine toward the rising of the Sunne, and shortly after are distributed to the poore for Gods sake : for I saw there of poore people, to the number of thirtie or fortie thousand. These make many and long Ditches in the Fields, where they keepe fire with Camels dung, and roast or seethe the flesh that is giuen them, and eat it euen there. I beleue that these poore people come thither rather for hunger then for deuotion : which I thinke by this coniecture, that great abundance of Cucumbers are brought thither from *Arabia Felix*, which they eate, casting away the parings without their Houses or Tabernacles, where a multitude of the said poore people gather them euen out of the mire and sand, and eate them, and are so greedie of these parings, that they fight who may gather most. The day following, their *Cadi* (which are in place with them as with vs the Preachers of Gods Word) ascended into a high Mountaine, to preach to the people that remayned beneath : and preached to them in their Language the space of an houre. The summe of his Sermon was, that with teares they should bewaile their sinnes, and beate their breasts, with sighes and lamentation. And the Preacher himselfe with loud voyce, spake these words, *O Abraham beloued of God, O Isaac chosen of God, and his Friend, pray to God for the people of Nabi*. When these words were said, suddenly were heard lamenting voices. When the Sermon was done, a rumour was spred that a great Armie of *Arabians*, to the number of twentie thousand, were comming. With which newes, they that kept the Carauans being greatly feared, with all speed, like mad men, fled into the Citie of *Mecha*, and we againe hearing newes of the *Arabians* approach, fled also into the Citie. But while wee were in the mid-way betweene the Mountaine and *Mecha*, we came by a despicable wall, of the breadth of foure Cubits : The people passing by this wall, had couered the way with stones, the cause whereof, they say to be this : When *Abraham* was commanded to sacrifice his Sonne, he willed his Sonne *Isaac* to follow him to the place where he should execute the commandement of God. As *Isaac* went to follow his Father, there appeared to him in the way a Deuill, in likenesse of a faire and friendly person, not farre from the said wall, and asked him friendly whether he went. *Isaac* answered, that he went to his Father who tarried for him. To this the Enemie of Mankind answered, that it was best for him to tarrie, and if that he went any further, his Father would sacrifice him. But *Isaac* nothing fearing this aduertisement of the Deuill, went forward, that his Father on him might execute the commandement of God : and with this answer (as they say) the Deuill departed. Yet as *Isaac* went forward, the Deuill appeared to him againe in the likenesse of another friendly person, and forbade him as before. Then *Isaac* taking vp a stone in that place, hurde it at the Deuill, and wounded him in the fore-head : In witnesse and remembrance whereof, the people passing that way, when they come neere the wall, are accustomed to cast stones against it, and from thence goe into the Citie. As we went this way, the Aire was in manner darkened with a multitude of stocke Doves. They say that these Doves, are of the Progenie of the Dove that spake in the eare of *Mahumet*, in likenesse of the Holy Ghost. These are seene euery where, as in the Villages, Houses, Tauernes, and Graniers of Corne and Rice, and are so tame, that one can scarcely driue them away. To take them or kill them, is esteemed a thing worthy death : and therefore a certaine Pension is giuen to nourish them in the Temple.

The house of Abraham. Sacrifice to Abraham. The manner of sacrificing at Mecha. Sacrifice of sheepe.

Religion for pouertie.

Cadi, a Preacher. A goodly Sermon.

Souldiers trouble the Word of God

The Deuill appeareth to *Isaac*, or rather to *Ismael*, after their Legend.

Isaac wounded the Deuill in the fore-head. Stocke Doves of the Progenie of the Dove which spake in *Mahumets* eare

II.

Two Vnicornes. His passage by the Red Sea to Aden. Imprisonment and counterfeiting himselfe madde. Escape and visiting other parts of Arabia, Zeila, Cambaia.

IN the other part of the Temple are Parkes or places inclosed, where are seene two Vnicornes, and are there shewed to the people for a wonder. The one of them, which is much higher then the other, yet not much vnlke to a Colt of thirtie moneths of age; in the fore-head groweth only one Horne, in manner right forth, of the length of three Cubits. The other is much younger, and like a young Colt : of the age of one yeare; the horne of this, is of the length of foure spannes. This beast is of the colour of a Horse of Weesell colour, and hath the head like an Hart, but no long necke, a thinne mane hanging only on the one side : their legs are thinne and slender, like a Fawne or Hind : the hooves of the fore-feet are diuided in two, much like the feet of a Goat, the outward part of the hinder feet is very full of haire. This beast doubtlesse seemeth wild and fierce, yet tempereth that fiercenesse with a certaine comelinesse. These Vnicornes one gaue to the Sultan of *Mecha*, as a most precious and rare gift. They were sent him out of *Ethiopia* by a King of that Countrey, who desired by that present to gratifie the Sultan of *Mecha*.

The only report that I haue found in any credible Author of Vnicornes: neither in 120. yeares which haue passed since, haue I found one Relation to second it. Some mention Vnicornes, but vnderstand the Rhinoceros. *Brassia*.

IIIIIIII

whereas

Why Mecha
is not so much
frequented as
in time past.

Paying of cus-
tome to the
Sultan.

The Citie Zi-
den.

Poore Pil-
grims that
came from
Mecha.

Whereas my Captaine gaue me charge to buy certaine things, as I was in the Market place, a certaine *Mamaluke* knew me to be a *Christian*. And therefore in his owne Language, spake vnto me these words, *Intemename*: That is, whence art thou? To whom I answered that I was a *Mahumetan*. But he said, Thou sayest not truly. I said againe, By the head of *Mahumet*, I am a *Mahumetan*. Then he said againe, Come home to my house. I followed him willingly. When we were there, he began to speake to me in the *Italian* Tongue, and asked me againe from whence I was, affirming that he knew me, and that I was no *Mahumetan*: Alſo that he had bin sometime in *Genua* and *Venice*. And that his words might be the better beleued, rehearsed many things which testified that he said truth. When I vnderstood this, I confessed freely that I was a *Romane*, but professed to the Faith of *Mahumet* in the Citie of *Babylon*, and there made one of the *Mamalukes*. Whereof he seemed greatly to reioyce, and therefore vsed me honourably. But because my desire was yet to goe further, I asked the *Mahumetan* whether that Citie of *Mecha* was so famous as all the World spake of it: and inquired of him where was the great abundance of Pearles, Precious Stones, Spices, and other rich Merchandise that the bruit went of to be in that Citie. Then he began with more attentiu minde, in order to declare vnto me the cause why that Mart was not so greatly frequented as it had beene before, and laid the only fault thereof on the King of *Portugall*. When I was well instructed in all things, I spake vnto him friendly these words in the *Mahumets* Language, *Menaha Menalhaba*: That is to say, I pray you assist me. He asked me wherein. To helpe mee (said I) how I may secretly depart hence to those Kings that were most enemies to the *Christians*: Affirming furthermore, that I would giue place to no man in making of all manner of Gunnes and Artillerie. Then said hee, Praysed be *Mahumet* who sent thee hither, to doe him and his *Moore*s good seruice: and willed me to remayne secretly in his house with his wife, and required mee earnestly to obtayne leaue of our Captaine, that vnder his name hee might leade from *Mecha* fiftene Camels laden with Spices, without paying any custome: for they ordinarily pay to the *Sultan* thirtie Saraphes of Gold, for transporting of such Merchandises for the charge of so many Camels. I put him in good hope of his request, although he would aske for a hundred, affirming that that might easily be obtayned by the Priuiledges of the *Mamalukes* and therefore desired him that I might safely remayne in his house. Then nothing doubting to obtaine his request, hee greatly reioyced, and talking with me yet more freely, gaue me further instructions, and counselled me to repaire to a certaine King of the greater *India*, in the Kingdome and Realme of *Dechan*. Therefore the day before the Carauan departed from *Mecha*, he willed me to lye hid in the most seeret part of his house. The day following, early in the morning, the Trumpetter of the Carauan gaue warning to all the *Mamalukes* to make readie their Horses, to direct their journey toward *Syria*, with Proclamation of death to all that should refuse so to doe. When I heard the sound of the Trumpet, and was aduertized of the streight commandement, I was maruellously troubled in minde, and with heauie countenance desired the *Mahumetans* wife not to bewray mee, and committed my selfe to the mercie of God. On the Tuesday following, our Carauan departed from *Mecha*, and I remayned in the *Mahumetans* house with his wife, but he followed the Carauan. Yet before he departed, he gaue commandement to his wife to bring mee to the Carauan, which should depart from *Ziden* the Port of *Mecha*, to goe into *India*. This Port is distant from *Mecha* fortie miles. Whilest I lay thus hid in the *Mahumetans* house, I cannot expresse how friendly his wife vsed mee. This also furthered my good entertainment, that there was in the house a faire young Maide, the Niece of the *Mahumetan*, who was greatly in loue with me. But at that time, in the middest of those troubles and feares, the fire of *Venus* was almost extinct in me: and therefore with dalliance of faire words and promises, I still kept my selfe in her fauour. Therefore the Friday following, about noon-tyde I departed, following the Carauan of *India*. And about mid-night, we came to a certaine Village of the *Arabians*, and there remayned the rest of that night, and the next day till noone.

From hence we went forward on our iourney toward *Ziden*, and came thither in the silence of the night. This Citie hath no walls, yet faire houses, some-what after the building of *Italie*. Heere is great abundance of all kind of Merchandises, by reason of resort in manner of all Nations thither, except *Iewes* and *Christians*, to whom it is not lawfull to come thither. Asloone as I entered into the Citie, I went to their Temple, or Meschita, where I saw a great multitude of poore people, about the number of fise and twentie thousand, attending a certaine Pilot who should bring them into their Countrey. Here I suffered much trouble and affliction, being enforced to hide my selfe among these poore folkes, faining my selfe very sicke, to the end that none should be inquisitiue what I was, whence I came, or whither I would. The Lord of this Citie is the *Sultan* of *Babylon*, Brother to the *Sultan* of *Mecha*, who are subiect to the great *Soldan* of *Cairo*. The Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*. The soyle is vnfruitfull, and lacketh fresh water. The Sea beateth against the Towne. There is neuerthelesse abundance of all things: but brought thither from other places, as from *Cairo*, *Arabia Felix*, and diuers other places. The heate is here so great, that men are in manner dried vp therewith. And therefore there is euer a great number of sicke folkes. This Citie contayneth about fise hundred houes.

After

After fifteene dayes were past, I couenanted with a Pilot, who was ready to depart from thence into *Persia*, and agreed on the price, to goe with him. There lay at Anchor in the Hauē almost a hundred Brigantines and Foyfts, with diuers Boates and Barkes of sundry sorts, both with Oares and without Oares. Therefore after three dayes, giuing wind to our sayles, we sailed in the Red Sea.

From Arabia
to Persia, see 2
to Arabia H
a nashid O
amaght

After sixe dayes sayling, we came to a Citie named *Gezan*. It hath a commodious Port, and very faire, where we found about forty five Brigantines and Foyfts of diuers Regions. The Citie is hard by the Sea-side, and the Prince thereof, is a *Mahumetan*. The soyle is fruitfull, like vnto *Italie*: It beareth Pomegranates, Quinces, Peaches, Apples of *Assyria*, Pepons, Melons, Oranges, Gourds, and diuers other Fruits: Also Roses, and sundry sorts of Flowers, the fairest that euer I saw: It seemeth an earthly Paradise. The most part of the Inhabitants goe naked. In other things, they liue after the manner of the *Mahumetans*. There is also great abundance of Flesh, Wheate, Barley, the Graine of white Millet or Hirse (which they call *Dora*) whereof they make very sweet Bread. Departing from the Citie of *Gezan*, the space of five dayes, sayling toward the left hand, hauing euer the Coast of the Land in sight, wee came to the sight of certayne houses, where about fourteene of vs went a-land, hoping to haue had some victuals of the Inhabitants. But we lost our labour, for in the stead of victuals, they cast stones at vs with Slings. They were about a hundred that fought with our men for the space of an houre. Of them were slaine foure and twenty. The rest were driuen to flight, they were naked, and had none other Weapons then Slings. After their flight, we brought away with vs certayne Hennes and Calues very good. Shortly after, a great multitude of the Inhabitants shewed themselves to the number of five or sixe hundred: but we departed with our prey, and returned to the ships.

Baduines.

Continued
in the same

The same day sayling forward, we came to an Iland named *Camaran*, which containeth ten miles in circuit. In it is a Towne of two hundred houses, the Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*: it hath abundance of fresh water and flesh, and the fairest Salt that euer I saw. The Port is eight miles from the Continent, it is subiect to the *Sultan* of *Arabia Felix*. After wee had remayned here two dayes, we tooke our way toward the mouth of the Red Sea in the space of two dayes sayling.

The day after our arriuing at *Aden*, the *Mahumetans* took me, and put shackles on my legs, which came by occasion of a certayn Idolater who cryed after me, saying, O *Christian Dog*, borne of Dogs. When the *Mahumetans* heard the name of a *Christian*, incontinent they layd hands on mee, and brought me to the Lieutenant of the *Sultan* of that place, who assembling his Councel, asked their opinion if I should be put to death as a Spye of the *Christians*. The *Sultan* himselfe was out of the Citie, and therefore his Lieutenant, who had yet neuer adiudged any man to death, thought it not good to giue sentence against me, before the *Sultan* should bee aduertized hereof. And therefore I escaped this present danger, and remayned in custodie fiftie and five dayes, with an Iron of eightene pound weight hanging at my feet. The second day after I was taken, many *Mahumetans* in great rage resorted to him, whose Office was to make Inquisition of Treason. These a few dayes before, by swimming hardly escaped the hands of the *Portugals*, with the losse of their Foyfts and Barkes, and therefore desired greatly to bee reuenged of the *Christians*: affirming, with outragious cry, that I was a Spye of the *Portugals*. But God sayled not to assist me. For the Master of the Prison perceiuing the outrage of the *Mahumetans*, and fearing that they would offer me violence, made fast the gates of the Prison. After that five and fiftie dayes were past, the *Sultan* commanded that I should be brought before him: and so set vpon a Camell with my shackles, I came in eight dayes iourney to the place where the *Sultan* lay, and was brought to his presence in a Citie named *Rhada*: for there the *Sultan* had assembled an Armie of thirtie thousand men, to make warre against the *Sultan* of the Citie of *Sana*, which is three dayes iourney from *Rhada*, and situate partly on the declining of a Hill, and partly in a Plaine, very faire to be seene, well peopled, and hauing plentie of all things. When I came before the *Sultan*, he began to aske me what I was. I answered that I was a *Romane*, professed a *Mamaluks* in *Babylon* of *Alcayr*, and that of Religious minde to discharge my conscience of a Vow which I had made, I came to the Citie of *Medinathalhabi*, where *Nabi* (or the Prophet) is buried and after to *Mecca*. And that in all Cities and Countries by the way, I heard honourable report of his greatnesse, wisdome, and singular vertue, and therefore ceased not vntill I entred his Dominions, most desirous to see his face, yeelding thanks to God and *Nabi*, that it was now my chance to be presented before him: trusting that the equitie of his wisdome, would thereby consider that I was no Spye of the *Christians*, but a true *Mahumetan*, and his seruant and slaue. Then said the *Sultan*, Say *Leila illala Mahumet resullala*: which words I could neuer well pronounce, eyther that it pleased not God, or that for feare and scruple of conscience, I durst not. Therefore when he saw me hold my peace, he committed me againe to Prison, commanding that I should be straightly looked vnto, where sixteene men of the Citie were appointed, euery day foure, to watch me by course. So that for the space of three moneths, I had not the fruition of Heauen, during which miserable time, my Dyet was euery day a Loafe of Millet, so little that seuen of them would not haue satisfied my hunger for one day: But if I might haue had my fill

The Author
taken and put
in Prison,

Exceeding
the first
A the
of

Souldiers
Horsemen of
Christian E.
thiopians.

of water, I would haue thought my selfe happy. Within three dayes after the *Sultan* marched with his Armie, in which were foure thousand Horsemen, to besiege the Citie of *Sana*. These Horsemen were borne of Christian Parents, and blacke like the *Ethiopians*, and while they were yet very young, were bought in the Kingdome of *Prestor Iohn*, at eight or nine yeares old. They are brought vp in Discipline of Warre. This *Sultan* hath them in great estimation, for they are the guard of his owne person, and are more valued then foure score thousand of the other; they couer their body with a findon, like vnto a cloke or cape, putting out onely one arme, and are beside naked without any other apparell. In the Warres they vse round Targets made of Buffels Hydes, with certayne little barres of Iron to strengthen them. These Targets are painted very faire with sundry colours, and very commodious to resist Darts, and are in largenesse as 10 much as the mouth of a Barrell: the handle is made of wood, as bigge as they may well hold in their hands, and made fast with nayles. They vse Darts and short broad Swords. At other times, they vse also Vestures of Linnen cloth of sundry colours. In the Warres euery man beareth with him a Sling, which he casteth, first shaking it often about his head. When they come to forty or fifty yeares of age, they make them hornes, by wreathing the haire of their heads, so bearing two hornes like young Goates. When they proceed to the Warres, fise thousand Camels follow the Army, all laden with Ropes of Bombasine.

Counterfeite
madnesse.

Hard by the Prison was a long entry in manner of a Cloyster, where sometime we were permitted to walke. Yee shall further vnderstand, that in the *Sultans* place remayned one of his three Wiues, with twelue young Maids to waite vpon her, very faire and comely, after their 20 manner, and of colour inclining to blacke. The fauour that they bore me, helped me very much: for I with two other, being in the same Prison, agreed that one of vs should counterfeit himselfe to be mad, that by this deuice, one of vs might helpe an other. In fine, it was my lot to take vpon me the mad mans part, and therefore it stood me in hand to doe such follies as pertayne to madnesse. Also the opinion which they haue of mad folkes, made greatly for my purpose: for they take mad men to be holy, and therefore suffered me to runne more at large, vntill the *Eremites* had giuen iudgement whether I were holy, or raging mad, as appeareth hereafter. But the first three dayes in which I began to shew my madnesse, wearied mee so much, that I was neuer so tyred with labour or grieued with paine, for the Boyes and Rascall people sometime to the number of fortie or fiftie, hurled stones at me almost without ceasing, while in the meane time 30 againe I paid some of them home with like wages. The Boyes cryed euer after me, calling mee mad man. And to shew it the more, I carryed alwayes stones with mee in my shirt, for other apparell had I none. The Queene hearing of my follies, looked oftentimes out of the windowes to see me, more for a secret loue she bore me, then for the pleasure she tooke in my follies, as afterward appeared.

Sheepe with
exceeding
great tayles.
A sheepe made
a Mahumetan.

Therefore on a time, when some of them, much madder then I, played the Knaues with me in the sight of the Queene (whose secret fauour towards mee I somewhat perceiued) that my madnesse might seeme more manifest, I cast off my shirt, and went to the place before the windowes, where the Queene might see me all naked: wherein I perceiued she tooke great pleasure. For she euer found some occasion that I might not goe out of her sight: and would sometimes, 40 with all her Damofels wayting on her, spend almost the whole day in beholding me: and in the meane season diuers times sent me secretly much good meate by her Maidens, and when she saw the Boyes or other doe me any hurt, she bad me kill them, and spare not, reuiling them also, and calling them dogges and beasts. In the Palace was nourished a great fat sheepe: whose tayle weighed fortie pound weight. Vnder the colour of madnesse, I laid hand on this sheepe, saying, *Leila illala Mahumet resullala*: which words the *Sultan* before, when I was brought to his presence, willed me to say, to prooue whether I were a *Mahumetan*, or a professed *Mamaluke*. But the beast answering nothing, I asked him if he were a *Mahumetan*, Jew, or Christian. And willing to make him a *Mahumetan*, I rehearsed againe the said words, *Leila illala Mahumet resullala* (that is to say) there is one God, and *Mahumet* his chiefe Prophet: which are the words 50 which they speake in professing their Faith. But when the beast yet answered nothing, I broke his legges with a staffe. The Queene tooke great pleasure in these my mad follies, and commanded the flesh of the sheepe to bee giuen mee to eate: I neuer ate meate with more pleasure, or better appetite. Also three dayes after, I likewise killed an Asse, that was wont to bring water into the Palace, because he refused to be a *Mahumetan*, and to say those words. The same time also I handled a Jew so euill, that I had almost killed him, one in the meane time calling mee Christian Dogge, Dogge borne. With which words beeing very angry, I cast many stones at him: but he againe hurling at me, gaue me a stroke on the brest, and an other on the side, which grieued me very sore.

And because I could not follow him by reason of my shackles, I returned to the Prison, and 60 stopped the doore with a heape of stones, and there liued in great paine for the space of two dayes without meate or drinke: And therefore the Queene and other thought me to be dead, but the doore was opened by the Queenes Commandement. Then these Dogges deriding me, gaue me stones in the stead of bread, and pieces of white Marble, saying, that it was Sugar: other gaue

gaue me clusters of Grapes full of sand. But partly, that they should not suspect that I counterfeited madnesse, I ate the Grapes as they gaue me them. When the brute was sired that I liued two dayes and nights without meate and drinke: some beganne to suspect that I was a holy man, and some that I was starke mad. And thus being diuided into diuers opinions, they consulted to send for certaine men, of whom they haue such opinion of holinesse, as wee haue of Heremites: these dwell in the Mountaynes, and lead a contemplatiue life. When they came vnto me, to giue their iudgement what manner of man I was, certaine Merchants asked them if I were a holy man, or a mad man. These were also of diuers opinions, some affirming one thing, and some another. While they were yet debating this matter, for the space of an houre, I pissed
10 in my hands, and hurld it in their faces: whereby they agreed that I was no Saint, but a madde man. The Queene seeing all this at the window, laughed well thereat among her Maidens, and said thus to them, By the goodnesse of God, and by the head of *Mahumet*, this is a good man. The day following, when in the morning I found him asleepe that had so sore hurt mee with stones, I tooke him by the haire of the head with both hands, and with my knee so punched him on the stomacke, and battered his face, that I left him all bloudie, and halfe dead. Which thing the Queene seeing, cryed vnto me, saying, kill the Beast, kill the Dogge: whereupon, hee ranne his way, and came no more in sight. When the President of the Citie heard that the Queene fauoured me, and tooke pleasure in my mad sport, thinking also that I was not madde,
20 commanded that I should goe at libertie within the Palace, only wearing my shackles: Yet euery night was I put in another Prison in the lower part of the Palace, and so remayned still in the Court for the space of twentie dayes. In the meane time, the Queene willed mee to goe a hunting with her, which I refused not, and at my returne, I fained me to be sicke for wearinesse. So continuing for the space of eight dayes, vnder the colour of sicknesse, the Queene often sent to me to know how I did. After this, finding oportunitie, I declared to the Queene that I had made a Vow to God and *Mahumet*, to visit a certaine holy man in the Citie of *Aden*, and desired her to giue me leaue to goe thither. Whereunto she consented: and commanded immediately a Camell and twentie five Sarraphes of Gold to be deliuered me. Therefore the day following, I tooke my iourney, and in the space of eight dayes, came to the Citie of *Aden*: and shortly after my comming, visited the man of whom was so great report of holinesse, and whom the
30 people honoured for a Saint. And this onely, because he had euery liued in great pouertie, and without the company of women. When I had performed my Vow, I fained that I had recovered health by miracle of that holy man, and certified the Queene thereof, desiring that I might tarrie ther a while, to visit likewise certaine other men in that Countrey, of whom was the like fame of holinesse: which excuse I deuised, because the fleet of *India* would not yet depart from thence for the space of a moneth. In the meane time, I secretly agreed with a certaine Captaine of that Nauie to goe with him into *India*, and made him many faire promises to reward him largely. Hee answered, that hee would not goe into *India*, before hee had first beene in *Persia*: whereunto I agreed.

The day following, mounting vpon a Camell, and making a iourney of five and twentie
40 miles, I came to a certaine Citie named *Lagi*, situate in a great Plaine, well peopled, hauing abundance of Oliues, and flesh, with also great plentie of Corne, after our manner: but no Vines, great scarcenesse of wood. The Inhabitants are vnciuill and rusticall people of the Nation of Vagabond and field *Arabians*, and therefore but poore. Departing from hence one dayes iourney, I came to another Citie named *Aiaz*, situate vpon two hills, with a great Plaine betweene them, and hath in it a notable Fountayne, and therefore diuers Nations resort thither as to a famous Mart. The Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*, and yet greatly differing in opinion of their Religion: insomuch that therefore they bee at great enmitie one against the other, and keepe forewarre. The cause whereof they say to be this: That the people of the North Mountayne, maintayne the Faith and Sect of *Mahumet* and his fellowes, of whom we haue spoken before: but
50 the other of the South Mountayne affirme, that Faith should be giuen onely to *Mahumet Holy*, saying, the other to be false Prophets.

I departed hence to *Dante*, from thence to *Almacharan*, where the Aire is maruellous temperate and holesome, and the Citie second to none in all respects: the colour of the Inhabitants is rather inclining to white, then any other colour. And to speake that I haue seene, the Sultan reserueth here as much Gold as will lade a hundred Camels.

Reame is distant two dayes iourney from *Almacharan*. The colour of the Inhabitants is inclining to blacke: and they are great Merchants. The soyle is fruitfull of all things sauing wood: it containeth in the circuit two thousand houses: on the one side is a Mountayne hauing on it a very strong Fortresse. Here I saw a certaine kind of sheepe hauing their tailes of fortie and foure
60 pound weight, and are without hornes, and also so marvellous fat, that they can scarcely goe for fatnesse. There belikewise certaine Grapes without Graines, the sweetest that euer I eate, and all manner of such Fruits, as I haue spoken of before. It is of marvellous temperatenesse, as witnesseth the long life of men, for I haue spoken with many of them that haue passed the age of a hundred five and twentie yeares, and yet verie lustie and well complexioned. They goe for the

Madnestaken
for holinesse.

Heremites.
Mahumetans.

An Arabian
8000 men
strong will

A holy Vow.

A holy Saint.

The fleet of
India.

Strife and hatred
for Religion, and all
worth nought.
Mortus Kaly, as
the *Persians* call
him.

Aliaz

Gold
Inuice
Blacke
Preston
King of
Inuice
and

Grapes with-
out graines.
Men of long
life in tempe-
rate Aire.

- most part naked, wearing only shirts, or other loose and thinne apparell, like Mantles, putting out one arme all bare. Almost all the *Arabians* make them hornes with wreathing of their owne haire, and that they thinke very comely.
- * See the next Chap.
An Armie of 80000. men.
Strong walls.
- Departing from thence three dayes iourney, I came to a Citie named *Sana*, situate vpon a very high Mountayne, verie strong by Art and Nature. The *Sultan* besieged this, with a great Armie of fourescore thousand men for the space of three moneths, but could neuer win it. Yet it was at the last rendred by composition. The wals are of eightene cubits height, and twentie in bredth, insomuch that eight Camels in order may well march vpon them. The Region is very fruitfull and much like vnto ours, and hath plentie of water. A *Sultan* is Lord of the Citie: hee hath twelue Sonnes, of the which one is named *Mahumet*, who by a certaine naturall tyrannie and madnesse, delighteth to eate mans flesh, and therefore secretly killeth many to eate them. He is of large and strong bodie of foure Cubits high, and of the colour inclining to ashes. The soyle beareth certayne Spices not farre from the Citie. It contayneth about foure thousand houses. The houses are of faire building, and giue no place to ours. The Citie is so large, that it contayneth within the wals, Fields, Gardens, and Medowes.
- Taesfa.
Roses.
- After three daies iourney, I came to a Citie named *Taesfa*, situate vpon a Mountaine, and very faire to sight: it hath plentie of all delices, and especially of marvellous faire Roses, whereof they make Rose-water. It is an ancient Citie, and hath in it a Temple built after the fashion of *Santa Maria Rotunda* in *Rome*. The houses are very faire, and shew yet the Monuments of antiquitie: innumerable Merchants resort hither for the trafficke of sundrie Merchandize. In apparell they are like vnto other, and of darkish Ashe colour of skinne, enclining to blacke. Three daies iourney from thence, I came to another Citie named *Zibite*, very faire and goodly, distant from the Red Sea onely halfe a daies iourney: there is great abundance of Merchandize, by reason of the neernesse of the Sea. It aboundeth with many goodly things, and especially with most white Sugar, and sundry kindes of pleasant fruits. It is situate in a very large Plaine within two Mountaynes: it lacketh walls, and is one of the chiefeft Marts for all sorts of Spices. The Inhabitants are of the colour of them aforesaid. From hence in one daies iourney, I came to the Citie of *Damar*: It is a fruitfull soyle, and hath great exercise of Merchandize. The Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*, in apparel and colour like vnto the other.
- Sugar.
- These Cities whereof we haue spoken here a little before, are subiect to a *Sultan* of *Arabia Felix*, named *Sechamir*: *Secha* (by interpretation) signifieth Holy, and *Amir*, a Prince, named the holy Prince, because he abhorreth shedding of mans blood. At the time of my being there in Prison, hee nourished sixteene thousand poore men and Captiues in Prison condemned to death, allowing to euery of them daily for their diet, fixe of their pence of the smallest valure, and at home in his Palace entertayneth as many blacke slaues.
- The Sultan of Arabia Felix.
- A pitifull Pagan.
A great familie.
- Departing from hence, I returned to the Citie of *Aden* in three dayes iourney: in the mid-way, I found an exceeding high and large Mountaine, where is great plentie of wilde beasts, and especially of Monkeyes, which runne about the Mountaine euery where. There are also many Lions, very noysome to men: and therefore it is not safe to iourney that way, but when a multitude of men goe together, at the least, to the number of a hundred. I passed this way with a great companie, and yet were we in danger of the Lions, and other wilde beasts which followed vs: for we were sometimes constrained to fight with them with Darts, Slings, and Bowes, vsing also the helpe of Dogs, and yet escaped hardly. When I came to the Citie, I fained my selfe sicke: and in the day time lurked in the Temple, and went forth onely in the night to speake with the Pilot of the ship (of whom I haue made mention before) and obtayned of him a Foist or Barke to depart thence secretly.
- Monkeys and Lions.
- Danger of wilde beasts.
- Committing our selues to the Sea, we were by inconstant fortune and sundry tempests, deterred from that Voyage: for whereas we were now fixe dayes sayling on our way to *Persia*, a sudden contrary tempest droue vs out of our way, and cast vs on the coast of *Ethiophe*. Our Barks were laden with Rubricke (that is, a certaine red earth) which is vsed to dye Cloth: for yeerely from the Citie of *Aden*, depart fifteene or twentie ships laden with Rubricke, which is brought out of *Arabia Felix*. Being therefore thus tossed with stormes, we were driven into a Port, named *Zeila*: where we remayned fve dayes to see the Citie, and tarried vntill the Sea were more quiet.
- Tempest.
The Voyage to Persia.
Ethiophe.
Rubricke.
- Zeila.
- In this Citie is great frequentation of Merchandise, as in a most famous Mart. There is marvellous abundance of Gold and Iuorie, and an innumerable number of blacke Slaues, sold for a small price: these are taken in Warre by the *Mahumetan Moores*, out of *Ethiopia*, of the Kingdome of *Presbyter Iohannes*. In this Citie Iustice and good Lawes are obserued: the soyle beareth Wheat, and hath abundance of Flesh, and diuers other commodious things. It hath also Oyle, not of Oliues but of some other thing, I know not what. There is also plentie of Honey and Waxe: there are likewise certaine Sheepe, hauing their tayles of the weight of sixteene pound, and exceeding fat; the head and necke are blacke, and all the rest white. There are also Sheepe altogether white, hauing tayles of a cubit long, hanging downe like a cluster of Grapes: and haue also great laps of skin hanging from their throats, as haue Bulls and Oxen, hanging downe
- Gold.
Iuorie.
Blacke slaues.
Presbyter Iohannes, King of Iacobins and Abyssins.
Iustice and good lawes.
Sheepe with great tayles.
Paltaria.

downe almost to the ground. There are also certaine Kine with hornes like vnto Harts hornes, these are wilde: and when they be taken, are giuen to the *Sultan* of that Citie as a Kingly present. I saw there also certaine Kine, hauing onely one horne in the middlest of the forehead, about a span and halfe of length, but the horne bendeth backward: they are of bright-shining red colour. But they that haue Harts hornes, are enclining to blacke colour. Coney is there good cheape. The Citie hath an innumerable multitude of Merchants: the Walls are greatly decayed, and the Hauen rude and despicable. The King or *Sultan* of the Citie is a *Mahometan*, and entertayneth in wages a great multitude of Foot-men and Horse-men. They are greatly giuen to warres, and weare onely one loose single vesture, as wee haue said before of other. **10** They are of darke albie colour, enclining to blacke. In the warres, they are vnarmed: and are of the Sect of *Adahumet*.

After that the tempests were appeased, we gaue wind to our Sayles, and in short time arriued at the Iland named *Barbara*, the Prince whereof is a *Mahometan*. The Iland is not great, but fruitfull, and well peopled: it hath abundance of flesh. The Inhabitants are of colour enclining to blacke. All their riches is in herds of Cattell. Wee remayned here but one day, and departing from hence, sayled into *Persia*: and thence to *Cambaia*.

The *Sultan* of *Cambaia*, at my being there, was named *Macamur*, and had reigned fortie yeers, after he had expulsed the King of *Guzerat*. They thinke it not lawfull to kill any living beast to eate, or to eate flesh. They are no *Mahometans*, neither Idolaters. As touching their apparel, **20** some of them goe naked, and other couer onely their priuities. On their heads they weare fillets of purple colour. They themselues are of darke yellow colour, commonly called Leonell colour. This *Sultan* maintayneth an Armie of twentie thousand Horse-men. Euery morning resort to his Palace, fiftie men, sitting on Elephants. Their office is, with all reuerence to salute the King or *Sultan*, the Elephants also kneeling downe. In the morning as soone as the King waketh, is heard a great noyse of Drummes, Tambarts, Timbrels, Waits, and also Trumpets, with diuers other Muscical Instruments, in reioycing that the King liueth. The like doe they while he is at dinner: & then also the men sitting on the Elephants, make him the like reuerence as before. Wee will in due place speake of the wit, customes, and docilitie of these beasts. The *Sultan* of this Citie, hath his Mustachos so long that he beareth them vp with a fillet, as women **30** doe the haire of their heads: his beard is white and long, euen vnto the nauell. He is so accustomed to poyson from his infancy, that he daily eateth some to keepe it in vse. And although he himselfe feeles no hurt thereof by reason of custome, yet doth hee thereby so impoyson himselfe, that he is poyson to other: for when he is disposed to put any of his Noblemen to death, he causeth him to be brought to his presence, and to stand naked before him. Incontinent hee eateth certaine fruits (which they call *Chofolos*) like vnto Nutmegs: and eateth also the leaues of herbs, which they call *Tambolos*, adding also thereto the powder of beaten Oyster shells. And a while chawing all these together in his mouth, he spitteth it vpon him whom he desireth to kill, who being sparkled therewith, dieth by force of the poyson within the space of halfe an **40** houre. He entertayneth about foure thousand Concubines: for whensoever he hath lyen with any of them, shee with whom hee hath lyen, is dead in the morning. And when hee changeth his shirt or other apparell, no man dare weare it: and for this cause he hath great change of apparell. My companion enquired diligently of the Merchants, by what meanes hee was of so venomous nature? They answered, that the *Sultan* his father brought him so vp of a child with poyson by little and little, with preseruatiues so accustoming him thereto.

But wee will follow our Author no further into India, hauing entertayned him for an Arabian guide: But for our Readers satisfaction will adde this little of Arabia, taken from an Author which liued long since, and was in those parts better trauelled: to which wee will adde Collections out of Arabike Authors, for more full understanding of their unholy Holies.

50

CHAP. VIII.

Collections of Asia, especially of Arabia, gathered out of an Arabike Booke of Geographie, written by a Nubian, foure hundred and seuentie yeeres agoe, and translated into Latine by GABRIEL SIONITA, and IOHANNES HESRONITA, Maronites of Mount Libanus, the one Professor, and both Interpreters to the French King, of the Arabike, and Syriake Tongues.

60

THis Author is unknowne; by some passages of his Booke esteemed by the Translators a Nubian and a Christian; by learned Casaubon thought to be an Egyptian and Mahometan, to which later opinion I should rather subscribe, by reason of his weaker Relations of Nubia, and the next Westerne parts of Africa, (erring in the course of Nilus it selfe) then of others: and though he calls Christ Lord;

Kine with
Harts hornes;
Kine with one
ly one horne:

Baniats.

They may
seeme the suc-
cessors of Da-
rins and Porus.
The great
pompe of the
King of
Cambaia.
Elephants.

A strange Hi-
storie of a King
accustomed to
eate poyson.

A venomous
King.

Lord; and the Blessed Virgin, Ladie, yet his phrase and stile deuotion is after the Mahumetan manner, and his Geographie best in those parts, where was then no safe trauell for Christians, as in Arabia, Spaine, &c. His method is by the Climates. This which we haue translated, is out of the first, second, and third Climate. The Mahumetans also call Christ, Lord; (Nazaret Eesa) as is obserued before in Master Terry.

Praise be to God the Lord of the Creatures.

a Iaman is South or Happie Arabia.



He Aloe of Socotra exceedeth in goodnesse that which is gathered in Hadbramut of the Land of Iaman, in Seger, or any where else. This Iland is reckoned amongst the Regions of Iaman^a, and belongs to it.ouer against it are Melinda, and Monbasa. Alexander hauing conquered the Indians, returned by the Indian Sea to the Sea of Iaman, and ouercomming those Ilands, came to Socotra, and wrote to Aristotle his Master thereof, who aduised him to people it with Grecians. Thus (according to the Moores Tradition) were the Natiues remoued, and Greekes there planted, which is the reason (in our Authors conceit) that the then Inhabitants were for the most part Christians.

b Stations are dayes journeys or such places where Trauellers and Carauans made stay.

c Zabid, d Sanaa, haply that which is now the Metropolis Sian or Zenan, where Sir H. Mid. was.

e Dair-Dabes now Taies.

f Aden.

g Mahgem, now perhaps Moba: for the pronounciation of letters especially gutters, cause much alteration.

h Saba, I suppose he meaneth the queen of Saba, 1. Reg. 10.

i Merbat and Frankincense. Sarandib.

The Iles Chartan and Martan are in Giun Alhasisco (berbe Sinn, the weedy or grassy Bay) ouer against the Land of Seger, in which Frankincense groweth. In both these liue a People of Arabs, which speake a Language vnkowne to the Moderne. Of the Regions of Iaman is the Castle Alberda, the Inhabitants whereof liue a hard life. From hence to the Castle Galafesa are foure stations^b by land. It is neere the Hauen Zabid, fiftie miles distant. That Citie^c Zabid is great and rich, frequented by Merchants of Hagiaz, Habascia, and Mefr (or Egypt) which passe by the ships of Giocda. The Ethiopians bring thither their Merchandises, and thence carrie Spices, and China Dishes. It is situate neere a small Riuer, distant one hundred thirtie two miles from the Citie Sanaa, by the way which goeth to the Land of Iaman. From Zabid to Gilan is fixe and thirtie miles; thence to Alban, two and fortie; to Albolf, thirtie; and then to Sanaa, foure and twentie. Those are small Villages and Castles, but populous. Sanaa is rich, stored with buildings, and in all the Land of Iaman, the most ancient, large, and populous; temperate and fertile. Thence to Dhamar a small Citie, is eight and fortie miles; to Aden from Sanaa is foure and twentie miles; by the way which leads to Dair-Dabes^e. Aden^f is a small Citie, yet of note as a Port of both Seas; from whence the ships of Sinda, India, and China set forth, and thither are brought (Vasa Sinica) the China Dishes.

From Aden to Mahgem^g is eight Stations; this is a small populous Citie, the border twixt the Gouverment of Tahama and Iaman, and is from Sanaa seuen stations. From Mahen to Habran are foure stations. From Habran to Saada are eight and fortie miles. From Aden to Abin are twelue miles Eastward alongst the shoare; the Inhabitants are famous Magicians. It is distant from Laasa, a day and nights sayling. Betwixt Laasa and Sciorama (two dayes sayling by the shoare distant) is a great Towne, and therein a medicinable hot Bath. These two Cities are in the Land of Hadbramut: in it are Scjabam and Tarim, and Mareb now ruined, which was Saba^h, whence was Belqis the wife of Salomon sonne of David. From Hadbramut to Saada are two hundred and fortie miles. Hadbramut is Eastward from Aden five stations. In it are wide fields of Sands, called Abcaf. In Saba dwell the People of Iaman and Oman; and there was that famous wall of the Arabians, before they were dispersed thence. From Sciorama to the Citie Merbat are fixe dayes sayling. Betwixt them is Ghobbo-Scamar. In the Hills of Merbatⁱ grow Trees of Frankincense, which is thence carried to the East and West. Merbat is foure dayes journey by Land from Hasec (and two by Sea) against which are Chartan and Martan.

I am loth to follow our Author, as he followeth his Climate into the Indian Sea, called Harchend, where he findeth the famous Iland Sarandib (which I take to be that which is now called Zeilan, fourescore leagues long, and as much broad, with a high Hill, called Rahon, where are many precious stones and Spices, and in the shoares fishing for Pearles; the King whereof hath fixeene Counsellors, foure of that Nation, foure Christians, foure Muslemans or Mahumetans, and foure Iewes, to which all of those professions resort for iustice. Thence to the Iland Alrami, is three daies saile, which is said to be seuen hundred leagues in length. (This seemeth Sumatra) But I will not by Moorish and now obsolete names lose my selfe in these Indian Seas, better knowne to our English Sailers, then this vnkowne Geographer. Yet in Arabia we will ascend with him more Northerly in that part of Arabia, placed in his Second Climate. He reckoneth on the Red Sea Adhab, whereto adioyneth the Desart, trauelled by the course of the Sunne and Starres: the Red Sea with many Ilands inhabited, and Desart; and chiefe Ports Ser- rain, Soquia, Giocda, Giobfa, and Algian the Mid-land Regions, Sanacan, and Mecca, Taief, Cordaid, Medina, and Adhab. The Mount Mocatta extends from Mefr by Sabra, that is, the Desart, to Asuan: Adhab is at the top of the Desart by the Sea, from whence they goe to Gidda. Adhab is victualled by the Gouverneur vnder the King of Egypt, and by another vnder the King of

Mefr is Cairo or Egypt.

of *Bega*, out of *Habascia*, which two diuide the Reuenues thereof betwixt them. In our time they there exact tributes of the Pilgrims *Moslemans*, which come from the West, of each Poll eight pence weight of gold. Nor may any passe ouer to *Giodda*, without this payment, or else the Ship-master which lets him ouer shall pay for him. They therefore shew to the Master this their tribute before hee admits them. This tribute goeth to *Alhasemi*, the Lord of *Mecca*. This Sea is full of Sholds and Rocks, and some Ilands thereof in winter are desolate. *Neaman* is the greatest in this part. *Sameri* is inhabited by *Samaritan Jewes*, whose word is *Lamesas*, if they haue offended any, by which they are knowne to descend of *Samer*, * the author of the Calfe in the time of *Moses*, to whom bee peace. On the East side of this Sea is the Tower of *Hali*, a little Citie whence are two short stations to the Citie *Sancar*. Fiue daies from *Hali*, is *Serrain* on the shoare: three stations from *Serrain* in the Port of *Socquia*, and as farre from *Socquia* to *Giodda*. This is one of the Ports of *Mecca*, and fortie miles distant from it.

Mosleman is a right Orthodox beleuer, so the *Mahometans* call themselves. * This is but *Mahometan* ignorance, for the *Samaritans*, or *Cutheans* are another sect: of which see my *Pilg.* l. 2. c. 8.

From *Mecca* to *Medina*, that is, the Citie (the name of it is *Iathreb*) in the right way are ten stations: from *Mecca* to *Batn-Marri*, a certaine Inne or Cane, in which is a Spring of water, enuironed with Palme trees sixteene miles: thence to *Offan* thirtie, to *Codaïd* foure and twentie: thence to *Gioffa* (a station of the Pilgrims of *Damasco*) six and twentie: thence to *Alabua* seuen and twentie: as many thence to *Socquia*, thence to *Rouaitbam* six and thirtie, to *Sabala* foure and thirtie, to *Malal* seuentene, to *Sogera* twelue, to *Medina* six. Hee expresseth another way from *Mecca* to *Medina*, by the Mountaines, which I omit. *Medina* is compassed with Palme trees, the Dates whereof sustaine the Inhabitants, wanting both Corne and Cattell. Their drinke is out of a small Riuer which *Omar* brought thither from a great Spring. It is halfe as big as *Mecca*. Betwixt *Medina* and the Sea is three daies iourney, and *Algair* is the Port thereof, a Towne well inhabited: one station from *Medina* to *Choseiob*, a second to *Ghoraib*, the third to *Algair*. From *Algair* to *Giodda*, is about ten daies iourney by land neere the Coast: the wayes hidden by Sands moued by the winds.

Medina.

On the East of *Mecca* sixtie miles distant is *Taief*, the way by *Badid-almortafe*, which is populous, and there are wandring *Arabians*, then to *Carn-almanazel*, thence to *Taief*. This is the habitation of * *Thacqifi*: and is celebrated for Raisins, and most part of the fruits of *Mecca* are brought thence. *Taief* is seated on Mount *Ghazuan*, the coldest Mountaine in all *Hagiar*, * where water sometime freezeth in Summer. To *Mecca* belongs the Castles *Naged-Altaief*, *Nageran*, *Carnalmanazel*, *Acqis*, *Ocadz*, *Lia*, *Tarba*, *Maisa*, *Caifa*, *Gioras*, and *Sarat*; and in *Tehama*, *Sancan*, *Serain*, *Socquia*, *Ghasin*, *Bais*, and *Aac*. The Castles of *Medina*, are *Taima*, *Daumat-Algiandel*, *Alfere*, *Dhu-linornat*, *Vadi-ligora*, *Madian*, *Chaibar*, *Fadac*, *Cqere-Arina*, *Vabida*, *Saia-ra*, *Robba*, *Saiala*, *Sabana*, *Rahett*, *Adbab*, *Achhal*, and *Hamia*. The way from *Mecca* to *Sanaa*, is to *Serrain* *Carn-almanazel*, then to *Sofr*, *Caze*, *Rouaitba* (a great Towne) *Tabala*, *Baisat*, *Iactan*, *Giasda*, *Niab* (a very great Towne frequented with people and Palmes) *Singia*, *Cassa*, *Negem*, *Sedum*, *Rab*. This is a great towne stored with Vineyards, whence *Gioras* is eight miles, a Towne as big as *Nageran*, and in them both are shops for dressing Skinnes: From *Sadum* also to *Mahgera* is as farre; there is a deepe Well, and a very great Tree, called *Talbat-almalec*, the border betwixt the iurisdiccions of *Mecca* and *Iaman*. Thence to *Adhia*, then to *Saada*, where are dressed the best Pelts, carryed to many places of *Iaman* and *Hagian*, and distant one hundred and eightie miles from *Sanaa*; thence to *Amasia*, to the Citie *Gionua*, where grow huge Grapes, which are dryed, and carried to other parts farre and neere: seuentie two miles from *Sanaa* (to the west hereof, is the land of the *Abadhites*, well fortified and peopled) thence to *Anafeth*, to *Rabda* encompassed with Vineyards, Fields, and Fountaynes; the Inhabitants of which possesse Droues and Camels. This hath a deepe Well, and that strong house or Temple memorable amongst writers: and is one station from *Sanaa*. The whole iourney is made by Carauans in twentie stations. The way from *Mecca* to *Dhi-Sohaim* of the land of *Chanlan*, is first to *Maleca*, then to *Ialamla*, to *Caina*, to *Darca*, and *Olbob*, to *Habascia*, to *Canona*, to *Baisat-Haran*, to *Hali* vpon the Sea, to the Riuer *Sancan*, to *Baisat-Iartan*, to *Haran-Alcarin*, and then to *Chanlan-Dhi-Sohaim*. All these Regions are in the Land of *Tehama* (which is a portion of *Iaman*) the limits of which are the Red Sea on the West, Mountaynes on the East which runne from the North to the South, on which East side are *Saada*, *Haus*, and *Nagera*: On the North *Mecca*, and *Giodda*. In *Tehama* are wandring *Arabs* of all families. *Mecca* is the Centre of all *Arabia*, betwixt the Seas. For from *Mecca* to *Sanaa* is twentie stations, as much to *Sobaid*, to *Iaman* twentie one, to *Damascus* thirtie, to *Baharain* * from *Mecca* fiue and twentie.

* A chiefe se-ctarie. * *Arabia*.

* i. the two Seas.

The Regions and Prouinces of note in the sixt part of the second Climate, are *Gioras* and *Baisa*, *Tabala*, *Ocadh*, *Nagera*, *Olu-Iahseb*, *Tehafar*, *Mareb*, *Seger*, *Sofi-Iahseb*, *Sceba*, *Hadbramut*, *Sur*, *Calhat*, *Mascat*, *Sohar*, *Ofor*, *Soal*, *Manea*, *Sorooman*, *Bathrun*, *Hogera*, *Hadbrama*, *Cariatain*, *Vagera*, *Varema*, *Maaden*, *Alnocra*, *Salamia*, *Barca*, *Afsheb*, *Hagiar*, *Barman*, *Hobal*, and *Giloffar*. And on the part of the *Persian* Sea, the Iles *Abron*, *Heber*, *Kis*, *Ben-Caïan*, and *Dordur*; and two Mountaynes, *Cosair*, and *Oüair*. In this part also are of the Land of *Kerman*, *Senaiian*, and the Mountaynes *Mascan*. Betwixt *Gioras* and *Honiia* are foure stations, and sixe twixt *Honiia* and *Nagera*. *Tabala* is foure stations from *Mecca*. From *Tabala* to *Ocadh* are three: Here

here are Faïres euery Sunday of diuers Merchandizes. *Tdafar* is the cheefe Citie *Iahseb*: from whence to *Dhamar*, are fixe and thirtie miles, and fortie from *Dhamar* to *Sanaa*: from *Choud* to *Sanaa*, one hundred and fortie: from *Tdafar* to *Mareb*, three stations. In this Towne is *Salmans* Tower, the Sonne of *David*, to whom bee peace, called *Seruab*, now nothing but ruines. In the same *Mareb*, is the Tower *Cascib*, which was the Tower of *Belquis*, the Wife of *Salomon*, to whom be health. There was also the Fortresse famous amongst all people, called *Aarent*. The Inhabitants of *Mareb* were a certaine Sect of the *Hemaratte Arabians*, very proud; they had a strong defence against the course of the water of admirable structure, and each Family had their Conduit pipes for their fields and houses; but God sent a great flood whiles they were asleepe, which ouerthrew that building (hanging ouer the Citie as a Mountaine) and carried away the whole Citie and Suburbe with the people.

Seruab, built as they fable by Spirits for *Belquis* Wife of *Salomon*.
Gods iudgement.

Kis.
Tairuset.

* The Riuer *Astian*, on which Riuer are seated *Monsarecha*, *Vabara*, *Carfa*, *Abra*, *Baafa*, *Sal*, *Ameria*, *Nisan*, *Barcat*, *Dhahec*, *Salamia*, *Taudheb*, *Merca*, *Megiara*.

In *Hadbramut* are *Teria*, and *Sceba* foure stations from *Mareb*, a strong Tower on the descent of Mount *Sceba*, a steepe hill, whereon you shall see many habitations, fields and water-courses. Eastward is the Land of *Seger*, from the furthest end whereof to *Aden*, are three hundred miles. To the North of *Seger* is *Oman*, in which are two Cities, *Tsur*, and a station thence is *Cgelhat*, situate on the *Persian* Sea. Betwixt *Tsur* and the Promontorie *Almahgiam*, is fiftene daies by Land, two courses (or fortie eight houres) sayling. Neere to that Promontorie they fish for Pearles. From *Cgelhat* to *Sabar*, are two hundred miles: neere it is *Dhamar*. From *Maschat* to *Sohar*, are foure hundred and fiftie miles. *Sohar* is the ancientest Citie of *Oman*, on the *Persian* Sea, somtime the Port for the *China* Ships: which now is ceased, because in the midst of the *Persian* Sea lyeth the Iland *Kis*, of square forme twelue miles ouer, two courses from *Sohar*, and on the *Kerman* shoare *Tairuset* is ouer against it. Two daies from *Sohar*, is *Soal* and *Ofor*, two small Cities, made Ports by the Riuer *Falg*. Halfe a daies iourney thence is *Mang*, at the foote of Mount *Sciorum*, from whence west-ward to *Sorooman*, are two stations. *Falg* hath on it many Townes, and runneth into the Sea neere *Gioloffar*. Most of the Inhabitants of the Region *Oman* are Schismatickes. Betwixt *Naged* and *Oman*, are great Desarts. From *Sohar* to *Bahrain*, are about twentie stations. The way from *Oman* to *Mecca*, is very difficult, for often Desarts, and therefore they goe by Sea to *Aden*. Like difficulties are in the way thence to *Albahrain* North-wards, for the inuasions of *Arabs*. North-west to *Oman*, confineth the Land *Iamama*, Cities whereof are *Hagiar*, (now ruined) and *Barca* and *Salamia*. The way from *Iamama* to *Mecca*, is to * *Aardh*, to *Chodaia*, to *Thania*, to *Sofra*, to *Soda*, to *Cariatain*, to *Dama*, to *Tangia*, to *Sarfa*, to *Giadila*, to *Falcha*, to *Rotaiba*, to *Coba*, to *Maran*, to *Vagera*, to *Autas*, to *Dhatere*, each a station, to *Benamer*, and thence to *Mecca* another station. *Madden-almocra* is a great Towne, where the families of *Basra* and *Cufa* meete, when they goe on Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. The *Persian* Sea is annexed to the *Indians*, and on the shoare of *Iaman* hath two Mountaines, *Cosair* and *Ouair*, against which is *Dordur*, where the Sea is called *Ghazera*. *Dordur* is a whirlepoole which swalloweth ships, on the South of the Ile *Ben-Caian*, which is from *Kis* fiftie two miles. The length of *Ben-Caian* is fiftie two miles, the breadth nine, the Inhabitants schismaticall *Abatdhite*. Neere it is *Dordur*, a narrow place nigh to the Mountaines *Cosair* and *Ouair*, which are hidden with waters, but the waters breake on their tops. Three such whirlepooles are found, this, another not farre from the Iland *Comar*, the third in the end of *Sin* betwixt *Siraff*, and the Promontorie called *Mascat Saif*.

But to returne to the Red Sea, and the most Northerly parts thereof. In *Calzem* are made the flat bottomed ships, broad and shallow, fit for great burthen and the Sholds of that Sea. From *Calzem* to *Faran-Abron*, are fortie miles; this is in the bottome of a Bay, whence they goe to Mount *Tur*, trending along by the Sea. That Mountaine is high, and is ascended by steps, and hath an Oratorie on the top, with a pit of Spring-water. From *Tur* to *Masdaf*, a pleasant place where they fish for pearles: from *Masdaf* to *Sciarm-Albair*, hence to *Sciarm-Albir*, thence to Cape *Abi-Mohammed*, three Ports without water: and here beginneth the ascent of *Ayla*, a small Citie of *Arabs*. Then to *Aumed* a watery Port, ouer against the Ile *Noman*, tenne miles from the Continent: thence to *Tanna*, to *Atuf*, to *Haura*, where they make Pots, transported farre and neere. Not farre thence on the South, is Mount *Radhua*, where grow the Whetstones hence carried East and West: thence to the faire Port and Riuer *Tsafra*, then to *Cauaiaa*, to *Giar*, to *Giobfa*, *Codaia*, *Aasfan*, *Giotta*. On the shoare of the Red Sea, is the Citie *Madian*, and the Well where *Moses*, to whom peace, watered the flocke of *Scioab*: from *Madian* to *Ayla*, are fise stations, from *Ayla* to *Giar* about twentie. From *Madian* to *Tabuc* by Land Eastward, fixe stations; it is seated betwixt *Hagiar* and the beginning of *Damascus*. *Hagiar* is from *Vadialigora*, one station: they haue houses in the Rockes. But the waies are difficult, and will leade vs backe to the hatefull *Mecca* and *Medina*, I will therefore commiserate my Reader (such as are more studious, may resort to the Author) and hauing giuen you that face of *Arabia*, which no Christian (to my knowledge) doth so well, or almost at all, could to any purpose describe, we will stay and intertaine our selues with some more pleasing spectacle, the Actors being other *Mahometans*, produced on this stage by the *Maronites* our Translators.

CHAP. IX.

Collections out of diuers Mahometan Authors in their Arabicke Bookes, by the said Maronites, GABRIEL and JOHN, touching the most remarkable things in the East, especially of the Mosleman superstitions and rites, and the places of chiefe note.



Rabia hath not her name of I know not what *Arabus*, sonne of *Apollo* and *Babylonia*, but of the Region *Araba*, not farre from *Medina*, where *Ismael* Sonne of *Abraham* dwelt: and that of *Iaarob*, sonne of *Cabbrian* or *Iectan*, sonne of *Heber* (and not as *Iusef Ben-Abdillatif* saith, the great grand-child of *Abel*) who (as *Mohamed Ben-Iacub Sirazita*, Author of the *Arabick* Dictionarie, affirmeth) was first Inuentor of the *Arabicke* tongue; which *Ismael* after did bring to more

Of *Arabia*, and the *Arabians*. *Gen. 10. 25.* *Ierab* or *Iaarob* first *Arabian*: so before *Ben. Tudel*, calls the sonnes of *Ghereb*.

elegance and perfection, and is therefore called, the Father of *Arabicke* eloquence. Some of the *Arabians* dwell in Cities, some in the Desarts; those better ciuillized, and fit for Arts: these which inhabite the Desarts, are called *Bedanya*, or *Bednois*, that is, the people of the Desart; exceed in numbers, and wander without houses, vsing Tents made of Cotton Wooll, or of Goats and Camels haire, alway mouing and remouing, as water and pasture moue them, carrying their

Bednois or *Beduines* actiuiety.

Wiues, Children, and Vtensils on their Camels. Their Horses are leane, little, swift, laborious, bold; and the Horsemen actiue beyond beliefe, darting and catching with their hand, the same Dart in the Horses swiftest race before it commeth at the ground; and auoiding a Dart throwne at them, by sleightie winding vnder the Horses sides or belly: also taking vp Weapons lying on the ground whiles the Horse is running, & in like swift race hit the smallest mark with Arrow or sling. Their armes are arrowes, Iauelings with Iron heads, Swords (which they vse not to thrusts but strokes) Daggers, Slings, and vse the same in aduerser fight, or in auerse flight. They lye in waite for Carauans, pray vpon Trauellers, liue on rapine and spoile, and often make themselues the great *Turks* Receiuers and Treasurers, and raise new Imposits on all such as they can enforce, whether Trauellers or Cities; obeying neither the *Ottoman*, nor any other Soueraigne, but being

divided in innumerable families, obey the heads of their owne Families or Tribes. These Tribes are distinguished by the names of their first Parents, as *Abi-belal*, *Abi-Risce*, *Abi-Zaid*, and fixe hundred others, all esteemed and saluted Gentle, and equall in rights. Their food is browne Bread, new and sowre Milke, Cheese, Goats and Camels flesh, Pulse, Hony, Oyle and Butter. Rice is esteemed a great delicacie, by reason of their Tradition, that it came of *Mahomet's* sweat. For, say they, when *Mahomet* compassed the Throne of God in Paradise, God turned and looked on him, which made the modest Prophet sweate, and wiping it off with his finger, fixe drops fell out of Paradise: one whereof produced the Rose; the second, Rice; the other foure, his foure Associats. They vse a certaine Hodge-podge, or Frumentie of boyled Wheat, laid after a drying in the Sun, then beaten and boyled with fat flesh, till the flesh be consumed. This they

Their Tribes or Families.

Their food.

Foolish and blasphemous Traditions.

call *Herise*, and say that *Gabriel* the Angell taught it *Mahomet* for strengthening his reines; whereby one night he fought against fortie men, and in another had fortie times carnall dealing with Women. These might seeme calumnies deuised by some *Mahometan* aduersarie, if the former Author (both learned in, and zealous of the Law of *Mohamed*) had not related the same in a Chapter of the choise of meats. *Mohamed* or *Mahomet*, commended also the eating of Gourds, and of the *Melongena*, affirming, that he had seene this Plant in Paradise, and measured the quantitie of mens wits, by their eating store hereof. When he was once in prison (saith *Ben-sidi Aali*) the Angell *Gabriel* came downe from heauen, and carried him into *Gennet Elena-am*, or the Garden of pleasures, where amongst others he saw this shrub, and he asking why it grew there, the Angell answered, because it hath confessed the Vnitie of God, and that thou art a true Prophet. Their garments are base, a Cotton shirt with very wide sleeues, an vpper

Melongena.

Their apparell.

garment of Wooll, wouen with white and blacke lines of Goats or Camels haire; their feet are bare. Their Nobler sort go better cloathed, and vse shooes, a red leather girdle, a white Tulipan of Cotton or Linnen of few folds. Their Women go almost naked, in a blew smock of Cotton, Linnen head-tire, and face veiled. They vse Eare-rings, Chaines, Brooches, and Rings of Glasse, or other base matter, and Dye or Paint with blew markes made with a needle, their cheekes, armes and lips. Thus much of the *Beduines*.

Baghdad (which is also called *Dar-assalam*, that is, The Citie of peace *) received that name of a Monke called *Baghdad*, who as *Ben-Casen* writeth, serued a Church builded in that Medow. But *Abu-Giaphar Almanfur* the second *Abassian* Chalifa, who wanne it, *A. Heg. 150.* named it *Dar-assalam*. It is the Citie Royall of *Mesopotamia*, now called *Diarbecr*, which the said *Almanfur*, placed in a large Plaine vpon *Tigris*, and diuided by the River into two Cities, ioyned by a Bridge of Boats. This Citie built in this place, *Almanfur* ruled many yeeres, and after him other *Chalifas* till the 339. yeere of the *Hegira*, in which King *Aadbd-eddaule* and *Saif-eddaule* took it, who with their Successors enioyed it till *Solyman* the *Ottoman* Emperour subdued, and is

Baghdad or *Bagdat*.

* The Devils *Ierusalem*. See my *Pilg. 1. 3. c. 2. s. 3.*

The *Tartarian* conquest is here omitted.

now

Aristotles books
of Physicks ad-
mired.

* This number
seemeth false.

Bochara the Ci-
tie of Auicenna:
some say in Bo-
chara neere
Samercaud.

y This seemed
to arise of their
opinion of
Fate.

Auicenna.
His dissimula-
tion.

Damascus.

Comparison
of Mah. and
Almotannabbi.

M. Abi Abdillab

Aleppo.

Sciarfeddin a
Turkish Histo-
rian.

Muske how
made.

Mount Libanus

Cedar descri-
bed.

Maronites.

now ruled by a *Bascia*, with many *Ianizaries*. But hereof *Ahmad Abi Bacr* of *Baghdad*, in his *Annals*, will shew you more. This *Citie* is famous for Schooles of all Sciences, both in former and the present time. Here *Ahmad Affalami* a famous Poet wrote his Verses. Here *Alpharabius* the renowned Philosopher and Physician, borne at *Farab* in *Turcomannia*, professed these studies publicly with great applause, and leauing many of his Scholers in this *Citie*, went to *Harran* of *Mesopotamia*, where finding *Aristotles* Booke, *De Auditu*, hee read it fortie times, and wrote vpon the Booke, that hee was willing againe to reade it. Hence hee went to *Damascus*, and there died, *A. H.* * 339. Thus *Ben-Casem* in his Booke, *De viridario Electorum*.

Bochara is an ancient *Citie* vpon *Euphrates*, in a Village belonging whereto *Honain Ali Ben-sina* (whom the *Latines* call, *Auicenna*) was borne, *A. H.* 370. Hee gaue himselfe to Physicke very young, and was the first which became Physician to Kings and Princes, who before in that Countrey vsed y no Physicians. He published neere an hundred books, many of Physick, some of Philosophie, a Dictionary of Herbs and Stones, Verses of the Soule, &c. He liued eight and fiftie yeeres, and died in *Hamadan*. Hee had runne thorow all Arts, at eightene. Thus *Ben-Casem*. But others affirme, that a certaine Physician flourishing of great note, vpon whom no praying nor paying could fasten a Disciple, lest the secrets of his Art should bee made common: the mother of *Auicenna* offers her sonne to doe him seruice in decoctions, and other meane offices, which he could not doe himselfe; nor was there feare of danger from him whom nature had made deafe, and therefore dumbe. He made trials, and found *Auicenna* deafe, as he thought, and entertayned him, who watched his times, and transcribed his bookes and notes, sending 20 them closely to his mother, which after his mothers death he published in his owne name.

Damascus is called of the *Arabians*, *Sciama*, and *Demasc*, of the *Syrians* *Darmsuc*. It is luxurious in fruits of all kinds, rich in Oliues and Iron of excellent temper by nature, and so bettered by arte, that no Helme or Shield can withstand it. It is seated in a large Plaine at the roots of *Libanus*, there called *Hermon*, sixe miles in compasse, double walled, with a strong square Tower in the midst, built by a *Florentine*, beautified with Springs, Market places, Publike buildings, Meskits, Bathes, Canes, and all sorts of silke-weauing, and in all ancient times with learning and learned men. Here flourished Saint *Damascen*: and here *Almotannabbi* excelled in Arts and Armes, emulous of *Mahomet*, but not with like successe. He was called *Nabion*, that is, The Prophet; this *Motannabbi*, that is, Prophecyng: he wrote the *Alcoran* elegantly and eloquently; this excelled in Prose and Verse: both had Followers, but this mans Disciples after his death were disperst, which happened, *A. H.* 354. *Ben-Casem* also relates, that *Mohamed Abi Abdillab* professed Philosophie in this *Citie*, and to dispute with all commers, and wrote a huge Booke, *De unitate existendi principiorum*. He died there, *A. H.* 638.

Aleppo is called of the Inhabitants, *Haleb*, the chiefe Mart of all the East, frequented by *Persians*, *Indians*, *Armenians*, and all *Europeans*. The Port is *Scanderone*, called by the Inhabitants *Escanderuneh*. The soyle is very fertile, and nourisheth abundance of Silke-wormes. *A. H.* 922. *Sultan Selim* tooke it, and found therein infinite wealth. *Sciarfeddin* which wrote the *Victories* of the *Othomans* in two Tomes, sayth, that it had of Gold and siluer coyned 1150000. and a mightie masse vncoynd; Vests of cloth of Gold, tissued or wrought with Gold, Silke, and Scarlet about 300000. besides abundance of Gems and Pearles. And besides other wealth innumerable, it had eight Armories well furnished. It now flourisheth in the next place to *Constantinople* and *Cairo*, and may be called, Queene of the East: Here are store of Gems, *Ambar*, *Bengeoin*, *Lignum Aloes*, and *Muske*, which is taken from a little reddish beast, beaten with many blowes on one place that the blood may all come thither. Then is the skin so swolne and full of blood bound straight that the blood may not issue: and put into one or more bladders, is dried on a beasts backe till the bladder fall off of it selfe, and that blood after a moneth becomes excellent *Muske*. At *Aleppo* was borne that great Grammarian *Othoman Abu Homar*, surnamed *Ben-ellbhageb*, which wrote *Casia* and *Sciastia* of Grammer, and died, *A. H.* 672.

Libanus is called by the *Arabians* *Lobnan*, *Lebnon* by the *Syrians*, so called of the *Syriake* word *Lbunto*, which signifieth, Frankincense. It containeth about sixe hundred miles compasse, rich in Soyle, Waters, Groues, Vines (the Wine whereof is very wholesome, not windie; and here in a Village, called *Sardania*, they say, *Noa* planted a Vineyard) and hence runne *Pharphar*, *Abana*, and the Riuer of *Tripolis*. On this Mountaine grow *Cypresses*, *Pines*, *Boxes*, and other trees plentie: especially Cedars; the forme whereof from our owne eyes wee will here relate. It groweth on the top of the Mount, higher then the Pine, so thicke as foure or fve men can ioyntly fadome: the boughs not eleuated vpwards, but stretched out acrossse largely diffused and striking on each other, thickly enfolded as is were by wonderfull Art, insomuch as we haue scene many both sit and lie along on the boughs. The leaues are thicke and frequent, narrow and hard, prickly and alway greene. The wood is knotty and somewhat wreathed, hard, incorruptible and sweet-smelling. The fruit like the Cones of *Cypresse*, gummie and marvellous fragrant. On this Mountaine dwell the *Maronites*, deriued from Saint *Maron* the holy Abbot, and his Disciples, or as others thinke from the Land *Maronia*: vncertaine whether, but most certaine, from no Heretike so called, as some will haue it. These possesse all the Mountaine, and

and besides other ordinary tributes, pay great summes yeerely to the Lord of the Land, that no man of other Religion be permitted to dwell with them, and that no tribute children (as amongst the *Greekes*) be taken from them. They onely vse Bells, which are prohibited other Nations, because in the beginning of *Mahometisme*, by the sound of a Bell, the *Christians* had assembled and done the *Moslemans* great mischief. The Patriarch of the *Maronites* (which is also of *Antiochia*) is much reuerenced of the people, and with his Clergie acknowledgeth the *Roman Bishop*. Their Liturgie is in the *Syriake Tongue*.

Bells why forbidden to all Christians vnder the *Mahometans*.

The Patriarch

Mecca and the Temple.

Kabe like to the Houle at *Loretto* in *Angels* legend.

thamodist
old but hind

noisurquo
of the

noisurquo
of the

The blacke stone

in the

Zam Zam, is a well which flowed from the feet of *Ismael* when he was thirte and wept: which *Hagar* first seeing, cried out *Zam Zam*, in the *Coptice* or old *Egyptian Tongue*; that is, Stay, stay. There are many which draw water thence and giue to the Pilgrims, who are commanded to wash therewith their bodie and head three times, to drinke thereof, and if they can, to carrie some of it with them, and to pray God for health and pardon of sinnes. To this building is added a Noble Schoole or Vniuersitie, *A. H. 949*. by *Solyman* who adorned it by his costs by marvellous structure, and endowed it with reuenues.

Mahometans Sacrifices.

of the

Lying Tradition.

Territorie of Mecca.

Balsam brought from *Gilead* to *Cairo*, thence to *Mecca*.

K k k k k k

well,

Mecca chiefe Citie of *Arabia Deserta*, is called also in the *Alcoran*, *Becaa*, the holy Citie of the *Moslemans*, both for *Mahomed's* reuelations there had, and for the Temple especial-
ly, called by them *Kabe*, or, The square House, which they fable, was first built by Angels, and often visited by *Adam* himselfe: and lest it should be destroyed by the Flood, was lifted up to the sixth Heauen, called *Dar-assalam* (The habitation of peace) after the Flood *Abraham* built another house like to the former, by the shadow thereof sent from heauen to him. Thus writeth *Iacob Ben-Sidi Aali*. This is a Chappell, not very large, of square figure, open, with foure Gates, by one of which the Ministers haue access; the other are opened but once in the yeere. It glittereth all with Gold, and is couered with vests of Gold, and end compassed with elegant Iron-worke to keepe off neere commers. No man may enter it but certaine Elders, which haue long beards to their breasts, and remayne there night and day. Neere to this Chapell is a large marble Floore adorned about with eight huge Lights, and fixe and thirtie Lamps of Gold, perpetually burning. Three pathes leade thereto whereon men and women goe bare-foot to the Chapell, which they compasse seuen times with great reuerence, mumbling their deuotions; kisse the corners, sigh and implore the ayde of *Abraham* and *Mohamed*. Round about all this space is a stately building of very elegant structure, as it were a wall; in which are pumbred sixteen principall Gates to goe in and out, where hang innumerable Lamps and Lights of incredible greatnesse. Within this space betwixt the rowes of Pillars are shops of Sellers of Gemmes, Spices, Silkes, in incredible store from *India*, *Arabia*, *Ethiopia*: that it seemes rather the Mart of the World then a Temple. Here doe men kisse and embrace with great zeale a certaine stone which they call *Hagiar Alasuad*, or, The blacke stone, which they say, is a *Margarite* of *Paradise*, the light whereof gaue lustre to all the Territorie of *Mecca*. Before this, sayth *Iacob Ben-Sidi Aali*, *Mohamed* commanded to weepe, to aske God pardon for sinnes, and to crye with sighs and teares for ayde against their enemies. After they haue visited that Chappell and the stone, they goe to another large Chappell within the Temple, where is the Well, called *Zam Zam*; which is (sayth the said Author) the Well which flowed from the feet of *Ismael* when he was thirte and wept: which *Hagar* first seeing, cried out *Zam Zam*, in the *Coptice* or old *Egyptian Tongue*; that is, Stay, stay. There are many which draw water thence and giue to the Pilgrims, who are commanded to wash therewith their bodie and head three times, to drinke thereof, and if they can, to carrie some of it with them, and to pray God for health and pardon of sinnes. To this building is added a Noble Schoole or Vniuersitie, *A. H. 949*. by *Solyman* who adorned it by his costs by marvellous structure, and endowed it with reuenues.

After these visitations, all the Pilgrims goe to a certaine Temple on a Hill, ten miles from the Citie, and flocking in great numbers buy according to their abilitie, one or more *Rammes* for sacrifice. And because some are of opinion, that the *Mohamedans* haue no sacrifices, we will relate what *Iacob Ben-Sidi Aali* hath written of their Ceremonies. *Dhabbia* (so the *Arabs* call a Sacrifice) is a killing of beasts in the worship, and for the offering of God, and they are Lambs of sixe or seuen moneths at least; Camels of five yeeres, Bullockes of two yeeres. The males are to be chosen before females, and those cleane, white, infected by no naturall or violent defect, fat, corpulent, horned. Every man must kill his owne Sacrifices, and rippe them with his owne hands, except in urgent necessities, and then he may substitute others to doe it for him. For euery one before they eat any thing, are bound to eat some piece of the Sacrifices; the rest, if they can, to giue cheerfully to the poore. They which are admitted to these Oblations, let them offer one *Ramme* for themselves, another for the soules of the Dead, another for *Mohamed*, that in the day of Iudgement he deliuer them from calamities. These Sacrifices are offered to God in imitation of *Abraham*, which would haue offered his sonne *Ismael* to God, going out of the Citie with him to a certaine Hill, called *Mena*, where he would haue offered him to God; but when the sword could not cut his necke, a white *Ramme* appeared betwixt his hands, fat, and horned, which he sacrificed to God in stead of his sonne.

Whiles the Pilgrims are here busied in their sacrifices, *Beduine Arabs* assault the Carauans, and robbing them, flee to the Hills, and inaccessible refuges, so swift as if they did flie. And although all armes are forbidden in the territorie of *Mecca* (which containeth on the East six miles, on the North twelue, on the West eightene, on the South foure and twentie, in which respect *Mecca* and *Medina* are called *Atharamain*) yet they cease not to infest, and Pilgrims are here often forced to armes. This Territorie is barren for want of water, and raine, hath very few Herbs and Plants, or other pleasures of Groues, Gardens, Vines, or greene objects; but is roasted with the Sunne, both land and people. And this haply is the cause that no man may breake a bough if they find any Tree. Onely the shrubs of Balsam, brought hither from *Cairo* thrive

well, and are now so propagated, that all the sweet liquor of Balsam is carried onely from this Citie, thorow all Regions in great plentie. Here are store of Pigeons, which because they are of the stocke of that which came to *Mohameds* eare (as the *Moslemans* fable) no man may take or scarre them. A certaine *Scerif* enioyeth the dominion of this Citie, and all the Land of *Medina* by inheritance, called *Alamam-Alhascemi*, that is, the Captaine or chiefe *Hasceme*, descended of *Hascem* great Grandfather of *Mohamed*; Who were neuer deprived of their dominion by the *Ottoman* or *Soldan*. Yea, the *Ottoman* calls not himselfe the Lord of *Mecca* and *Medina*, but the humble seruant. Yet this *Scerif* notwithstanding his reuenues and gifts by Pilgrims and Princes, through the *Beduines* spoiles, and his kindreds quarrels seeking the Soueraigntie, is alway poore. Therefore doth the *Ottoman* bestow the third part of the reuenues of *Egypt*, and to 10 protect the Pilgrims from the inuasions of the *Arabs*.

Medina is called the Citie by *Antonomasia*, and *Medina Alnabi*, that is, the Citie of the prophet: because *Mohamed*, when he was forced to forsake his Countrey *Mecca*, betooke himselfe to this Citie, then called *Iathreb*, and was made Lord thereof. It is an error that he was borne here, for he was borne and brought vp at *Mecca*; and in the fourth yeere of his age, and as *Ben-Casem* hath, in the nine hundred thirtie three of *Alexander* the Great, he began to vtter his Doctrine, first primily, after that publikely; whereupon he was banished the Citie in the two and fiftieth of his life; or according to *Abdilatif Ben-Isuf*, the three and fiftieth, and fled to *Iathreb*, from which flight, which they call *Hegeraton* or *Hegera*, which happened, *An. Dom.* 622. or thereabouts. And although this yeere 1623. be to them 1032. Yet because they reckon according to 20 the yeeres of the Moone, which they say, consist of three hundred fiftie foure daies, the Moones course hath in this space exceeded that of the Sunne, some Moneths aboue one and thirtie yeers. Whereupon their Moneths are vncertaine. In this Citie by subtil hypocrisies, *Mohamed* became Politicall and Ecclesiasticall Prince; and began to procure the friendship of many, and to promulgate his Lawes by degrees. In the second yeere of his flight, he enacted his Lawes of fasting; in the third, forbad Wine and Swines-flesh; and so proceeded with the rest, that within eight yeeres, he brought into subiection *Mecca* (whence hee had beene expelled) and *Muna*, and went forward with his Law and Conquest. As concerning his Wiues, *Ben-Casem* saith, hee had foure: he is also reported to haue many Harlots and Concubines: and in his Chapter, *Surato-*

Mohameds filthinesse.

His foure wiues and his children. Mother of the *Moslemans*.

His foure Associates or Counsellors. *Abi-Bacr*.

Homar.

Othman, *Aali*.

lbagra or *de vacca*, he bids them marry one, two, three, or foure wiues a man, and to take as many 30 Concubines as they are able to keepe. *Ben-Side Aali* saith, that he gloried that he had the power of ten Prophets in copulation giuen him by God: Yea, he ascribed all his villanies to God, by ministerie of the Angel *Gabriel*. His first wife was named *Codaige*, by whom he had two sonnes, and foure daughters, *Zainab*, *Fatema*, (whom *Aali* married) *Om Kalthum* the third, and *Rakia* the fourth (both which *Abu-beer* married.) His second wife was *Aisce* Daughter of *Abu-Bacr*, the first *Califa*, which was but six yeeres old (*Ben-Casem* is our author) when *Mohamed* tooke her to wife: the *Moslemans* call her the mother of the faithfull: who besides the knowledge of tongues, perused diligently the *Arabiike* Histories, loued exceedingly and alway praised *Mohamed*. The third was named *Mary*, which brought forth to *Mohamed*, *Ebrahim*, surnamed *Casem* (whence *Mohamed* is often called *Abulcasem*) though *Ban-Abdilatif* will haue *Ebrahim* to be one, and *Ca-* 40 *sem* another; but *Ben-Casem* saith, he had but three sons, of which *Ebrahim Casem* dyed at eigh- teene Moneths, and *Taiheb* and *Taher* his sonnes by *Codaige*, dyed both in their Cradles. *Mohameds* last wife was *Zainab*, whom also they call the mother of the faithfull, before the wife of *Zaidi Ben-Harteh*, *Mohameds* Master, who diuorced her, whereupon *Mohamed* gladly tooke her to wife.

He had foure Counsellors or Companions; the first, *Abdollah*, or *Abu-Bacr*, his sincerest and most in ward friend, a man very rich and releuer of *Mohameds* necessities, his successor after his death. He dyed the thirteenth yeere of the *Hegira*, and sixtie three of his age, and was buried in the same graue with *Mohamed*. The second was *Homar* the sonne of *Chattab*, surnamed *Faruq*, who succeeded *Abi-Bacr*, and ruled ten yeeres and six moneths. He was the first 50 which was called King of the faithfull, and writ the Annals of the *Moslemans*, and brought the *Alcoran* into a Volume, and caused the *Ramadam* fast to be obserued. He was slaine the three and twentieth of the *Hegira*, and buried by *Abi-Bacr*. The third was *Othman*, who in his twelue yeeres raigne subdued *Cyprus*, *Naisabur*, *Maru*, *Sarchas*, and *Maritania*, and died *A.H.* 35. and was buried in the buriall place of the Citie. *Aali* was the fourth, who is called also *Emir El-mumenin*, that is, King of the faithfull; he was slaine *A. H.* 40. in the three and sixtieth of his age, and was buried in the Citie *Kerbela*. He was his Vncles sonne, or Cousin-german to *Mohamed* and his sonne in law, and deare familiar from his youth, and receiued the *Mosleman* Law together with *Mohamed*; whereupon he was wont to say, *I am the first Mosleman*. And therefore the *Persians* detest the other three *Chalifas*, as Heretikes; burne their Writings wherefo- 60 euer they finde them, and persecute their Followers, because forsooth they were so impudent, to preferre themselves before *Aali*, and spoyled him of the right due by Testament. Hence are Warres and hostile cruelties betwixt them and the *Turkes*, and *Arabs*. *Mohamed* the false Prophet, in the eleuenth yeere after his *Hegira* or flight, and the three and sixtieth of his age, dyed at

at Medina and was buried there in the Graue of *Aissee* his wife. Heere is a stately Temple and huge, erected with elegant and munificent structure, daily increased and adorned by the costs of the *Othomans*, and gifts of other Princes. Within this building is a Chappell not perfectly square, couered with a goodly Roofe, vnder which is the Vrne of stone, called *Hagiar Monaiar*, sometimes belonging to *Aissee* aforesaid. This is all couered with Gold and Silke, and compassed about with Iron grates gilded. Within this, which shineth with Gold and Gemmes, *Mohameds* carkasse was placed, and not lifted vp by force of Load-stone or other Art; but that stone-Vrne lyeth on the ground.

10 The *Moslem* Pilgrimes after their returne from *Mecca*, visit this Temple, because *Mohamed* yet liuing was wont to say, that he would for him which should visit his Tombe, as well as if he had visited him liuing, intercede with God for a life full of pleasures. Therefore doe they throng hither, and with great Veneration kisse and embrace the grates (for none haue access to the Vrne of stone) and many for loue of this place leaue their Countrey, yea, some madly put out their eyes to see no worldly thing after, and there spend the rest of their dayes.

The compasse of *Medina* is twomiles, and is the circuit of the wall, which *Adhd Addaule* King of *Baghdad* built, *A. H.* 364. The Territorie is barren scorched Sands, bringing forth nothing but a few Dates and Herbs.

20 *Metfr* is the name of *Cairo*, and all *Egypt*, so called of *Mesram* the Sonne of *Noa*; as saith *Mohamed Sarazita*. This Citie is gouerned by a *Bascha*, and five and twentie thousand *Spahies* and *Ianizaries*. It is rich in Cassia Trees, Sugar-canes and Corne, many Lands adioyning yeelding Haruest twice a yeare, Hay foure times, Herbs and Pulse in manner alway greene. Adde store of Salt very white, the water of *Nilus* inclosed in Pits and by the only heate of the Sunne in three dayes beeing turned into it. In former times it was famous for Balsam Plants now remooued to *Mecca* by command of the *Othomans*; and none are found in all *Egypt*, but seuen shrubs * in the *Bassas* Garden, kept with great diligence. The leaues are like to wild Marioram, the iuyce is taken by a little incision in the trunke or branch.

30 *Abu-Chalil-Ben-Aali* writes, that from the fifteenth to the two & twentieth of *Raby Athani* (Iune) there falls a dew which leaues no token thereof in the earth, yet by vulgar * experience is found by weighing the sand or earth of *Nilus* bankes, and is an euident token of the increase of *Nilus*. The Aire also is then made more wholesome; Plagues and Feuers cease, and those which were sicke * of them recouer.

40 Touching the Easterne Customes. *Bensidi Aali* hath written of the structure of *Mesquites*. Before them is a large floore paved with Marble, in the midst is a square Lauer, where they which come to pray vse to wash themselves. After this is a great Hall without Images or Pictures, the Walls bare, not shining with Gold or Gemmes: the Pauement matted, on which the vulgar sit; the Rich vse Carpets spred for them by their Slaues. From the Roofe hang many Lampes, which are lighted in Prayer time, and that beeing ended, are put out. These Churches are for the most part round and couered with lead; and haue adioyned high Towers which serue for Steeples with foure Windowes open to the foure winds; whereon the Priests at set-times ascend, and with a strong voyce call men to Prayers. Which being ended, and their Legall washing being done, all of them leauing their Shooes on a rew at the threshold of the Gate or Porch, they enter with great silence. The Priest beginneth the Prayer and all follow, and whiles hee kneeleth they doe so, and rise when hee stands vp, and imitate him in the elevation or depression of the voyce. None yanneth, cougheth, walketh or talketh, but in great silence after Prayers they resume their Shooes and depart. No women may come to the *Mesquites* at these set houres, if there bee any men, nor may haue any societie of men except the Priest, which directeth and goeth before them with his voyce in their manner of praying, as saith the said Author.

50 They are permitted, not to enter the *Mesquites*, but to stand at the doore, and must bee gone quickly before the men haue done their Prayers. Hee addes that the womens Church is the inner part of their owne house. Such is their dis-respect of women, notwithstanding *Mohameds* promises in his Alcoran, that many say they enter not Paradise but may stand at the doore with Christians, and see the glorie of the men.

60 The Garments of the East are commonly long, some slit on the right and left hand, some whole. The vpper Garment hath wide sleeues. Their head-tire is a Tulipant but differing, of Princes white and fine, artificially wreathen, rather long then round: of their *Cadies* and *Mu-fis* very large of fiftie or sixtie els of Calico round and wreathed; of Citizens lesse, of *Serifs* or *Mohameds* posteritie greene: of Souldiers and Seruants long and white. Christians vse not white nor round ones: the *Maronite* Patriarke and his Suffragan Bishops weare a huge Tulipant, round and blue, with a blacke hood vnder it: other Priests lesse and no hood. The women are pompous, but comming abroad weare a couering made of Horse-haire before their face, that they may see and not be knowne, not if their owne Husbands meete them; neither if they did know, would they salute, it being a shame for a woman to be seene speaking with a man. Their Chaines,

Mohameds
death and Se-
pulcher.

Cairo.

Salt of *Nilus*
Balsam.
* *M. Sandys*
saith there is
now but one,
L. 6. c. 8. §. 2.

* *Vid. sup. p. 897*

* This is in *Syria*
and ascribed
to the Sun's
entrance into
Leo.
Mesquites, or
Moschees, and
their Ceremo-
nies in them.

Moslem wo-
men dis-repe-
cted.
Hence some
ascribe to the
Turkes falsly,
that women
haue no soules.
Easterne attire

A note for travellers in these parts, not to prouoke them with our libertie in vrine, &c. a cause of quarrell often to Christians.

Easterne Languages.

Arabike Authors.

Moslemans Creed.

Mosleman Precepts are;
Circumcision.
Five houres Prayers.

Almes.
Fast.

Pilgrimage.
Fighting.

Brooches and other Ornaments and Paintings of their eyes, browes, and fingers ends, I omit. Both men and women are so addicted to neatnesse, that they are very carefull lest any drop of vrine spot their clothes in making water or going to stoole, and would then thinke themselves vnclane. They therefore then sit downe (like women) and wash; or if no water may be had, wipe with three stones, or a three cornered stone, as *Ben-Sidi Aali* in his Chapter of washing warneth. They thinke it vnlawfull to spit or pisse on a brute creature. In food they abstaine from strangled and bloud; and *Moslemans*, from Swines flesh. They loue Iunctets: they breake bread and cut it not. Their Table is a round piece of Leather, to which they come with washing and Prayers promised. They vse not Forkes but Spooones of wood of diuers coulours, and where they need not them, three fingers as *Ben-Sidi Aali* warneth. Pewter and Porcelane is in much vse, but other Vessels of plate or Gold, saith hee, *Mohamed* forbade, saying, the Deuill vsed such, the common drinke is water; the better sort adde Sugar, sometimes Amber and Muske, &c.

There are in the East eight principall Languages, the *Arabike*, *Persian*, *Turkish*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriake* (which little differs from *Chaldee*) *Greeke*, and *Armenian*. The *Arabike* is most noble and vsuall, and is extended as farre as *Mohameds* name as their sacred Language, knowne to all *Moslemans* of better fashion. In this is their *Alcoran* and their publike Prayers, and most of their Lawes. Yea, saith *Zaheri*, the blessed in Paradise vse it. In this also are written their Bookes of Physicke, Astrologie, Rhetorike. The *Persian* hath little but Poets and Historians, the *Turkish* almost nothing; the *Chaldee* and *Syriake* are nigh lost, as the *Greeke*. But *Auerroes*, *Algazeles*, *Abu-Becer*, *Alfarabius* (called of the *Moslemans* the second Philosopher) *Mohamed Ben-Isaac*, and *Mohamed Ben-Abdullah* adorned the *Arabike*: besides very many Astrologers, Mathematicians, Physicians, and Historians. *Ben-Sidi Aali* reckons one hundred and fiftie, which haue written on their Law; *Ben-Casem*, innumerable Grammarians and Rhetoricians.

Now for the *Moslemans* Religion, *Ben-Sidi Aali* expresseth it to consist herein, that they beleene all the speeches made by Gabriel the Angell to our Prophet, when hee questioned him of the things to be beleued and done: which are these, to beleue in one God to whom none is equall (this against Christians) and that the Angels are the Seruants of God, to beleue in the Scripture sent to the Apostles, diuined in their opinion into one hundred and foure Bookes, of which ten were sent to Adam, fiftie to Set, thirtie to Enoc (called Edris) ten to Abraham, the Law to Moles, the Psalmes to Dauid, the Gospell to Isa, or Iesus Christ; lastly, the *Alcoran* to Mohamed. That they hold these sent for mens good, and beleue in the Resurrection after death, and that some are predestinate to fire, some to Paradise according to the will of God (for it is said in the *Alcoran*; there is none of you which hath not his place in Paradise, and a place determined in Hell) that they beleue also the reward of the good and punishment of the bad; and the intercession of the Saints. Also this is of the things to be holden, that they firmly beleue in the Diuine Pen, which was created by the finger of God. This Pen was made of Pearles, of that length and space that a swift Horse could scarcely passe in five hundred yeares. It performeth that office, that it writes all things past, present and to come: the Inke with which it writes is of light; the tongue by which it writes none understandeth but the Archangell Seraphael. That they beleue also the punishment of the Sepulchres; for the dead are used often to be punished in their Graves, as happened in a certaine Sepulcher betwixt Mecca and Medina.

The Precepts of the *Moslemans* are, first Circumcision, not on the eight day as to the *Iewes*, but at the eight, ninth, tenth, eleuenth, twelfth yeare that they may know what they doe, and may professe their Faith with vnderstanding. And although most hold women free therefrom, yet in *Egypt* they circumcise women at thirteene, fourteene, or fiftene yeares old (many of them till then goe starke naked) and *Sidi-Ben Aali* saith, that it was commanded to men, but is vsed to women for honour.

The second Commandement is Prayers houely, which in the Church, at home, or abroad, they are bound to perform, five times in the day and night: first at break of day; the second about noon; the third in the afternoon; the fourth after Sun-set, when the stars begin to appeare: the last in the first watch, or before mid-night (for after, it is vnlawfull saith *Ben-Sidi Aali*) neither may any transgresse these houres without sinne; yea, saith hee, if one were cast into the Sea and knew the houre of Prayer, if he be able he ought to doe it; as also women in trauell must hide the Infants head as they can and doe it. Trauellers when they perceiue that houre is come, goe out of the way and wash; or if they haue no water, lightly digge the Earth and make shew of washing, and goe not thence till they haue finished their Deuotion. Thirdly Almes is also commanded; and they which are so poore that they cannot giue to Orphans and the poore, must helpe in Hospitals, and high-wayes, by such seruice to satisfie God. Fourthly, *Ramadhan* Fast of thirtie dayes is commanded from morning to Sun-set and the Starres appearing: for then after euening Prayer they eate any food (except Wine) with Bacchanall cheere and tumults. Fifthly, Pilgrimage once in their liues to *Mecca* and *Medina* is also commended; and sixtly, to fight against the enemies of their Faith is no lesse commanded; not to preach by the Word and Meeknesse, as Christ, but by the Sword and Warre, to inuade and reuenge. And if by their persons and bloud they cannot, they must (saith our Author) by their purse and goods helpe the Prince herein. And if

if they die in Warre, the sensuall pleasures of Paradise, Riuers of Milke and Honey, beautifull women and the like are their present purchase. Therefore doe they giue to Apostataes, which become *Moslemans*, an Arrow borne vp by their fore-finger; the Arrow signifying Warre, and that one Finger the Vnitie of the Deitie. Their last Commandement is *washing with water*, which is three-fold, one before Prayers, handled in three Chapiters by *Ben-Sidi Aali*, thus performed; the armes stripped naked to the elbow, they wash the right hand and arme, then the left, after the Nose, Eares, Face, Necke, Crowne, Feet to the ioynts, if they be bare, or else their shoos-tops, lastly their Priuities; mean-while mumbling their Deuotions. These washings they thinke to wash away their Veniall and lighter sinnes; for their greater they vse Bathes, and say all the bodie must be washed to wash away Crimes. The third washing is of their secrets by themselves or their Seruants after the Offices of Nature, deliuered by him in two Chapiters, too foolish and filthy to be related. Adde the prohibition of Images painted or carued, Thefts, Homicides, Robberies, Adulteries, Swines flesh, Wine, strangled bloud, and things dying of themselves, and all vncleane Creatures.

Hee also instructs at large of their Testaments and Funerals. The *Moslemans* beeing sicke presently send for an *Abed*, Religious man or *Santone* to strengthen them in the Faith and propound heauenly things to him, reciting somewhat out of the Alcoran. And if the Disease bee very dangerous, they wash and make their Testament; and are bound to restore all ill-gotten goods, giuing the Creditors a Bill of their hand. And if they know not to whom to restore, they must bequeath a summe of money to publike vses, Hospitals, Mesquits, Bathes, the poore and Religious persons: yea, for that respect they set Captiues at libertie, as is read that *Anicenna* did; some giue Bookes to publike vses; some, other things. *Ben-Sidi Aali* saith, it is *Mohameds* precept that the third part of mens goods be bestowed on publike vses. And if a man die intestate, they say other dead men will chide him. When they are dead, the bodie is washed, the Nose, Eyes, Mouth, and Eares stopped with Cotton; better apparell is put on, white shirts and Tulipants. Then is the bodie carryed to the buriall place without the Citie with a great troupe; the *Santones* or Religious going before then the men promiscuously, after the Corps; followed by women howling, lamenting, shrieking, till they come to the Graue. There are those Garments taken away, and the Corps shrowded in a white sheet, and put into the Graue with the face to the South. After the couering with Earth, many Prayers are made, and much Almes is giuen to the poore to doe the same.

The Christians in those part in like case take the Sacrament, hauing before confessed and made their wils. The Priest ceaseth not to exort them to hopes of a better life by Faith in Christ. Being dead Perfumes are burned in the Chamber, the Corps is wrapped in a white sheet, and on a Herse carried by foure to the buriall place, men accompanying and women following. The neerer Kindred lament, cast ashes on their head and face, rent their Garments, pull off their haire, smite their cheekes, and lift vp horrible cries to Heauen without ceasing. When they are come to the Graue, they bury them with their faces to the East. But Priests and specially Bishops are attyred in their Priestly Habits, set in a Chaire, and the mouthes of the Sepulchers closed with a stone. Then vpon the Graues they burne Frankincense and make many Prayers. After this the women goe round about the Graue in a ranke with mournfull laments, strikes, plaints, and piteous Songs in prayse of the dead partie. Seruice is after celebrated for the dead; which ended, the Priests, many Clerkes and Lay-men by the Heires are invited to Dinner. Whiles they are set, the neere Kinsman often warnes them to pray for rest to the deceased, and they with a loud voice answere, *God haue mercy on him, for whose sake we eate these meates*. After Dinner they comfort the Heires, and praying for rest to the deceased, depart.

As concerning the *Moslemans* Beliefe of God and Christ, the Reader may read the Dialogue, published by my learned Friend Master *Bedwell*, called *Mohameds imposture*, as also my *Pilgrimage* and the quotations there, out of the Alcoran.

Kkkkkkk 3

CHAP.

Note.

Washings.

Order of visiting the sick, of Wils, Restitutions, and Burials.

Christians in the East their death & burial.

CHAP. X.

*Of this name Meneses or Meneses, Friar Iohn Santos reckoned four Vice-royes: two of which were Duarte or Edwards. One An. 1521. This was Earle of Tarouca, and sent into India, An. 1584. and ruled there more then four yeares. Note also, that Don Iohn de Castro, whose Rutter of the Red Sea ye haue in the seuenth Booke, was Vice-roy of India, An. 1545. famous for arts and Armes, which I mention that the Reader may obserue our care in forreine Authors to chuse the best.

DON DVART* DE MENESES the Vice-roy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the Lawes, Customes, Reuenues, Expenses, and other matters remarkable therein: beere abbreviated.

§. I.

A Register or Collection of the Vses, Lawes, and Customes of the Canarins, or Inhabitants of this Iland of Goa, and of the Townes thereunto belonging.



DOn Iohn by the Grace of God, King of Portugall and of the Algarues, of this side and beyond the Seas, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce or Trafficke of *Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, &c.* To all those that shall see this our Bill of Rites and Customes, giuen to the Gouvernors, Farmers and Inhabiters of the Townes and Ilands of our Citie of Goa, greeting. We let you vnderstand, that by the good ordering, diligences, and examinations, which were to bee done by Iustification, and Declaration of that which the said Farmers were bound to pay vnto vs, and did pay vnto the Kings and Lords of the Countrey before it was ours, of their inheritances, duties, rights, and other charges: and also the rights, vses and customes which they had, and we ought to command, should be kept vnto them, and wee found by the Declaration of the said diligences, that they are bound to pay vnto vs that which is contained in this our other Bill of Customes of the said payments of duties. And also wee finde that they ought to vse these vses, rights and customes, in manner and forme following.

It was found, that euery Towne of the said Ilands haue certaine Gouvernors; some more, some lesse, according to their custome, and as the Ilands and the Townes are in bignesse, and that the said name *Gançares* is as much to say, as Gouvernor, Ruler, or Benefactor, & it was thus ordained. In old time there went foure men to make profit of an Iland, and of another vnprofitable waste place, the which they manured and fortified in such manner, and so well, that in processe of time it came to such increase, that it became very populous. And these Beginners, for their good gouernment, rule and trafficke, were called *Gançares*; and afterward there came Lords and Conquerors vpon them, which did make them for to pay tribute, and custome for to let them dwell quietly in their Lands or Inheritances and Customes, but I could not know the beginning of this.

In this Iland of *Tisoare*, where the Citie of Goa stands situated, there are two and thirtie Townes and Villages, as followeth. *Neura* the great, *Gancin*, the old Goa, *Cogin*, *Hella*, *A. Iosin*, *Carambolin*, *Batin*, *Teleigaon*, *Bamolin*, *Curqua*, *Calapor*, *Morabrin* the great, *Talanlin*, *Galmola*, *Neura* the lesse, *Corlin*, *Sirdaon*, *Dugnari*, *Murura*, *Morabrin* the lesse, *Chumbel*, *Pannelin*, *Solecer*, *Mandur*, *Murcundin*, *Agacarin*, *Horar*, *Gandalin*, *Renoari*, *Banganin*, *Foleiros*.

The Townes or Villages of *Choram*, and of *Iuan*, and of *Dinar*, are these that follow: *Choran*, *Catarin*, *Iuan*, the *Pescadores*, or Fishers of *Dabarin*, *Malar*, *Nanelin*, *Goltin*, *Dina*.

And euery one of the said Townes, is bound to pay vnto vs certaine rent, contained and declared in the said Register. Heretofore the said Gouvernors of euery Towne or Village, with the Notarie of the same, doth diuide and ceasse vpon the Farmers or persons, that within the bounds of euery Towne hath Lands or Inheritance, and this according to the condition wherewith it is giuen them for their vses and customes: and the said are bound to leuie, gather, and pay the said rent, whither it increase or decrease, and the losse or encrease shall remaine with them of the Towne, that the persons to whom it doth appertaine by their custome, may pay the losse, or take the increase, as here vnder it shall be declared, except the losse should chance to come by warre, for then they shall be quit of that which shall be by the meanes thereof lost.

The said increase or losse of euery yeare, shall bee diuided according to euery ones substance equally, so that euery one doe pay the rent of the Lands or Rice-grounds that he doth occupie.

Some Gardens and Palme-tree Groues, and Rice-grounds, are bound to pay euery yeare certaine Tangas: and although they doe sustaine losses, there be in the said Ilands other Palme-tree Groues, and Rice-grounds, which doe not pay but a certaine custome; and besides, they are bound to a contribution of the losses when there be any. And there be other Lands or Inheritances which the said Gouvernours may giue gratis to any person or persons, whom they shall thinke good, without custome or Obligation, to pay any thing to the contribution of the losses.

Which are 75. Reys euery one, and two pence farthing English.

If any Towne or Village be so decayed, that they cannot pay their custome and rent that appertaineth to vs, the Gouvernors and Inhabiters of it, shall giue intelligence of it to the chiefe Master of the Ports, and to the Notarie of the Iland, and they shall goe to see the said losse, and finding it for good truth that it hath such a losse; the said chiefe Master of the Ports shall command the chiefe Gouvernours of the eight principall Townes aboue rehearsed, and then there may come to this other Gouvernours, which soeuer they shall thinke good, although the matters of the Iland must be done by order with them of the eight principall Townes, and altogether with the said chiefe Master of the Ports, and the Notarie, the Inhabitants of the decayed towne may engage or morgage their Towne vnto the Gouvernours, because they are bound vnto it: and
 10 they may also make sale of it in the presence of the said Officers, and it shall be deliuered or surrendered to him that will giue most for it, and that which is wanting of the rent and custome which it is bound to pay, in that which is giuen for the Towne, shall bee diuided and leuiued of the eight principall Townes, or of all the Iland, vpon those Lands which are bound to the contribution of the losses, in such sort, that we may haue full payment of the Custome of the said Towne, and that the said Hirer or Hirers shall be bound to increase better, and profit the Towne or Village: and with this condition it shall be let or set vnto them. And the said Hirers or Farmers of the said Towne, shall haue the voyces of Gouvernours during the time of their Lease or Farme.

The Gouvernours of the Towne decayed, doe not lose their Offices by that which is spoken.
 20 And at all times that they shall aske, or demand, the Towne paying the whole rent or custome, it shall be deliuered vnto them, and the said Towne shall be no more of the Farmers, hauing ended their time or lease.

The Gouvernours by authoritie of their Offices, and because they were Beginners, and also because the said Offices or charge doth come to them by descent, they doe not lose them (to wit, the Gouvernours euery one in the Towne in person for any error he doth commit: nor the Clerke of Common Councell, which also commeth to him by inheritance or descent: and this order was made by the Gouvernours themselues, onely the one and the other shall haue for the errors and hurts that they doe commit, the penaltie that they doe deserue, in their goods and bodie. Notwithstanding, such an error they may doe, that they may dye for it: or it shall be conuenient that they shall not serue in their Offices, and in such case it shall remaine to their Sonnes or
 30 Heires; and if the case be not great, the chiefe Master of the Ports shall iudge it, counselling himselfe with some of the Gouvernours. And if the facts bee greater, the said chiefe Master of the Ports shall giue knowledge of it to our Captaine Generall, and Gouvernour of *India*, or to the Captaine of our Citie of *Goa*, or to the ouer-seer of our goods, if the matter bee thereunto attaining, for to provide in it what shall bee conuenient and right: And also the Gouvernours of the said Towne haue the said Offices by inheritance or descent. And if they doe commit any error, they shall be punished as these other, and so their Offices shall remaine to their Sonnes, or to their Heires.

The Gouvernors may giue such fields as within euery Towne are waste or vnprofitable, to such
 40 as shall aske or demand them, for to make them profitable in Gardens, or Palme-tree Groues, or to other good vles, with condition that they shall pay a certaine rent, or custome, as shall seeme good vnto them, and this so giuen, shall bee for the space of five and twentie yeeres; for, from that time forward, they shall pay according to the order and custome, which is euery Field or Plaine, of twelue Paces in length (which is the space betweene Palme-tree and Palme-tree, reckoning one hundred Palme-trees to the field) some of them to pay five Tangas, worth foure Barganis euery Tanga. And after this rate, the greater or lesser field so giuen shall pay. And the said Gouvernours may giue the waste Fields and Plaines, for to be profited in Palme-tree Groues, and Gardens, for lesse then five Tangas, and they shall passe their Warrant for this, according to their custome, notwithstanding they may not exceed aboue.

When they shall giue Fields or Plaines, to make Rice grounds, they shall be giuen in this manner, to wit, five Cubits in length, and five in breadth, which is the space betweene one row and another, reckoning in this manner one hundred rewes to euery Field. And any Field or Plaine of them, being watered with Well water, they shall giue it for foure Barganis, euery yeeres rent; and if they be watered with running water, their rent shall be six Barganis euery yeere; and after the said Gardens bee so giuen vnto them by the Gouvernours, they cannot bee taken away from them, for they remaine to their Sonnes, Grand-children, and Heires, and this is the generall custome. Notwithstanding, if any other custome be vsed besides this in any Towne, or Village, it shall be fulfilled.

The Clerke of the Councell must be present at all the bargaines, and agreements (which amongst themselues they call *Nemes*) that shall be made by the principall Gouvernours of all the
 60 Iland with the Officers of it, the chiefe Master of the Ports, a *Portugal* Notarie with him, or a *Bramane*, and without him or the Clerke of the Councell, no bargaines nor agreements can be made, because they doe write the Cases, for to notifie and declare the debts that might arise in time to come. And in the abovesaid manner, the Scriueners of the Townes must be with the Gouvernours

Bargani is two pence halfe peny farthing, and a sixteenth part of a penic.

Which is eleven pence farthing *Englishe*.

Which is a kind of Priest of their Idols.

uernours of them, in all matters that shall passe in any one of the said Townes. And the Townes of all this Iland of *Tifoare*, and the other Townes of *Duar*, and *Choran*, and *Iunba*, are guided by their writings.

The Gouvernours every one in his owne Towne, may giue Fields, or Plaines, freely or *gratis*, for to profit them: or if be profitable being voide, to the Officers of the said Townes, to wit, to the * Priest of the * *Pagode*, or Church of the Idoll, and to the Scriuener, and to the Porter, and to the Rent-gatherer, and to the Magnato (which is a washer of Cloth, or a Laundresse) and to the Shoemaker, and Carpenter, and to the Smith, and to the Faras (which is a seruant to the *Pagode*, or Church) and to the women of the world (which are common women or Curtesans) and to the Iester. And to those persons abouenamed, the Plaines, or Fields, and Gardens, are giuen *gratis*, for to serue continually in the said Townes: And after they be giuen vnto them, they may not be taken away, nor other persons be set in their place, because they are giuen vnto them for their Sonnes, Grand-children, and Heires. And every Towne may haue no more Officers then abouenamed, to whom they may giue the said Lands *gratis*. Neither may they giue them any more Lands without Heires, and they being willing to leaue them, they shall bee giuen to other Officers of their Facultie, and the Heires of the same Officers are bound to serue in the said Offices also.

* Which is called *Bramane*.

* Which is their Temple.

The Gouvernour of any Towne, may not giue any Field, or Garden, to any one that is not of the Towne, *gratis*, but paying tribute; except they haue an order for it.

When the chiefe Master of the Ports shall send for the Gouvernours of all the Iland, or of one Towne, they are bound for to come, or to make an assemblie, for to choose in every Towne any one whom they thinke meete, for to send to the said calling; and when they make the said assemblie (which among them is called *Gançaria*, or an assemblie of Gouvernours) if any Gouvernour be wanting of them, which are ordained in the said Towne, there can nothing be done, except they be all together, and if there be any Heire of that Gouvernour that is wanting, it is sufficient for the said Assemblie or meeting to be made with him. And if other people doe not come, they shall incur the penaltie that among themselues they haue ordained.

If any Gouvernour or any other person is willing to sell any lands in any of the said Townes, they may not doe it without license of all the Gouvernours of the said Towne, and also no person may buy without the said license. And if any person shall make any sale, or buy any land without the license, it shall be in it selfe of no effect, and at any time when the Gouvernour will, it shall be voide for the benefit of the duties which they are bound to pay vnto vs, and because they also that doe buy, may bee contented and acquainted with the said rights, and may haue their Letters with a declaration of these duties which they are to pay.

When any Bill of sale shall be made of any Land or Inheritance, it shall not be sufficient to be signed by the Letter, but also it must bee signed by all the Heires, and although some of the Heires be vnder age, declaration shall be made, that some other person that did appertaine vnto him, did signe for him, and if any one of the Heires remaine that hath not signed, the said sale shall at any time be of no effect, taking the quantitie that it was sold for, and if the buyer shall be at any cost or charges vpon the said Land, he shall lose it.

If any Gouvernour shall goe or runne away because he will not, or is not able to pay vs the rent that he is bound to pay, the other Gouvernours of the said Towne shall meete, and call a Court about this matter, and shall prefixe a time wherein he may come, and if within the said time he doth not come, they shall require the Heires of the said Gouvernour so fled, to take the said Lands, and Gouvernement, so as they be bound to pay vnto vs our right, and the debts that he doth owe: and if he will not accept it, it shall remaine to the said Gouvernours, for the Obligation that they haue to pay the said right or custome, and they may giue them to whom they shall thinke best, paying besides our right all the debts that he doth owe.

If a Gouvernour or any other person shall runne away for debt, or any other matter, no man shall take away his Lands, and his Heires shall bee demanded, if they will remaine in the said Lands, and be bound to pay his debts, and our right, and if there be no Heires, or being any, if they will not accept it, then the said Lands shall remaine to the said Gouvernours, for want of an owner, and they shall pay for it the right and debts that they doe owe vnto vs, and they shall take the ouerplus of that which is remayning, and if any thing be wanting, they shall pay that which it amounteth vnto, and as touching the moueable goods, they shall remaine vnto vs, whensoever the Heires shall not accept of the Inheritance or Lands.

If any person, Gouvernour, or other, doth chance to die, or goeth out of the Countrey, and hath no Heires, the Lands that they haue which are not bound to any tribute or custome, shall be ours, euen as the mouables, and if the Lands doe owe any debts or legacies, or if they doe not owe any thing, after we are paid ours, of the remainder shall be done according to right.

The Rice-lands in every Towne shall be let every yeere by the voice of a Crier, to them that will giue most for them, according to their custome, because they are not proper of any one man, as the other lands are, and therefore they must be giuen to such men as will giue most for them, being Inhabitants or dwellers of the Townes, and if any Towne hath, of, or by custome of old time

time to giue the said lands, or let them to any person or persons out of the Towne, which shall giue more for them then the men of the said Towne, it shall be accomplished according to their custome.

The Gouvernours of this Iland of *Tisoare*, and of the other Ilands of *Diuar*, and *Choran*, and *Iunha*, are bound to giue among the Inhabiters of the Towne certaine * labourers, at their owne cost and charges euery yeere for to cleanse the wall, and the bottome of the trenches of this Citie, of the Weedes and Bushes that grow in them, or also for other needfull or hastie seruices, which sometimes doe chance as neede doth require.

If there chance to bee any demand or controuersie in any of the said Townes, touching any
10 Lands or Tenements, they may not demand them by any witnesses, but onely by writings, or bonds, or by the Townes Register, and if there be no writings, nor bonds, and the Register of the Towne should chance to be lost, there shall another bee taken of the demander of the said lands, that by it he shall declare that which shall seeme conuenient for to know the truth. And concerning such cases, and other of like importance, they shall sweare vpon a *Pagode* * (which is an image of the Deuill) which swearing is called *Vfe* or *Custome*.

* Called Bi-
garina.

If any person shall lend another money vpon a bond, and by negligence he did not demand it, or it was not paide vnto him within the time prefixed in the said bond, in such manner that when he goeth to demand the said money, the debtor doth denie it, in such a case there shall bee an oath taken of him that hath the bond or obligation, that hee tell truth of the case how it standeth, and he shall sweare vpon the said *Pagode* (which is an image of the Deuill.)
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* See my Pitt
l. 5. c. 9. §. 2.

There may not be lent to any man aboue fiftie Tangas, without an obligation or bond, and for one person or persons to demand another or others, to the quantitie of fiftie Tangas, the demander shall shew an obligation or witnesses, and aboue the summe of fiftie Tangas, one cannot demand of another without an obligation, onely the parties may come to an agreement, putting it in arbitration of two such sworne men as they shall like, the which shall sweare after they haue heard them, that which they shall find to be equitie and right.

They may giue money at interest in this manner, that for euery six Tangas, they may receiue euery moneth one Bargani, and no more, and if any person shall giue money at interest, and doth not demand the interest, and so much time doth passe without demanding it, that the
30 interest doth amount to so much or more then the principall, although long time bee past, the Debtor shall not be bound to pay to the Creditor but the principall with the double.

The persons that can bee witnesse are these, to wit, a youth vnder the age of sixteene yeares, nor a Drunkard, nor a Blinde man, nor a Dumbeman, nor a *Moore*, nor a Deafe man, nor a Russian, nor a Iourney-man, nor a Gardiner, nor a Gamster, nor the Daughter of a Whore, nor an infamous person by Record, nor a man that is in hatred with another, cannot beare witnesse against him. Notwithstanding, these may beare witnesse in matters of small importance.

If a man doe chance to dye without a Sonne, although he hath a Father, or other heires ascendant, the Inheritance commeth to vs, except the said Father and Sonne deceased hath their Inheritance commixt, or both in one Title or Custome: for then the Father doth inherit of the
40 Sonne: and if any man hath foure Sonnes, or more or lesse, they may diuide the Inheritance in his life time, except it be by his owne good will, and the Father contented with it, they shall diuide it brotherly as well in his life time, as after his death; and diuiding it in his life time, the Sonnes shall be bound to maintaine the Father with all things necessary, and any of these Brothers dying without Heires descendant, the diuision of the brethren shall be viewed, either at the death, or in the life time of their Father, if it be written in the Towne-booke; and being written in the said Booke, then the inheritance of euery Brother so dying without an Heire descendant commeth to vs, and if he dyeth before the said diuision was made or written, then the Inheritance commeth to the Brethren, if they haue no Father: and if the said Inheritance be not of forreine Lands, and bound to the rent of the Towne, then the Inheritance of a man so deceased shall remaine vnto vs, as well as the moueable without any contradiction. And if any of
50 these Brethren become a *Turke*, a *Moore*, or a *Iogue* (which is like to the Gypsies in our Kingdomes) in such manner, that he doth alienate himselfe from the custome of his house, and if the goods be diuided among them, his moueable goods shall remaine vnto vs, and his Land also, except it be forreine Lands, for then it shall be sold by Obligation to pay the custome due, and the remainder (the debts being first paid) shall remaine vnto vs, as here is contained.

Of men deceased, and how they inherit one after another.

* Which is a
Gypcian.

At the time of the decease of such a man, whose inheritance appertaineth to vs in such manner as is declared already, the Gouvernours of the Towne shall bee bound, before they doe burie them, or burne them (according to their custome) they shall make it knowne to our Officers, for to goe thither to take notice of the goods, and to set them downe in an Inuentorie, and
60 make sale of them by the voyce of a Cryer, the Gouvernours of the Towne being present: and they shall be giuen to the Gouvernours of the Towne, or to any of their kinred that shall giue most for them, and not to any person out of the Towne, or to any of their kinred, notwithstanding if the neereft Kinsman of the man deceased, or any other of his Kinsmen will haue the said Inheritance, with the customes belonging to it, which the Gouvernours doe pay, it shall be giuen him.

How the goods of men deceased, must bee sold in the Towne to the Gouvernours, and they shall pay the debts, being due and lawfull.

him. And suppose it should happen that the Kinsmen of the deceased did not come at the selling of the said goods, and within five daies after they shall know of it, shall request the said Inheritance to be giuen them for the quantitie it was sold for, it shall bee giuen vnto them for the said price. And the said five daies being past, they not requiring it, it shall not after bee deliuered vnto them; but they that most shall giue for it, shall possesse it; and the duties that doe arise of the said goods, shall be for vs, and it shall bee charged vpon our Factor, and there shall passe a Certificate in Farme vnto the Gouvernours for their discharge, how it is charged vpon his account, and thence forward may they not bee constrained, or oppressed for it, and therefore the lawfull and due debts that the said deceased doth owe, shall of the said goods first be paid, and the rest that remaineth, shall be for vs, as aforesaid.

The moueables of any one deceased hauing no heires ascendant, or descendant, (as is already said) are without any difference to remaine to our vse, and they shall bee sold to them that will giue most for them, either be he Kinsman or not, of the Towne, or out of it, notwithstanding the debts shall first be paid, as already is specified.

The Inheritance is in this manner; from the Father it commeth to the Sonne, and to the Grand-child, &c. and to the Father and Grand-father: so that there bee heires ascendant and descendant, to whom the Inheritance doth appertaine, so that the said Inheritance come by the Male, and by the Female no person doth inherit, no not the Daughter, but the Brother shall possesse her goods in such manner, as is already specified.

If any Thiefe shall goe to steale any Money, or any other thing, and is taken with the said stealth, in such case it shall be provided according to our Ordinances and Lawes; and if the said thing so stollen hath an Owner, it shall bee giuen him, although by their vses and customes it belongeth vnto vs, and this, because so it is our pleasure, and wee thinke it good to shew them fauour, as we doe vnto them that well and faithfully doe vs service, as we hope they will doe.

If any treasure or goods be found or discovered, it belongeth and appertaineth to vs.

If any man be married with two Wiues, and haue foure Sonnes of the one and of the other, or more or lesse, although that they bee not in number equall, whensoever the said Sonnes shall diuide the said goods of the Father, they shall diuide it in the midst, and the one Sonne shall haue as much as the other foure, and the goods of the Father and of the Mother, shall not bee inherited in the Daughter, as is aboue rehearsed.

The Officers placed by vs, and by our Gouvernours and Captaines, and ouer-seers of our goods, shall not take any bribes, nor Lands, of, or at the hands of the Gouvernours and Townes, neither may they vse any Merchandize within the compasse of their Office. And I command, that if at any time they or he shall be attainted with the same fault, that which shall be found he hath taken, or by his meanes any losse was sustained, hee shall repay it againe, and the said quantitie so paid, shall remaine vnto vs.

Or a Cassock:
Pachorins a
kind of Linnen
cloth.

If the Gouvernours shall lay, or exact any demands in the Townes for *Cabaga*, *Pachorins*, or whatsoever profits or commodities for themselues, or for to giue to the Captaines, or chiefe Master of the Ports, or to any other Officers, or persons whatsoever, every Gouvernour of a Towne so conuicted, shall pay the whole summe of that, which they haue leuied through all the Townes; the one halfe for them that shall accuse them, and the other halfe for redemption of Captiues and the Scriueners, or Notaries of the Townes, shall be contributaries with them, if the said tribute, subsidie, or tyrannie was raised, or leuied with their consent.

He that shall conuay, or purloine any Merchandize, of whatsoever sort it be, without paying to our Officers the duties belonging to vs as they are bound: they shall pay after the rate of eleuen for one, of that which he hath so conuayed and purloined, being thereof conuicted.

At what time soeuer that the chiefe Master of the Ports, with the Clerkes or Clerke of his charge together, or euery one of himselfe, shall goe to the Iland about matters concerning our affaires, or any one whom they shall send to the said Iland, or to the Townes of the same, they shall giue them their meat according to their vse and custome.

And also to our Factor, or Officer of that office when they shall goe thither, to provide in any matters concerning our affaires, or the Towne of the Iland.

Whatsoever Foot-man shall goe with any message pertaining to our seruice, or to the recouerie of our rents, they shall giue him euery day that he shall be there without dispatching, two measures of Rice for his meat, and one *Leal* for *Betre*, which is an hearb that they vse to eat.

A piece of Money of three farthings.
Betre, an herbe that they vse to eat.

If any Gouvernours of the Iland of *Choran*, or of the other Ilanders annexed to the same of *Tisoare* shall runne away to the *Turkes* out of the Land, because they would not pay the rent, as it is aforesaid already, it hath beene done, the which from hence-forward wee hope they will not doe, they shall lose their moueable goods, and they shall fall vnto vs, and their Lands and Offices shall bee giuen vnto them they doe appertaine to, and will giue most for them, being bound to pay the rights and customes that the said Lands are bound to pay, and that which they shall giue ouer-plus for the said Lands and Gouvernourship, their custome reserued, shall bee to our vse.

When they doe make any feast or assembly, wherein they are to take *Betre*, (which is an Herbe)

Herbe) or *Pachorins*, the principall Gouvernour of every Towne shall take first the said *Betre*, *Pachorins*, or *Jewell*, and after him the other Gouvernours by degrees, according to their authorities and customes.

Which is a piece of linnen cloath.

When any assembly or conuocation is to be made, and the names of the Gouvernours to be named in writing; first shall begin the name of the principall in honour, and consequently one after another in their degrees.

When in the end of any Councell that they make, there is any difference or doubt in setting downe that which they haue agreed vpon, it shall bee written by the Scriuener, or Notarie of the Towne; and hauing written it, he shall say with an high voyce, which is called *Nemo*, that which they haue agreed vpon, and if there be no bodie to gaine-say that which he hath said, and declared with an high voyce, it shall remaine in full force and power.

When the Gouvernours of the Iland do meete for any councell, agreement, or decree, the said decree shall be set downe by the Clerke of the Common Councell of all the Iland, and the voyce that shall be giuen at the end of the said decree, called *Nemo* (as aforesaid) shall bee spoken by the most principall Gouvernour that will be accepted, the said *Nemo* shall be made by the Scriuener or Notarie that writ it.

The Towne of *Telegaon* hath the preheminance, for it must bee the first that beginneth to share their Rice, and the Gouvernours of it must come euery yeare with a sheafe of Rice, to present it before the high Altar of the Church, and the Vicar with them must go to the Storehouse where our Factor is, and he shall haue bestowed foure *Pardons* in *Pachorins*, and hee shall cast them about the neckes of the Gouvernours, ordained among them, that they may receiue honour, and from thence forward the other Townes may reape, or share their Rice as hereafter shall be declared.

Which is a piece of Mony worth 300. Reys. *Pachorins* a piece of Linnen cloath.

In the time of Tillage, the first Rice-ground that shall be ploughed, and in the time of Harvest that first shall be reaped, must be the chiefe Gouvernours field of euery Towne, and after him any one that will may reape his; and the same order shall be vsed in the couering, or thatching of their houses euery yeare, the which Gouvernour of the Towne shall couer his house first with Palme-tree leaues, and after him all the other people of the same.

The Men or Women Dancers, that shall come to feast to a Towne, they shall goe first to feast at the house of the principall Gouvernour; and when there be two in like honour, it stands in the choyce of the Dancers, to goe to which of them they thinke best: and these Gouvernours so in one degree of honour, shall rise together to the *Betre*, or to any other honour, when they are to receiue estate, with their armes a crosse, the right arme vnder the left, because that he that goeth on the right hand, doth take it for more honour, and because another Gouvernour might say, that he which did take the present with the left hand had the preheminance, because it came ouer the right hand.

Which is an herbe they vse to cate.

The Gouvernours that are in Common; to wit, which is to take *Betre*, (which is an Herbe) or any other honour, haue no preheminance the one of the other; and they may sell the said honour of the *Betre*, or *Pachorins*, which are certaine Linnen cloaths) to any of the said Gouvernours of the said Towne, euery time that the said honour chanceth to bee giuen, and this for a certaine price, and it must be diuided in the Towne: and when there is no obiection to the contrary, then the Scriuener of the Towne receiue the said honour.

No man may carrie *Tocha*, *Andor*, or *Sombreiro*, without our liccense, or of our Gouvernour, except it come to him by Inheritance from his Fathers, and those to whom we or our said Gouvernour shall giue the said liccense for desert of his seruices, it shall bee giuen in two sorts; the one, that they may carrie the said *Sombreiro* and *Andor* with his Foot-men, and *Tocha* with the Oyle at their owne charge; and the other is, that hee doe receiue of vs the said *Sombreiro* with the said Foot-men, and the Oyle paid at our charges, and the said light also may bee giuen without the shadow, and the shadow without the said light or *Tocha*, euery thing by it selte, or altogether in any of the manners aboue specified. Therefore also we notifie it, as well to our Captaine Generall, and Gouvernour of these parts of *India*, which now is, or hereafter shall bee: and also to the Captaines of this Citie, Iudges, Iustices, and Officers of the same, and to euery other person or persons, to whom this our Letter shall be shewen, and the knowledge of it doth appertaine: We command, that in all things they keepe and fulfill the same, and cause it to bee kept and fulfilled, as in it is contained, for our meaning is the same. Giuen in the Citie of *Goa*, the sixteenth of September, the King commanded it by *Alonso Mexia*, Ouer-seer of the goods in these parts of *India*, and *Antonie de Campo* did write it, in the yeare of 1526. *Alonso Mexia*.

Tocha, a kind of Torch or Lampe carried before them, *Andor* is a Chaire.

Don Philip by the Grace of God, King of *Portugall*, and of the *Algarues*, on this side and that side the Sea in *Africa*, Lord of *Guinea*, and of the Conquest, Nauigation and Trafficke of *Ethiopia*, *Persia*, and *India*, &c. Be it knowne to you, that I seeing how much the good government, and preferuing of my Estates in those parts of *India*, doth import, and Iustice to be truly administred in them to my Subiects and Vassals, and desiring that in my time it may bee done with that integritie, libertie and breuitie that thereunto belongeth; I thought meete to send

As Westminster
Hall.

send or provide after I had succeeded in the Crowne of those Kingdoms, Persons of conscience and learning, to the most of the Fortresses of those parts, that should administer it, to the which we gave power and authority according to their governments or charges. And being now informed that in the Citie of Goa, principall and head of the said Estates, the Kings my Predecessors of glorious memory, did ordayne there should be an house of Iustice, or place of hearing, wherein some Officers by them chosen (as in a supreme Tribunall) should determine the Causes, giving them for that purpose at sundry times divers charges, the which for the varietie of matters ought to be reformed, and I being willing in dutie to continue with the same intent, and command to provide in those Causes, which at this present were most necessarie for the good of the said House, commanded for that effect, learned men of my Counsell, and of experience that they should determine what might be done in that case, as well in the ordering and governing of the said House, as in the multiplying of the Ministers belonging to it, that matters of Iustice might with more ease and facilitie be prosecuted, and having heard their opinions, and necessary diligences being used, and having given mee relation of all things and account, I thought good to provide for them in manner and forme following.

II.

A Copie of the order that the Vice-roy of the Estate of India shall hold in matters of Iustice, as also of the other Magistrates, in the divers places holden by the Portugals in India.

He Vice-roy shall goe to the house of Iustice, the times that he thinketh good, and shall give no voyce, nor assigne or pronounce any sentences, but he shall onely use the offices that the chiefe Iudge doth use in the Court of Requests, and of the rest which in extraordinary matters is granted vnto him in all things whereunto his charge may be applied.

Or a Preferrer
of Bills and
Supplications.

There shall be in the said House or Court ten Officers, to wit, one Chancellour, the which shall also serve for a Iudge of the Chancerie: one chiefe Iudge of facts and causes Criminall: one chiefe Iudge of matters or causes Ciuill, the which notwithstanding shall serve for Iudges in matters of complaint, wherein any Iudge of our estate, goods, or reuenues hath not given sentence, one Attorney for causes touching the Crowne goods, or reuenues: and one Promotor of Iustice, the which shall serve also for a Iudge of complaints, and wrongs in those cases wherein he is not Attorney: one chiefe Iudge for Wills and Testaments, the which shall serve also for a Iudge of Complaints, in such cases as he hath not given sentence.

Also there shall be in the said house three extraordinarie Iudges, the which shall serve in absence, and for any hindrance of the said Iudges of complaints aboue named, and for the other Offices. And this by commission of the Vice-roy, and in his absence of the Chancellor, or of the most ancient Iudge, which doth serve himselfe as Chancellor, when the Chancellor himselfe is absent, and they shall helpe the Iudges that sit on the Bench to dispatch the causes then depending, and not in any matter aforesaid past, &c.

Every day before they sit or dispatch any matters, there shall a Masse be said by a Chaplaine, which the Vice-roy shall choose for that purpose, and he shall be paid at the charges and expenses of the said house, and the Masse being ended, they shall beginne to dispatch such matters as shall be brought vnto them, and they shall be foure houres at the least in dispatching matters, by an houre-glasse, which shall stand vpon the Table where the Vice-roy doth sit.

The Iudges, as well in cases Ciuill as Criminall, shall haue the same authority, and shall keepe the same order that is given vnto them, whereof the Iudges of the Court of Requests doe also use, and of those sentences which by mine Ordinances I command account be given vnto mee before they be put in execution, the said account shall be given to the Vice-roy, if hee haue not bene present at iudgment, or if he be not absent from the Citie of Goa: for if he be absent, the account shall be given vnto him that ruleth in his stead, and when there is any iudgement Criminall of Importance, as is to put some person of qualitie to death, or other iudgement of importance in Ciuill cases, execution shall not be made without giving account to the Vice-roy thereof, although he be absent, or out of the Citie.

The Vice-roy and Iudges may in the house of Iustice supply the defects, and annihilating of the acts, when he shall thinke that the cause doth require it, for the performing of Iustice.

And the said Iudges, while they are in the said house executing their Offices with the Vice-roy, shall be set in plaine Chayres, and the Vice-roy shall presently command them to be covered, and not to sit bare-headed.

The said Iudges shall not enter into the said house with any weapons, neither shall they weare any garments of colour, but they shall be apparelled in long blacke garments, in such manner as it may represent the Authority they haue.

The

The Vice-roy shall have a particular to command the Pensions to be payd to the said Iudges at their due times, in such manner as they may bee effectually payd euery quarter, without any delay to the contrarie, and their payment shall be giuen or payd vnto them in the said house, at the end of euery quarter.

The Bills of pardons, Bills of assurance, legitimations, and suppliances of ages, shall be giuen to the Vice-roy being in the said house, and he with the said Iudges shall dispatch them, and they shall be such as he for that purpose shall chioose, alwayes the Chancellor being one of them, if he be present, with the Iudge of the cause, and to the dispatches of the said Petitions, the said Iudges with the Vice-roy shall set their hands, and the Bills shall passe in my name, with the
10 accustomed causes, and they shall be signed by the Vice-roy, and no Bill of pardon shall be taken without pardon of the party offended, and in the dispatches of the said causes they shall alwayes haue a due regard and consideration.

And because of the easie granting of pardons, which the Vice-roy in those parts doth ordinarily grant, hath sprung that the faults are not punished, and the boldnesse to commit new hath encreased; Wee thought it meet and conuenient, that no pardons should bee granted in matters of Apostacy, Sodomie, false coynning, treacherous murder, falshood in the crime of any of the Heads, *Lasa Maiestatis*, wounding, or killing of any Iudge or Iustice, or of a Captaine of any Fortresse, the slaughter of a Maior, or Baylisfe, or any other Officer of Iustice, except any cause so vrgent doth concur, that the granting of the said pardon of the said cases, doth
20 concerne the preseruacion of the estate of *India*: then the causes shall be communicated with the said Iudges, as is already declared, and when any of these cases so excepted shall happen, the Vice-roy shall take the said cases particularly in memorie, and shall giue me account of them in his Letters, by the first Fleet after the pardon were granted, with the causes that moued them to pardon such a fault.

The said Vice-roy from hence forward shall not grant any Warrant, that the money of Orphans shall be giuen to any Gentleman, or Captaine of any Fortresse, nor to any other persons which are not Merchants, for the many inconueniences that thereof doe proceed.

The Vice-roy of *India* in the prouiding of publike Offices of Iustice in those parts, shall haue a great care to prouide in my seruants or any other persons, *bene meritos*, and apt for the
30 said Offices, preferring alwayes my seruants, when they haue equall deserts with the other, and he shall passe no Warrant for any Captaine of a Fortresse, that he may prouide the said Offices that are voyde, for the great inconueniences that thereof doth arise, and because it is provided in mine Ordinances, how the Offices of the said charges must be prouided by the Iustices, and Commissioners of those Countries, in whose place being absent, the Learned men that I haue sent for Iudges of the Fortresses to those parts doe remayne.

The said Vice-roy in the Warrants of Iustice, or of goods that he passeth, shall not command in an Edict, that they may not passe by the Chancerie, for the many inconueniences that thereof doth arise, and being passed in any other forme, they shall be of no force, and the persons to whom they shall be directed, shall not keepe nor conceale them, except the Warrants
40 be of secreisie, or of matters of importance, the which passing by the Chancerie would take no effect; and if any Warrant that the Vice-roy doth grant, doe come with restraint or seizure whatsoever, the said restraint or seizure shall be dispatched ordinarily in the house of Iustice, or Hall aboue named, by the Iudges to whom it doth appertaine.

All the Warrants or Letters that the Vice-roy maketh, shall be written or subscribed by the Secretarie of the estate of *India*, to whom it pertayneth, and not to any other person except he supply the place of a Secretarie, because there is none prouided by me for that effect.

The Vice-roy shall command an * account to bee taken of the Captaines, and of the other Officers which shall deserue in them, as soone as their time is expired, the which shall be done by the Iudges of the Hall or Court aboue named, which he shall chioose for that purpose, or by
50 any other trusty persons notwithstanding the accounts, or *regidencias* of *Ormus*, *Malaqua*, and *Mosambique* shall be taken by the Iudges themselves, because of the importance of them, and the acts or examinations of the said accounts or *regidencias* shall be dispatched in the said House or Court of Relation, and the sentences which vpon them shall be giuen, with the copie of the said acts and examinations, the Vice-roy shall cause them to bee to the Realme the same yeere that they are taken, and they shall be deliuered to the Iudge of *India*, and of the Myne, that he may deliuer vnto me relation of them, and I may command them to be set in that place that I shall thinke to be most meet.

The condemnations of money that shall be made in the House or Court of Relation, shall be applied for the expences of the said House, and the Iudges of the said House or Court may not
60 apply them to any other vse, of the which forfeitures, or condemnations there shall bee a Receiver, and a Scriuener of the receit, and expences of them, and the said expences shall be made by order of the Vice-roy, for the which there shall be a Booke assigned and kept, by one of the said Iudges, to whom the Vice-roy shall commit it in keeping.

And because I may haue knowledge of all causes as well Criminall as Ciuill, which shall be

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dispatched

Which is called *regidencia*.Viz. of Portugal
and to original
rescripts

dispatched in the said House or Court of Relation in euery yeere, the Vice-roy shall command a Roll or Register of all the said cases that so shall bee dispatched to bee made, and also of those which remayned to be dispatched, the which Register he shall send vnto vs euery yeere.

The Vice-roy shall nominate euery three yeeres, one Iudge of great confidence and trust, that may take the Examinations in the Citie of Goa, of the Scriueners, Aduocates, Rulers, Bayliffes, Tellers, Inquisitors, and of all the other Ministers of Iustice, and of the Reuenues, excepting the Iustices of the House or Court of Relation, and also besides the Examinations that the chiefe Iustice of Criminall causes, and the other Officers of Iustice in the said Citie are bound to make euery yeere according to their Offices or Authoritie, and the said Iudge shall proceed against the faulty according to Iustice, and finally, he shall dispatch them in the said Court of relation, with the Iudges that the Vice-roy shall nominate vnto him.

And the Vice-roy not being present in the House or Court of relation, or being absent from the Citie of Goa, the Chancellor shall serue in his place, according to the order of our Decree.

A note or copy of the authoritie that the Chancellor of the House or Court of Relation of India hath.

The Chancellor shall peruse or ouer-see all the Bills & Sentences, that are given by the Iudges of the said Court or House of relation, and in the passing and ingrossing of them, he shall keepe the same order that the Chancellor of the Court of Requests doth keepe, by authoritie of my Ordinances and Warrants.

He shall take notice of the suspicions that are to the Iudges of the said House or Court of relation of India, and to the other Officers of the said House, the which he shall dispatch in the said House or Court of relation.

For the is a Chancerie belonging to the Court of Requests.

He shall take notice of the cases and errours of the Notaries and Scriueners, and other Officers, whereof the Iudge of Chancerie pertayning to the Court of Requests may take Notice, and he shall passe Bills of assurance vpon the said cases being of such qualitie that it may bee done, and no other Iudge shall passe them, and he also shall take notice of the appeales of errours committed by these Officers of the estate of India, and of the wrongs past before the Tellers of the costs, vsing in all that is aboue named that authoritie, that is given to the Iudge of the Chancerie belonging to the Court of requests.

And for so much as in the said parts there is no other Chancellor but he of the house or Court of relation, it is my will and pleasure, that all those matters that in whatsoever manner be dispatcht by the Vice-roy, by Letters, Bills, or Warrants, which by authoritie of my Ordinances should passe by the chiefe Chancellor, doe passe by him, and in the passing and engrossing of the said matters, he shall vse the authoritie of the chiefe Chancellor, and the Debts that are due in the engrossing of the Warrants, which the Vice-roy shall passe, he shall determine vpon them with three of the said Iudges, which the Vice-roy shall nominate vnto him.

And hee shall also take notice of the suspicions layd to the Ouerscers of our Reuenues, or Exchequer, and to the Officers thereof, and hee shall dispatch them according to the authoritie of the chiefe Chancellor.

And touching the valuation of the Garrisons, and other Offices of what ought to bee payd in the Chancerie, the said Chancellor shall vse the same order containd in the Orders of the estate of India, whereof hitherto hath beene vsed, the which he shall vse onely in this behalfe.

The Chancellor shall keepe the Courts that the Iudge of the Chancerie is bound to doe, in the dayes ordayned for that purpose, and the Sentences that the said Chancellor doth giue, shall passe by the Chancerie, or by the ancientest Iudge of the Appeales.

And when the Chancellor chanceth to bee absent, or busie about other affaires, in such sort that thereby he cannot be present, the Seales shall remayne with the ancientest Iudge of Appeales in that Office, he which shall take notice of all such matters as the said Chancellor might take notice of.

And in all the rest that in this Register is not declared, the said Chancellor shall vse the same order that is given to the high Chancellor, or to the Chancellor of the Court of Requests, by our Ordinances and Decrees, and this shall be vsed in such cases as they well may be applyed vnto.

A note or copy of the authoritie that belongeth to the Iudges of the Appeales.

There appertayneth to the Iudges of the Appeales, to take notice of the Appeales of the Sentences definitiue, that the chiefe Iudge of the Ciuill cases, and the chiefe Commissioner of the deceased shall pronounce in such Ciuill cases as are not containd in their Prerogative or Authoritie.

There appertayneth also vnto them, the deciding of the Appeales of Ciuill cases that doth passe before the Iudge of the Citie of Goa, and before the ordinarie Iudges, and before the Iudges of Orphants, and whatsoever Iudges of the said Citie, and also of the Iudges of the Fortresses, or Garrisons of India, and of the Towneships thereof, and of those Captaines that haue no Iudges, the which doth not appertayne to any other Iudgement by authoritie of my Ordinances or Decrees.

All the cases which by authoritie of the same Decree doth appertaine vnto them, they shall dispatch them by a pretence, and in the dispatching of them, they shall keepe the order that I haue given by mine Ordinances and Decrees to the Iudges of the Complaints, and Appeales of the Court of Requests, and they shall as well in the dispatching of the Sentences definitiues, as

of

of the Interlocutorie, Bills of complaint, Petitions, and Examinations of Witnesses, and they shall haue the same authoritie that the Iudges of Appeales of the said House or Court of Requests haue.

And the Iudges of Appeales shall take notice of the Petitions of the iniurie that is done in cases Criminall, and Ciuill, of all the Iudges that are resident in the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, in those cases wherein appeale or complaint may be made by Petition, and shall dispatch them according to the forme of our Ordinances and Decrees.

- 10 And notwithstanding, that according to the Decree in the Appeales, the account surmounting the summe of ten thousand Reys, three voyces agreeing are needfull to confirme or reuoke; it is my will and pleasure, and command that two voyces agreeing shall suffice to confirme or disanull the summe of twentie thousand Reys, and in the Appeales of greater summes, the forme of the said Decree shall be kept in all points.

Which is, 6 l.
5 s. sterling.

Which is, 12 l.
10 s. sterling.

And in all the rest which in this Processe is not declared, the said Iudges of Appeales shall vse the same order giuen to the Iudges of Appeales of the Court of Requests, by my Ordinances and Decrees, and this in those cases wherein they may be applied according to Iustice.

- 20 To the chiefe Iudge of Criminall cases appertayneth to take notice by *Ausao noua* of all the Crimes or Facts that shall be committed in the Citie of Goa, or five leagues round about it, the Vice-roy, or the Court of Relation being in the said Citie, and those cases that shall be written in processe in his Court, he shall dispatch them in the Court of Relation. Hee shall take notice also of all the Bills of complaint, or Bills of testimonie, or witnesses: and of all Criminall cases remitted, to wit, in the cases wherein it may be remitted, which doe come from whatsoever part of the State of India, the which hee shall dispatch in the Court of Hearing, or of Relation, if the Iudgement of them doth not appertaine to other Iudges especially, according to my Ordinances and Decrees.

A note of the
authoritie be-
longing to the
chiefe Iudge of
Criminall
cases.

Or, in matters
of late time.
Which is as
Westminster Hals

- 30 Hee shall also take notice by Petition of all Criminall Appeales, that the Parties shall bring before the Iudges, and the Iudge of the Citie of Goa, and of five leagues round about the same, the which he shall command to be answered by himselfe alone, and he shall dispatch the said Appeales in the Court of Relation, and the parties being willing to appeale directly to the Court of Relation by Petition, they may doe it, and the Iudges of Appeales shall giue a dispatch in the said Petitions, according to the forme of the Ordinance in that case provided.

And likewise hee shall take notice by *Ausao noua*, and shall dispatch by himselfe alone, all those cases that the *Corregidor* of the Criminall cases of the Court may take notice, and dispatch by himselfe alone, and of the determination that in the said cases may be appealed by Petition to the Court of Relation, in such manner as they doe appeale from the *Corregidor* of the Court according to the Ordinance in that case provided.

Or in matters
of late time

Hee shall giue Warrants or Letters of assurance in all those cases, wherein the *Corregidor* of the Court may passe them by the authoritie of his Office, and in passing of them he shall keepe the forme of the Ordinance in that case provided, &c.

- 40 Hee shall haue a particular care, that as soone as any Facts be dispatched of any man condemned to die, that receiueth wages or a stipend of the King, or is banished, to cause his name to be set in the Register, or Check-roll, vpon these Titles within ten dayes, whereunto he shall ioine a Certificat to the Fact of his condemnation.

Hee shall keepe euery weeke two Court dayes, to wit, vpon Tuesday and Friday in the afternoone.

Hee may also pleade by Petition the Criminall cases that doe passe before the Iudges of the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, and hee shall receiue the complaints in all those cases wherein the *Corregidor* of the Court may receiue them, and he shall vse in all such cases the rule or authoritie of the said *Corregidor* of the Court, in all manner of matters wherevnto this may be applied.

- 50 And hee shall take notice of the Appeales of Criminall cases that shall come from any part of the Estate of India, and shall dispatch them in the Court of Relation, the Iudgement of them not appertayning particularly to any other Iudges, according to the Ordinances and Decrees, and in the dispatching of the said Appeales, hee shall keepe that order, which I haue giuen to the Iudges of Criminall cases of the Court of Requests by mine Ordinances and Decrees.

There shall serue with him two Scriueners or Clerkes, of the foure belonging to the chiefe Iudge, according to the Warrant that I past, in the diuision that I commanded to be made of the Office of the chiefe Iudge.

- 60 To the chiefe Iudge of Ciuill cases belongeth by *Ausao noua* the notice of the cases Ciuill of the Citie of Goa, and round about the same five leagues, the Court of Relation being in the said Citie, the which shall be written in Processe in his owne Court, and he shall dispatch them by himselfe alone, giuing leaue to appeale in those matters that belong not to his Authoritie, according to the forme of the Decree provided in those cases.

A note of the
authoritie be-
longing to the
chiefe Iudge
of Ciuill cases.

Also there appertayneth to him to passe the Certificats, and Letters of Iustifications.

And the said Auditor shall haue authoritie by himselfe alone to iudge in matters amounting to the summe of fifteene thousand Reys, which is nine pounds seven shillings six pence sterling, in landed Goods; and in mouable Goods, to the summe of twentie thousand Reys, which is twelue pounds ten shillings sterling.

And of the interlocutory Sentences that the said Iudge shall giue, the parties may appeale by Petition in those cases, which by the Ordinance the *Corregidores* in Ciuill cases of the Court may appeale.

And he shall keepe two Courts euery weeke, to wit, vpon Monday, and vpon Thursday in the afternoones.

And in all the rest which in this Processe is not declared, the said chiefe Iudge of Ciuill cases shall vse the order, that the *Corregidores* in Ciuill cases of the Court doe vse, by my Ordinances and Decrees, and this in such cases as they may be applied vnto.

There shall serue with him two Scriueners, or Clerke of the foure that serued in the chiefe Iudges office, according to the Warrant that I past in the diuision that I commanded to be made in the said Office.

A note of the
authoritie be-
longing to the
Iudge of the
Crown Office,
and of the Ex-
chequer.
Or in matters
of late time.

To the Iudge of the Crowne Office, and of the Exchequer appertayneth to take notice of all matters pertayning to the Crowne, or to the Exchequer by *Ausaon noua*, and by Petition of Appeale in the Citie of *Goa*, and five leagues round about the same, the Court of Relation being there, and out of *Goa* he shall take notice from all parts of *India* by Appeales, or by Bill of Complaint, or by Bills of Testimonie of all the said cases, although it be betweene partie and partie. And also he shall take notice of all the other cases, whereof the Iudge of matters touch-
ing the Crowne and the Exchequer of the Court of Request, may take notice by vertue of my Ordinances, and he shall dispatch the same cases in the Court of Relation, according to the order that I haue giuen by my Ordinances and Decrees to the Iudge, of cases touching the Crowne and Reuenues of the Court of Requests.

Note that ther
is a Iudge of
Crowne and
Exchequer
matters in the
Court of Re-
quests.

And in the interlocutory Sentences that he shall giue by himselfe alone, in whatsoeuer cases, there may bee an Appeale by Petition in the Court of Relation, in such cases as by vertue of the Ordinances may be appealed of by Petition.

He shall goe at all times being necessarie to the Accounts, where hee shall proceed according to the rule that I haue giuen in cases belonging to the Exchequer of the Estate of *India*,

The said Iudge of the Crowne and Exchequer shall also serue for Iudge of the Kings Reuenues, and he shall vse in all such matters that order that I haue giuen to the Iudge of the Reuenues, which is resident in the Court of Requests, and also in all other matters which otherwise I shall command hereafter.

There shall be two Scriueners or Clerkes, the which shall write by their turnes, all those cases that shall passe before the said Iudge of the Crowne Office, Exchequer, and Reuenues.

A note of the
authoritie be-
longing to the
Attorney of
cases touching
the Crowne,
and Exche-
quer.

The Attorney of matters touching the Crowne and Exchequer, ought to bee very diligent and know particularly of all the cases pertayning to the Crowne and Exchequer, for to require in them all things belonging or appertayning to the true performing of Iustice, for the which he shall be present at all the Courts that the Iudge of the Crowne Office, and of the Exchequer doth keepe, and also at all other Courts that shall appertayne to my Exchequer, and in all the rest hee shall accomplish the Ordinance that I haue giuen to my Attorney in matters of the Crowne and Exchequer, in mine Ordinances and Decrees.

Also in those cases wherein he is to be a Preferrer, either in the behalfe of Iustice, or of the Reuenues, he shall also vse the same order which by mine Ordinance I haue giuen to the Preferrer, or Informer of the Court of Requests, and to the Attorney of the Reuenues.

A note of the
authoritie be-
longing to the
chiefe Com-
missioner of
the Deceased.
Or, in matters
of late time.

There appertayneth to the chiefe Commissioner of the deceased of the Estate of *India*, to take notice by *Ausaon noua*, in the Citie of *Goa*, and five leagues round about the same, within the limit of which five leagues shall contayne the Territories of *Bardes* and *Salcete*, although some of them be without the said five leagues, the which shall dispatch such matters as shall be processed in his Court by himselfe alone, giuing in them Appeales, in such cases, as are not contained within his authoritie, and he shall vse that authoritie which by my Ordinances and Decrees I haue giuen to the Commissioners of the Orphans, and of the Citie of *Lisbone*, and to the Commissioners of the Borders or limits of the said Kingdome, in such matters as they may be applied vnto, and also in all such matters as in this Ordinance are not especially provided for.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall haue authoritie to the quantity of twentie thousand Reys in mooueable goods, and in Lands or Tenements fifteene thousand Reys without application, or appeale. And he shall appeale in cases appertayning to the Orphans, and Captiues in those Sentences that he shall giue, and are not contained within the compasse of his Authoritie, although that the parties doe not appeale in the said Sentences, according to the Decree in such a case appertaying.

Which is, 12 l.
10 s. sterling.
Which is, 9 l.
7 s. 6 d. sterl.

Which is, 12 s.
sterling.

And because I vnderstand by Information that the Commissioners of the Orphans, and of the men deceased, which doe serue in other parts of *India*, doe giue euery one assurance only of two hundred thousand Reys, according to the Decree and Ordinance that hitherto they did vse, and some

Some of the said Commissioners doe receiue great quantitie of money of the men so dying, the which when the parties will recouer they cannot doe it, by reason of the goods which the said Commissioners haue not, nor by the assurance which was of a very small quantitie. And I being willing to prouide in this matter. It is my wil & pleasure that the Commissioners of the Fortresse of *Sofala*, *Mosambique*, *Ormuz*, *Malaca*, and *Macao*, and in *Bengala* before they come to, or enter in their Offices, that euery one of them doe giue assurance of five thousand Cruzadoes, and the other Commissioners of the said Fortresses or Townes, shall giue euery one assurance of two thousand Cruzadoes.

Which is 1250.
pound sterling.
Which is 500.
pound sterling.

- There shall be in the Court of the chiefe Commissioner, a Chest with three Keyes, of the
10 which the said chiefe Commissioner shall haue one, and the most ancient Scriuener or Clarke of his Court another, and the Treasurer of the said Court shall haue the other, in the which all the money of the men deceased which in the said parts is to be had, shall be deposited, and it shall be set downe, or entred into a Booke, with the number or summe thereof, according to the order of the Decree to that Case appertayning, the which Booke shall also be layd in the same Chest, the which shall not be opened, but when any Money is to be put therein, and it shall bee entred in the said Booke, all the three Officers being present, as well at the receit as at the expences of the said money, and the said money which in the said Chest shall be deposited, and all the rest which doth appertaine to the said Orphans or men deceased, the said chiefe Commissioner shall not consent to the taking out of the Chest, neither that it be lent to any person, but only it shall
20 bee sent vnto this Realme, by Letters of exchange as the custome is, or hee shall command it to be deliuered in *India*, to the parties to whom by right it doth belong or appertaine.

Viz. of Portugal

- And because I am enformed that some persons dying, to whom there is no certaine knowne, the Vice-Royes doe giue the goods of the said men deceased to some persons, whereof there doth arise many inconueniences, and I being willing to prouide in the said case, doe thinke it meete, and doe command that from hence-forward the said Vice-Royes shall not giue the said goods to any person with assurance or without, and that they shall command them to be kept in good safeguard, according to the order of mine owne goods, sending them to the Kingdome directed to the Treasurer of the Receit of the Captiues, according to the order giuen in this Case, that from his hand it may bee giuen to whom it doth appertaine, or to remayne in the House of
30 Receit, hauing no Heires according to the Decree.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall haue a particular care to know when the shippes of this Realme shall come to the Citie of *Goa*, and also of the other ships, that come to the said Citie from other parts of the Estate of *India*, and if there dyed in them any persons, and the order that was kept and obserued in the making of the Inuentory of their goods, causing it all to be set in good safeguard according to his authoritie, and the dutie of his Office.

- And likewise in the same manner, he shall haue a particular care to send euery yeare by Letter of Exchange in the said ships of this Kingdome, all the money of the said deceased men, that is in his Office directed to the Officers to whom it appertayneth to bee deliuered by vertue of my Decrees, that in this Citie it may be giuen, and deliuered to the persons to whom of right
40 it doth appertaine.

And also he shall haue a speciall care to make a discharge of the generall Register of *India*, of the wages that the said men so deceased did receiue, because that also there may bee a note set in their Toll, or Register, how they are dead, and of the day wherein they dyed, that they may receiue no more wages for them of my goods from that day, and to doe this, hee shall peruse the said Register some dayes, that he shall thinke conuenient for to doe the said diligences, because they doe import very much to my seruice, and for this cause I command the Scriueners or Clerkes of the said generall Check-roll of *India*, to bee very diligent, and to make all these Discharges, and to set Notes in the Check-rolls of the said men deceased, as by the order of the said Register it is commanded them.

- The said chiefe Commissioner shall take no notice of the Appeales that doe come from the Iudges of the Orphans of the Citie of *Goa*, and of the other Fortresses of the Estate of *India*, and from the other Commissioners, but they shall goe directly to the Court of Relation, to the Iudges of Appeales, where they shall be dispatched according to the order of the said Iudges of Appeales. Neither shall he take notice of the Appeales, which by Bills, or Letters of Testimoniall shall come from the Fortresses of *India*, but they shall goe directly to the Iudges of Appeales, to whom the Iudgement doth appertaine, as in their Title is declared.

- Of the Interlocutorie Sentences, whereof by my Ordinances may bee appealed by Petition, or by a Bill of Complaint, the parties may according to the forme of my Ordinances and Decrees appeale to the Court of Relation, and the Appeales that doe passe before the Iudges of the
60 Orphans of the Citie of *Goa*, and five leagues round about the same, shall goe directly to the Court of Relation, according to the Commandement that I commanded in the new reformation of Iustice, and the said Commissioner shall euery three yeares giue and yeeld an account for the importance that belongeth to the knowing how they doe serue and proceed in their Offices, and charges according to Equitie and Iustice.

A note of the
Keeper, Recei-
uer, and Di-
stributers
charges be-
longing to the
Court of Re-
lation.

And because it is conuenient that there be a man that haue care of the Deeds, Petitions, & of the other writings, that do remain in the said house where the said Court is kept, and also of the Tables, and order of the said house; I think it meet, and do command that from hence-forward a man of trust, and confidence be Keeper of the said house, such as the Vice-Roy shal think meet for that purpose, the which also shal be Distributor of all Deeds, aswel Criminal as Ciuil, that shall come to the said house of Relation, according to that order which by mine Ordinances and Decrees I haue giuen to the Distributor of the Court of Requests, and he shall vse that order which I haue giuen to the Porter of the said house, and the said Keeper shall also serue for Receiuer of money for condemnations, for the expences of the said house, for the which Receit he shall giue account euery yeare, the which account shall be taken of him by one particular Iudge, whom the Vice-¹⁰ Roy shall nominate for that purpose, and the Vice-Roy shall nominate the person that shall serue in this Office, that I may confirme the same, and command a Patent to be made to the said person during his life.

And it is my wil and pleasure, and I do command that all that which is contayned in this Decree, be fully and wholly executed, as in it is contayned, and that no other be vsed, whatsoever Lawes, Decrees, Warrants, Patents, Vses, and Customes to the contrarie notwithstanding, the which shall be written in a Booke, the which shall bee alwayes vpon the Table in the said house of Relation, and the same shall be put in a Chest, which shall bee in the said house in very good keeping:

A note of the
authoritie be-
longing to the
Iudge of the
Citie of Goa.
Or in matters
of late time.

The Iudge of the Citie of Goa, shall take notice in the said Citie, and within the libertie²⁰ thereof, by *Ausson noua*, of Cases Ciuill and Criminall, which especially doth not appertaine to any other Iudgement, and he shall grant an Appeale in those Cases, that are not contayned within his authoritie directly to the house or Court of Relation.

And he shall take no notice of the Appeales and Complaints that doe passe before the ordinary Iudges of the said Citie, and the bounds thereof, forasmuch as I haue prouided that the said Appeales should goe directly to the house or Court of Relation.

Which is five
pound sterling
Which is seven
pound ten shil-
lings sterling.

The said Iudge shall haue authoritie in Landed goods, to the summe of eight thousand Reys, and in moueable goods, to the summe of twelue thousand Reys.

And in all the rest, which in this prouision is not declared, hee shall vse the authoritie that the Iustices of Criminall and Ciuill Cases of the Citie of Lisbon, doe vse according to the Decree³⁰ and Law of the Reformation of Iustice.

And he shall only vse this order, and not that which is giuen to the Licentiate, *George Monteyro*, nor of any other.

A note of the
authoritie be-
longing to the
Iudge of the
Orphans in
the Citie of
Goa.

The Iudge of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, shall be a learned man, and hee shall vse in all matters that order and rule, which by my Ordinances is giuen in the Title of the Iudges of the Orphans, and hee shall beare a white Rodde, as the Iudges of the Orphans of the King-^{*} dome doe beare.

* To wit of
Portugall.
Which is sixe
pound five
shillings ster-
ling.

And of the Sentences that the said Iudge doth giue, which are not contayned within his authoritie, there shall be an Appeale to the Iudges of the Court of Relation, and of the complaints which doe passe before the said Iudge of the Orphans, the parties may appeale to the Court of⁴⁰ Relation, according to the order of the new Law made for the reformation of Iustice.

Which is three
pound fiftene
shillings ster-
ling.

And the said Iudge of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, shall haue authoritie to iudge in mat-^{ters} touching moueable goods to the summe of tenne thousand Reys, and in landed goods sixe thousand Reys.

The Copie of
the rule or au-
thoritie of the
Learned Iud-
ges of *Maxam-
bique, Ormus,
Dyo, Malaua,
Damaon, Bazam
and Chaul.*
Or in matter
of later time.

The said Iudges shall take notice in the places of their Iurisdiction by *Ausson noua*, of all the Causes, Ciuill and Criminall, and the Ciuill Causes which are proceessed in their Court or Office, they shall iudge definitiue by themselves alone, giuing Appeales in those Cases which are not contayned in their authoritie to the Court of Relation, and the Bills of complaint, or Bills of testimony that shall passe before them, of the Interlocutorie Sentences, whereof by authoritie of my Ordinances may bee appealed, shall bee past in the Court of Relation, and not before any⁵⁰ chiefe Iudge as hitherto it hath bene vsed.

And the said Iudges shall processe the Criminall Cases, till they doe conclude them by themselves alone, and when they are concluded, they shall giue knowledge to the Captaines, for to appoint a day or houre certaine, wherein they may meete in the Chamber-house of the Citie, that they may giue a dispatch in them, and in those places where there is no such Chamber, the Iudges shall meete the Captaines in the Fortresses, or Castles, and the said Captaine being agreed with the Iudge, the Sentence shall be written by the Iudge, whereunto both shall set their hands, in the which shall be vsed due execution, if it be contayned within his authoritie, and being of sundry opinions, the sentence shall not passe, and they shal take a third man vnto them, the which shall be the Ouer-seer of the Kings goods, and if hee be not in place, then the Factor of the said⁶⁰ Fortresse. And if it chance that the Ouer-seer of the goods, nor the Factor for some hinderance cannot be present, then shall serue in their place, the eldest ordinary Iudge that doth serue that yeare, and according to that which two persons shall agree vpon, the Sentence shall be written, whereat all three shall set their hands, that due execution shall bee vied according to the Order aboue rehearsed.

And

And the Criminall Cases that are not contayned within the compasse of the authoritie of the said ordinary Iudges, they shall dispatch them by themselves alone, giuing an Appeale, according to the tenour of my Ordinances to the Court of Relation, where the chiefe Iudge of Criminall Cases shall dispatch them according to Iustice.

And the said Iudges shall take notice of the Appeales that doe passe before the ordinary Iudges, of Cities and Fortresses where they are Iudges, and shall dispatch them by themselves alone, whereof they shall giue an Appeale to the Court of Relation, in such Cases as doe not contayne within their authoritie.

And the said Iudges shall take knowledge of the Appeales of the ordinary Iudges, as the Iustices of the Borders may doe, and they may also plead such Cases, as the said Iustices by the authoritie of their Offices may plead, and in all the rest, they shall vse the Orders that the Iustices of the Borders doe vse, in Cases wherein they may be applied.

Also they may passe Letters of Protection, in such cases, as the Iustices of the Borders may passe them, and the Captaines of the Fortresses may not passe or grant them, neither may they intermeddle in the same by no manner of meanes, and the said Iudges shall not grant any Letter of Protection in cases of death, nor in other cases which are reserued for the chiefe Iudge of Criminall cases, which vseth the authoritie of the *Corrigidor* of the Court, except the Iudges of *Mosambique*, *Ormuz*, *Malaca*, *Moluco*, and *Macao*, for these may passe Schedules, or Bills of Securitie, a Protection in all cases, and in those wherein the *Corrigidor* of the Court doth passe, or grant them in the Court of Relation according to his authoritie, the said Iudges shall passe them with the opinion of the Captayne, and the Ouer-seer of the Kings goods together, and if there be no Ouer-seer of the goods, they shall dispatch them with the Factor, and if it chanceth so that neither the Ouer-seer nor the Factor can be there, by some let or hinderance, then the most ancient ordinary Iudge that doth serue that yeare, shall be in their stead, and it shall be sufficient that two of them doe agree in the granting or denying the said Letters of Protection, and the Bills of Controuersie, of those persons to whom they doe passe or grant the said Letters of Protection shall passe before the said Iudges, the which thus to bee done, I thinke it meete and convenient, hauing a respect to the distance, that is, from these parts, to the Citie of *Goa*, where the Court of Relation is, and the great vexation that the parties would receiue in going to demand Iustice to places so distant and farre.

The said Iudges shall haue authoritie in Criminall cases, to the quantitie of fortie thousand Reys in moueable goods, and in Landed goods to the quantitie of thirtie thousand Reys, and the Iudges of the Fortresses of *Mosambique*, *Ormuz*, *Malaca*, *Moluco*, and *Macao*, shall haue authoritie in the said Cases to the quantitie of eightie thousand Reys in moueable goods, and Landed goods, seuentie thousand Reys, and of those cases which shall surmount the said summe, they shall appeale to the Court of Relation, because they are not contayned within their authoritie.

And the said Iudges with the Captaines shall haue that authoritie in Criminall cases, which the Captaynes of my Townes or Castles, on the other side the Sea haue, as is declared in the order of the twentieth Booke tituled 27. aswell ouer the *Portugals*, as ouer the men of that Countrey, and the Sentences that they shall giue in those cases which are contayned within their authoritie, according to this Decree, and the said Ordinance shall bee executed effectually according to Iustice.

And if any case contayned in the said Ordinance do happen or chance, so that by the authority of the same, the said Iudges haue commission to prosecute it vnto death, they shall not execute those Sentences, which in any of the said cases they do pronounce, if the parties so condemned be Esquires, or Gentlemem of my household, or of greater qualitie: for before they doe execute the said Sentences, they shall make it knowne to the Vice-Roy, that with his opinion execution may be giuen to the said Sentences.

And the said Iudges shall not apprehend any person for any complaints of whatsoever qualitie they be of, without Information of Witnesses, according to the new Law of Reformation of Iustice, the which Law they shall in this and in all other matters accomplish according to the tenure thereof.

They shall keepe the Court dayes that the Iustices of the Borders are bound to keepe, and this in the publike accustomed places, where the Iustices are wont to keepe them, and they shall not keepe them in their houses.

And the said Iudges shall examine all such matters, as the Iustices of the Borders are bound to examine, by the authoritie of my Ordinances, Lawes, and Decrees of these Kingdomes vnder the penalties in them declared, in such cases as they may be applied vnto.

They may also provide the places for the Officers belonging to the Iustices which are void, according to the order of the Decree, vntill the Vice-Royes doe provide them, and the Captaynes may in no wise provide them, the which Seruices or Places shall bee provided to my Seruants, or to other well deseruing persons, and their deserts beeing equall, my Seruants shall be preferred.

Which is twentie
pound sterling.
Which is sixteene
pound sterling.
Which is fiftie
pound sterling.
Which is forty
three pound
fifteene shil-
lings sterling.

And the said Iudges shall bee bound to command euery one of the Scriueners, or Clerkes of their Court to make a Booke wherein they may write all the cases as well Ciuill as Criminall, and other Bills of Appeale or Complaint, and all other Matters whereof the said Iudges doth take notice, and euery one of them setting downe that which is committed to his charge only, as well of those things which they shall write in proceffe for the obseruing of Iustice, as of these Matters that are betweene partie and partie.

And euery one of the said Iudges shall haue a Booke noted and signed by them, wherein they may cause all the forfeitures of money that are applyed to the expences of Iustice, or to any other place according to the order of the Decree in that case provided.

And the said Iudges may set penalties, and condemne in them to the quantitie of two thousand Reys, for the charges of the said Iustice, without any Appeale or Complaint of the said Sentence. The which expences shall bee made by the commandement of the said Iudges, and not of the Captaynes, and in the Accounts or Residencies that the Iudges doe giue, there shall an Account bee taken of them of the said money, and of the expences of the said Forfeitures, that notice may be had, if they haue commanded the said Forfeitures to be deliuered to those places or parties whereunto they were applyed, and the expences which by their commandement were made, if they were well and lawfully commanded.

And the said Iudges may not bee imprisoned nor arrested during the time of their charges, for any Matter whatsoever, Criminall or Ciuill, except it bee by the commandement of the Vice-Roy, or the Court of Relation.

And because it importeth much to the keeping of good Iustice, and the Administration thereof, that the said Iudges haue the Authoritie, that belongeth to the charges whereof wee haue giuen them Commission, and because that they beeing subiect to the Captaynes, did arise many inconueniences, and they were oppressed in such manner, that they could not performe their Duties with that Integrity, and libertie that belongeth to the Seruice of God, and mine; And I beeing willing to provide in this Case, doe thinke it meete, and doe command that the said Captaynes may haue no Iurisdiction, nor any Superioritie ouer the said Iudges, and that they doe not intermeddle with any thing pertayning to their Offices or charges, any thing to the contrarie notwithstanding.

And if the said Iudges doe commit any crimes or excesses, so that it seemes to the Captaynes that they ought to aduertize the Vice-Roy thereof, they shall doe it by their Letters, the which the Vice-Roy shall command to be perused in the Court of Relation, that they may proceed against them according to Iustice.

And the said Iudges shall take such Fees for their Assignments as the Iustices of the Borders may take, by the Authoritie of their Offices, and according to my Ordinances.

And when the said Iudges shall bee absent, or hindered, so that by themselves they cannot serue, they may nominate a person to serue in their place, and if hee chance to dye, after hee hath nominated, the person so nominated shall serue vntill the Vice-Roy doe provide another, and if hee dyeth without nominating any person to serue in his place, the Factor of the Kings Reuenues shall serue the place, the which persons shall serue the same place, all the time that the Vice-Roy doth not nominate or provide, as it is already declared, and the Vice-Roy shall provide a man of Learning and Qualitie, in whom the said charge may well bee employed, the which persons in all things shall vse the Order of this Decree.

And it is my will and pleasure that touching the Suspitions that shall bee layd to the said Iudges in such Cases as by reason of their Offices they may take notice of, they shall keepe this Order following, to wit, when any Suspicion shall bee intended against them by any partie of what Degree or Qualitie soeuer he be, the Iudge not yeelding himselfe guiltie of the Suspicion, the Acts thereof shall be committed to the ancientest ordinary Iudge that serued the yeare before, the which Iudge shall determine of the same, according to Iustice, and the said Iudge shall proceed alwayes in the cause wherein the said Suspicion was layd against him, vntill it be finally determined, taking to himselfe for an Adiunct, one of the Iustices of that present yeare, which doe serue in the said Fortresse or Garrison where hee is Iudge, not beeing suspected, but if hee bee, hee shall take another Iustice, and beeing both suspected, hee shall take the ancientest Alderman, and the same beeing so, hee shall take the second, and if hee bee suspected, hee shall take the third, to the which no suspicion can bee layd, and the Acts that they two shall make, It is my will and pleasure that they bee in force and power, as if the suspicion had not beene layd vnto the said Iudge, and beeing iudged that hee is not suspectiue, hee alone shall proceed in the Case, as hee should haue done it, if the suspicion had not beene intended against him. And being iudged to bee suspectiue, in such a Case hee shall proceed no further, and there shall be a Iudge set in his place, that may take notice of the said Case according to the forme of my Ordinances.

And it is also my will and pleasure, that when a suspicion is thus laid to the said Iudges, in whatsoever cases, as well Criminall as Ciuill; and the partie that doth lay the said suspicion, is not

not contented with his owne deposition, but is willing to giue other prooffe; hee shall deposite foure Cruzados before any hearing be giuen to the prooffe, the which he shall forfeit to the poore Prisoners of the Iayle of that Garrison where he serueth, if it be iudged that the said Iudge is not guiltie of the said suspicion.

Which is one pound sterling

The said Iudges shall haue 200000. Reys ordinarie euery yeare paid, in the Factorships of the Garrisons where they doe serue by the Factors thereof, at euery quarter of the yeare, the which the Factors shall pay them of the first Money they receiue, in such sort, that they alwaies bee well paid, and this with a Certificate of the Scriuener or Clerke of his charge, how he hath serued the time of the quarter, and with the said Certificate, and the Acquittance of euery one of the Iudges, the Money for the said quarteredges, shall be receiued in account of the said Factors that shall pay it them, and the Copy of this Chapter shall be registred in the Office of the said Factors, by the Clerke of the said Office, the which Ordinarie the learned Iudges shall onely receiue.

Which is 125. pounds sterling

And the said Iudges shall receiue allowance of victuals for two men that doth accompany them, and doth serue with them in matters of Iustice, the which shall bee paid vnto them at their quarters, at the charges of my reuenues, as hitherto it hath beene done by a Certificate of the said Clerkes of the Factorshippes, wherein they shall declare how the said Iudges haue the said men, and how they doe serue with them in the manner aboue rehearsed. There follow like Rules for the Iudge of *Macao*, and the Kingdome of *China*, which for breuitie I haue omitted.

Here followed a Collection of the Warrants made in the Viceroyes name to the Captaines of all the seuerall Forts and Places of command in all the Portugall Indies, whereby they had commission to execute their charges, and to receiue their Wages, Priuiledges and Rights, in manner there by seuerall Warrants for each particular, to each Captaine expressed: but it is a pretie large Volume, and here for the length omitted, there being no lesse then three and twentie seuerall Warrants to George Menezes, Captaine of *Mosambique* and *Sofala*, touching his charge, power, and priuiledges; and likewise for the rest.

30

§. III.

The Receipt of the Reuenues of the State of India: as also the Expenses publike therein.

His Citie of *Goa* yeeldeth to his Maiesties reuenues 235102. Pardoas, foure Tangas, thirteene Reys, which make 70530853. Reys, which makes in *English* Money fortie foure thousand and eightie one pounds, fifteene shillings seuen pence halfe peny farthing, two tenth parts of a penie: in this manner,

To wit, 30000000. of Reys, for 100000. Xerafins of the rent of the Custome-house, one yeare with another, which is eighteene thousand seuen hundred and fiftie pounds sterling.

3000000. Reys for 10000. Xerafins, of the rent of the prouisions and Anfaon, which is applied to the expenses of the Hospitall, and is one thousand eight hundred seuentie five pounds sterling.

Anfaon is an Herbe that maketh drunk.

1950000. Reys for 6500. Xerafins, of the rent of the * *Betre*, which is one thousand two hundred and eighteene pounds fifteene shillings sterling.

* Which is a kind of Herbe they vse to eat.

1920000. Reys for 6400. Xerafins, for the rent of the Spices, which is one thousand and two hundred pounds sterling.

900000. Reys, for 3000. Xerafins, of the rent of the *Norasquas*, which is five hundred sixtie two pounds ten shillings sterling.

Certain Ilands so called.

1920000. Reys, for 6400. Xerafins, for the rent of the *Pagades de Salcete*, and *Bandes*, which is one thousand and two hundred pounds sterling.

Which are certaine Lands belonging to Salcete and Bades.

675000. Reys, for 2250. Xerafins, for the rent of the cloathes made of Cotton-wooll, which is foure hundred twentie one pounds seuentene shillings sixe pence sterling.

* Or Catell.

204000. Reys, for 680. Xerafins, for the rent of the * *Catualia*, which is one hundred twentie seuen pounds ten shillings sterling.

153000. Reys, for 510. Xerafins, for the rent of the Oyle Mills, which is ninetie five pounds twelue shillings sixe pence sterling.

1860000. Reys, for 6200. Xerafins, for the rent of the Chancery, which is one thousand one hundred sixtie two pounds ten shillings sterling.

1500000. Reys, for 5000. Xerafins, for the Shops that sell Silke and Chamblet, which is ninetie three pounds ten shillings sterling.

2319289. Reys, for 7730. Xerafins, foure Tangas, fortie nine Reys, for the duties of this Iland, which is one thousand foure hundred fortie nine pounds, eleuen shillings, one penie, and two twentieth parts of a penie sterling.

304500.

304500. Reys, for 1015. Xerafins, for the rent of the Silke, which is one hundred and ninety pounds fixe shillings three pence sterling.

20225064. Reys, for 67416. foure Tangas, foure and twentie Reys, for the duties of *Salote* Xerafins, and *Bardes*, which is twelue thousand fixe hundred fortie one pounds, five shillings, nine pence halfe penie, and two twentie parts of a penie sterling.

Here is no mention made of the Customes of Horses: for after that *Biznaga* was lost there come few from *Ormus*, and the most part of them goe to *Chaul*, where declaration is made of what they may yeeld, and those that doe come to *Goa*, now *Biznaga* is lost, may import 100000 Pardaos of Gold, for 36000000. Reys sterling, twentie two thousand two hundred and fiftie pounds.

Sofala Fortresse hath no rent for his Maiestie, but some Iuory which is ransomed there, which now is verie little; and when it is ransomed, it is spent in the said Fortresse, hauing ransomed in times past much Gold and Iuorie in it, whereof the said Fortresse was prouided, and also the Fortresse of *Mosambique*: This Fortresse is separated, and is a gouernance by it selfe.

Mosambique Fortresse hath no rent for his Maiestie, and some ransome of Iuorie from *Dio*, is also spent in the said Fortresse, without any comming thereof to *India* for the Kings reuenue, as before it did, it was sustained with the prouision that went to it from *India*; the which now is not done, because these yeares past, it is separated from the gouernment of *India*.

Ormus Fortresse yeeldeth to the King euery yeare 170000. Pardaos de Tangas, which is 51000000. of Reys, at 300. Reys the Pardao, and is thirtie one thousand eight hundred seuentie five pounds sterling, counting one yeare with another, which is the rent of the Custome-house that was giuen to his Maiestie, with some other duties that are paid to him, as in this Title is declared, &c.

Dio Fortresse yeeldeth to his Maiesties reuenues 100000. Pardaos of Gold, which 36000000. of Reys, at 360. Reys the Pardao, & is twentie two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, with all the rents of *Bazar*, and the great Custome-house, and of *Gogola*, and the Store-house of *Damaon*, which also entreth in this summe.

Damaon Fortresse, with the Countries annexed to it, doe yeeld to the King my Master euery yeare, 42933. Pardaos of Gold, which is 15455880. Reys, and is nine thousand fixe hundred ninety nine pounds eightene shillings fixe pence sterling.

Bacaim Fortresse, with the Lands annexed to it, yeeldeth to his Maiestie euery yeare 115334. Pardaos of Gold, euery Pardao containing foure Larins, of ninety Reys per Larin, being so currant in the Countrey, which makes 41520140. Reys, which is twentie five thousand nine hundred and fiftie pounds three shillings sterling.

The *Pragana* of *Manora* and *Aceri*, yeeldeth to the King euery yeare 3898. Pardaos of Gold, 69. Reys, which makes 1403349. Reys, which is eight hundred seuentie seven pounds one shilling ten pence farthing, and two twentie parts of a penie sterling.

Chaul Fortresse yeeldeth to his Maiestie 30629. Pardaos, one Tanga, which is 9188760. Reys, and is five thousand seven hundred fortie two pounds nineteen shillings six pence sterling euery yeare. To wit, 7000. Pardaos of tribute, and 16000. Pardaos custome of Horses, one yeare with another going to the said Fortresse, and 7629. Pardaos, and one Tanga for rents, and this besides other rent of the *Catuniar* and *Neale* of *Cambaya*; and of some goods from *Ormus*, the which because it is a new thing, is not yet knowne what it may be worth.

Onor in the contract of peace, which the Vice-roy *Don Luiz de Taide*, made with the Queen of *Garfopa*, whose the said Fortresse was, she bound her selfe to giue to this Estate euery yeare, five hundred Candil of Pepper, containing three hundred and three quarters weight euery Candill, which is 187500. pounds waight, at the rate of five and twentie Pardaos of Gold, and foure Tangas the Candill, which is 9240. Reys, and makes in all 4620000. Reys, which is, two thousand eight hundred eightie seven pounds ten shillings sterling euery yeare, the which heretofore was not paid, because of the warre that hath beene with this Estate and them.

This Fortresse yeeldeth also twentie Fardaos of Rice, of some Lands and Vargeas, which went away or did rebell with the said duties.

The *Chatins* of *Barcelor* doe pay to his Maiestie for tribute, five hundred Fardaos of Rice euery yeare, the which his Maiesties Factor doth recouer, and are worth 120000. Reys, which is seuentie five pounds sterling.

The Custome-house of *Mangalor* Fortresse, yeeldeth one yeare with others, foure hundred Pagodes, and also one hundred sixtie two Fardaos of Rice, which the King of *Banguell* doth pay, and are recouered of Vargeas, or Earable grounds, which were and are laued, all the which is worth 218880. Reyes, which is one hundred thirtie fixe pounds sixteene shillings sterling.

Cananor Fortresse yeeldeth nothing to his Maiestie: they gather in it a little Ginger for the ships of the Realme, although now it is very little, because of the warres of *Malanar*; notwithstanding, it is gathered for such persons, as doe send to haue it gathered.

The Custome-house of the Citie *Cochin* which now is erected, may yeeld to his Maiestie one yeare with another 50000. Pardaos Xerafins, which maketh 15000000. of Reys, which is nine thousand three hundred seuentie five pounds sterling.

The

Pragana is a Towne.

Which are a kind of Pantados.

Or Horse loads.

Vargeas are plaine Earable grounds by the Water side.

Chatins are Merchants.

Pagodes, a piece of that

mony among them, with an

Image of the Deuill vpon it.

The rent of the Fortresse *Manar*, is worth 133460. Fanoes, which are 4003800. Reys, the which his Maiestie hath in the said Iland, and in other Ports neighbouring there-about, and of tribute which the King of *Isanapatan*, and other Lords do pay, which is 2502 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling.

Seylan the *Madune*, doth pay every yeare for tribute to his Maiestie, 300. Bares of *Cynamon*, containing 300. weight the Bare, which is 90000. weight, at the rate of ten *Pardaos* the Bare, which is 900000. Reys, and it is 562 l. 10 s. sterling.

Malaca Fortresse yeeldeth to his Maiestie every yeare, 60000. *Pardaos* of Gold, which is 21600000. Reys, and 13500 l. sterling: and this is vnderstood one yeare with another.

Maluco, it was shewen by the esteeme or valuation of the rent, that this Fortresse did pay 10 for the thirds of all the Cloues that is brought to *India*; and for tribute, that it was 10000. *Ollas*, and 500. *Fardos* of *Sagun*, which is worth 300000. Reys, which is 187 l. 10 s. sterling.

Which are 300 Reys every one

A piece of Money so called. *Fardo*, a horse load. *Maluco* is now possessed by the Spanishe and Dutch.

The inclosing of all the Rent of the Estate of India.

THE rent of the State of *India*, amounteth to 271861762. Reys, as by the receipts appeareth, which is 169913 l. 12 s. 10 d. q. $\frac{1}{4}$. of a penny, whereof is abated 24000000. of Reys, which is 15000 l. sterling, that may bee short in this account, of all the Fortresses of the State, being among Heathen people, and for whatsoever occasion there be, there are breaches and losses for want of resorting to the Custome-houses, and thereby the said rents are not fully recovered.

And there remaines cleere all charges borne, 247861762. Reys, which makes in *Pardaos* *Xeraphins*, which is the Money that is currant in this Citie of *Goa*, after the rate of 300. Reys, per *Xeraphin* 826205. *Pardaos*, foure *Tangas*, twentie two Reys, which is 154913 l. 12 s. 00 d. q. $\frac{1}{4}$. part of a penie sterling.

And besides the rent that the State doth yeeld to the King my Master, there is another rent arising of one in the hundred, and of Imposition, of provisions of the Fortresses, which are towards the North: the which applyed for the fortification of the Fortresses where it is gathered, which may amount one yeare with another, to 80260. *Pardaos*, which 24078000. Reys, which is 15048 l. 15 s. sterling.

To wit, 18000. *Pardaos* for one presentment in the Custome-house of *Ormuz*, which is 5400000. Reys, and makes 3375 l. sterling.

Item, 9700. *Pardaos*, which is 2910000. Reys, arising of $\frac{1}{2}$ in the hundred of the Custome-house of *Dio*, which is 1818 l. 15 s. sterling.

Item, 13000. *Pardaos* of one in the hundred, and Imposition of the provision of the Fortresse of *Damaon*, which is 3900000. Reys, and makes 2437 l. 10 s. sterling.

Item, 1000. *Pardaos*, of one in the hundred, and the Imposition of the provision of the Fortresse of *Bacaim*, with 3000000. and makes 187 l. 10 s. sterling.

Item, 16560. *Pardaos*, of one in the hundred, and of the Imposition of the provisions of the Fortresse of *Chaul*, which is 4568000. Reys, and makes 3105 l.

With the 13000. *Pardaos*, of the one in the hundred of the Custome-house of this Citie of *Goa*; which is 3900000. Reys, as it did appeare by the accounts of the Officers, and other informations thereunto belonging, which is 2437 l. 10 s. sterling.

A Copie of all the ordinarie expences that are made in the Citie of Goa, at his Maiesties charges.

THE Vice-roy of *India*, hath for his Ordinarie by Warrants from his Maiestie, 7339550. Reys, for 18348. *Cruzados*, 350. Reys, which is 4587 l. 4 s. 4 d. ob. at the rate of 400. Reys, per *Cruzado*; to wit, 8000. *Cruzados*, which 2000 l. of his Ordinarie in ready Money, and the 10348. *Cruzados*, 350. Reys, that the 600. Kintals of Pepper free, and without waste, being sold for ready Money, are worth after the rate of 40. *Cruzados* every Kintall, as they do giue for it in the Realme; and they doe amount to 12000. *Cruzados*, whereof there is abated 660450. Reys, which the said 600. Kintals of Pepper are worth, which must bee bought for his owne Money, and being abated after the rate of 1000. Reys, $\frac{1}{4}$. of a Rey the Kintall, which is the price that is set downe in the Factorship of *Cochin*, their remaines cleere 10348. *Cruzados*, 350. Reys for the said Pepper, the which do make with the said Ordinarie in ready Money 18348. *Cruzados*, 350. Reys, which doe amount to the said 7339550. Reys, otherwise hee shall haue that which by his Warrants is granted vnto him, &c.

Euery *Cruzado* is 5 s. sterl. Which is 100 l. weight euery Kintall.

Viz. of Portugall Which is 13 s. 9 d. nine sixtieth parts of a penny sterling.

There is also giuen to the said Vice-roy 12000. *Cruzados* every yeare, towards the Table of Gentlemen, and Pensions of old Souldiers which haue serued, which is worth 4800000. Reys, as the Earle *Don Lewis*, *Don Francisco Mascarennas*, and the other Vice-royes and Gouvernours heretofore haue had, &c.

Which is 3000 pounds sterl.

The Secretary of *India* that goeth with the Vice-roy, hath by Warrant from his Maiestie 400000. Reys Ordinarie, which is 250 l. sterling, by warrant from his Maiestie: also hee hath 300000.

To wit, of Mer-
chanzie.

300000. Reys for the dispatch of the Chests, which is 187 l. 10 s. sterling, and 30000. Reys for his lodgings, which is 18 l. 15 s. and is in all 456 l. 5 s. sterling a yeare.

The Ensigne Generall of the Kings Standard, which also goeth with the said Vice-roy, hath ordinary 40000. Reys, which is 25 l. sterling.

The Captain of the Guard of the said Vice-roy, hath 84000. Reys ordinary, which is 52 l. 10 s.

And also 144000. Reys for his lodging, which is 9 l. which is in all 61 l. 10 s. sterling.

The chiefe Physician which goeth with the said Vice-roy, hath 44800. Reys ordinary, which is 28 l. sterling.

The Apothecarie that goeth with the said Vice-roy, and doth serue in his Army by Sea and by Land, and is bound to make and prouide the Armies and Fortresses of things necessary for Phisicke, hath 24000. Reys, which is 15 l. sterling.

The Barber that goeth with the said Vice-roy, and serueth in the Army by Sea, and by Land, hath ordinary 19800. Reys, which is 12 l. 7 s. 6 d.

Two Chaplains that doe serue the said Vice-roy, haue each 24000. Reys, which is 30 l. betweene them.

The Sergeant of the Court which goeth with the said Vice-roy, and serueth before him, hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Interpreter of the State, hath 50000. Reys in this manner 36000. which he had before, and 14000. which were granted him by the Earle *Don Lewis*, in the duties belonging to the Customs-house for an *Arabian Horse*, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

Also, he hath by another Warrant of the said Earle every yeare 17280. Reys, for a Clerke that serueth him, which is 10 l. 16 s. and is in all 42 l. 1 s. sterling.

The said Vice-roy hath for to serue and accompany him in his Guard, 60. men *Portugals*, to the which are payed every moneth 1200. Reys a man, which is 15 s. sterling: to wit, 60. Reys for wages, like a man of Armes, and 600. Reys for their prouision, which in all do amount vnto 864000. Reys, which is 45 l. every moneth among them all, and makes 540 l. ster. every yeare.

The said Vice-roy hath ten Trumpetters for to serue with him, of the which every one is to haue for his prouision and wages 21600. Reys per *Annum*, to 1200. for his wages, and 600. for his prouision every moneth, which is 13 l. 10 s. sterling; and is in all 135 l. sterling.

Or Kettle or
Dumb-players.

The said Vice-roy hath foure Musicians; to wit, one Master *Portugues*, and three Seruants of his, which haue every moneth as followeth; the Master 500. Reys wages, or whatsoeuer else, and 600. Reys for his prouision and his Seruants, 600. Reys every moneth, which is in all 34800. Reys, and makes 21 l. 15 s. sterling.

There is moreouer giuen for allowance of the said men of Armes for his Guard, Trumpetters and Musicians 756820. Reys every yeare, after the rate of 28. Reys a day to every one, wherein is reckoned the Captaine of the Guard, at 84. Reys by the day; and the Sergeant and the Appointer at 50. Reys by the day, which is in all 473 l. 3 d. sterling, besides the Captaine Sergeant and Appointer, which amounteth to 70560. Reys, which is 44 l. 2 s. sterling.

There is also giuen every yeare for the apparelling of the said men of the Guard, Trumpetters and Musicians, 240000. Reys, which is 150 l. sterling.

The chiefe Ensigne-maker which now is in this State, hath by a Warrant from his Maiestie 320000. Reys ordinary every yeare, which is 200 l. sterling.

There is giuen by Warrant from his Maiestie, to *Augustin de Soto Maior*, that was sent to these parts for chiefe Master of the Mynes 360000. Reys ordinarie every yeare, which is 225 l. sterling.

There serueth in this Court at this present, by a Warrant of the Vice-roy, a Harbenger of the Court, which hath every yeare ordinary 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

And hee serueth also for a Receiuer of the house of Lodgings of the said Vice-roy, for the which he hath 20000 Reys ordinary every yeare, which is 12 l. 10 s. and in all is 31 l. 5 s. ster.

The ordinary of the Vice-roy and Officers, before rehearsed, amounteth to 16083450. Reys, which is 10052 l. 3 s. 1 d. ob. sterling.

Officers belonging to Iustice.

The Chancellor of *India* hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. that were granted him by a Warrant from his Maiestie, and 18000. Reys for his lodging, which amounteth in all to 418000. Reys, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling.

The chiefe Iudge of Criminall Causes, hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. Reys granted him by his Maiesties Letter, and 30000 Reys for his lodging, which in all amounteth to 430000. Reys, which is 268 l. 15 s. sterling.

The chiefe Iudge of Ciuill Causes hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. Reys that were granted him by his Maiesties warrant, and 18000. Reys for his lodging, which amounteth in all to 418000. Reys, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Iudge of the Crowne matters, and of matters touching the Kings revenues, hath 300000. Reys

Reys ordinarie, and 100000. reys, that were granted him, by his Maiesties warrant, and 18000. reys for his Lodging, which is in all 418000. reys, and is 261l. 5s. ster.

The chiefe Iudge of Wills and Testaments of *India*; hath ordinarie euery yeere of his Maiesties Reuenues 150000. reys, and 100000. reys that were granted him by his Maiesties warrant, and also 18000. reys for his Lodgings, and the other 150000. reys that want for the 300000. reys, he is to haue them of the Goods of them that are deceased, and if it doth not amount to so much, it shall be accomplished at his Maiesties charge, shewing how he is not satisfied, and it amounteth in all to 261l. 5s. ster.

10 The Kings Atturney hath 300000. reys ordinarie, and 100000. augmented by his Maiesties warrant, and 18000. for his Lodgings, which is 261l. 5s. ster.

There serueth at this present in the Court of Releasees three Iudges, to wit, the Bachelor, *Andres Fernandes*; the Doctor, *Luiz de Gois de la cerda*; and the Bachelor, *Simon Pereira*; to the which is giuen euery yeere 1104000. reys, after the rate of 368000. reys to euery one, which is 690l. sterling in all, 100000. reys augmented by his Maiesties warrant, entring in this account.

The Iudge of the Citie of *Goa* hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which is 62l. 10s. ster.

The Bayliffe of this Citie hath 20000. reys ordinarie, which is 12l. 10s. ster.

The Serjeant hath 20000. reys ordinarie, which is 12l. 10s. ster.

The Clerke or Notarie of the Chancerie hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18l. 15s. ster.

20 The Kings Sollicitor hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18l. 15s. ster.

The Iayler hath 19200. reys ordinarie, which is 12l. ster.

The Porter of the Chancerie hath 10800. reys for his wages and prouision, which he receiuet, as a man of Armes, and is 6l. 15s. ster.

The Porter and Keeper of the Court of Relation, and Distributer of the Bills of Appeales, hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which is 62l. ster.

The Bayliffe of the Suburbs without the Citie, hath 20000. reys, which is 12l. 10s. ster.

The wages of the Officers aboue written, amounteth 3824000. reyes, which is 2390l. ster.

Officers belonging to the Citie of Goa; her Fortresses and Pases, or Ports.

30 The Captayne of this Citie hath 600000. reys ordinarie euery yeere, and also 86400. reys for his Lodgings, and also 622260. reys, in satisfaction of the *Bares*, which before they had by Warrants of the Vice-royes and Gouvernours of this Estate: and moreover, there is giuen him 150000. reys for the *Chitas*, which they gaue to the Mares, strangers, which summe amounteth all to 1458660. reys by the yeere, which amounteth to 911l. 13s. 3d. sterling euery yeere.

The chiefe Bayliffe of this citie hath 100000. reys ordinarie euery yeer, which makes 62l. 10s.

The Master of the Ports of the Iland of *Goa*, hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which makes 62l. 10s. sterling.

The Captayne of the Castle of *Pangin*, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31l. 5s. ster.

40 The Captayne of the Castle of *Maroa*, hath 40000. reys ordinarie, which is 25l. ster.

The Captayne of the Castle of the *Paso sequo*, hath 40000. reys ordinarie, which is 25l. sterling.

The Captayne of the Castle of *Benestarin*, hath 60000. reys ordinarie, which is 37l. 10s. ster.

The *Portugal* Notarie of the Iland of this Citie, hath 18000. reys ordinarie, which is 11l. 5s. sterling.

The Constable of this Citie, and of the Powder house of the same, hath 30200. reys ordinarie, which is 18l. 17s. 6d. ster.

In the said Powder house there be three Constables which haue their wages paid them, which doth amount to 43200. reys, at the rate of 14400. reys to euery one; by a warrant of the Earle

50 *Don Francisco Mascarennas*, which is to euery one 9l. sterling, and is in all 27l. ster.

The Armourer which is bound to keepe shop in this Citie, and to goe in the Armie with the Vice-roy when he goeth abroad, hath his wages and prouision as a man of Armes, or a Gunner, which is 14400. reys, and it is 9l. ster.

The foure Castles of *Pangin*, *Maroa*, *Paso sequo*, and *Benestarin*, hath euery one a Constable, which shall continue, and watch in the said Castles, and they haue their wages and prouision, as the Gunners haue, and 400. reys more by the moneth to euery one after this rate; euery one hath 1600. reys euery moneth, which is 19200. reys to euery one a yeere, and is 48l. sterling in all, after the rate of 12l. sterling euery one.

60 There bee in this Iland of *Goa* ten *Tandares* and Clerkes; for to keepe the passage thereof, to whom is paid the wages and prouision of a man at Armes, seruing the said Offices, and also their dwellings, to wit, such as are allowed to haue them, the which are these that follow.

The Keeper of the pace of *Pangin*, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the pace of *Rebandar*, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the pace of *Dangin*, and the Clerke thereof.

The Keeper of the pace of *Benestarin*, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the Pace

Viz. of merchandise, which are gifts or presents.

Note that those places are certayne passages where men pay a certayne tribute or toll, also it is a drie Port, Or drie Pace or Port.

Ports or Passages. Note that he maketh here mention but of six, and in the summe is allowed for ten.

of *Carambolim*, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the Pace of *Gagaram*, and the Clerke of the same pace.

The which doth amount to 120000. reys, making account to euery one at the rate of 12000. reys by the yeere, which is in all 15l. sterling. Note that the Clerkes are contained within the said wages.

All the expences that is made with the Officers of the Citie of *Goa*; her Fortresses and Paces, or Ports, as are aboue set downe, amounteth to 2151260. reys, which is 1345l. 3s. 5d. sterling.

The expences laid out with the Officers * aboue named, belonging to the Kings Rents and Reuenues, is 2530200. reys, which is in all 1581l. 7s. 6d. sterling.

All the expences made with the Officers belonging to the Riuer aboue-rehearsed, 1436960. reys, which makes 898l. 2s. ster.

All the expences disbursed on the Officers of Accounts aboue-rehearsed, amounteth to 2581720. reys, which is 1594l. 10s. 6d. ster.

All the expences disbursed in the custome House, commeth to 970240. reys, which is 606l. 8s. sterling.

All the wages and dwellings, which are paid to the men in ordinarie to the Vice-roy, and other Officers of this Estate, with the Kinsmen of the Captayne, Commissioner of the holy Mercy, and one Alderman, which are Gentlemen, and in the prouision of the Secretaries and Clerkes, amount to 4127880. reys, at the rate of 60000. reys euery Gentleman, and 12000. 20 reys to the other Souldiers, and the prouision for the Secretaries Clerkes, at thirteene Tangas euery moneth, and to the *Sobralda* of the Pace of the Castle of *Narua*, is giuen 7200. reys by the yeere, which enters into the said account, and is in all 2579l. 18s. 6d. ster.

Seruants allowed for the seruice of the Vice-roy of *India* his house, and for the other Officers of this State, amount in all to 95l. 3s. 6d. ster.

Seruants allowed to the Ouer-seer of his Maiesties goods, arise to 54540 reys, which makes 34l. 1s. 9d. sterling euery yeere.

Seruants allowed for the chiefe Commissioner of the accounts, amounteth to 54540. reys, which makes 34l. 1s. 9d. sterling euery yeere.

Seruants allowed to the Captayne of this Citie of *Goa*, amount to 12960. reys euery yeere, 30 which makes 8l. 2s. sterling, the which expences altogether amounteth to 68160. reys, which is 42l. 12s. sterling euery yeere.

Other seruants allowed to the chiefe Port, to the Factor of *Goa*, to the Treasurer, &c. particularly mentioned in the Booke, here for breuitie omitted, amount to 918l. and 5s. in *Goa*. in *Bardes* to the Officers 623l. 18s. 9d. in *Salcerte* to 2016l. 16s. ster.

The Generals that are allowed in this State of *India*, and are paid at his Maiesties charges, which is, of the Captaynes of his Ships, Barkes, and other Officers that serue in these parts.

The Captayne of the *Indian* Sea hath 1200000. reys ordinarie, which makes 750l. sterling a yeere.

The chiefe Captaine of the Sea of *Malaca*; when there is any prouided by the Vice-roy of this State, hath 200000. reys ordinarie, without any hindrance of the Decree, which is 125l. sterling a yeere.

The Captaines of the Caruels, and high board Ships of this burden, hath 84000. reys a yeere, which is 7000. a moneth 52l. 10s.

The Captaynes of the Gallies Royall, of twentie and fve, and twentie Oares of a side, haue 120000. which is 75l. sterling.

The Captaynes of the Galliottes of Chase, which are from twentie, twentie two Oares vpward of a side, haue 84000. reys a yeere, which is 52l. 10s. sterling.

The Captaynes of the *Malanare* Galliottes, bearing twentie Oares or more of a side, and 50 standing Decks, that beareth aforehead a Falcon or a demy Sacre, and of the other like of this burden, haue 60000. reys a yeere, which is 5000. reys a moneth, and amounts to 31l. 10s. ster.

The Captaynes of the Foyfts, and Catures of his Maiestie, haue 1000. reys ordinarie euery moneth, besides his wages, and prouision, which he hath as a man of armes, which may amount in all to 24000. reys euery yeere, which makes 15l. sterling.

The Factors of the Armies which the Vice-roy commandeth to goe out in such Armies, as is necessarie to haue a Factor prouided by the said Vice-roy, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31l. 5s. sterling.

The Clerke of the said Armies, hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18l. 15s. sterling a yeere.

The Masters of the Gallions of the said burden, of 100. Tun vpward, and of his Maiesties 60 Ships, haue 40320. reys ordinarie a yeere, which is 3360. reys a moneth, and makes 25l. 4s. sterling.

The Masters of the Caruels and Ships of this burthen, haue 34320. reys a yeere, which is 2860. reys a moneth, and makes in all 21l. 9s. 6d. ster.

* The particular Officers, Clerkes, Factors, Receiuer, &c. are for breuitie omitted, as also in those that follow.

b Note that the holy monie is a kind of brotherhood which serueth to buy such as are flaine, hanged, or drowned, and not knowne or haue no friends. It is also an Hospital for the poore. Or gentlemen of the round.

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The *Commitres* of the Gallies Royall, haue 42460. reys a yeere, which is 26l. 10s. 6d. ster.

The *Commitres* of the *Galliotas de Aspelacaon*, and of the other *Malauare Galliotas* of standing decks of twentie Oares of a side or vpward, and beareth a Falcon, or demy Sacre afore, haue 34380. reys euery yeere, which is 2865. reys euery moneth, and it amounts to 21l. 9s. 9d. sterling. Which are swift Gallies.

The Pilots of the Caruels and great Ships of the same burthen, haue 34380. reys euery yeere, which is 21l. 9s. 9d. ster.

The Clerkes of the Voyages, that goe with charge of the Factorship, of his Maiesties goods, as are those of *Banda*, *Malucco*, and others of this qualitie, haue 50000. reys ordinarie euery yeere, because they serue also for Clerkes of the said Factorship, which is 31l. 5s. ster. Pursers.

The Clerkes or Pursers of the Galleons and Ships of his Maiestie, haue 18000. reys ordinarie euery one, which is 11l. 5s. ster.

The Clerkes or Pursers of the Caruels, when they are prouided of the same, haue 15000. reys ordinarie euery yeere, which is 9l. 7s. 6d. ster.

The Stewards of the Galleons, Ships and Caruels, haue 12000. reys ordinarie euery yeere, wherein is contayned the prouision that they haue.

The Boatsones of the Galleons and Ships of his Maiesties, and vnder Comitters of the Gallies Royall, haue 20568. reys ordinarie euery yeere, which is 1714. reys euery moneth, which is in all 12l. 17s. 1d. $\frac{1}{4}$. part of a peny.

20 The Constables of the Galleons, Gallies, Ships, Caruels, small Ships and Galliotas, haue the wages of a Gunner, and their prouision, and 400. reys euery moneth besides, which is 19200. reys a yeere, which comes to 12l. ster.

The said Captaynes and Factors of the Armies, Pursers, Stewards and Constables, haue the said ordinaries, at such times as they doe serue at Sea, and by the warrants that they haue of their prouiding, with a Certificate of the time that they haue serued, the said Ordinaries are allowed them, else not.

The chiefe Captaynes of the other Armies, which doe goe to the Straight and to the North coast, haue for their ordinarie, that which the Vice-roy doth set downe for them.

30 There is no summe set downe of these Offices, because they haue them not but when they are needfull, and it is a thing vncertaine.

The Galleon of the Traffick and Voyage of Ceilaon, bath the Officers and Men as followeth.

The Captayne of the said Voyage, bath by Warrant of his Maiestie 400000. reys, which is 250l. sterling euery yeere.

The Purser of the said Voyage, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31l. 5s. ster.

The Master hath 40300. reys, which is 25l. 3s. 9d. sterling euery yeere.

The Pilot hath 40300. reys, which is 25l. 3s. 9d. sterling euery yeere.

40 The Boatsones hath 20568. reys, which is 12l. 7s. 1d. $\frac{1}{4}$. part of a peny sterling euery yeere.

The Steward hath 12000. reys ordinarie, which is 7l. 10s. sterling euery yeere.

The said Galleon hath foure *Portugal* Mariners, which haue their wages and prouision, at the rate of 12000. reys euery yeere apiece, which is 48000. reys euery yeere, and amounts to 30l. sterling in all yearly.

One Constable which hath wages and prouision, as a Gunner, which is 14400. reys, and he hath besides 400. reys euery moneth, which is 19200. reys a yeere, which amounts to 12l. ster.

The Gunners, which haue for wages and prouision 14400. reys, which amounts to 18l. sterling in all, and makes 28800. reys a yeere.

50 The said Galleon carrieth twentie Souldiers, for the safeguard and defence of it, which haue 1000. reys euery moneth a man, which is in all 120000. reys, which makes 75l. sterling in all for the six moneths.

The said Galleon carrieth fortie Mariners with the * *Sarangue*, to whom is paid their * *Muxa- ras*, at the rate of one *Pardao* of gold to euery one a moneth, and two *Medidas* or measures of Rice euery day, and fiftie reys a moneth for fish to euery one, which amounts to 114727. reys, and the Rice is reckoned at six *Xerafins*, and the fish at fiftie reys, all this for five moneths while the Galleon stayeth in the Voyage, and is 71l. 14s. 1d. $\frac{1}{4}$. part of a peny sterling. * *Sarangue* is a Ruler, a Or wages.

60 To the which 20. Souldiers and Officers is giuen their prouision of Bisquet, Rice, Conduto, and Butter, according to the order of the House, for all the time of the said Voyage, which amounteth to 93067. reys, the Bisquet is taken at 400. reys the Maon, and the Rice at seuen *Xerafins*, which is 58l. 3s. 4d. $\frac{1}{4}$. part of a peny sterling. All manner of Pulse, as Pease, Beanes, also Bacon, or any other meate.

All the expences of the Galleon of traffick to *Ceilaon*, amounteth to 986962. reys, accounting to the Captayne and Pursers their ordinaries for the Voyage, and the Officers and Souldiers, for halfe a yeere, and their allowance as is before rehearsed, which is 616l. 17s. 9s. $\frac{1}{4}$. part of a peny sterling.

* The particulars are omitted, and may be proportioned by the former, as also those which follow.

All the prouision * for the Gallion of the Voyage of *Maluco*, amounteth to 3292998. Reys going and comming, which commeth to 2058 l. 2 s. 5 d. ob. $\frac{1}{2}$. part of a peny sterling.

All the expences of the Gallion of Traffique for *Mosambique*, amounteth to 1022834. Reys, which is 639 l. 5 s. 5 d. $\frac{2}{3}$. parts of a peny sterling.

The Gallies which at this present are in this Estate, and the Officers that serue in them, the Galley Royall hath (not accounting the prouision for the Galley slaues) 339048. Reys, which amount to 211 l. 18 s. 1 s. $\frac{4}{5}$. part of a peny sterling.

The Captayne Galley that is at *Malauar*, hath 315048. Reys (not accounting the prouision of the Galley slaues) which amounteth to 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. part of a peny sterling.

Another Galley that goeth in company with the Captayn Galley to *Malauar*, hath 315048. 10 Reys, which amounteth to 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. part of a peny, not counting the prouision of the Galley slaues in it.

Another Galley that was sent of succour to *Seylaon*, amounts to 315048 Reys, which is 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. of a peny sterling, not accounting the prouision of the Galley slaues in it, and all the other Gallies that are in this estate, beeing in his Maiesties seruice, haue the same Officers, with whom the said expence is made.

Ordinaries or Pensions that are giuen in this Citie of *Goa*, at his Maiesties charge, are as follow: First, with all the Clergie, the Archbishop of this Estate *Don Freyre Vincent*, hauing ordinary euery one a yeare 6000. Cruzados, in this manner, 1000. of Dowrie, 4000. ordinarie, and the 1000. that his Maiestie granted vnto him euery yeare, for the space of five yeares, which do amount to 2400000. Reys, which is 1500 l. sterling.

The expences that the Clergie of the said Church, or Sea doth make yearely, amounteth to 4696200. Reys, which doth make, 2935 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling.

Parishes within the Citie of Goa.

The Parish of our Ladie of the Light of this Citie of *Goa*, hath euery yeare 147680. Reys, which is 92 l. 6 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Ladie of the *Rosarie*, of the said Citie, hath also 147680. Reys, as is giuen to our Ladie of the Light, and in the same manner distributed, as is before rehearsed, which amounts in all to 92 l. 6 s. sterling.

Saint *Peters* Parish hath euery yeare 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling, to wit, to the Vicar 30000. Reys euery yeare, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint *Lucie* hath 46320. Reys, bestowed in the manner aboue rehearsed, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint *Thomas* Parish hath also 46320. Reys, bestowed in the order aboue rehearsed, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Parishes that are in this Island of Goa.

The Parish of our Ladie of *Helpe*, hath euery yeare 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. ster.

The Parish of our Ladie of *Conception*, which is *Paingin* hath other 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint *Michael*, which is in the Towne of *Taleigaon*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of the holy *Crosse*, which is on the Towne of *Calapar*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint *Barbara*, which is in the Towne of *Morabin*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint *Mary Magdalens* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Sirdaon*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint *Annes* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Talawlin*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Lady *Gaadalupe*, which is in the Towne of *Bati*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint *Lawrence* his Parish, which is the passage of *Gacaim*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint *Iohn* Euangelist, which is in the Towne of *Neura* the great, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint *Matthewes* Parish which is in the Towne of *Aiosin*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 18 l. 60 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, which is in the Towne of *Carambolim*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 18 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint *Iames*, which is in the Towne of *Orar*, in the passage of Saint *Iames*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The

Which is a paire of Beads, fayned that our Ladie brought from Heauen.

Passo segue.

- The Parish of Saint *Blas*, which is in the dry passage hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.
- Saint *Ioseph* his Parish, which is in the passage of *Dangin*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.
- The Parish of Saint *Stephen*, which is in the Iland of *Iuan*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.
- The Holy Ghost Parish, which is in the passage of *Narua*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.
- The Parish of our Lady of Pitie, which is in the Iland of *Dinar*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.
- Saint *Bartholomew* Parish, which is in the Iland of *Choran*, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.
- The Parish of the Wounds, which is by the Kings Riuer, hath euery yeare 30000. Reys for the Vicar, expences of the Vestrie, and because they are bound to say Masse euery Sunday and Holy-day, because of the Officers, that doe serue in the said Riuer, and to administer the Sacraments to his Maiesties *Bragas*, entring in the said account, 12000. Reys which it had before, when it was but a Chappell for the Masses, that of dutie it was bound to say gratis, which is 18 l. 11 s. sterling.
- All the expences, that is made with the Churches and Parishes of this Citie and Iland of *Goa*, amounteth to 1390720. Reys, which makes 869 l. 4 s. sterling euery yeare.
- Parishes which at this present are in the Territories of *Bardes*. The Parish of the three Wisemen of the East, which is in the Fortresse of the said Territories of Saint *Thomas*. The Parish of Saint *Anthonie*, *Trinitie* Parish, the Parish of our *Ladie of Remedies*, the Parish of Saint *Saujour*, and the Parish of our *Ladie of Hope*. With the Churches there is spent euery yeare, 974720. Reys, which is 609 l. 4 s. sterling.
- The Parishes which at this present are in the Territories of *Salcete*. Our *Ladie of the Snow*, a Parish which is in the Fortresse of *Rachol*. Saint *Michaels* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Orlin*. The Parish of the *Holy Ghost*, which is in the Towne *Margaon*. The holy *Crosse* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Vernan*. Saint *Andrewes* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Murmugao*. Saint *Philip* and *James* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Cortalim*. Saint *Sauours* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Lotolim*. Saint *Iohn Baptists* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Colua*. Saint *Thomas* Parish, which is in the Towne of *Velsaon*. The Parish which now is a making in the Fortresse of *Cuculim*. All the which Churches, the Iesuits doe minister, and to them their Vicars, and Ministers of the same, is giuen 476880. Reys, which amounts to 298 l. 1 s. sterling euery yeare.
- It pleased his Maiestie by his Warrant, to endue the Colledge, which the Iesuites did erect in the Territories of *Salcete*, with that which should seeme sufficient for the Expences of the said Colledge, and the Ministers thereof, of the Rents that were of the *Pagodes*, * of the said Territories of *Bardes* and *Salcete*, for the benefit of the which, there was ordayned for the said Expences, 400000. Reys, for 1000. Cruzados, which 250 l. sterling euery yeare, which at that time seemed to be sufficient; there was also giuen certayne Rice grounds, which were of the said *Pagodes*, in the which there was made Maia of the Rents of three yeares, the which grounds are dismembred from the Lands and Rents of the said *Pagodes*, because they were giuen to the Iesuites for the said Colledge.
- There is also giuen the building of the said Churches of *Salcete*, 100000. Reys a yeare, at the rate of 10000. Reys euery one, which amounts to 62 l. 10 s. sterling amongst them all.
- There is also giuen to the *Catecumenos*, * of the Territories of *Salcete*, 180000. Reys, for 500. Pardaos of Gold, which amounteth to 112 l. 10 s. sterling, which is deliuered to the Iesuits.
- There is also giuen for the *Catecumenos* of this Citie of *Goa*, 180000. Reys, which 112 l. 10 s. sterling, and it is deliuered to him that the Archbishop doth appoint for that purpose.
- There is giuen to euery one of these Churches, by the information of the Iesuites, one Interpreter for the necessitie that they haue of one, for to declare to the *Neophytes*, or newly conuerted, the Doctrine, and that which is conuenient, for the remedie of their soules, and other things necessary, to the which is giuen one Pardao of Gold euery moneth to euery one, which amounts to 43200. Reys, euery yeare which makes 27 l. sterling in all.
- There was giuen for the expences of the Hospitall of the Christians of this Countrey, which the Iesuites did administer vnto in this Citie of *Goa*; euery yeare by Warrant from his Maiestie 300. Pardaos, which make 90000. Reys, and is 56 l. 5 s. sterling, at his Maiesties owne charges, and because in this Citie there was an Hospitall for the said poore, of the which the holy Mercie hath the care and administration, the said Iesuits did passe the said Hospitall to the Territories of *Salcete*, because there was more need of the same there, for the many sicke and poore Christians, that are there without any remedie.
- There is giuen to the Iesuits of this Citie of *Goa*, euery yeare 2000. Cruzados, 100. Candils of Rice, five Pipes of Wine for Masses, and one quarter of Oyle of the Realme of *Portingall*, which

That is of the five wounds of Christ. Which are Bond-men or Slaues.

The three Kings of Culen

Iesuits Parishes 298 l. a yeare. Their Colledges at *Goa* and *Cordis* richly endowed. * Or Idoll Temples.

Which is an authorized sale.

* Or such as are catechized and instructed in the grounds of Christian Religion, so to prepare them (being of Ethnikie Parentage) to holy Christian Baptisme.

which in all amounteth to 1145000. Reys, which are assigned for them in certayne Townes of the Territories of *Basaim*, and in the Iland of *Choram*, of the libertie of this Citie of *Goa*, which were giuen to them, and disioyned, or separated from his Maiesties goods, because it was his pleasure, as appeared by the Warrants that he passed to the said Iesuites, which is 715 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling.

Sauagates are Gifts.

Also there is giuen them 600000. for their Presents, and Sauagates which come to the Vice-Royes of this Estate, which amounts to 375 l. sterling, but the King commanded that they should not haue the said 600000. Reys, but the Sauagates, as they had them by Warrant.

There is giuen to the Company of Iesuits, that are resident in the Citie of *Cochin*, by Warrant from his Maiestie 1500. Pardaos of Gold, for the helpe of their maintenance, the which are assigned them in this manner, 1377. Pardaos of Gold, $\frac{1}{2}$. which is 309 l. 18 s. sterling, of the Rents of the Iland of *Diuar*, libertie of this Citie of *Goa*; and the 122. Pardaos, $\frac{1}{2}$. which is 27 l. 10 s. sterling, in the duties of the Territories of *Bacaim*, which in all ariseth to 540000. Reys, which amounteth to 337 l. 10 s. sterling.

Monasteries of Franciscans. A kind of Measure so called.

There is giuen to the Monastery of Saint *Francis*, of this Citie of *Goa*; euery yeare, at the comming of the ships from *Portugall*, 32. Pipes $\frac{1}{2}$. of Wine, whereof the 5. are Muscadine for Masses, and 42. Cantaros of Oyle of *Portugall*, for the prouision of the said Monasterie, and others of the said Order, *Ceylaon* excepted, which may amount at the price which now it is worth, to 981600. Reys, and it was receiued in account of the Factor *Belchior Rois Dandrade*, fol. 45. of the recouery of his account which is 613 l. 10 s. sterling.

Or Course Rice.

There is also giuen to the Friers of the said Couent euery yeare, 10. Candis of Wheate, 12. Candis of Rice, 40. Fardos of Girefall Rice, 2. Candis of Oyle of Coco-nuts, 2. Candis of Waxe, 10. Corias of Cotunias, 3. Fardos of Sugar, one Candill of Butter, 4. Maons of Almonds, and 6. Boxes of Marmelade, which things may all amount to 229800. Reys, which is 143 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling.

Of Dominicans.

To the Couent and Monastery of Saint *Dominicke*, of this Citie of *Goa*, is giuen euery yeare 800000. Reys for the sustenance, and Expences of the Friers of the said Order, by a Letter that his Maiestie did write to the Vice-Roy *Don Anthonie de Neyra*, Anno 1567. if he did thinke it meet, and finding nothing to the contrary, which is 500 l. sterling.

Which is nine Cantares.

There is giuen also to the said Monastery of the said Citie, 7. Pipes of Wine, one of Muscadine, 30 the other as they are to be found, and one quarter of Oyle of *Portugall*, which amounteth in all to 145500. Reys, accounting the Pipe of Muscadine at 80. Pardaos, and the other at 60. Pardaos, and the Oyle at 5. Xerafins the Cantaro, the which Expences amounteth to 90 l. 18 s. 9 d. sterling, and it was receiued in account of *Belchior Rois Dandrade*, Factor of *Goa*, by Warrants of the Vice-Royes of this Estate, and this is besides the 800000. Reys for their prouision.

Of Austen Fryars.

There is giuen to the Friers of Saint *Augustine*, which are in the Church of our Ladie of Grace, euery yeare 129900. Reys for their prouision, which were granted to them by a Warrant of his Maiestie, when they came from *Portugall*; which summe doth amount to 80 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling.

There is in this Citie a Father of the Christians, which hath 60000. Reys ordinary, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling, for to haue care to looke vnto them, and know how they liue, and to make them separate themselues from the conuersation of the *Gentils*, and to deale with or for them in all matters touching the good of their soules and liues, and to visit them in their Townes and Parishes, and to take their parts in all their differences, and to direct and fauour them, in such sort that they may perceiue, that they haue a Defender in their aduersities and needs.

The Father of the Christians hath also a Sollicitor, which doth sollicit their Cases, and hath 50. Pardaos ordinary, which amounts to 15000. Reys, and it is 9 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling euery yeere.

Anfion is a kind of herbe that makes drunke. Bague a kind of Merchandize.

There is giuen to the Kings Hospitall of this City, at this present euery yeare 3000000. of Reys, which is 10000. Xerafins, because the rent of the prouision, *Anfion*, *Bagne*, and Sope are farmed for so much, the which is seperated for the said Hospitall, that it may haue all the Rent it yeeldeth, for the prouision of the sicke men, payment of Apothecary, Physician, Chirurgian, and the other Officers, and Seruants of the said House, and for the Clothes that euery yeare are bought for the comming of the ships from *Portugall*, for the releeuing of the sicke men, that come in them, and also for Wine, Oyle, and Vinegar of *Portugall*, all the which is delivered to the Purueyor, and Brethren of the holy Mercie, of the same City, as administrators of the said Hospitall; and the expences doe runne in his Maiesties Treasury, and if it chance that the said Money doth not suffice for all the yeare, the said Purueyor, and Brethren shall request the Vice-Roy, or the ouer-seer of his Maiesties goods to command to giue them so much, as necessitie shall require, shewing the causes, whereby the said Money was not sufficient, in the which quantity entreteth the wages of the Clarke, Ouer-seer, he that tends the sicke men, the Cater, and Porter of the said Hospitall, the which summe amounteth to 1875 l. sterling euery yeare.

There is also paid to the Mercy House of the said Citie euery yeare 400000. Reys of wages, that the said House hath of Almshouses, that are left vnto it because his Maiesty doth command it so by his Patents, for the necessities and charitable workes of the said House, the which is abated

out

out of the generall Check-roll vpon their Titles, and is 250 l. sterling.

There is also giuen to the said Mercy House 165600. Reys every year, which is 552. Pardaos de Tangas for the reliefe, which the said house doth giue to the poore Widdowes, Orphans, and incurable people, at the rate of 11. Pardaos of Tangas, and $\frac{1}{2}$. every weeke of the year, which amounts to 103. l. 10 s. sterling.

All the expences of the Churches of *Salcete*, and all the other that are here nominated from the beginning of this Title, amounteth to 11447020. Reys, which is 7154 l. 7 s. 9 d. sterling.

*Officers belonging to the holy * Inquisition.*

As they terme it.
* Or chiefe Inquisitor.

10 **T**He Inquisitor of the Table, hath 400000. Reys, ordinary which amounts to 250 l. sterling every year.

The other Inquisitor which is a Fryar of Saint *Dominicke*, hath also 250 l. sterling, as the other.

The Notarie of the Inquisition hath 500000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling every year.

The Sergeant of the Prison-house of the Inquisition hath 100000. Reys, which is 62 l. 10 s. sterling.

One Keeper that doth helpe him in the said Prison, hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

20 The Penitentie Sergeant of the Inquisition, and Ouer-seer of the Prisoners, which doth giue them meate, hath 60000. Reys, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Sollicitor of the Inquisition hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Treasurer of the Inquisition hath 150000. Reys, which were allowed him by the Vice-Roy, *Don Antonio de Neyra*; and is 93 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Clarke of the said Treasurer hath 20000. Reys, which is 12 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Iudge, accuser hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Attourney accuser hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

All the expences that the Inquisition doth make with her Officers, is 1340000. Reys, which amounteth to 837 l. 10 s. sterling every year.

Or *Fiscale*.
Or Attourney
Generall.

30 *Expences made with the Fortresses of Sofala, Mosambique, and Sena.*

THe Captayne of the said Fortresse hath 418000. Reys ordinary, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling every year.

The chiefe Bayliffe and Factor, hath 120000. Reys ordinary, which is 75 l. sterling every year, and 18000. Reys for his prouision, which is 11 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Clarke of the said Office hath 82000. Reys, which is 51 l. 5 s. sterling every year.

40 The Bayliffe and Keeper of the said Fortresse hath 29000. Reys, which also serueth for Sergeant, and hath a man allowed for that purpose, whose expence is declared hereafter, his ordinary is 18 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling.

The Constable of the said Fortresse hath 38000. Reys, which is 23 l. 15 s. sterling every year.

The Factor hath eight men, which haue for their wages and prouision 96000. Reys, which is 60 l. sterling a year.

The Clarke of the said Fortresse hath his mans wages and prouision as a man of Armes, that is 12000. Reys, which is 7 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Bayliffe and Keeper of the said Fortresse, which serueth for a Sergeant of the same, hath 10800. Reys for his mans wages and prouision at the rate of 900. Reys amoneth, which is 6 l. 15 s. sterling every year.

50 There is allowed one Gunner for the said Fortresse, which hath 29000. Reys, which is 18 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling a year.

There is allowed to the said Fortresse six Inhabitants, which haue for wages and prouision 12000. Reys every one, and amounteth to 72000. Reys every year, which is 45 l. sterling in all.

There is spent in the said Fortresse, in Presents that are giuen to the Lords of the Countrey 120000. Reys, which expences shall be made by the aduice of the said Captayne, which is 75 l. sterling every year, and being necessary there is more spent, according to the Captaynes direction.

60 To the which Officers and persons ordayned for the said Fortresse, besides the ordinary wages that they haue, there is allowed to every one of them halfe a Fardo of Millet every moneth, which makes 161208. Reys every year, at 400. Reys to every one a moneth, and the men are 34. which 92 l. sterling.

Which is halfe a horse-load.

There is spent in the repaying, and couering of the said Fortresse, and about the Churches, and in other things of the like qualitie 60000. Reys, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling every year.

The

Expences that
are made with
the Church of
the said For-
tresse.

The Vicar of the said Fortresse hath 34000. reys ordinary, which is 21 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

There is giuen also to the said Vicar, 20000. Reys, for the Exempts of the Vestry, Wine, Oyle, Waxe, Flowre to make Wafers of, which is that, that was accustomed to bee giuen, which amounts to 12 l. 10 s. sterling every yeare.

There is also giuen to the said Vicar for the Masses, which he sayth for the Prince *Don Henry*, 2400. Reys every yeare, which is 1 l. 10 s. sterling.

There is ordayned one Chaplain to serue with the said Vicar, which hath 27400. Reys, which is 17 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling every yeare.

The expences of *Sofala* comes to 1351800. Reys, which is 844 l. 17 s 6 d. sterling.

All the expences made with the Fortresse of *Mosambique*, the Church and the Friars, amounts to 2619661. reys, which makes 1637 l. 5 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ part of a peny.

All the expences of the Fortresse of *Sena*, amounteth to 611600. reys, which is 382 l. 5 s. sterling every yeere.

Ordinarie expences that are made in the Fortresse of Ormus.

The Captayne of the said Fortresse of *Ormuz*, hath 600000. reys ordinarie, which is 375 l. sterling every yeere. He hath also 1000. Cruzados for a reward of old stipends, which is 250 l. sterling. He hath also 700. Xerafins, in the customes of his goods, by warrants of the Vice-Royes, with 210000. reys, which is 131 l. 5 s. which is in all 1210000. reys, that is 756 l. 5 s. sterling: and he hath also the duties of ten Horses, free every yeere.

These and all other expences * of the Fortresse, Hospital and Ecclesiastikes of *Ormuz*, amounts to 20323213. reys, which is 12702 l. 1 d. ob. q. $\frac{1}{17}$ part of a peny sterling every yeere.

All the expences of the Fortresse of *Dio*, amount to 13818520. reys, which is 8636 l. 11 s. 6 d. sterling.

All the expences that are made with the Citie of *Damaon*, and her Territories, with the works that are in hand, amounts to 17251868 reys, which is 10782 l. 8 s. 4 d. $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of a peny sterling every yeere. Whereof the *Iesuites*, be they many or few, haue 236 l. 5 s. reuenuue, the *Dominicans* 54 l. 15 s. 7 d. the *Franciscans* 18 l. 15 s.

All the expences of *Bazaim*, amount to 9084960. reys, which is 5678 l. 2 s. sterling every yeere: of which the *Iesuites* and *Franciscans* for themselves and the Christians of that Countrey, receiue 682 l. 4 s. ster.

All the expences of *Aseri*, to 2795600. reys, which makes 1747 l. 5 s. ster.

The expences of *Manora*, come to 4759712. reys, or 1099 l. 16 s. 4 d. ob. q. $\frac{2}{3}$ peny ster.

The expences of *Chaul*, are 5993240. reys, that is, 3745 l. 15 s. 6 d. ster.

The expences of *Onor*, are 1411000. reys, 882 l. 5 s. ster.

Barcelor the Fortresse and Church expend 1119 l. 17 s. 6 d. ster.

Mangalor 832 l. 17 s. 6 d. *Cananor* 965 l. 11 s. 3 d. ster.

Cochin hath a Bishop with 500 l. reuenuue, with many Church Officers, Priests, Friars, the Hospitall which with the Secular expences added, amount to 6953204. reys, which is 4345 l. 15 s. ob. $\frac{1}{2}$ peny ster.

Cranganor the Secular and Ecclesiastikes receiue 782 l. 1 s. 6 d. ob. $\frac{1}{2}$ peny ster.

Coulam receiueth annually in expences 570 l. 17 s. ob. $\frac{1}{2}$ peny sterling: whereof the *Iesuites* receiue 125 l. ster.

Manai expences Ecclesiasticall and Secular, are 4597 l. 5 s. ster.

Ceylan expendeth in Church and lay Offices 7402 l. 14 s. 7 d.

Malaca hath a Bishop 500. reuen. the *Iesuites* receiue 112 l. 10 s. besides spent on the *Iesuites* in *Iapan* 218 l. 15 s. yearly. 40 l. to the *Iesuites* in *Amboina*. 90 l. to the *Iesuites* in *Maluco*, and for their passage to *Iapan* 112 l. 10 s. the *Dominicans*, the Church Officers and the Vestrie, and all the Secular expences in *Malacca*, are 12248 l. 9 s. 6 d.

The expences of *Maluco* amount to 2200 l. 14 s. 6 d. Of *Amboyno* 1535 l. 4 s. 6 d.

The Bishop appointed for *China*, hath 500 l. reuen. The *Iesuites* 67 l. 10 s. These with the Iudge and other Officers, receiue annually 733 l. 6 s.

Idalxa, *Itecamana*, and *Maomet Caon*, and the Portugal stipendaries, in annuall rewards giuen by the Kings bountie, Cocket free for the Moguls ship (which custome comes to 7500 l.) in all 1067 l. 19 s. ob. q. $\frac{2}{3}$ peny ster.

All the ordinarie annuall expences of the state of *India*, are 214718878. reys, which is 134199 l. 5 s. 11 d. ob. $\frac{2}{3}$ peny ster.

Other Warrants, Interrogatories to be ministred upon Oathes to all Officers, Contracts of peace with Neighbour Princes, &c. containd in that Booke are here omitted.

And now I might easily haue obtayned this Vice-royes Warrant to the Captaine of the Forts of *Mosambique* and *Sofala*, running after their manner, It is my Will and Pleasure, that &c. for my entertainment: but it is my will and pleasure rather (as like will to like) to take a Preacher and Priest along with me, that though we agree not otherwise in Doctrine, yet as Trauellers we wil restraine

* The parti-
culars are
mentioned,
but here for
brevitie omit-
ted.

Iesuites and
Friars.

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restraine our zeale, and without feare of Inquisition, march like good Fellowes together: yea, with Iesuites after, without feare of Treason. Onely first I will present vnto you a Letter of a Spanish Embassador, relating the Antiquities of Persepolis, and some things by him obserued in Persia.

CHAP. XI.

10 *A Letter from Don GARCIA SILVA FIGUEROA Embassador from PHILIP the Third King of Spaine to the Persian, written at Spahan, or Hispahan, Anno 1619. to the Marquesse of Bedmar, touching matters of Persia.*



20 *Wearied with travelling both by Sea and Land, but otherwise well, I came at length from Ormuz into Persia. Which hauing wandred ouer; at the Kings appointment, I went to Hispahan: where I endure a tedious irksome delay, being euen tyred with so vnpleasant a life, as I here leade. For whatsoeuer Writers report of that great and ancient Monarchie of the Achæmenides, this is mine opinion; That there is nothing in all this Countrey to be found so good, but that it comes short of the least commoditie in our Europe. And besides that enery thing here is so crosse to our fashions, that I am without all conuerse with men; here are not so much as any booke (the reading whereof might somewhat refresh a mans minde in so great solitarinesse) except a few Pamphlets intreating of holy Confession, and Navarr's Summes, which the Monkes of Saint Augustine vse.*

Hispahan is the noblest Citie of this Kingdome: and, though it lye but in one and thirtie degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude; yet, by reason of the subtile piercing ayre, the cold is sharper, then by the climate or situation one would imagine. Now, in all this Kingdome you can scarce see any print of Antiquitie: all the houses being built of unburned bricke, or earth rammed up betweene two boards; too slight stuffe to last many dayes, much lesse many yeeres.

Hispahan.

No antiquities

30 *Notwithstanding, there are yet remayning most of those huge wilde buildings of the Castle and Palace of Persepolis, so much celebrated in the monuments of ancient Writers. These frames doe the Arabians and Persians in their owne language, call Chilminara: which is as much as if you should say in Spanish, Quarenta columnas, or Alcoranes: for so they call those high narrow round steeples, which the Arabians haue in their Mesquites. This rare, yea and onely monument of the World (which farre exceedeth all the rest of the Worlds miracles, that we haue seene or heard off) sheweth it selfe to them that come to this Citie from the Towne of Xiria, and standeth about a league from the River Bradamir, in times past called Araxis (not that, that parteth Media from the greater Armenia) whereof often mention is made by Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Plutarch: which Authors doe point vs out the situation of Persepolis, and doe almost leade vs vnto it by the hand. The largenesse, fairnesse, and long-lasting Matter of those Pillars, appeareth by the twentie which are yet left, of alike fashion; which with other remaynders of those stately Piles, doe moue admiration in the minde of beholders, and cannot, but with much labour, and at leisure, be layed open. But since it is your Lordships hap to liue now at Venice, where you may see some resemblance of the things, which I am about to write of, I will briefly tell you, that most of the Pictures of men, that, ingrauen in marble, doe seele the front, the sides, and statelier parts of this building, are deckt with a very comely cloathing, and clad in the same fashion, which the Venetian Magnifico's goe in; that is, in Gownes downe to the heeles, with wide sleeves; with round flat caps, their haire spread to the shoulders, and notable long beards. Yee may see in these Tables some men sitting, with great maiestie, in certayne loftier chayres, such as vse to bee with vs in the Quires and Chapter-houses of Cathedrall Churches, appointed for the seates of the chiefe Prelates: the feete being*

40 *supported with a little foote-stoole neatly made, about a hand high. And, which is very worthy of wonder, in so diuers dresse of so many men; as are ingrauen in these Tables, none commeth neere the fashion which is at this day, or hath beene these many Ages past in vse through all Alia. For though out of all Antiquitie we can gather no such Arguments of the cloathing of Assyrians, Medes and Persians, as we finde many of the Greekes and Romanes: yet it appeareth sufficiently, that they used garments of a middle size for length, like the Punike vest, used by the Turkes and Persians at this day, which they call Aljuba, and these, Cauaia: and Shashes wound about their heads, distinguished yet both by fashion and colour from the Cidaris, which is the Royall Diademe. Yet verily in all this sculpture (which though it be ancient, yet shineth as neatly, as if it were but new-done) you can see no picture, that is like or in the workmanship resembleth any other, which the memorie of man could yet attayne to the knowledge of, from any part of the World: so that this worke may seeme to exceede all Antiquitie. Now, nothing more confirmeth this, then one notable inscription cut in a Iasper-table, with Characters still so*

50 *fresh and faire, that one would wonder, how it could scape so many Ages without touch of the least blissh. The Letters themselves are neither Chaldean, nor Hebrew, nor Greeke, nor Arabike, nor of any other Nation, which was euer found of old, or at this day, to be extant. They are all three-cornered,*

Persepolis and her remaynes,

Inscription of
vnknowne letters,
in fashion
of a Delta.

bua



but somewhat long, of the forme of a Pyramide, or such a little Obeliske, as I have set in the margine: so that in nothing doe they differ one from another, but in their placing and situation, yet so conformed that they are wondrous plaine distinct and perspicuous. What kinde of building the whole was (whether Corinthian, Ionick, Dorick, or mixt) cannot bee gathered from the remaynder of these ruines: which is otherwise in the old broken walls at Rome, by which that may easily be discerned. Notwithstanding, the wondrous and artificiall exactnesse of the worke, the beautie and elegancy of it, shining out of the proportion and symmetrie, doth dazle the eyes of the beholders. But nothing amazed me more, then the hardnesse and durablenesse of these Marbles and Iaspers: for in many places there are Tables so solide, and so curiously wrought and polished, that yee may see your face in them, as in a glasse. Besides the Authors, by me already commended; Arrianus and Iustine make speciall mention of this Palace: 10 and they report, that Alexander the Great (at the instigation of Thais, a famous Whore of Athens) did burne it downe. But most delicately of all doth Diodorus deliver this storie.

Castle.
Sepulcher.

The whole Castle was encompassed with a threefold circle of walls, the greater part whereof hath yeelded to the violence of time and weather. There stand also the Sepulchres of their Kings, placed on the side of that Hill, at the foote whereof the Castle it selfe is built: and the monuments stand iust so farre one from another, as Diodorus reporteth. In a word, all doth so agree with his discourse of it, that he that hath seene this, and read that, cannot possibly be deceived. More then this, there remayne not any markes of so huge a Citie: but that nigh about halfe a league from the Castle, there stands up another Pillar, as bigge as the rest: and two other shorter ones too, set a little farther off: and in them did my Servants see some horses of Marble, large like a Colossus, and some men also of Giantly stature. To 20 tell you true (as neere as it was, and easily done, yet) I was loath to goe thither; both, because all that Plaine was cut full of little Brookes, Ditches, and Sluses drawne out of the River Araxis: and also, because I would be held there no longer, having already spent two dayes in beholding the things which I have described. Now, though that Plaine be very fruitfull, and (as I said) all watered with Water-courses; though it lye open every way above ten leagues, that it might well maintayne so great a Citie, as Persepolis sometime was: yet now it is taken up onely with one small Towne of some foure hundred houses; compassed about with fat pastures, fruitfull Fields, and most fertile and pleasant Orchards and Closes, and furnished with all manner of foode, and such pure wholesome water to drinke, that I doe not remember that ever I tasted the like any where else. This Towne is called Margatean, and is a little distant from the Castle. As for the King himselfe, I had beene with him at Casbin, before I came 30 hither.

Margatean.

Casbin.

Casbin is a towne some three hundred leagues distant from Ormuz; and from hence one hundred long ones. There had the King leuied a mightie armie of Horse and Foot to meete the Turkes forces, who, as enemies, invaded the frontiers of the Persian Empire. There I abode therefore but fortie daies, being by the King royally entertained, with cheerefull expressions of a louing minde. But when he was to goe to Soltania (some fiftene leagues from thence) to muster his companies, which were there met; he let me plainely understand, that before his departure he would dispatch mee for my returne to Ormuz. Soone after, having suddenly changed his mind, hee commanded mee to retire my selfe hither: whither he promised, so soone as the warre was ouer, to come himselfe, and to send me away. But when the warre was quickly ended (which I foresaw by vndoubted signes at Casbin) the King withdrew himselfe to Fa- 40 rabat: which is a Towne of Hercania, by the Caspian Sea, which hee loues and delights in much. Hee presently sent me a messenger to signifie that he would certainly come hither in the spring, to celebrate his birth-day. This unwelcome newes troubled mee more then all the toyle and trouble of the whole voyage. I resolved therefore to dispatch to him one of my Gentlemen, with the Abbot of Saint Augustines: who if they should perceine that his coming were likely to be delayed long, might procure my dispatch; though at a most unseasonable time for sailing, and at my great perill to venter upon the heate at Ormuz, in summer insupportable.

Soltania.

Fabat.

Concerning the peace or truce agreed upon by these Princes, after a bloody field fought betweene Tauris and Ardequill, it is to no purpose to report, since it is publike and divulged, though their covenants and conditions be yet kept close. If the State were at more quiet in Moscouie, I would (goe by Astracan 50 and) make a iourney through that Countrey, in my returne. But it is strange, what miseries and calamities afflict that Nation: which in ancient time hath so flourished and preuailed, that it scattered and put downe the Tartarians of the East, who were dreadfull to the whole world. Of which miseries and destructions the ground and author was that counterfeit Demetrius, who having by plaine couensage usurped once the empire of the Russians, left it in a continued line to six other false tyrants of his name after him.

Two Comets
seene also
here 1618.

* As we haue
seene since in
Turkie, Poland,
Bohemia, Ger-
manie, Grisons,
France, &c. and
still see.

The conclusion of these my letters shall be the relation of two Comets, which during this time wee be- held, the one, on the tenth of Nouember, began to shine two houres before Sunne-rising; whose appearing was obserued betweene East and South. The colour was like to the fume which ariseth from the flame 60 of the finest Gunpowder. The head of it seemed to me to be in Scorpio: the bignesse, as much as would containe a sixt part of the Zodiacke: the forme (as some imagined) like a Cimier; which sort the Grecians call Xiphias, boding * horrible euents. This Comet (me thought) resembled rather a yeere-old spring of Palme, which being not yet spread is a little bowed at the top: it moved toward the South. Twelve or thirteene daies after the rising of this Comet, another appeared with bayrie rayes, of an ordinarie

ordinarie fashion, coloured like the Planet Venus, and much about that bignesse, or a little bigger. It arose directly East. And though at first it were farre lesse then the former, yet increasing daily more and more, it grew almost as big as the other. By the proper motion it moved it selfe with the Primum Mobile, not farre from the verticall Line. Moreover, three or foure daies after the arising of this, that other vanished. Sure they had both of them a very short period, insomuch as the latter scarce shewed it selfe about ten daies. It was obserued, that toward the end, it looked more red. Howsoeuer it be, if these Comets portend mischiese, the mischiese (sure) cannot be long-lasting, like others, whereof wee may see store in the world.

Would God
he had beene
or may be a
true presage.

CHAP. XII.

*Collections out of the Voyage and Historie of Friar I o A ã dos S A N C -
T O S his Æthiopia Orientalis, & Varia Historia, and
out of other Portugals, for the better knowledge of
Africa and the Christianitie therein.*

§. I.

*The Authors Voyage and Acts in those parts; Sea accidents, Moorish fooleries,
English Ships: Of Sofala, the Fort; the Fruits and
Plants of those parts.*

He said Friar went with a Fleet from Lisbon in Aprill 1586. Iuly the first, they came before the Cape of good hope, and had such faire weather, that they tooke great store of Fish, till a faire gale set them onwards for Mozambique. Being against Terra do Natal (which trends betwixt thirtie two and thirtie foure degrees South) they were encountred with a great storme, the Windes and Waues bellowing and billowing (in a seeming) conspiracie to their ruine. The second night of this tempest, the ninth of Iuly, they saw on their maine tops a Corpo santo in figure of a flame of fire bright and shining, from thence remouing to the Mizen-mast; and the Pilot saluted it, saying, *Salue Corpo santo, salue; Boa viagem, boa viagem: Haile Corpo sancto, haile, a good voyage, a good voyage.* And most of the people with many teares of ioy made the same answer, *Boa viagem, boa viagem:* the light hauing there long continued, vanished. The Mariners beleue that this light is S. Pero Gonçalves Telmo Naturall of Palencia a Citie in Castile, a Dominican, vpon whom they ordinarily call being endangered in tempests, and either call it Saint Peter Gonçalves, or S. Telmo, or Corpo Santo. Many times it appeareth, and so long they hold themselves secure, and ordinarily the stormes are moderated when it commeth, as it happened to vs in this voyage; and therefore they held it in much deuotion, albee it be but naturall, caused by exhalations: which the Mariners denie, saying, that sometimes in the place where that light appeares, they haue found Greene Wax, like that of a Wax-candle. And in the life of that Saint is rehearsed, that hee sometimes appeares visible to Mariners when they call vpon him in tempests, and deliueers them from Sea dangers. Whiles this light appeared, a Souldier kneeling downe in the ship before it, smote his breast, saying, with many teares. *Adorouos meu Sñor S. Pero Gonçalves, vos me saluay neste perigo por vossa misericordia;* repeating it many times. *I adore thee my Lord Saint Peter Gonçalves, O saue me in this danger for thy mercie.* I and another father told him, this adoration was due only to God, and that the Saints should be prayed to in another manner. He answered worse to the purpose. *My God shall he be now which shall deliuer me from this danger.* We then left him, but the next day the storme being past he confessed his fault.

10. dos Sanctos
12. de Vax. hist.
c. 18.

* Faisca.
A Corpo Santo
saluted, and
fond opinions
thereof. How
truly is it said
of such, 10. 4.
Yee worship yee
know not what?
Ou per.

Profit of Le-
gends of lies of
Saints.

Adoration to
an exhalation,
supposed a
Saint: and to a
Saint as to
God: a double
Idolatrie in
the Popish
opinion, which
yet lay this
stun bling
blocke before
the blind in
worship of
creatures.
Terra dos Fu-
mos.
Children of
the Sunne.
Inbanzato.

On the seuen and twentieth they came to Baixos da Iuãa in two and twentie South, and the thirteenth of August came to Mozambique: from thence by the Vicar Generals appointment, I and another Dominican were sent for Sofala, one hundred and sixtie leagues distant, for the seruice of Christianitie in those parts in Nouember following. In the yeere 1588. the Saint Thomas hauing passed the Cape, was wracked neere Terra do Natal, and some of the companie escaping, went on shoare in Terra dos Fumos, & hapned on more humane Cafres then the most are in those parts, which had neuer seene white man before, called them *Children of the Sunne*, and gaue them to eate and drinke. Stephen Veyga the Captaine, and some others aduentured on a iourney thence by land (about eightie leagues) to Sofala, where they gaue great thanks to God and our Ladie for their deliuerie.

Ouer against the Fortresse of Sofala, is an Iland on the other side of the River called Inbanzato, of which in former times was Lord a Moore, called Muynbe Mafamede, so friendly to the Por-
tugals,

Quitene King
of the Coun-
trei about So-
fala.

Monomotapa.

Strange birds.
Luabo.

Sena.

Tete.

Two English
ships.

Two other.

These of C.
Raymond and
Lancaster: the
other of B.

Wood. See sup.

p. 110.

Sofala.

Mocarangua.

Portugals, and so luke-warme in his Religion, that with them he would both eate Swines flesh and drinke Wine. Yet was hee so honoured, that after his death, the *Moores* of *Sofala* erected a *Mesquit* in the place of his buriall, and before the Mariners made their voyage, would make prayers to him (as a Saint) for their successe. I set this *Mesquit* on fire, to the discontent of those *Moores*. Fryar *Iohn Madeira* and I, remained foure yeeres in *Sofala*, labouring the conuer-
10
sion of the *Moores* and *Gentiles*, of which we baptized 1694. persons. After that time the Vi-
car Generall caused vs to returne to *Mosambique*. In the way the *Casars* sent vs victuals and Mu-
sicians with their vnmusicall voices and Tabers all night, entertaining vs with a feast worse then
a fast. Hauing thus passed the Lordship of an *Encosse* vnder the *Quitenes* dominion, we came in-
to the Countrey of *Manamotapa*, where in the night passing a delart, wee heard terrible voices, 10
like as if they had beene of men, which we supposed to be *Casar*. theues, and durst not speake
one to the other, lest we might so betray our liues. The next *Casars* told vs they were birds
bigger then Cocks, which in the day time hide themselves, and in the night flie, chase and prey
on other fowles, which terrified with their voices, leaue their roosts and so become a prey.

They came to the Riuer of *Luabo* after eighteene daies. In this Riuer are many great Ilands,
where we lay in the nights, and sayled by day because of the Currents and Shelues. The two
and twentieth of August we came to the Fort of *Sena*, where the two Churches of those Riuers
had neuer a Priest, and therefore wee spent two and thirtie dayes in confessing, baptizing,
massing: and thence were inuited to *Tete*, for like cause, sixtie leagues distant. I went and bap-
tized there one hundred and seuentene. *Madeira* at *Sena* baptized aboue two hundred persons: 20
and from the first entrie of *Dominicans*, they had in that Riuer *Cuama* baptized aboue twentie
thousand. In the Port of *Quilmane* were foure Pangayas of the Captayne of *Mosambique*,
then *Don Iorge de Menezes*, in one of which wee embarked, in which was a Chest with
100000. Cruzados of gold, of powder, and peeces, which hee had made in those Riuers with
Sonso Coutinho the Gouvernour of *India*: which gold is ordinarily gathered euery six moneths by
the *Portugals* and Captayne. In the yeere 1592. I was sent to *Quirimba*. There I staid two
yeeres, and made six hundred nintie foure *Christians*, and vntill that yeere 1593. the *Dominicans*
had baptized aboue sixteene thousand in those Iles. After which I was recalled to *Sofala*, and in
1595. to *Mosambique*. In the yeere 1597. two English ships came in sight of *Mosambique*; as
also two others had done in the yeere 1591. The two and twentieth of August 1597. he embar-
ked himselfe for *India*, and on the twentieth of September entred the Barre of *Goa*. But let vs
take view of *Sofala*, and the parts adioyning, as he hath described them in the first part of his workes.

The Fortresse of *Sofala* stands in 20. 30' Southerne degrees, situate on the Coast of Ea-
sterne *Ethiopia*, neere the Sea, and iust by a Riuer a league in the mouth, little more or lesse,
which riseth higher aboue one hundred leagues, arising in the Countrey called *Mocarangua*,
and passing by the Citie *Zimbaue* where the *Quitene* resides, who is King of those parts, and of
all the Riuer of *Sofala*. Vp that Riuer the *Portugals* trade to *Manica*, a land of much gold, seated
within the land aboue sixtie leagues. Within the Port of *Sofala* is a Church, to which belong
six hundred Communicants. The Inhabitants vsually are Merchants, some to *Manica* for gold,
which they barter for Stuffles and Beades, both to the Captayne and themselves; others to the
Riuer of *Sabia*, and the Iles *das Bocicas*, and other neere Riuers, for *Iuorie*, *Gergelim*-spice, *Pulse*,
Amber, and many Slaues. There is another habitation of *Moores* two Caluer shot from the
Castle, poore and miserable, which liue by seruing the *Portugals*. The women performe there
the offices of Tillage and Husbandry; as also doe the *Moores*. They pay their Tithes to the *Do-*
minicans Church. The Fortresse was built An. 1505. by *Pero da Nhaya*, with consent of the
Moorish King *Zuse*, a man blinde of both his eyes (in both senses, externall and internall, religious
and politike) who too late repenting, thought to supplant it with trecherie, which they returned
vpon himselfe and slew him. In old times they had many such petty *Moorish* Kings on the
Coast, few of which now remaine by reason of the *Portugall* Captaynes succeeding in their pla-
ces, and in their amitie and commerce with the *Quitene* King of those Countries.

In those Countries of *Sofala* are many fruits, as *Pomegranat* trees which beare all the yeere,
some greene, some ripe, some in flowers; they haue also *Fig*-trees, which yeeld blacke *Figs* all
the yeere most excellent; *Oranges*, *Limes*, *Vines* which beare twice a yeere, in *Ianuarie* and
Iuly; *Ananas*, *Indian Figs*, which yeeld great branches of *Figs* as great as *Cucumbers*, yellow
when they are ripe, and sweet of sent, sometimes seuentie *Figges* are seene on one cluster, like
a bunch of *Grapes*, and a man can scarcely lift them from the ground. They haue great grounds
of *Sugar*-canes alongst the Riuer, husbanded by the *Casars*, not for *Sugar*, but to eate (for they
want *Ingenios*) and are a great part of their sustenance. They haue many and great *Palme*-
trees which yeeld infinite *Cocos* and *Wine*. They haue store of *Guinnie* *Wheat*, and *Rice*; ma-
ny *Inhames* (a very great roote yeelding broade leaues, and better in taste then *Potatoes*) *Fitches*,
and other *Pulse* in much varietie. In the fields and wild vntilled places grow store of *Iasmins*,
and *Mangericones* (very sweet plants) and they make oyle of *Gergelim*, which they beate in
woodden Morters, as big as will reach to a mans girdle, and then straine out the Oyles, and
eate the rest with their Wheate instead of Butter. Innumerable Hens very good and cheape;
Hogs,

Hogs, Goats, Kine, wild Beasts, Deere, and wild Swine are there. Ten Hens are sold for two Testons (2 s. 6d.) and y^e in the Countrey eightene at the price. They make Oile of Gooses which burnes cleerer then that of the Olive. In the Realme of *Manica* grow little Trees on the tops of Hills and Rocks, which the most part of the yeere are drie, without leafe and greenesse; but have this propertie, that if one cut off a bough & put it into water, in the space of ten houres it springs and flourisheth with greene leaves; but draw it out of the water, as soone as it is drie, it remaines againe as it was before. The *Cafres* say, that though this wood bee gathered ten yeeres, yet after all that time put into water, it will flourish and continue greene. This wood being ground, and giuen to drinke in water, is good to stanch fluxes of blood. The *Cafres* call it

Women-Ele
Gore

A strange tree?
The
like

30 *Mungodao*. Another wood they call *Matuni*, which signifieth the *Dung of a Man*, having the name of that sent, so noysome that none can endure it. The same is in *India*; the Tree like a Thorne tree. They say, it hath vertues against the *Ayre* (or Blasting) and therefore many persons weare it in strings like Beades, tyed to the arme next the skin, specially children. Alongst the River of *Sofala* in two places wilde and desert, grow Oranges and Limons, which every one may gather that will: wherewith they lade Boats and sell them for almost nothing to the Inhabitants of the Fortresse, which fill Barrells and Pots with the iuyce, and the same Limons salted, and send them for *India*, where they are much esteemed, and eaten with Rice. The bread ordinarily in *Sofala* is of their Wheate and Rice mixt together, whereof they make Cakes which they call *Mocates*: tollerable whiles they are hot, but cold, insufferable. The *Portugals* drinke commonly Palme wine, the *Cafres* Wine of their Wheate (or Mays) which they make strong and tipple.

Another,

Cremone
Bread of
or Guinny
Wheat, &c.
Wine.

of *QVITEVE* King of that Countrey, with the strange customes observed in these parts, in Court, Citie and Countrey.

30 **H**e King of these parts is of curled haire, a Gentile, which worships nothing, nor hath any knowledge of God; yea, rather hee carries himselfe as God of his Countries, and so is holden and reuerenced of his Vassals. Hee is called *Quitene*, a title royall and no proper name, which they exchange for this so soone as they become Kings. The *Quitene* hath more then one hundred women all within doores, amongst which one or two are as his Queenes, the rest as Concubines: many of them are his owne Aunts, Cousins, Sisters and Daughters, which he no lesse yeth, saying, that his sonnes by them are true heires of the Kingdome without mixture of other blood. When the *Quitene* dyeth, his Queenes must die with him to doe him seruice in the other world, who accordingly at the instant of his death take a poyson (which they call *Lucasse*) and die therewith. The successor succeedeth as well to the women as the state. None else but the King may vpon paine of death marry his Sister or 40 Daughter. This Successor is commonly one of the eldest Sonnes of the deceased King, and of his great Women or Queenes; and if the eldest be not sufficient, then the next, or if none of them be fit, his Brother of whole blood. The King commonly whiles hee liueth maketh the choise, and traines vp him to affaires of State, to whom he destines the succession. While I liued there, saith *Sanctos*, the King had about thirtie Sonnes, and yet shewed more respect to his Brother a wise man, then to any of them, all honoring him as apparent heire.

Ill custom well
broken

Great
ance
is
to be
pro
not

The *Quitene*
Manner of
succession and
coronation.

The same day the King dies, he is carried to a Hill where all the Kings are interred, and early the next morning, hee whom the deceased had named his Successor, goeth to the Kings house where the Kings Women abide in expectation, and by their consent hee enters the house, and seates himselfe with the principall of them in a publike Hall, where the King was wont to sit to heare Causes, in a place drawne with curtens or couered with a cloth, that none may see the 50 King nor the Women with him. And thence he sends his Officers, which goe thorow the Citie and proclayme Festiuals to the New King, who is now quietly possessed of the Kings House, with the Women of the King deceased, and that all should goe and acknowledge him for their King: which is done by all the great Men then in Court, and the Nobles of the Citie, who goe to the Palace now solemnely guarded, and enter into the Hall by licence of the Officers, where the new King abides with his Women; entring some, and some, creeping on the ground till they come to the middle of the Hall, and thence speake to the New King, giuing him due obeysance, without seeing him or his Women. The King makes answere from within, and accepts their seruice: and after that drawes the Curtens, and shewes himselfe to them; wherat all of them clap their hands, and then turne behind the Curtens, and goe forth creeping on the ground as they came 60 in; and when they are gone, others enter and doe in like sort. In this ceremonie the greatest part of the day is spent with feasting, musick and dancing thorow the Citie. The next day, the King sends his Officers thorow the Kingdome to declare this his succession, and that all should come to the Court to see him *breake the Bowe*. Sometimes there are many Comperitors, and then

See after of
breaking the
Bowe.

What
ding
which
of

But
the

Women-Electors.

Hee succeeds whom the Women admit into the Kings House: for none may enter by Law without their leaue, nor can bee King without peaceable entrance; forceable entrie forfeiting his Right and Title. By bribes therefore and other wayes, they seeke to make the Women on their side.

The Sedanda like customes.

Neere the Kingdome of *Quitene* is another of Lawes and Customes like thereto, where the *Sedanda* raignes: both which were sometimes but one Kingdome. Whiles I was in *Sofala*, the *Sedanda* being incurably sick of a leprosie, declared his Successor, and poysoned himselfe: which also is the custome there, if any King haue any deformitie in his person. The named Successor sought admittance of the Women, but they much distasting him, had secretly sent by night for another Prince whom they better liked, as more valiant and better beloued; whom they admitted, and assembled themselves with him in the publike Hall, and caused Proclamation to be made to the people of his succession. The other, whom they had reiected, fled for feare of his life, and being mightie assembled a great power, and by force entred the Kings House. But this was strange to all, who therefore forsooke him, and stuck to him whom the Women had chosen; whereupon the other fled, and no more lifted vp his head.

Ceremonie of breaking the Bowe. Cruell seruice.

Before the New King begins to gouerne, he sends for all the chiefe in the Kingdome, to come to the Court and see him breake the Kings Bowe, which is all one with taking possession of the Kingdome. In those Courts is a custome then also to kill some of those Lords or great Men, saying, that they are necessarie for the seruice of the deceased King: whereupon they kill those of whom they stand in feare or doubt, or whom they hate, in stead of whom they make and erect new Lords. This custome causeth such as feare themselves to flee the Land. Anciently the Kings were wont to drinke poyson in any grieuous disasters, as in a contagious disease, or naturall impotencie, lamenesse, the losse of their fore-teeth, or other deformitie; saying, that Kings ought to haue no defect; which if it happened, it was honour for him to die, and goe to better himselfe in that better life, in which he should be wholly perfect. But the *Quitene* which raigned whiles I was there, would not follow his predecessors herein; but hauing lost one of his fore-teeth, sent to proclaime thorow his whole Kingdome that one of his teeth were fallen out, and that if (that they might not be ignorant when they saw him want it) his predecessors were such fooles, for such causes to kill themselves, he would not doe so, but awaite his naturall death, holding his life necessary to conserue his estate against his enemies, which example hee would commend to posteritie.

Ill custome well broken.

Great obseruance: the like is vsed in *Iapan*, to lye prostrate and not looke on him.

If the *Casars* haue a suit, and seeke to speake with the King, they creepe to the place where hee is, hauing prostrated themselves at the entrance, and looke not on him all the while they speake, but lying on one side clap their hands all the time (a rite of obsequiousnesse in those parts) and then hauing finished, they creepe out of the doores as they came in. For no *Casar* may enter on foot to speake to the King, nor eye him in speaking, except the familiars and particular friends of the King. The *Portugals* enter on their feet, but vnshod, and being neere the King, prostrate themselves lying on one side almost sitting, and without looking on him speake to him, at euery fourth word clapping their hands according to the custome. Both *Casars* and *Portugals* are entertained by him with wine of Mays, or their wheate, called *Pombe*, which they must drinke, although against stomacke, not to contemne the Kings bountie; whence the *Portugals* haue had some trouble, and are forced to stay in the Towne without leaue to returne home, with great expence of time and charges.

Exequies to the dead Kings.

Pemberer, somewhat resembling that which *Æneas* performed to *Anchises*.

Euery September the *Quitene* at the change of the Moone, goeth from *Zimbarbe* his Citie to a high Hill to performe Obits or Exequies to his predecessors there buried, with great troope both of the Citie and other parts of the Kingdomes called vp therefore. As soone as they are ascended, they eate and drinke their *Pombe*, the King beginning, till they be all drunke; continuing that eating and drinking eight dayes, one of which they call *Pemberer* of a kind of Tiltting exercise then vsed. In this feast the King and his Nobles clothe themselves in their best Silkes and Cotten clothes, which they haue with many thrummes, like Carpet fringes, wrought therein, hanging downe on the eyes and face as a horses foretop; they tie about the head a large Ribband; and diuided into two parts, they runne one against another on foot with Bowes and Arrowes in their hands, which they shoote vpwards that none be hurt; and thus make a thousand careeres and feates till they be tyred and cannot stirre, and they which hold out longest are accounted the properest valiantest men, and are therefore rewarded with the prize propounded. *Gaspar de Mello* Captayne of *Sofala* in my time, caused to make a large Ribband with great fringes of silke and gold, and sent it with other pieces of price to the *Quitene*, who most esteemed that Ribband for this *pembering* purpose.

Deuils tyranny and Oracles.

After this eight dayes festiuall, they spend two dayes or three in mourning; and then the Deuill enters into one of the company, saying, he is the soule of the deceased King, father of the present, to whom those Exequies are performed; and that he comes to speake to his sonne. The *Casar* thus possessed falls downe on the ground in an ill plight and is distracted, the Deuill speaking by his mouth all the strange tongues of all the *Casar* Nations about them, many of which some of the men present vnderstand. And after this hee beginneth to behaue himselfe, and to speake

speake like the King pretended, by which signes the *Casars* acknowledge the comming of the deceased Kings soule. The King is now made acquainted herewith, and comes with his *Gfandes* to the place where the *Demoniacke* is, and doe him great reuerence. Then all the rest goe aside, and the King remaynes with him alone, speaking friendly as with his father departed, and enquireth if hee be to make warres, whether hee shall ouercome his enemies, touching dearth, or troubles in his kingdom, and whatsoever else he desireth to know: And the Deuill answereth his questions, and aduiseeth him what to doe, not without lies altogether, as he which is the enemy of mankind, and thinks it enough to hold his credit with them, and yeerely to be consulted. After all this the Deuill departeth from that bodie, leaving it weary, and ever after ill apayd. The King returneth home with great applause, so graced with the conference of the deceased Kings, whom they hold to be mighty in the other World, and able to grant him whatsoever hee desireth. Some *Portugals* haue bene eye-witnesses hereof. The like manner the Deuill vseth with other Gentiles in *China*, and the *Philippinas*, as some report.

I beleue for certaine that this *Caphar* Nation is the most brutish and barbarous in the world, neither worshipping God, nor any Idoll, nor haue Image, Church, or Sacrifice, or persons dedicated to Religion, and are hard to be conuerted, either to *Christians* or *Moors*. They hold the immortalitie of the soule, and haue a confused knowledge that there is a Great God, whom they call *Molungo*, but they pray not to him, nor doe commend themselves to him. When they suffer any necessitie or sterilitie, they haue recourse to their King, strongly beleeuing that hee is able to giue them all things which they desire, and that he can obtaine all things of the dead, his predecessors with whom he seemeth to haue conference. Whereupon they sue to the King for raine, if they want it, and for seasonable harvest times: and alway when they thus petition him, they bring him great Presents, which he receiueth; and bids them returne home in a good houre; for hee will haue care of their request to satisfie the same. And though they see themselves often frustrated, yet continue they to spend time and costs in such petitions, till raine or other their suits happen, thinking that though he granted not at first, yet by their importunitie (as he also for gaine tells them) that he hath done it at last.

They obserue certaine festivals, resting from labour (except dances) appointed by the King, they not knowing when, or why. They call such dayes *Musimos*, that is, *Soules of Saints departed*, in whose honour they keepe them. On one of these dayes a *Portugall* in that Citie *Zim-baobe* (which was passing to *Manicas* where the gold Mines are) caused a Cow to bee killed at his house for food to his slaues, and the people which hee had with him; whereof the *Quitene* hearing by one of his Officers (many of which are dispersed in the Citie, and thorow the Kingdome) he commanded the *Portugall* to suffer it to abide, and not meddle any more withall, for violating his *Musimos*. And the *Portugall* had no remedie, but must either suffer the beast to stinke and putrefie there, or pay *Empesia*, that is, *The Fine*, which was no lesse then fiftie Clothes, after he had in stead of eating, endured much stinke many dayes; which to auoide, hee would haue gone forth of his house, and haue taken another, but the *Quitene* would not suffer him to enforce him to his *Empesia*.

These *Casars* know nothing of the Creation of the World, of Man, nor of Hell for the bad, or Heauen for the good: onely they beleue the soules immortalitie in another World, and that they shall liue with their women a better life then this, but they cannot tell where, in some earthly Paradises of pleasure. They confesse that there is a Deuill, which they call, *Musica*, and that he doth much harme to men. Euery new Moone is a Festiuall day: they say the Sunne when he can, goeth to sleepe. They neither write nor reade, nor haue bookes, but all their historie is Tradition. They hold that Monkees in times past were men and women, and call them in their language, *The old people*.

The *Quitene* hath two or three hundred men for his Guard, which are his Officers and Executioners, called *Inficis*, and goe crying, *Inbama, Inbama*, that is, *Flesh, Flesh*. Hee hath another sort, called *Marombes*, *Iesters*, which haue their Songs and Prose in praise of the King, whom they call, *Lord of the Sunne and Moone, King of the Land and of Rivers, Conqueror of his Enemies, in euery thing Great, great Theefe, great Witch, great Lion*; and all other names of greatnesse which they can inuent, whether they signifie good or bad, they attribute to him. When the King goeth out of doores, these *Marombes* goe round about him with great cries of this argument. Hee hath others which are Mulicians in his Hall, and at the Court gates, with diuers Instruments resounding his praises. Their best Muscical Instrument is called *Ambira*, much like to our Organs, made of Pompions, some bigge, some slender, for difference of sounds, with a mouth in the side nigh the bottome, which hath a hole bigger then a shilling, with a glasse in the bottome, made of certaine *Copwebs* slender and strong. On the mouthes (which are equall, set in a rew) is a rew of keyes of wood, slender, sustained with cords, on the tops whereof they play with stickes like drum stickes, which haue buttons or balls as big as a nut in the points, which mouing the Keyes, make a sweet sound, which may be heard as farre as Virginals. Another Instrument they haue, called also *Ambira*, all of Iron wedges, flat and narrow, a span long, tempered in the fire to differing sounds. They are but nine set in a rew, with the ends in a piece

hath the O
treat him his
expedite 2 old
hath the O
to the King
hath the O

No forme of Religion.

The King in diuine reputation.

Musimos holy dayes strictly kept.

Opinions of the Deuill.

Aborigines.

Marombes, *Rards* or *barbarous Poets*, *Strange Titles of greatnesse*.

Muscians.

See after, c. 13.

of wood as in the necke if a viole, and hollow, on which they play with their thumbe nailes, which they weare long therefore, as lightly as men with vs on the Virginals, and is better Musicke then the former. They haue Cornets of a wilde beasts horne, called *Paraparas*, ha- uing a terrible sound, and Drummes diuersified in sounds. When the *Quitene* sends Embas- sadours, hee sends these three sorts of men, *crying, playing, dancing*; which receiue, or else take their prouision by force.

Oathes dread- full and terri- ble. See before in *A. Battell*, l. 7. c. 3. of the like in *Loango*, &c.

They vse three kinds of Oathes in Iudgement most terrible, in accusations wanting iust eui- dence. The first is called, *Lucasse*, which is a vessell full of poison, which they giue the suspe- cted, with words importing his destruction, and present death if he be guilty; his escape, if in- nocent: the terrour whereof makes the conscious confesse the crime: but the innocent drinke it confidently without harme, and thereby are acquitted of the crime; and the plaintiffe is con- demned to him whom he falsly had accused; his wife, children, and goods being forfeited, one moitie to the King, and the other to the defendant. The second Oath they call, *Xoqua*, which is made by iron heated red hot in the fire, causing the accused to lick it being so hot with his tongue, saying, that the fire shall not hurt him if hee bee innocent; otherwise it shall burne his tongue and his mouth. This is more common, and is vsed by the *Cafres* and the *Moore*s in those parts; yea, (which worse is) some *Christians* giue the same Oath to their slaues suspected of stealth; which one in *Sofala* caused, on suspicion of a stolen garment, a slaue to doe three times without hurt. The third Oath they call, *Calano*, which is a vessell of water made bitter with certaine herbs, which they put into it, whereof they giue the accused to drinke, saying, that if he be in- nocent, he shall drinke it all off at one gulp without any stay, and cast it all vp againe at once without any harme: if guilty, he shall not be able to get downe one drop without gargling and choaking. There haue beene seene many experiments of all these, the guilty suffering death by the poison, or burning, &c. the innocent freed; hauing some resemblance by Deuillish apish imitation to the cursed water of ieaousie mentioned in *Moses*. Once, they are notorious and well knowne in *Sofala*.

Num. 5.

Haire-fashion in hornes.

The *Cafres* are blacke as Pitch, curled, and weare their head full of hornes made of the same haire, which stand vp like a Distaffe, wearing slender pieces of wood within their lockes to vp- hold them without bending: without, they tye them with a ribband made of the barke of an herbe, which whiles it is fresh sticketh like glue, and dried is like a sticke: with this they binde their haire in bundles from the bottome to the top; of each bundle making a horne, holding herein great pride and gallantrie; straining to excell each others; and mocking them which want them, saying, *they are like women*. For, as the male wilde beasts haue hornes which the females want; so doe these sauage beasts also.

Occupations.

The *Quitene* hath herein a fashion which none may imitate, of foure hornes, one of a spanne long on the mould of the head, like an Vnicorne, and three of halfe a spanne, one on the necke, at each eare another, all vpright to the top. For their hornes sakes they haue no hats, nor head- coverings amongst them. The apparell of the King and chiefe men is fine Cotton, or Silke, girt to them, and hanging almost to the knees, and another greater, called *Machiras*, which the *Cafres* weaue, cast ouer the shoulders like a Cloke, wherewith they goe muffled, letting it hang on the left hand to the ground, esteeming great Grauitie and Maiestie in a long traine. The rest of the bodie is naked; they goe all bare-foot: and the vulgar goe naked both men and women without shame; the better sort of them wearing a Monkees skinn, hanging downe from the girdle like a Smiths Apron; and the women likewise. But the *Cafres* which trade with the *Portugals* weare a couering to the knees. They haue no Occupations but Smiths, which make A- zagays, Spades, Hatchets, Halfe-swords: Weauers which make Cotton clothes for *Machiras*. The women make them, but improperly, their office being ordinarily to digge, and weed, and sowe, men more louing their lubberly ease, few helping their wiues: a Spade being as vsuall with their women, as a Rocke with our Spinsters; the men now and then hunting for wilde beasts, other whiles dancing and singing, and therefore poore.

The *Tartars* do the like: and the *Scots* also, as I haue heard, in the furthest North of this Iland.

* As Bacon & Martinmas Beefe in Eng- land. Houses of *Cafres*, household, and food.

The *Quitene* makes some Royall huntings, with three or foure thousand men, in the Desarts neere the Citie; encircling all the beasts in that compasse, Tigres, Lions, Ounces, Elephants, Buffals, Deere, wilde Swine, and the rest, driuing them together, and then setting on their Dogs, with cries, Arrowes, and Azagayes, pursue and kill what they can. Then may they kill the Lion, which at other times by the *Quitenes* prohibition is a deadly offence, because hee is entituled, *great Lion*. After this they eat in the same place with great iollitie; but the most they carrie home, and * hang it for the King, and for themselves.

Their houses are round, of vnheuwne timber couered with straw, like a thatched Countrey house, which they remoue at pleasure. Their goods is a Panne in which they boyle their Wheat, two Spades to digge, one Bowe and Arrowes, a Mat whereon they lie, which they make of Rushes, and commonly they sleepe on the ground: if it be cold, they make a fire in the midst of the house, lying all about it like Cats. So beggarly and brutish is the life (if that be life) of the *Cafres*. Their food is commonly Mais, Pulse, Fruits, Sugar-canes, Fish, and all kinds of Beasts which they kill in the Desarts, as Monkees, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Lizards, Croco- diles,

diles, all flesh; Rice they sowe rather to sell the *Portugals* then to eat, preferring their Mais. They steepe two dayes in water a pecke or thereabouts, which in that space growes forth: and then the water being put out, they let it drie two or three houres, and being well dried they stampe it till it settle into a masse: which they doe in a great Morter as high as a mans middle, called *Cani*, by them, by the *Portugals*, *Pilano*. After this they set a great earthen vessell on the fire halfe full of water, whereon when it seeths, they put in aboue halfe the pecke of Mais-meale by little and little, still stirring it, as when men make pottage: and after it seeths a little, they take the vessell off the fire, and put in the rest of the said masse, stirring them together till their Pombe be made; which is let stand two dayes, and then they drinke it, many of them neither eating nor drinking ought else, but liuing onely hereof. If it stand foure or five dayes it becomes Vinegar; and the sower, the more tiplie; they say that it makes them strong.

Mais Wine
how made

In some places grow certaine Reeds, which euery second or third yeere haue great eares like Rie, of which they gather store, and is good sustenance.

In all *Casraria* there growes a certaine herbe which they sowe, called *Bangue*, the straw and leaues whereof they cut, and being well dried, stampe them to powder. And hereof they eate a handfull, and then drinke water, and so sustaine themselues many dayes; and if they eate much, it makes them drunken, like to Wine.

All these *Casres* before they goe about any businesse of import, as iourneying, merchandise, or sowing, they cast lots to diuine of the successe; a thing vsed likewise to enquire of things stolne or lost, and in all doubtfull cases, and thereto giue credit as we doe to the Gospell. These lots are little round stickes, flat, and bored thorow the midst, lesse then Table-men, called *Charatas*, alway carried about them, filed on a string, to vse vpon any occasion of doubt, casting them like Dice so many times. For want of them, they diuine by strokes or lines which they draw on the ground. Some are great Witches, and consult with the Deuill; so prone to it, that they are prohibited by the King, that none should vse this witch-craft without his licence, in paine of death, and confiscation of wife, children, and goods, halfe to the King, and halfe to the Informer: and yet many are such secretly, and all would be if they could. The same penaltie is to theeues and to adulterers: it being lawfull for any man to slay any of these three sorts taken in the fact: or if any list not to kill him which by witch-craft, adulterie, or robbetrie hath wronged him, he may sell him, or doe with him what he pleaseth as his owne chattels, and they call the condemned, *such a mans Witch, Theefe, or Adulterer*. The losse of goods to the King is common for any fault amongst them.

Lots and diuinations.

Witches.

Punishments.

The *Casres* buy of the parents their wiues, for Kine, Clothes, or otherwise according to their abilitie. And therefore they which haue many daughters are rich. If any mislike his wife, hee may returne her to him that sold her, but with losse of the price payde; and the parent may sell her againe to another husband. The wife hath no libertie to forsake her husband. The ceremonies of marriage are dances, and feasting of the neighbours; euery inuited guest bringing his present of Meale, Mais, Inhames, Fitches, or other victuall for that dayes expenses. Hee which is able, may haue two wiues, but few are able to maintayne them, except the great men which haue many, but one is principall, the rest as hand-maids. Some of them liuelike wilde beasts, and when they are neere time of trauell, they goe to the wildernesse or vntilled places, and there goe vp and downe receiuing the sauour of that wilde place, which causeth to them quicker deliury. They after their deliury wash themselues and their children in a Lake or Riuer, and then returne to their houses with them in their armes without swadling them. Neither haue they there wherewithall to doe it, or such custome: nor haue any Bed to lie on, but a Mat, or locke of straw.

Marriages.

Brutish trauell.

When any of them die, the kindred, friends, and neighbours assemble, and bewaile him all that day in which he dieth, and the same day lay him on a Mat, or Seat where hee died; and if he had any cloth or garment, bury him therein, otherwise, naked. They make a hole in the Desert (or wilde vntilled place) and set by him a vessell of water and a little Mais, to eate and drinke (they say) in his iourney to the other life; and without more ceremonies couer him with earth, and lay on the hole the Mat, or the Chaire in which he was brought to buriall, where they consume without any more respect, although they be new. For they hold it ominous to touch that Mat or Seat in which one died, as boding death or some ill. The kindred and friends lament him eight dayes from morning to noone, and an houre at Sunne-set: which mourning they performe with dances and drerie songs, and speeches, all together on foot in a round circle; and now and then one of the standers by enters into the middle of the circle, and makes a turne or two, and then takes his place againe: and after the mourning finished, they all sit in a round and eate and drinke for the soule of the deceased whom they mourne for, and then returne home.

Funerals.

Lamentations.

The next kindred are at this cost. These *Casars* are cruell and inhumane to one another. If any of them bee sicke, and haue no wife, kindred, or friends to looke to him, no other *Casar* will giue him any thing, but let him starue; and die forlorne without taking on him any compassion, although he see him readie to perish with hunger; of which sicknesse most of them die, through miserable pouertie and im-

Inhumanitie,
famine, and
beggarie.

prouident and prodigality. And when they doe the most, some friend takes the forlorne man, carries him to the wilde vncultiuated place, and layes him at some bush, or at the foot of a tree, with a little Vessell of water to drinke and a little Mais to eat if he can; and so leaues him till he dyes without more care of him: And although some *Casfar* passe by, and see him groane or lament, yet will hee giue him no helpe. And this brutishnesse is so naturall to them, that some, when they feeble themselues deadly sicke, take order to bee so carryed to the Wildernesse, and laid at the foote of a Bush, and their dye like beasts.

White Cafres.

In *Mocaranga* some Parents as blacke as Pitch, haue white Goldi-locked children like *Flemmings*. Whiles I was in the Countrey, the *Quitene* nourished one white childe in the Court, as a strange Prodigie. The *Manamotapa* kept two other white *Cafres* with like admiration. The *Cafres* say such are the Children of the Deuill, begotten of blacke women by him when they are asleepe. I saw at *Goa* a white *Casfar* Wench in *Dom. Hieronimo Continho* his House, giuen him by the Vice-Roy *Dom. Francisco da Gama*, and after (he returning Captayne *Maio* of the ships) at *Saint Helena*: and although both her Parents were *Negroes*, shee was so white that her Eye-lids were also of that colour.

Numerous if
sue, & strange
Nurses.

In the Riuer *Inhaguea* betwixt *Sofala* and *Luabo*, a *Negro* of sixtie yeares brought forth and suckled a Child. Many *Cafres* haue two or three children at a Birth. One *Peter* a *Christan Casfar* at *Sofala*, his Wife dying after trauell of a Daughter, nourished the same with Milke of his owne breasts a whole yeare, at the end whereof it dyed of Wormes, and then the Milke dried vp in his breasts. He told mee, that pitie of the Motherlesse crying Infant, which his pouertie could not otherwise releue, caused him to seeke to still it with laying it to his brest, and then gaue it somewhat to drinke, which hauing continued two or three dayes his brest began to yeeld Milke. Persons of credit in *India* told me the like of a poore *Jew* of *Ormuz*, which nourished his Sonne with his breasts, the Mother dying when it was young, in the Castle. A *Casfar* in the Riuer *Quilimane* had breasts great, and bearing out like a woman which giues suck, but had no Milke therein. Aft r my returne to *Portugall*, I heard by eye-witnesses of a poore man in *Moura*, which being sixtie yeares old, had as much Milke as a woman Nurse, and gaue sucke to two children.

Moura.

Barrets inuasio.

King *Sebastian* sent *Francis Barret*, with title of *Gouernour* and Captayne Generall of a great Armada, to goe to *Sofala*, to conquer the Golden Mines in the Kingdome of *Mocaranga*, and particularly those of *Manica*. In the Conquest whereof he made great Warres with the *Quitene*; who reigneth ouer the Countrey in the way from *Sofala* to *Manica*, the Mines beeing in the Neighbour Kingdome of *Chicanga*. In these passages by Land or Riuer, the *Quitene* opposed himselfe with many Battels; who notwithstanding pierced the Countrey to *Zimbaobe*, and made the *Quitene* flie to the Mountaynes, with his women and people. Hee fired the Citie and passed two dayes further without opposition. Then the *Chicanga* sent him prouision (whereof he had great want) intimating his ioy to see him in his Kingdome; which hee requited with a Present, and came to his Citie, where he was kindly entertayned, a peace concluded with grant of free Merchandising. The *Portugals* had conceited themselues of so much Gold, that they thought they might fill sackes, and take as much as they listed; but when they saw the trouble, difficultie, and danger of life which the *Cafres* sustayned to get it forth of the earth and stones, their minds were altered. They get it three wayes, one by making Mines (which sometime fall on them) and following the veines which they know, take thence the Earth; washing the same in bolls. Another, after Raines, searching the Brookes of the fields and hills where they find pieces of Gold: the third, out of certayne stones in particular Mines, which haue veines of Gold, which they breake into poulder, and wash the same in bolls, where the rest runneth away with the water, the Gold remayning in the bottome. This third they call *Matuca*, and is the basest, the other *Dababo*.

Chicanga.

Three wayes
of getting
Gold.

Matuca and
Dababo.
Tribute to the
Quitene.

Strange Em-
bassage.

Barret at his returne thought of reuenge vpon the *Quitene*, which he preuented with courtesies and presents: and agreement was made betwixt them, that the Captayne of *Sofala* should yearly giue the *Quitene* two hundred Clothes for free and secure passage thorow his Countrey to *Chicanga*, which are worth at *Sofala* more then one hundred *Cruzados*, and amongst the *Cafres*, aboue one hundred thousand *Reys*. For this tribute which they call *Curua*, the *Quitene* sends foure Embassadors yearly, called *Mutumes*; one of which represents his Person, and he alone is holden in like respect and reuerence in that Iourney; the second is called the *Kings Mouth*, whose Office is to deliuer the *Kings* Message; the third they call the *Kings Eye*, who is appointed Ouer-seer of all hee sees done, to relate the same to him at their returne; the fourth is called the *Kings Eare*, and is to heare all that is spoken on both parts. They are all Lords, and sometimes the *Kings* Sonnes, he especially which represents his person; and are presented by the *Cafres* in the way; and bring aboue one hundred others with them in company to carrie the *Curua* and their Gifts. When they are neere *Sofala*, the Captayne sends principall *Moors* to conduct them to the Castle. Before them goe Labourers, and Dancers in great brauery, their heads adorned with plumes of Cockes tayles: next follow *Cafres*, in a ranke or file, and after them the *Mutumes* in their order, he being last which represents the *Quitenes* person, and with him

him the *Xequ* or Principall *Moore*. The Captayne entertaynes them in the Hall, accompanied with all the *Portugals* in the Towne, and after lodgeth them in the *Moore*s houses, and furnisheth them with prouision seuen or eight dayes. The Captayne sometimes dischargeth the Ordnance of the Castle to honour them; but they desired the *Quitene*, being afraid of that Thunder, to send to the *Portugalls* to hide their *Inbuites* or Gunnes, when they came to demand the *Curua*; which he did accordingly. The *Cafres* pay their Tribute to the *Quitene*, in euery Village or Towne making one great heape of Mais for the King; and euery Inhabitant being further bound to labour in the Kings Workes certayne dayes of the yeare, in digging, sowing, &c. The Merchants pay besides three of twentie of their Merchandise. The *Portugals* which trade to *Manica* pay one cloth of twentie, and so of other wares.

Quitenees Tribute of the Cafres.

The *Moore*s of *Sofala* haue customes no lesse barbarous. If one of them marrie, he seekes out another lustie *Moore* which may carrie him on his backe on the Marriage day from his owne house to the Brides, albeit it bee halfe a league off, without resting by the way: for if hee rests, that day is held vnluckie, and hee must seeke a stronger to performe it without resting on another day, or else the Marriage is marred and broken off. They are also very poore, yet will haue a fine cloth to be buried in; which buriall is like that before of the *Cafres*, in the wild vntilled fields or woods; and in the Graue they set Rice, Mais, and Water. Vpon the Graue they set two stones one at the head, the other at the feet, which they anoynt with Sanders ground and smelling: the kindred after continuing to anoynt the stones and set Rice on the Graue. The Christians there were as scrupulous of the Mats or Chaires of their slaues deceased: but I bestowed them on the fire or water, and they besought me of Charitie to forbear, lest some euils should befall them from the dead. Both *Moore*s, *Cafres*, and *Christians* of *Sofala* are much addicted to Dreames, and giue much credit to them, notwithstanding they often find them false, and are otherwise very superstitious.

Moore of Sofala their customes.

In the Riuer of *Sofala*, foure leagues from the Fort is the Iland *Maroupe*, eight leagues long and a league and halfe broad. The *Quitene* gaue the better part of it to *Roderigo Lobo*, and also the title of his Wife, a fashion of courtesie by him vsed to the *Portugals*, which he loues, intimating his respect no lesse to them then to his Wife, and the *Cafres* do much honour to those whom hee honoureth with that Title. That Iland hath excellent game for fishing and hunting of diuers beasts which they take diuers wayes; by digging pits three yards long, halfe that breadth at the top and straighter at the bottome of a mans height in deepnesse couered with stickes, and on them boughes or straw: another way is with multitudes to encompassse a place like a halfe Moone; and then put in Dogges which by barking scarre the beasts to the Riuer, where they are prouided with Boats and *Assagayes* for that purpose: a third way is when the Riuer overfloweth, and all the beasts betake them to some higher places of the Iland, where they are easily assailed with Arrowes and *Assagayes* in Boats. And there stand Elephants, Lions, Tygres, Eunuches, Deere, wild Kine, Swine, and other wild beasts together, without hurting one another, as they did in *Noahs* Arke, all awed with the feare of the waters. It hapned that the said *Lobo* once with other beasts killed a Lion, which might haue endangered him the losse of the Ile, and of his life, had hee beene a *Cafre*; neither dare or will the *Cafres* bee silent. Whereupon hee sent the *Quitene* a Present of twentie Clothes and the Lion, saying, that he the Kings Wife was sowing for his Husband, and that Lion came and assayed him, whereupon hee stricke him with the end of his Spade for his Husbonds honor, and hath now sent him dead to take reuenge on him for the discourtesie done to his Wife. His Presents and present wit excused him. The *Cafres* most of them haue bad and broken teeth, which (they say) comes by the wet and fennie soile, and of eating parched Pulse hote. Most of them also haue Ruptures, some so much that thereby they cannot goe.

An honorable title to be called the Kings Wife.

Isle of Maroupe

Riuer of Sofala

§. III.

Of the Riuer Cuama, and the adiacent Countrey; the Beasts, Fowles, Fishes of those parts: the Hills of Lupata; of the Mongas, Rufumba, Sena, Tete, Massapa, and of the Kingdome of Manamotapa; Also of Ophir, and of the Golden Mines of Fura.

The Riuer *Cuama* is by them called *Zambeze*; the head whereof is so farre within Land that none of them know it, but by tradition of their Progenitors say it comes from a Lake in the midst of the Continent, which yeelds also other great Riuer, diuers wayes visiting the Sea. They call it *Zambeze*, of a Nation of *Cafres* dwelling neere that Lake, which are so called. It hath a strong current, and is in diuers places more then a league broad.

Cuama or Zambeze a great riuer described.

Twen-

- Twentie leagues before it enters the Sea, it diuides it selfe into two armes, each Daughter as great as the Mother, which thirtie leagues distant pay their Tribute to the Father of waters. The principall of them is called *Luabo*, which also diuides it selfe into two branches, one called *Old Luabo*, the other *Old Cuama*. The other lesse principall Arme is named *Quilimane*, (the River *Des Bons Sinaes* by *Vasco di Gama*, when hee discouered *India*) for the good newes which there he receiued of *Mosambique*, and therefore he there set vp a stone Pillar with a Crosse, and the Armes of *Portugall*, and named the Countrey *Terra de sancta Raphael*. This River hath also another great arme issuing from it, called the River of *Linde*: so that *Zambeze* enters the Sea with five mouthes or Armes very great.
- Luabo* is sailed all the yeere long, but *Quilimane* only in the Winter. They saile vp this River 10
- Sacumbe Falls.* West North-west about two hundred leagues, to the Kingdome of *Sacumbe*, where it makes a great Fall from Rockes, beyond which they goe vp the River twentie leagues to the Kingdome of *Chiconia*, in which are Mines of Siluer, which cannot be sailed by reason of the strong current: but from *Chinoca* vpwards it is Nauigable, but how farre they know not. *Luabo* hath its name of an Iland so called in the Barre thereof in nineteene degrees, which Iland diuides old *Luabo* on the South from *Old Cuama*, on the North; and in the East each salutes the other by entercourse of a streame five leagues long, which is the length and breadth of the Iland, peopled with *Moors* and *Cafres*. The *Pangayos* or great Barkes of *Mosambique* here discharge, being too great to passe higher, and carrie their goods in a Fleet of small Boates to the Fort of *Sena*, which is sixty leagues. The Land on the North-side is called *Bororo*, on the South *Botonga*. In the midst of 20
- Chingoma.* the River are many Ilands, some very great; the biggest and best is called *Chingoma*; at the end whereof *Zambeze* diuides it selfe into *Luabo* and *Quilimane*.
- The second Ile of Note is *Inhangoma*, neere the Fort of *Sena*, tenne leagues long, and in some places a league and a halfe broad. The *Portugals* saile here by day, and fasten themselves to the Ilands by nights, by reason of the Currents and Shallowes. The *Cafres* inhabiting by the way, come with their Boats and sell them victuals, whereof the ouerflowing of the River makes the Countrey plentifull. In March and Aprill the fields are ouer-flowne and other Rivers filled from hence; and yet haue they there in those Moneths no raines, nor melting of any Snowes, whereby it appeares that those Inundations come from farre Countries. In this time the Countrey is sickly, and many *Cafres* dye of Diseases, then bred by the grosse Ayres, caused by the 30
- waters.
- In these Rivers are many *Zouo* or *Zoo*, so they call the River-horses, greater then two of our Horses together, with thick and short hinder-legs, hauing five clawes on each fore-foot, and foure on the hinder-foot; the footing large as it were of an Elephant; the mouth wide and full of teeth, foure of which are remarkable, each about two palmes (or spans) long, the two lower straight vp, and those about turned like a Bores tusks, all foure being about a great spanne eminent from the mouth. The head is as big as of three Oxen. I saw a Skull of one of them at a *Cafres* doore so great that he made his Sonne (a Boy of seuen or eight yeares of age) to sit downe in the mouth vpon the nether jaw, closing the jawes together. They liue commonly in the waters, but feed on the Land on grasse and boughes, and doe much hurt to sowed fields of *Mais* and *Rice*, both with feed- 40
- ing and treading. They are like to our Horses only in face, eyes, eares, and after a sort in neighing. They are ialous, and two Males goe not together; if two meete, they fight and sometimes kill each other: A droue or company of the Females haue but one Male, as a Cocke amongst Hens, the lesse fleeing from the greater: and when the Female hath a Male Colt, she keeps alone with her yongling, lest the Sire should kill it. They bring forth their yong on Land, and hauing licked them well, returne to the River, and there nourish them with Milke of their teats like our Mares. Their Hides are much thicker then an Oxe-hide, all of one colour, ash-coloured gray, most of them with a white strake on the face all quite downe, and a starre in the fore-head, haire rough; mane little and short. They are much subiect to the falling sicknesse, in which they beate their breasts with their left fore-feet very strongly bending the same back, and falling there- 50
- on, and in that fit are often seene and sometimes slaine by the *Cafres*. They are very bold in the water, and very fearefull by Land, as I haue seene by experience. The *Cafres* take them in pits which they digge and couer with boughes and grasse, betwixt the River and the Corne-fields, where being false they are easily killed: likewise they lay in their Corne grounds, halfe couered with earth, thicke boards of a yard long full of sharpe Harping Irons; whereon the Horse treading cannot free his foot, nor goe away, nor breake the boards, and so are exposed to slaughter. They also strike them in their Boats with Harping Irons fastned to the Boate by a Cord, which he drawes after him, and after with *Assagays* and Arrowes, being tyred, they dispatch him, and share this their Venison amongst the Hunters. In my Iourney vp the River *Luabo*, to *Sena*, I saw ten or twelue Boats in this Horse-chase. The *Cafres* report that a Lion pursued a 60
- Deere to the River, where he without, and a Crocodile in the water, leaped on her, as two Champions of the two Elements, in so equall force that neither preuayled, and at last many *Cafres* came, and with noyse parted the Fray first, and then the prey.
- Alongst the Bankes runne many wilde Beasts, Lions, Tygres, Ounces, Rhinocerotes, Elephants,

- phants, Buffals very fierce, wilde Kine (like to our tame) wilde Horses, in Mane and Neighing like ours, of cleere Chesnut colour, somewhat dunne, they haue smoothe streight hornes like a Deare without snags, and clouen hooves like an Oxe. The *Casres* call it *Empophos*. They haue wilde Asses of Russetish colour, with hornes and clouen feete, which they call *Merus*, the flesh as good as of Kine. They haue great varietie of Wormes, and many Zebras made like Mules, and like them holding their heads toward their fore-legs when they runne, clouen footed, with strakes ouer all their body of white and blacke two fingers broad, the haire soft and smoothe. They haue many *Nondos* which are like *Galician* Hobbies, of darke Chesnut colour, the haire soft and short, the backe as if it were broken, the hinder legs shorter then the former. They haue
- 10 Deeres, Hares, many Ciuet Cats; great Apes and Monkeys; the female Monkeys haue their monethly purgation like Women. There is a kind of Dogs, called *Impumpes*, which goe a companie of them together to seeke their prey, swift Runners, and sure Biters, a middle kinde of Curre which barke not, red on the backe and white belied, running away from men. They bite on the Legs and Rumpes, plucking out each morsell, till with weaknesse and wearinesse the prey be their owne. They haue a kinde of Worme, called *Inhazaras*, as great as Hogs and fashioned somewhat like, with thin and blacke haire, five fingers like the fingers of a man on each hinder foot, and foure on the fore-foot, and long nailes thereon. They liue in holes vnder the ground like Conie-berries, with two or three entrances. They liue vpon Ants, putting their tongues (two spans and a halfe long, like a wax candle) into the Ant-holes (which they scrape
- 20 with their clawes) whereon the Ants running they pull it in, and so feed and fill themselves. One of our Slaues killed one of them and brought it home; opened it and found no dung in the belly but winde, and some haue thought that they liued onely on Aire, and they are often found gaping against the winde. The flesh of them is good to eate, tastes like Porke, especially the inwards; but without fat. The snout is very long and slender, long eares like a Mule, without haire, the taile thick and strait of a spanne long, fashioned at the end like a Distaffe. They haue great Lizards, of which I haue seene one dead a yard and a halfe long, as bigge as a mans thigh: they haue great and sharpe teeth, a blacke tongue, harped in the end. They bite venomously, but their poyson is not deadly. There are Snakes of eightene or twentie spannes, as bigge as a mans legge; they kill Sheepe, Goats, Swine, Hens, and are very poysonfull. In the Kingdome of
- 30 *Biri* neere *Manica*, are small Snakes, called *Ruca Inhanga*, so poysonfull that Trees or Herbs which they bite, wither: and if they bite a quick thing, it swels like a Bottle, and in foure and twentie houres, the haire, hooves, hornes and teeth fall away and it dyeth, except counter-poyson bee applyed. Of these Snakes that King *Biri* makes a confection to poyson Arrowes, which drawing bloud cause the effects aforesaid: no Subiect is permitted to vie the same. A certayne *Casre* bitten by one of these Snakes, got it in his hands, and bit it againe so angerly, that they both dyed the same day. Their Lions are dreadfull, of a darke gray or durtie ash-colour, not spotted. The Ounce is spotted, bigger then a Gray-hound and longer, made much like our Cats, and prey on Cats, and Dogs, and Cattell, which they therefore shut vp euery night. There are innumerable Wormes like Beetles, whose tailes shine in the night like burning coales, and
- 40 are so many that they enlighten all the ayre. There are Rats whose biting is venomous, and their smell very sweet of Muske. Great Bats they haue as bigge as Pigeons, which the *Casres* kill, flay, and eate as sauourly as Hens. They haue in the wilde fields blacke Tortoises, as bigge as Bucklers, fleshy and fat, which they boyle and rost for dainties. They haue many Zangaons, Flies of a strange mixture. They make a Ball of Clay, which they fasten on the Walls or Tiles made full of holes like a Bee-hiue; in each hole they put a little Worme, such as breed in holes, some white, some blacke, some Greene, or gray, of diuers kindes, whatsoeuer they finde; and then stop the mouth of the Ball or Hiue with new Clay. These inclosed Wormes beget Zangaons with legs and wings, which eate thorow the Clay, and flie out and breede, so that of diuers kindes there is made one kinde very wonderfull. They haue diuers kindes of Birds, some of faire Colours and Notes, brought vp in Cages; Doues, some with golden wings very faire;
- 50 Geese of three sorts, one greater then those of *Portugal*, blacke on the backe, and white on the belly, with a red Crest on the head, hard and sharpe like a horne; many Cranes; Pelicans as bigge as Turkey-cocks, whitish, with feet very thick and short, liuing in the Riuer on Fish: Ravens as bigge as Peahens, and of that fashion, but the wings blackish, without feathers on the necke and head, couered there with a white ragged skin full of Dandrow; they frequent the Coast and Dung-hill for Carrion, and for mens dung. They haue one kinde of Fowles, called *Curuanes*, as bigge as Cranes, but more beautifull, the back like black Sattin, exceeding white on the belly and breast: the neck two spannes and a halfe long, couered with fine white feathers like silke, which are excellent for plumes: vpon the head it hath a Cap of blacke feathers, very faire (as our gold Finches haue red) and in the midst thereof a crest or plume almost a span long,
- 60 of white, fine, strait feathers, equall on the top, and there spreading themselves into a round forme, like a very white Mushroom with a white stalke, and resembling a *Sombrero de Sol* (or *Indian* Canopee to keepe off the Sunne.) The *Casars* call this the King of Birds, because their Kings haue such a *Sombreiro*, and for the greatnesse and beautie of them.

Wilde Horses.

Wilde Asses.

Zebras, see sup. 284.

Wilde Dogs.

A strange Worme.

Muske Rats venomous.

Zangaons, a kind of Flies of a various kinde.

Curuanes, Birds of great beautie.

- A Portugall in *Sofala* told mee, that going to traffique for iuorie in the firme land of *Mam-bone*, ouer against the Iles of *Boçicas*, hee had a Monkie in a chaine fastened to a Blocke or Clog (which weighed ten or twelue pounds) who one day being abroad, there came a bird of prey of a huge bignesse, and seising on him with his talons, carried him away together with his Clog, and not very farre off did eate him, the Chaine and Clog being after found. In those parts, hee said, are many of them which doe much hurt, carrying away Kids, and Pigs, and Hens. There is a kind of birds like Canarie birds, but with long tailes, which liue on wax, and search in the wild vntilled places for Bee-hiues, whereof there are many in holes in the ground, and in hollow trees, and finding any, they goe to the waies to shew it to some people which passe by (which they doe by going before them crying and beating their wings from bough to bough, till they finde the Hiue or Bee-hole) and the people knowing their fashion follow them, where the one shares the Honie, the other the Wax, and the dead Bees therein. They call these birds *Sazu*. I haue seene them often enter into our Church to eate the Wax, where the boyes haue caught some of them. There is another sort which liues on the fruit of their owne labours: for they with their hard bills pecke holes on the tops of trees, where the armes begin to spread, and therein put a stone of a fruit which they eate, which springs within, and glues it selfe like a new graffe of that Tree (so that there are many Trees of two kindes, by reason of this foster-plant of another leafe and fruit) and of the fruit thereof the Birds sustayne themselves: they are of the bignesse and fashion of Iack-dawes, but grayish. There is a Bird, called *Minga*, greene and yellow very faire, like in forme to Pigeons, which neuer tread on the ground, their feet being so short that they can scarce be discerned. They settle on Trees of the fruits whereof they liue; and when they will flie, they fall downe with their wings closed, which they open in the ayre: when they drinke they flie on the tops of the waters; and if they fall on the ground they cannot rise; they are fat and sauorie. There are said to be of those *Cincoes* there, which liue on Dew, like those in *Mexico*, of whose fine curious feathers they make pictures.
- In the Riuer of *Sofala* is store of Fish fat and sauorie, as Mulletts, Needles, Dolphins, &c. One strange fish in qualitie is common in those Riuers, which the Portugals call *Tremedar*, and the *Cafres*, *Thinta*, of such nature that no man can take it in his hand whiles it is alieue, for it filleteth the hand and arme with paine, as if euery ioynt would goe asunder; but being dead is as another fish, and much esteemed for good meate. The Naturals say, that the skin of this fish is vsed to forceries. It is medicinable against the Cholick, roasted and ground to powder and drunke in Wine. The biggest of them is two spannes and halfe long, the skin blackish, rough and thick.
- There is another fish bred in Lakes, called *Macone*, somewhat like a Lamprey with holes in the neck and in shape, spotted like a water Snake. In Summer when the Lakes are drie, he lyes a spanne deepe in the earth with his taile in his mouth, which he sucketh for his sustenance till the raynes come, aboue three moneths. In this manner he eates most of his taile, which growes againe as before, at the returne of the waters. The *Cafres* hunt them, digging the earth of the Lakes for them, and there finde them in this sort. I haue often eaten of them. The Lakes in Winter are so filled, and stored from the Riuer with one kinde, called *Enxanos*, that the Hogs feed themselves therewith. The *Memune* is of so strong a sent that none can endure it, but the *Cafres*; and they eate it, getting great store in the Winter, and smoke them for the whole yeeres prouision.
- Fiue leagues from *Sofala* are the Iles *Boçicas* towards the South, in which Sea are many *Women fishes*, which the people take with great hookes and lines, with chaines of Iron made for that purpose; and of the flesh thereof they hang, and smoke it as it were Bacon. The flesh is good and fat, of which we haue oft eaten, sodden with Cabbages and dressed with its owne sawce. From the belly to the neck it is very like a Woman; the Female nourisheth her young with her breasts which are like a Womans. From the belly downward it hath a thick and long taile with finnes like a Dolphin; the skin white on the belly, on the backe rougher then a Dolphins. It hath armes ending from the elbowes in finnes, and hath no hands. The face is plaine, round, deformed, bigger then a mans, without humane semblance, wide mouthed, thick hanging lips as a Hound, foure teeth hanging out almost a span, like the tuskes of a Beare (which are accounted very good for the Piles, and against fluxe of bloud) their Nostrils are like a Calfe. There are many Oysters which breede the Pearle, which they take with diuing, fastning a Cord to their middle, and holding stones in their hands (which when they are at the bottome they let goe) and fill a Basket, which is let downe from the Boat with a Cord, hauing a stone in it to make it sinke, which being full is drawne vp; and then to it againe. They are so vsed to it that they will continue halfe a quarter of an houre vnder the water.
- Ambargrife is said to grow in the bottome of the Sea, and with the mouing of the Sea to bee broken and rise to the top; wherefore after great Stormes and Tempests the *Cafres* goe seeking for it by the Shoares, and find many peeces which they sell to the *Moores* and *Portugals*. They haue three sorts of Ambar, one very white, called *Ambar gris*; the second gray, called *Mexueyra*; the third blacke as pitch, which is often found soft, of ill smell, which Whales and other Fishes eate. The Whales doe not breede it and vomit it, as some say, for peeces haue there beene found

found of twentie pound. And 1596. a piece of excellent white Ambar was found neere to *Brama*, so great and high that set in the midst they could not see one another, which were on the opposite sides.

The Crocodile is five and twentie spans long, and thicker then a man; they are cowardly on Land, cruell in the water, greene with darke yellow spots, and gray, and blacke; they haue

The Crocodile.

many reues of Teeth, no Tongue. The *Cafres* call them *Goma*. They lay many Egges in a hole in the Sand, which the Sunne hatcheth. The *Cafres* oft find their Egges. They first drowne and then eate their prey, wetting euery bit in water, which otherwise they cannot swallow. Their Liuers are Poyson: and the *Quineu* prohibits for this cause to kil any vnder paine of death. Some

10 *Cafres* say, that one Lobe of the Liuer is Poyson, and the other Counterpoyson. They lye Morning and Euening on the Sands, a little out of the water with their mouthes open against the Sunne to catch Flyes, who invited thither by the ill sent, sucke away the filth, which stickes on their eyes and nostrils, and deuoured for their labour at last betweene their teeth. The old ones haue mosse on their heads. The *Cafres* catch them with flesh bayted on a bigge piece of wood two spans long and strait, hidden in the flesh, and cast into the water, where the Crocodile deuoures both: the *Casar* seeing his line stirre, drawes him to the banke with his mouth open, not able by reason of the wood crossing his throat to shut his mouth, or byte asunder the Cord; the water entring into his mouth chokes him; which done, they draw him to Land and eate him.

* This stinke is a Muskie sent: see Iobson.

Gabriell Rebello in his Tract of the Maluccos, writes that there are some with foure eies, two in the Front, and two in the Throat. Miciriri a strange herbe.

20 They stinke * most abominably; insomuch, that I and some others passing the Riuer from *Maroupe* to *Sofala*, were faine to stop our Noses, the *Casars* laughing, and saying it was the ventositie or wind-breaking of the Crocodile which came from forth the waters, and yeelded such vn-sufferable stinke thorow all that part of the Riuer. Alongst the Riuer of *Sofala* growes a certayne herbe which they call *Miciriri*, wherewith the *Cafres* anoynt themselves when they go a fishing, by vertue whereof the Crocodiles cannot hurt them; it taking away from the teeth their power and dulling them as if they were of Waxe. And for prooffe before they vse it, they put some of it on their owne heads, and if it disables them to chew any thing, they account it good, and vse the iuyce, not daring otherwise to enter the Riuer for feare of Crocodiles.

30 Alongst the Riuer grow Cottons and Sugar-canes, which they sow for backe and belly. In the Countrey grow many medicinable Plants, especially on the Hills of *Lupata*, where grow wild *Donradinha*, or guilt Wood, wilde *Aguila*, very sweet, *Cannafistola*, and another Plant with which the *Cafres* purge themselves, another to stanch bloud, another to cure wounds very effectually, another to prouoke mirth and jollitie.

These hills of *Lupata* are mid-way from *Sena*, to *Tete*, which are sixtie leagues distant vp the Riuer, ninetie leagues from Sea, very high, craggie, of large extension, therefore by the *Cafres* called, *The Backe-bone of the World*. The Riuer *Zambeze* forceth their stonie heart to yeeld him passage; in some places as affrighted lifting themselves steepe vp right in the Ayre, in others with beetle ouer-hanging browes expressing their frowning indignation, as if they would fall vpon that pressing and piercing Enemy, which yet swiftly flyeth and lightly escapeth, euer continuing that breach in which it neuer continueth. Thus with menacing looks, they face & threaten the waters, and with strait gripes offer in vaine to stay their course; which hereby indangered, haste away euer to auoyde that which they euer haste to obtrayne; this mutuall strife causing a dangerous Current-combate, not so much to each other, as the Boates and Merchants which passe this way, often feeling the furie of both till they can feele neither; both men and goods confiscated to their furie.

40 These Hills trauerse the Kingdome of a King called *Mongas*, which hath this Riuer on the South, and reach to the Lands of *Manamotapa*. These *Mongas* are the most warlike *Cafres*, which confine on this Riuer, and haue often fought with the *Portugals*. In one battell they had an old Witch which came before them, and being betwixt both Campes, tooke certayne powders out of a Pompion rinde which shee had brought and threw them into the Ayre against the

Lupata Hills *Zambeze*

Mongas

50 *Portugals*, but in the midst of her Sorceries she was flaine with a Falcon shot, which successe followed the other *Cafres* which trusted in her, and peace not long after was concluded on both parts.

Beneath these Hills is a goodly Lake called *Rufumba*, of three leagues circuit, with an Iland in the midst very high, in which is a great *Tamarind* or Date * tree, of the bignesse and fashion of a Pine; the leaues whereof open with the rising, and close with the going downe of the Sunne. In it is a Groue called *Chipanga*, accounted sacred, in which the Neighbour *Cafres* bury their dead, conceiuing that the soules departed enter into the Crocodiles (whereof there are great store) and therefore also often set them meate. There is in this Lake a Spring which swelleth out in five heads a yard distant from each other, of differing heate, and one vn-sufferable. The like is in a place about *Tete*, neere the Riuer called *Empongo*. A small Riuer neere *Tete* is of Salt water like the Sea, from which it is one hundred and twentie leagues distant. In *Mocaranga* are many such Salt Lakes and Riuers. In the great Riuer *Mangania*, is a Salt Spring two hundred leagues from Sea, which turnes also all the Wood throwne in, into hard stones.

Rufumba * *Tamarinheiro*.

Crocodile-Purgatory.

Strange Springs.

In *Alenteio* a Prouince of Portugall at *Exuedall*, is a spring which runs with store of water all Summer,

mer, making a good streame which waters many Gardens, and drives many Mills from Aprill to September; and is dry in Winter; and with another greater wonder, the same water where it stands, turnes into stone like Pumice, which euer so continueth, and puts on a stonie Coate on euery piece of wood, which is throwne into the Spring-head or running streame, and makes it like a Cane of stone: as it doth also the grasse; and euery yeare they must cleere the passages from stone.

Sena.

Sena is a Fort of Lime and Stone, furnished with Artillery; the Captayne is placed by the Captayne of Mosambique. There were in my time eight hundred Christians, of which, fiftie Portugalls. Seuen or eight leagues from hence on the other side of the Riuer, is the high Hill Chiri, which may be seene twentie leagues off, the Hill and Valleys exceeding fertile. To this Factory of Sena, they come from Tete, to buy Merchandize with their Gold.

Tete.

Tete is a stone Fort sixtie leagues further vp the Riuer in the Kingdome of Inhabazgynder the Manamotapa, the Captayne is placed by the Captayne of Mosambique. In this place were in my time sixe hundred Christians, of them fortie Portugalls. These one hundred and twentie leagues the Portugalls goe vp the Riuer, and from thence goe by Land with their Merchandize. The Countrey is very fertile, and Portugall wares are here sold at great prizes. From Tete they goe with their wares thorow a great part of Manamotapa to three Marts, Massapa, Luanze, Manzono, in which the Inhabitants of Sena, and Tete haue houses and Factories, thence to store all the Countrey.

Massapa.

Massapa is the chiefe, where resides a Portugall Captayne, presented by the Portugalls, and confirmed by the Manamotapa, which calls him his Great Wife, a name of honour, as before is obserued. This Captayne holds jurisdiction ouer all the Cafres without Appeale, as also ouer the Portugalls in that Kingdome, granted by the Vice-Royes, as all other Captaynes of those parts haue. This Captayne of Massapa treats all businesse with the Manamotapa, whose Customer he is also, taking one cloth of twentie, in which respect the Countrey is free to them. But beyond Massapa, neerer the Manamotapa, one may goe without license from the King or the Captayne. The Captayne hath an Azagay of blacke Wood pointed with Gold, for his Ensigne or Rod of Authoritie. The Captayne of Mosambique payes at his entrance to the Manamotapa, three thousand Cruzados in goods for the three yeares of his Captayne-ship, for free Trade in his Countreyes, which they may trauell securely laden with Gold; it beeing neuer knowne that Theeues assaile them, or any without the Kings Anthoritie. He sends his Mutumes to Sena for his Curua, in the same manner and order that the Quiteue vseth at Sofala; but at Sena the Captayne deliueres it to a Portugall (whom he sends as Embassador to the Manamotapa, in the name of the Captayne of Mosambique) in the presence of the Mutumes.

The Kingdom of Manamotapa.

This Kingdome of Manamotapa, is scituate in Mocaranga, which in times past was wholly of the Manamotapan Empire, but now is diuided into foure Kingdomes, to wit, this of Manamotapa, that of Quiteue, the third of Sedanda, and the fourth of Checanga. This diuision was made by a Manamotapan Emperour, who not willing or not able to gouerne so remote Countreyes, sent his Sonne Quiteue to gouerne that part which runnes along the Riuer of Sofala, and Sedanda another Sonne, to that which Sabia washeth, a Riuer which visits the Sea before the Bogica; and Chicanga a third Sonne to the Lands of Manica. These three after their Fathers death would neuer acknowledge their Brother his Successor: and the same not without yeerely warring with each other, continues to their Posteritie. Yet is the Kingdome of the Manamotapa, bigger then the other three together. The Cafres call them all Mocarangas, because they speake the Mocaranga Tongue.

Manamotapa 200. leagues square.

This Kingdome of Manamotapa is aboue two hundred leagues long, and as much broad. On the North-west he confines with the Kingdome of Abutua (the King and Kingdome haue the same name) which they say, stretcheth thorow the Continent to the borders of Angola. I haue seene in Sofala a Commoditie bought by a Portugall in Manica, brought thither by the Cafres of Abutua, which had come from Portugall by the way of Angola. In this Kingdome of Abutua is much fine Gold, but the Naturals being farre from the Portugals, doe not much seeke after it, but rather to multiply their cattle of which they haue abundance. On the East Manamotapa confineth with the Riuer Zambeze, which the Manamotapans call Empando, which signifieth Rebelling against his King: for say they, were it not for the Riuer, the Manamotapa would bee Lord of the Countrey on the other-side, to which he cannot passe his Armie for want of Boats. On the South-west this Kingdome extendeth to the Ocean, into which it enters with a point of Land of ten or twelue leagues large, from the Riuer Luabo, to that of Tendanculo. The rest of the Lands Southwards to the Riuer Inhabane, and deuided betwixt the three Kings, which rebelled as is said: from Tendanculo to Sofala, the Quiteue reigneth: thence to the South is the Kingdome of Sabia, vnder the Sedanda, who is Lord also of Btonga to the Region Inhambane: within Land at the head of both these Kingdomes is Manica vnder the Chicanga, who is on the North-west, some hundreths of leagues remote from the Sea. On the North-side of Manica, is Abutua, and on the North-east is the Manamotapa, and to the South is a King called Biri. Those three Kings which rebelled are great, but the Quiteue is the greatest, and richest by Trade with the Portugals for Stuffles and Beades (which is the Cafres wealch) and his people are the strongest of the Mocarangas, and the best Archers, and most expert at the Azagay.

Trade from the Atlantike to the East Sea.

Manica, how bounded and rounded.

Neere

- Neere to *Massapa* is a great high Hill, called *Fura*, whence may bee discerned a great part of the Kingdome of *Manamotapa*: for which cause he will not suffer the *Portugalls* to goe thither, that they should not couet his great Countrey and hidden Mines. On the toppe of that Hill are yet standing pieces of old wals, and ancient ruines of lime and stone, which testifie that there haue beene strong buildings: a thing not seene in all *Cafraria*. For the Kings houses are of wood, daubed with clay, and couered with straw. The Natiues, and specially the *Moore*s haue a Tradition from their Ancestors, that those houses belonged to the Queene of *Saba*, which carryed much Gold thence downe the *Cuama* to the Sea, and so along the Coast of *Ethiopia* to the Red Sea. Others say that those Ruines were *Salomons* Factorie, and that this *Fura* or *Afura* is no other then *Ophir*, the name not much altered in so long time. This is certayne, that round about that hill, there is much and fine Gold. The Nauigation might in those times be longer, for want of so good ships and Pilots as now are to be had, and by reason of much time spent in trucking with the *Cafars*, wherein euen at this time the Merchants alway spend a yeare and more in that businesse, although the *Cafars* be growne more couetous of our Wares, and the Mines better knowne. They are so lazie to gather the Gold that they will not doe it till necessitie constrayne them. Much time is also spent in the Voyage by the Riuer, and by that Sea which hath differing Monsoons, and can be sayled but by two winds, which blow fixe moneths from the East, and as many from the West. *Salomons* fleet had besides those mentioned, this let, that the Red Sea is not safely Nauigable, but in the day, by reason of many Iles and shoalds; likewise it was necessary often to put to harbour for fresh water and other provisions, and to take in new Pilots and Mariners, and to make reparations: which considered (with their creeping by shoare for want of the *Compass*e and experience in those Seas, and their *Sabbath* rests, and their trucke with the *Cafres*) might extend the whole Voyage in going, staying, and returning, to three yeares. Further the *Iuory*, *Apes*, *Gemmes*, and precious woods (which grow in the wild places of *Tebe*, within *Sofala*) whence they make *Almadias* or *Canoas* twentie yards long of one Timber; and much fine blacke wood (*Ebonie*) growes in that Coast, and is thence carryed to *India* and *Portugall*: all these may make the matter probable. As for *Peacocks* ^b I saw none there, but there must needs bee some within Land; for I haue seene some *Cafers* weare their Plumes on their heads. And as there is store of fine Gold, so also is there fine silver in *Chiconia* where are rich Mines.
- 30 In all the Regions of *Manamotapa*, or the greatest part thereof, are many Mines of Gold; and particularly in *Chiroro*, where is the most and most fine. They gather it as is said before of *Quiteue*. It is paine of death for any *Moore* which discouers a Mine to take away any, besides his goods forfeited to the King. And if by chance any find a Mine, he is bound to cry out aloud, that some other *Casar* may come to testifie that he takes none: and both are then to couer the place with Earth, and set a great bough thereon, to giue warning to other *Cafars* to auoyde the place. For if they should come there, it would cost them their liues, although there be no prooffe that he tooke any thing. This feueritie is vsed to keep the Mines from the knowledge of the *Portugals*, lest couetous desire thereof might cause them to take away their Countrey. It is found inoulder like sand; in graines like beads; in pieces some smooth as they were melted, others branched with snags, others mixed so with Earth, that the Earth being well washed from them, they remaine like Honiecombes; those holes before full of red Earth, seeming as though they were also to be turned into Gold. As for that in stone, we haue already spoken.
- 40 In the Lands confining with *Manamotapa*, on the North-west is the Kingdome of *Chiconia*, famous for silver Mines. It runs alongst the Riuer *Zambeze*. After that *Francis Barret* was at *Sofala* to conquer the Mines of *Manica*, as before is said, he passed thence with his company to *Cuama*, to conquer the Mines of *Chiconia*, and beneath the hills of *Lupata*, conquered the *Monagas*; whereupon other *Cafres* fled into the Desarts and hid themselves. Thus partly by the Riuer, and partly by Land, he came to *Chiconia*, and set downe his Campe, and much desired to discouer some Mines. But no *Casar* durst shew him for feare of losing their Countrey, which now they had abandoned to them; neither could they take any whom they might constrain by force, or induce any by promises to that designe. Yet one cheating fellow hauing gotten two stones out of a Mine, buried them in another place, and came one Evening to the *Gouernour* to make shew of this Mine, to whom hauing made that shew, and receiued a Reward, with promise to returne the next Morning, hee left the *Portugals* in the lurch, and neuer came againe. Thus after much triumph, for false hope of a Mine, hee was forced to leaue the Countrey for want of Victuals, and returned downe the Riuer to *Sena*, leauing there *Antonio Cardoso d' Almeida*, and two hundred men with provisions, fortified in a Trench of wood to procure that Discouerie. The *Cafres* fained a peace with him (by Treacherie to betray him) and after a League confirmed pretending to discouer the Mine, brought them into an Ambush, where the most were slaine, the rest forced to their Fort, and there besieged and slaine euery Mothers Sonne. The *Gouernour* melted those two stones, and found them to hold three parts silver, and but one of drosse. They haue also Mines of Copper, and of very good Iron, of this making Instruments of Warre and Husbandry; of that Bracelets and Braueries for their armes and legs.

Fura supposed to be Ophir.

Old buildings of stone.

Q. of Saba.

Salomons Ophir.

a This by reason their ships were small, as that intancie of Nauigation required: and besides they must carry the timber from one Sea to the other ouer land to build them: Neither were *Hittims* men expert in that Sea: and haply two Nations did not well agree to hasten the Voyage.

b See sup. pag. 975. store of Peacocks wild and tame, seen by A. Battle, vp within the Land.

Golden fetters: Riches the cause of po- uertie.

Chiconia.

Silver Mines. Barrets Conquest.

I will adde out of Barrius, Dec. 1. 1. 10. this of the buildings above-said. There are in the Province Toroa (called also Butua) the oldest Mines in those parts. In the midst is a square stone Fort well wrought of great stones; the wall is five and twentie spannes large, the height not answerable. Over the Gate are seene strange Letters which some Learned Moores saw; but could not tell what Letters they were. And about the same building are some others somewhat like it. The Natives call them Simbaoni, that is, the Court: of which Palace all other the Kings Houses tooke name: within it is the Simbacaio, a great man which there keepes some of the Manamotapas women. The people are barbarous and know not who was the Author of those Buildings, saying, it was the worke of the Denill; for (iudging other men by themselves) they thinke them impossible to Men. The Moores said that our Fort of Sofala was no way comparable. It is from Sofala five hundred and ten miles, betwixt twentie and one and twentie degrees of South latitude. In all that Countrey is no such building, and it seemed to the Moores very ancient. We may coniecture (saith Barrius) that this is Ptolemeys Agyimba, as the names Simbaoni and Simbacaio, seeme to import, &c.

§. II. III.

Of the Manamotapa his customes and of his Vassals; and of the adioyning Kingdomes, (wherein other Authours haue erred) Of Mosambique, Quiloa, Mombaza, Melinde, Magadoxo: of the Mombos and Zimbascruelties. Of Quilimane, the Islands on the Coast; the Macuas, and other African Obseruations.



Although the *Manamotapa* be greater then those three mentioned, yet hath he not other Kings Vassals or Tributaries to him: only some of his subiects called *Encosses* or *Fumos*, are great Lords, and haue Tenants subiect to them. *Botero* therefore in his Relations, *Gusman*, and *Oforius*, were deceiued by false information, giuing to the *Manamotapa*, so large a Sea-coast with tributary Kings; which, I doubt, whether euer there was any such thing; at lest there is now no memory thereof. *Philip Pigafetta* * also from the Relations of *Lopez*, hath falsly described these Coasts and Kingdomes, and hath told a long Tale of *Amazons* in these parts, where neither are such, nor any memoriall of them. They tell also of the Royall Ensignes, a Spade of Gold with an Iuorie head to intimate his Husbandry; and two Arrowes, the notes of his Iustice; and that he alwayes is accompanied with Souldiers; but in all they deceiue and are deceiued. As for Bow and Arrowes, it is as ordinary with the *Cafres* as with the *Portugalls*, to weare a Sword in their Cities; none of them going out of doores without them. And in like manner when the *Manamotapa* goeth forth, hee carries in his hand his Bow and Arrowes, as likewise doe the *Cafres* which accompany him, as a custome and not as Warriours. Before him goeth a *Cafre* beating with his hand on a * great Cushion, to giue notice that the King is at hand. When the *Manamotapa* will not carry his Bow, an Officer called *Mascorira* (which is as a Page of the Chamber) carries it; and the King carrieth in his hand an *Azagay*, or Iauelin of blacke wood with the point of pure Gold, like the Iron head of a Lance, or three pieces of wood, called *Fimbos*, of two spannes and a halfe, wrought and slender. And when hee speakes with a *Cafre*, whom he will haue dye, he lets fall one of these *Fimbos*, and his *Insiges* (Executioners) take and kill him with an *Azagay*; and so dye condemned persons.

He hath many women, and the principall, which is most respected, called *Mazarira*, is his entire sister a great friend of the *Portugals*, to whom when they giue the King his *Curna*, they giue a Present of Clothes. No man speakes with the King or with this Wife, but hee brings a Present; the *Portugals* giue Beades, the *Cafres* Kine, or Goats, or Clothes: and when they are able to giue nothing else, they bring a Sacke of Earth to acknowledge subiection, or a bundle of straw to thatch the Kings Houses; for all the Houses in *Casraria* are thatched. The *Manamotapa* which now reignes, is called *Mambo*, and his subiects vse to sweare by his life, saying, *Xè Mambo*; and when they speake with him, they say *Xè dico*, as we, Please your Maiestie. The Kings Children are called *Manambo*. Hee hath giuen leaue to our Religious men in his Kingdomes, to conuert and to build Churches; of which they haue built three, to wit, at *Massapa*, *Luanze*, *Bucutu*, where liue many *Portugals*.

They speake the *Mocaranga* Tongue, the best Language of all the *Cafres*; and whereas the Moores of *Africa* and *Arabia*, draw their words out of the throat as if they would vomite; these pronounce their words with the end of the tongue and the lips, that they speake many words in a whistling accent, wherein they place great Elegance, as I haue heard the Courtiers of *Quitene*, and *Manamotapa* speake. Their stile of speaking is by Metaphors; and Similitudes very proper, and fitted to their purpose. The *Manamotapa* and his subiects, weare a white Periwinkle in the fore-head for a Jewell, fastned in the haire, and the King hath another great one on the brest.

* See sup. pag. 1022. in *Lopez*, the description of those Coasts after his forme. Let the Reader take this generall rule to beleeue our Authors in that which they saw; in other things receiued by Relations (as this of *Lopez*) to examine them with eye-witnesses, as here. For this cause, and sometime for want of eye-witnesses, we haue briefly inserted such Relations.

* Coixa. The *Mazarira* or Queene. As *Ioseph* by the life of *Pharao*.

Their speech and phrase.

breſt. They call them *Andoros*, and they are odious to the *Quitene*, as a deuice of the *Manamotapan* diſtinction. None of them cut the haire of the head or beard; yet are there very few long beards, for their haire growes little, neither doth it turne white till they are very old. They liue commonly ninetie or an hundred yeares. They vſe Auguries and Diuinations by lots, and haue often conference with the Deuill, who after his wont, lyeth often, and yet holds his credit with them. They ſay that the *Manamotapa* hath a houſe, wherein are hanged condemned perſons, from whom the moiſture drops downe in a Veſſell, till they ceaſe dropping, and then they are buried. Herewith they ſay is made an Oyntment, which he vſeth againſt Witchcrafts and for long life. They haue many other Superſtitious. Dom. George Meneses, ſent to the *Manamotapa* a faire Grey-hound; which he much loued and kept about him, and when hee dyed, (as it were by Teſtament) he commanded that as ſoone as they ſaw his breath departed, they ſhould kill the Grey-hound, and a Coſſet Ramme which he had brought vp by hand, to doe him ſeruiſe in the other World: which was done accordingly, his Queene alſo drinking poyſon (after the cuſtome) for like purpoſe. The moſt of the *Manamotapan* cuſtomes are the ſame that are mentioned before of the *Quitene*, and therefore need no further Repetition.

Grey-hound
greatly eſteemed.

About *Tete* are eleuen Townes of *Cafres* which haue each their *Encoffe*, or *Cafar* Captayne, all Vaffals, and ſubieſt to the Iuriſdiction of the Captayne of *Tete*. The *Manamotapa* hauing conquered thoſe parts, diſtributed to diuerſe diuers gouernments, and theſe to the Captayne of *Tete* and his Succeſſors, to whom they are ſubieſt as to their King, aſking his licence when they will ſow their grounds; the *Encoffe* coming accompanied with ſome of his *Cafres*, and a Preſent, when they petition him. Before *Tete*, on the otherſide of the Riuer within Land to the Eaſt and North-eaſt, are two kinds of Man-eating *Cafres*, the *Mumbos* and *Zimbos* or *Muzimbos*, who eat thoſe they take in warre, and their ſlaues alſo when they are paſt labour, and ſell it as Beeſe or Mutton. The Captayne of *Tete* with his eleuen *Encoffes*, and their Companies ſlue fixe hundred of the *Mumbos* in a Battell, not leauing one aliue, and carried away their Wiues and Children Captiues. This was at *Chicoronga* a *Mumbos* Towne, in which was a ſlaughterhouſe, where euery day they butchered their Captiues; neere which the *Portugals* found many *Negroes*, men and women, bound hand and foot, deſtined to the ſlaughter for the next dayes food, whom with many others they freed. They vndertooke this Expedition in behalfe of a friend of theirs, againſt whom theſe *Mumbos* led by their Captayne *Quizura* made warre. All the ground before *Quizuras* Gate was paved with mens Skulles, which he had killed in that war, vpon which they muſt paſſe which went in or out; a thing in his conceit of great Maieſtie. But now he loſt himſelfe and all his. Theſe *Cafres* about *Tete* are prone to warres, ſaying, *If they dye their troubles are ended; if they liue, they ſhall enioy ſpoyles*. Whiles I was there, the Captayne *Pero Fernandez de Chaves*, wanting Timber for a Church Doores and Porch, pretended warre, and ſummoned theſe eleuen *Encoffes*, which came willingly, but were diuerted to this Timber buſineſſe.

Tete Iuriſdiction.

Mumbos and *Zimbos*, Man-eaters. *Quizura*, whether theſe *Zimbos* bee not the *Agimbo*. Butcheries of mans fleſh.

Whiles I was at *Sena*, the *Muzimbos* warred on ſome of the *Portugals* friends, and did eat many of them, who beſought helpe of *Andre de Santiago* Captayne of *Sena*, who went and ſet vpon them in their Fort, which they had fortified round with a wall of Wood, with wings (*reuezes*) and port-holes, and a deepe wide ditch, inſomuch, that he was forced to ſend to *Chaves* for his beſt helpe, who came with aboue one hundred *Portugals* and *Miſticos*, and thoſe eleuen *Encoffes*. The *Muzimbos* by their Eſpials had Intelligence of their coming on the otherſide the Riuer without order, and therefore ſtole out of the Fort by night, and Embuſcaded themſelues, and ſet vpon the *Portugals* (which marched halfe a league before the *Cafres*) ſuddenly and furioſly; killed them euery one, and cut off their armes and legges, which with their armes they carried priuily to their Fortreſſe. The *Cafres* arriuing at the Wood, and ſeeing the ſlaughter returned home to *Tete*, and related the late Tragedie. Theſe *Zimbos* worſhip no God, nor Idol, but their King, who (they ſay) is God of the Earth: and if it raines when hee would not, they ſhoot their Arrowes at the Skie for not obeying him; and he only eates not mans fleſh. Theſe are tall, bigge, ſtrong; and haue for Armes, ſmall Hatchets, Arrowes, *Azagades*, great Bucklers, with which they couer their whole bodies of light wood, lined with wild beaſts ſkinnes. They eat thoſe which they kill in warred an drink, in their ſkulles. If any of their owne *Cafres* be ſicke or wounded, to ſaue labour of cure they kill and eat them.

Sena. *Muzimbos*.

Zimbos-ſtrategem and crueltie.

Religion.

They feaſted with great iollitie that day of their Victory, and the night following; and the next morning early ſallied out of their Fortreſſe, the Captayne arrayed in a Dominicans, *Cafula*, or Maſſing Veſtment (*Nicolas de Roſario*, whom they had taken with the *Portugals* and carried with them, and put to a cruell death) with a gilt Chalice in his left hand, and an *Azagay* in his right; and all the other *Zimbos* with the quarters of the *Portugals* at their backes, and the Captaynes head on the point of a long Lance; and drumming on the Drumme which they had taken, they preſented themſelues with great cryes to *Santiago*, and the *Portugals*, and after this muſter returned to their Fort, ſaying, they muſt goe eat their *Tete* friends, *Santiago* and his *Portugals* (which ſtayed wayting for *Chaves*, and knew nothing) now terrified with this Spectacle, reſolued (if feare be capable of that word) to haſte away alſoone as night came, and paſſing ouer

The *Portugals* flye, and are ſlaine,

Ridiculous re-
venge.

the Riuer was perceiued by the *Muzimbabes*, who issued out vpon them with great force and slue many on the banke, and amongst others *Santiago*. Thus of *Tete* and *Sena* were one hundred and thirtie *Portugals* and *Mistigos*, with their two valiant Captaines slayne, with little losse on their part, comming on them with sudden aduantage: this was done *An. 1592*. *Don Pedro de Sousa* Captaine of *Mozambique* the next yeere, with two hundred *Portugals*, and fiftene hundred *Cafres* passed the Riuer *Zambeze*, pitched his Tents where *Santiago* had done, battered the walls of their Fort with his Artillery; but to no purpose, because they were of grosse wood, hauiug on the inside much earth of that which was taken out of the ditch. Whereupon he resolved to stop vp part of the ditch, which with much labour and perill, and some losse, he effected; some passed with hatchets to the foot of the trench, and began to cut; but the *Zimbabes* from the walls scalded them with hot water and Oyle, specially the naked *Cafres*, so that none durst approach againe, as well for scalding, as for long Iron hookes which they put out of the port-holes, wherewith they wounded the assaylants, and held them fast, pulling them to the holes, and killing them: so that they were forced to retire to their Tents. The next day hee caused rods to be gathered, and great baskets thereof to be made as high as their trenches, which were carried thither, and filled with earth, for the Souldiours to stand and fight vpon them, that the *Zimbabes* might not issue with their scalding liquors. Two moneths were spent in this warre, when some of the Inhabitants of that Riuer (which liked their liuing by wares better then to endanger dying by warres) fained Letters from *Sena*, written from their wiues, pretending great danger from a *Caser*, which came to robbe them in the *Portugals* absence; which *Sousa* beleeuing to bee true, brake vp the siege, and passing the Riuer by night was perceiued by the *Zimbabes*; who sallied forth with a great crie, assayled the Campe, killed some which were behind, tooke the most of the spoiles with the Artillerie. Thus returned the *Portugals* with disgrace, and the *Zimbabes* grew prouder, and after made peace with them notwithstanding.

The *Zimbabes*
like the *lagges*,
sup. l. 7. c. 3. §. 3
which some
vniustly con-
found.

Quiloa taken.

Reward of
Traitors, Treason
loued, the
Traitor hated.

One of these *Zimbabes* ambitious of that honour, which they place in killing and eating of men, to get himselfe a name, adioyned others of his Nation to him, and went Eastward, killing and eating euery liuing thing, Men, Women, Children, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Lizards, sparing nothing but such *Cafres* as adioyned themselves to their companie in that designe. And thus fise thousand of them were assembled, and went before the Ile of *Quiloa*; where the Sea prohibiting their passage, a traitorous *Moore* came and offered his seruice to guide them ouer at the low ebbes of spring tides, vpon condition to spare his kindred, and to diuide the spoiles with him. The *Zimba* accepted it, and effected his cruell purpose, slaying and taking (for future dainties to eate at leasure) three thousand *Moores*, and tooke the Citie *Quiloa*, with great riches, the people escaping by hiding themselves in the wildernesse till the *Zimbabes* were gone; then returning to their Citie (antiently the royall Seat of the Kings of that Coast) and to this day are seene the ruines of their sumptuous Mezquites and Houses. Now, for reward of the Traitor, he sentenced him with all his kindred to be cast into the Sea, bound hand and foot, to bee food for the fishes; saying, it was not meet that one should remayne of so wicked a generation, nor would he eate their flesh, which could not but be venomous.

Mombaza destroyed.

After this he passed along the Coast, till he came against the Ile of *Mombaza*; which foure *Turkish* Galleyes of the Red Sea defended, and slue many of them with their Artillery: but *Thome de Sousa* arriuing with a fleet from *India* tooke the *Turkes*, and withall destroyed *Mombaza* in the sight of the *Muzimbabes*. The Captaine said that the *Portugals* were Gods of the Sea, and hee of the Land; and sent an Embassadour to *Sousa*, professing friendship to them, and requesting that seeing they had honourably ended their enterprise, he might beginne his, namely, to kill and eate euery liuing thing in the Iland, which by their consent he did accordingly, burning the Palme-trees and Woods where many men were hidden, whom hee tooke and eate with all hee could get.

Melinde.
The *Mosse-
gueios*.

The *Iesuites*
call them *Im-
by*, see my *Pilg.
l. 7. c. 7.*
Tres Brasas.

Port of *Quilimane*.

Macuas Cafres.

Thence he returned to the Coast, and went to *Melinde*, where *Matthew Mendez* with thirty *Portugals* ayded the King, and three thousand warlike *Cafres*, called *Mossequeios*, came also to his succour, which came suddenly on their backes when they had gotten vp the wall, and were almost possessed of the Bulwarke, and chased them with such a furie, that only the Captaine with about one hundred others escaped; hauing found none in three hundred leagues march, which durst encounter them. And thus much of the *Zimbabes* (of whom wee haue written more in our *Pilgrimage out of the Iesuites*.)

Quilimane is an arme of *Zambeze*, shallow, a league wide in the mouth, but three fathomes deepe in the barre, which was the reason of the losse of the great ship, *Saint Luis*. The Land adioyning is playne without any hill. Within the barre about two leagues is a Port of good refreshing, where they rest themselves from the heats which are in those parts extreme. Neere it is a Towne of *Cafres*, and poore *Moores*, subiect to the *Portugals* which dwell at the Port. All the Countrey within is inhabited by *Macuas*, *Cafres* subiect to King *Gallo*, a poore Prince, whose brother becomming a *Moore*, was therefore odious to the *Cafres*, which thinke basely of the *Moores*, and more easily turne *Christians*, holding of them a more honourable conceit. They are blacke

blacke and curled, and worship not Idols. Next neighbours to these are the Inhabitants on the River *Loranga*, the mouth of which is five leagues from *Quilimane* Eastward; a pleasant River *Loranga River*, with a turning in, and a good barre, stored with fish. Many of these *Cafres* paint or rase their Gallants fa- bodies with Iron, and bore holes in their cheekes for a gallantry, as doe those of *Mozambique*. bions
Bano a *Cafre* is Lord of these parts. They worship onely one God in Heauen, beleue the im-
 mortalitie of the Soule, the Diuine prouidence, that all good comes of God, that there are De-
 uils, and that they are euill; and all this notwithstanding are great blasphemers, speaking euill
 of God when things crosse them. They haue two wiues (and some of them haue also Concu-
 bines, but their children doe not inherite) on the Marriage day two or three women in the
 morning come and drumme, sing, dance before the Brides doore, and others follow, till all the
 guests come with their offerings of Mais, Panike, Meale, &c. which they offer to the Bride,
 first giuing a handfull to the dancers, and lay Meale on one cheek and the left eye. Thus
 they spend the day, and at night the Bridegroome takes home his Bride, and this is the Wed-
 ding ceremonie.

They haue Fasts, all day eating nothing, but drinke all the next day and night of their Mais-
 wine, and of the Wine of a fruit called *Puto*, very sweet, like *Bacchus* seruitors. They are much
 addicted to sorcerie, and when they will enquire of things lost, they meet and dance, vsing cer-
 taine Charmes till some of the companie seeme mad and possessed, the Deuill entring into them
 and reuealing the thing lost. They are exceeding full of complements, in which they spend
 much time before they will talke of the businesse they come about to their neighbour. They
 vse pitifull lamentation for the dead, who is wound (almost after our fashion) in a blacke cloth,
 tyed with many lists of the same, and buried with his Armes and Victuals: his Mat or Bed,
 and Stoole set ouer the Graue, and his House burned with all his mouables (no great losse) for if
 any but touch any thing which belonged to the dead, he may not enter into his house till he haue
 first purified or washed himselfe in the River. The ashes and brands left of that burning they lay
 on the Graue. They mourne eight dayes, beginning at midnight for an houre or two, one begin-
 ning, and the rest following. In the day they goe to the Graue, and lay Meale on one cheek
 and eye, and set Mais and Victuals thereon, saying certaine words, till the Meale be quite gone,
 neuer washing their face; so commending their tillage (forsooth) to the dead, which they
 thinke can send them good haruests.

From *Cuama* to *Mozambique* (which are one hundred and thirtie leagues) there is in all the
 Coast no King potent, howsoever so stiled (as are also some poore *Moores*) in and of the places
 where they dwell. But within Land are great Kings of curled *Cafres*, most of them *Machas* by
 Nation. One of these not farre from *Mozambique* is the *Mauruca*. These *Machas* are theeuers,
 the most barbarous and ill disposed *Cafres* of all that Coast. Their speech is rough and high, as
 if they fought. They file their teeth aboue and below as sharpe as Needles. They cut and rase
 their flesh, bore holes in both their cheekes, from the tips of their eares almost to the mouth,
 with three or foure holes on each side, each bigge enough to hold a finger, thorow which their
 gummes are seene with their teeth, the spittle slauering forth. For which, and for the more gal-
 lantry they weare bungs of Wood, one in each hole; and he which can haue them of Lead is a
 complete Gallant, for that metall is much esteemed. They haue also two holes in the lips; in
 the vpper of which they put little pegs of wood as big as a Hens quill, of a finger long, sticking
 right out like a Naile; in the lower lip they weare a Leaden bung, so close and heavy that the
 lip falls to the beard, shewing the gummes and filed teeth, that they seeme Deuils. They weare
 their eares also bored round with many holes, in which they haue pegs of wood, slender like
 knitting needles, a finger long, which makes them looke like Hedge-hogs. This their gallantry;
 for if they are sad, or crossed with any disaster, they leaue all these holes open.

They are strong, and able to indure labour. They goe naked both men and women; and when
 they are apparelled, it is with a Monkeys skinn, or of some other beast, from the waste to the
 knees. Their customes are like those *Cafres* of *Loranga*. Of the *Machas* of the River *Qui-
 zungo*, when a Maide is to be married, shee goeth into the wilderness * a whole Moone to be-
 wayle her virginie, visited of her friends, and returning home euery night: betimes in the
 morning going to her wilde taske againe. As soone as the new Moone appeares, a great feast is
 made, and the next day shee is deliuered to her husband without any more ceremonie.

This *Mauruca* vsed such cruelty in warring vpon, and eating those they killed or tooke in
 those parts, that they easily chased away the antient *Machas*, and enioyed their Countrey: and
 giuing themselves onely to rob, and not to till the grounds (for they were lazie lubbers though
 strong robbers) about An. 1585. they grew iniurious to the *Portugals*, cutting downe their
 Palme trees, stealing, begging, burning, killing, eating, as they saw occasion. Insomuch that
Nuno Velho Pereira sent from the Ile fortie *Portugals* and others to the number of foure hun-
 dred, which came suddenly on the Towne of *Mauruca* three or foure leagues distant, destroyed
 and burnt it. But the *Machas*, which escaped, ioyned head, and lay in ambush for the *Portu-
 gals* in their returne, which was secure and disordered, and slue them all, two or three *Portugals*,
 and a few *Cafres* excepted, which hiding themselves, two or three dayes after escaped to *Mo-
 zambique*.

Note.

çambique, and told of their fellowes disastre, whom the *Macúas* had slaine and eaten. Many such chances betide the *Portugals* in those parts, through their selfe-confidence, and little account of the *Cafres*. The warres continued long, till *Maurúca* seeing the necessitie, made peace with the *Portugals*, forbade eating of mans flesh, and enioyned his people to till the ground; which rather for feare of him they obserued, then any wayes thereto enclined, still in secret vsing that forbidden food, as I haue knowne particular instances, of some, which when they had stollen, and could not sell at their price, they haue killed and eaten.

Moçambique.
Of the Hollan-
ders besieging
it, see sup. pag.
716.

The Ile of *Moçambique* is in fifteene degrees to the South; aboue halfe a league long, and but a quarter broad. At the point and entrie of the Barre is the Fort with a *Portugall* Captaine and Garrison. It hath foure Bulwarkes, two to the Sea, and two to the Ile, with faire Peeeces of Artillery. Within is a Cisterne which holds two thousand Pipes of water, into which the raine runneth from the tiles and walls by Conduit-pipes. In the midst is a Church. This is one of the chiefe Forts of *India*; built by a good Architect, An. 1558. There is also an Hospitall, two Hermitages, a Couent of *Dominicans*, a poore Towne of *Moors*. The Iland is drye, and without wood; the water they fetch three miles without the Barre from a Spring in a Bay called *Titangone*, which serues to water all the *Indian* ships. Their wood they fetch from the *Mayneland*, in which they haue Gardens of variety of fruits. It was at first sickly, but now by Gods goodnesse is proued healthfull.

Two Elements
wanting.

Quirimba, and
other Ilands.

The Ile of *Quirimba* is sixty leagues distant along the Coast on the *Indian* side. It is halfe a league wide, and a league long, plaine, without hill, all sowed with Mais and other grayne, whereof the Iland is fertile. It hath a walled Fort, and a faire Church of the *Dominicans*, which serues for a Parish Church to the Ile, and all the Coast as farre as Cape *Delgado*, who are bound there to confesse and communicate. In this Coast are the Iles of *Cabras*, *Fumbo*, *Quirimba*, *Ibo*, *Matemo*, which still sheweth the ruines of the former *Moore*-Inhabitants. Foure leagues thence is *Macaloe*, and from hence as farre is *Xanga*, and aboue two leagues from it is *Malinde*, betwixt which and that of *Cabo delgado* are two little ones. Others there are, but not so inhabited, one of which is called, *Rolas*, for the store of those birds which yeerely breed therein, very hurtfull to the Corne-grounds; and therefore the Ilanders of other Iles goe thither to destroy their egges and young. These Ilands are very wholsome and of subtile aire, and therefore subiect to the disease, called *The aire*, which they cure with Elephants dung, Mustard, Garlecke, and a seed cal-

Rolas.

Bunched Kine.

led Ingo, fuming him therewith three or foure times a day, &c. Their Kine haue a bunch on the shoulder as a great Pumpion, which falls on the necke, the flesh whereof eats like a Cowes vdder, very fat. There are store of Swine, Goats which haue young twice a yeere, two or three at each burthen, Palme trees for Wine and Cocos, with other fruits, fowles, and prouisions. There growes also Anil or Indico, which the *Moors* vse to dye their clothes, of which they weaue store in these Ilands. In the wildernesses of the Ile *Cabo delgado* is store of Manna, procreated of the dew of Heaven falling on certaine trees, on which it hardens as it were Sugar candide, sticking to the wood like Rozin, and hanging on the leaues, gathered and sold in iarres by the Inhabitants. It tastes sweet as Sugar; in *India* they vse to purge with it. I haue often been in the place, and gathered it with my hand. It growes only on one kind, although there be many other trees in the Iland. In that Coast also blacke Corral growes in the bottome of the Sea with small roots or beards, whereby it seemeth fastned. A Mariner gaue mee a piece two spans and a halfe long. When it comes out of the Sea it is soft and pliable, but by the aire hardned. In those Iles they finde Cocos which are said to grow in the *Maldinas* on short trees in the Sea alway couered with water, falling off when they are ripe, and rising to the top, carried by the windes and currents to some Coast. All the Continent is peopled with curled *Cafres*, some *Macúas*, others not vsing rasing, holes, or hornes, but all shauen on the head. In the Countrey within the Kingdome of *Mongallo*, a Lord of fertile Countries, and of many Vassals. The Ile of Saint *Lawrence* lyes ouer against this Coast, three hundred leagues long, and ninety broad: a Straight of sixtie leagues running betwixt.

Indico.

Manna: this
was a miracle
in Moses time,
as their wa-
ters, Quails,
Garments, &c.
not by procre-
ation of new
kinds, but by
miraculous
disposition;
that it should
follow them;
breed wormes,
and yet in the
Tabernacle be
euerslasting,
nor fall on the
Sabbath, &c.
Foure scourges

In *Ethiopia* foure generall plagues haue beene obserued in our time, the *Warre of the Zimbas*, An. 1589. the *Graf-hoppers*, which couered the earth, and inuolued the aire in a cloude when they arose, which ate vp all their labours in the fields and gardens, leauing them as if they had beene burned, the trees not able to beare fruit till two yeeres after, whence many died of *Famine*; and this was the third plague which caused them to sell themselves onely for sustenance; and one of their children for a pecke of Mais: The fourth plague was the *Small poxe*, which killed many; a disease in those parts like the plague, killing all in the house where it came; their readiest cure being to let bloud, without bleeding, or in much bleeding, none escaping. The plague is vnknowne and vnheard of amongst them. The *Negro* women may be accounted another plague, specially the *Portugall* slaues, which conceiuing will cause abortion with a certaine herbe, so poysonfull that it consumes and rots them, except they by copulation bestow this disease on some man, who is presently payned in his secrets, and hardly escapes death. The remedie to this *Entaca* (so they call the disease) is the iuyce of a counterpoyson herbe taken the same day; both which herbes are plentiful and well knowne in those parts. Another infirmitie, but without

Entaca.

without payne, befalls both *Portugals* and *Cafres* in *Mozambique*, which is blindnesse by night, beginning at Sunne-set, and ceasing with the Sunne-rising, in which time they which are thus taken, see nothing though the Moone shine bright. If the belly or head ake, the *Cafres* bind the part affected hard with a Cord.

Night-blind-
nesse.

The *Cafres* will take Elephants both in pits (before described) covered with boughes and grasse; and watching where he sleepes (specially by Moone light) as he lyes on the ground, and thrusting into his belly by the genitories an *Aflagay*, made purposely with the Iron halfe a span broad and two spans long. They may steale vpon them napping, because they steale not their naps, but make such a noyse that they at once bewray and betray themselues to the Hunters, which hauing wounded the Beast, fled away, and next day search by the bloud what is become of their prey. They kill them for the teeth and to eat the flesh. Iuory is the principall commoditie of this Coast, aboue three thousand Arrobas being yearly carried to the *Indies*. I saw in *Sofala* two teeth of one Elephant which weighed sixteene Arrobas, eight a peece.

Elephants
sleepe not by
Trees, but on
the ground.

Arroba is 32l.

The shipping from *Cabo das Correntes* to the Straight of *Mecca*, is made by *Moores* of wood, which they cleaue and shaue, neuer making but two Boards of one Timber, when if they could sawe they might make many. They sew them with threed of *Cairo* and fasten them with nayles of wood: their Cordage and Cables are of *Cairo*. The greatest they call Ships, the middle fort, *Pangayas*; the least *Almadias*, which are of one Timber (as the Canoas.) The Sayles are made of the leaues of Palme or wilde Date Trees. The Mariners are *Moores*, blacke, barbarous,

Ships.

*Which grows
on the *Coco*.

Pangayas and
Almadias.

wine bibbers, hauing nothing of *Moores* but the name and circumcision, not knowing nor keeping the Law of *Mahomet*. They celebrate each new Moone with a drunken feast; are giuen to Diuinations; will cast out nothing in a storme although the Vessell be surcharged, saying, the Sea is insatiable; when they want Winde they whip the Ship with Cordes on the Poop and Sides, with crying and chafing, as if the Ships had as much sense as themselues, or as themselues were senselesse, saying, they are lazie and therefore the Winde leaues them; and they mocked me for reprobating this their foolerie. Their Wares are blacke Clothes, and earthen glazed Beades of all colours. The *Cafres* steale children, and coozen the elder, enticing them to the Shoares, and there sell them to the *Moores* and *Portugals*. The iurisdiction of the Captaine of *Mozambique* is from Cape *Correntes* to Cape *Delgado*, three hundred leagues of Coast.

From this last Cape to the Line is the Coast of *Melinde*, which is of the iurisdiction of the Captaine of *Mombaca*. The firme Land is inhabited by *Cafres*, differing in Language and Customs, agreeing in barbarousnesse. Along the Kingdome of *Mongallo* runnes to the North the Kingdome of *Munimugi*, a great *Cafre* which confines on the South with the Lands of *Mauruca* and of *Embeoe*, and on the North with the *Abyssine*. The principall Island of this Coast, *Quiloa*, hath beene in times past the Seat Royall, the King of the whole Coast residing there, who is now a pety Prince; and *Mombaca* is the chiefe Ile and Citie, where the *Portugals* haue a Fort, the residence of the Captaine of the Coast of *Melinde*. *Pemba* is an Island about eight leagues from the Shoare, and ten long, plentifull of Rice and Kine, Fruits and Wood: sometimes subiect to the *Portugals* till the pride and lazinesse of some made the people rebell, and could neuer

Coast of *Me-
linde*.

Munimugi,
Embeoe.

Mombaca.

Pemba.

after be regayned. In the Ile of *Pate* are *Pate*, *Sio* and *Ampaza*, three Cities gouerned by so many Kings, tributarie to *Portugal*. *Ampaza* hath beene best builded of any Citie in those parts, but destroyed by the *Portugals*, the Citie sacked and burnt with eight thousand Palme-trees, which grew about it, cut downe. The Ile of *Lamo* hath great Asses, but of little seruice. This Island was chastised when *Ampaza* was destroyed, and *Mombaca* also, by *Martin Alfonso de Mello*. The King of *Ampaza* was slaine, and his head carried on a Pole at *Goa* in triumph. When he was gone, *Mirale Beque* the *Turke* came with foure Galleys out of the Red Sea, and infested that Coast, till the *Zimbas* and the *Portugals* ended the businesse with a new Armada, the *Portugals* captiuing and spoiling, the *Zimbas* eating the *Turkes* and Inhabitants. The King of *Lamo* for betraying the *Portugals* to the *Turkes* were beheaded. The Ile and Citie of *Mandra*

Pate.

Ampaza.

Mandra.

which had denyed the *Portugals* to land, saying, the Sunne onely might enter there, was sacked and two thousand Palme-trees cut downe. In the Coast of *Melinde* they are great Witches. The *Mossequeyos* liue of their Kine, which they oft let bloud both to preuent the garget, and to make therewith a kinde of pottage with milke and fresh dung of the same Kine, which mixed together and heat at the fire they drinke, saying, it makes them strong. The Boyes of seuen or eight yeeres weare Clay fastned on the hayre of the head, and still renewed with new Clay, weighing sometimes five or six pounds. Nor may they be free hereof till in Warre or lawfull fight hee hath killed a man, and shew to the Captaine some tokens of that fact; which only makes them free and Knights of their cast. Hereupon they grow audacious, and proue dreadfull to others.

Mossequeyos
customs.

The tokens, as
Linschoten saith
are the priu-
ties, see my
Pilg. l. 7. c. 7. S. 4.

Brava.

Magadoxo.

Maragatos.

Brava is a small Citie but strong, inhabited with *Moores*, Friends and Vassals to the *Portugals*. It is in one Degree North, and very hot. *Magadoxo* is in 3. 30'. Within the Land are the *Maragatos*, which haue a custome to sew vp their Females, specially their Slaues being yong to make them vnable for conception, which makes these Slaues sell dearer both for their chastitie, and for better confidence which their Masters put in them. They cut also their Boyes and make them Eunuches.

In

Zanzibar.
Deuillish sor-
ceries.

In the Ile of *Zanzibar* dwelt one *Chande* a great Sorcerer, which caused his *Pangayo*, which the Factor had taken against his will, to stand still as it were in defiance of the Winde, till the Factor had satisfied him, and then to flye forth the Riuer after her fellowes at his words. Hee made that a *Portugall* which had angered him, could neuer open his mouth to speake, but a Cock crowed in his belly, till he had reconciled himselfe: with other like odious sorceries.

Emas, somewhat
like Ostriches,
see of them
my *Pilg.* l. 5.
c. 12.
Sea Monster.

From *Mayatoxo* to *Sacotora* one hundred and fiftie leagues is a desert Coast, and dishabited without Riuers. In which Desarts breed the great birds, called *Emas*, which breed on the Sands, and haue but two young ones, as Pigeons. Their stomachs will consume Iron and Stones, and flye not but touch the ground with their feet, running with their wings spread, as lightly as other Birds flye. They are white, ash-coloured; their egges white, holding almost three pints. Here I may mention also a Sea monster, which we saw neere the Riuer *Tendanculo*, killed by the *Cafres*, found by Fisher-men on the Shoalds. Hee was ash-coloured on the backe, and white on the belly, hayrie like an Oxe but rougher: his head and mouth like a Tygre, with great teeth, white Mustachos a span long, as bigge as bristles which Shoo-makers vse. He was ten spans long, thicker then a man; his tayle thick, a span long, eares of a Dog, armes like a Man without haire, and at the elbowes great Finnes like a fish; two short feet nigh his tayle, plaine like a great Apes, without legs, with five fingers a span long on each foot and hand, couered with a skin like a Goose foot, the hinder feet hauing clawes like a Tygres; neere his tayle were the signes of a Male, his Liuer, Lights and Guts like a Hogs. The *Cafres* seeing our Slaues slay him, fell vpon him and eate him; which they which spare nothing had not done before, because they thought him (they said) *the sonne of the Deuill* (hauing neuer seene the like) the rather, because hee made a noyse which might be heard halfe a league off.

A nest of great
Birds.

In the same journey comming to the Riuer *Luâbo* in August 1590, the Mariners going ashore for wood, brought two Birds new feathered, whitish, found in the nest, like to Eagles in the eyes, bill and talons, but much greater then great Eagles, contayning nine spans from the end of one wing to the end of the other (I caused them to be measured) wherby it appeares that int heir full maturitie they are of huge greatnesse. They killed them, for feare the old ones should come.

§. V.

The Iesuites gleanings in Africa to Christian Religion, gathered out of their owne writings.

L. 7. in fine.
*Emanuel Aco-
sta*, translated
by *Masseius*.

The Kingdom
of *Inhambane*.
He seemeth
the *Sedanda*,
sup. c. 12. §. 3. or
rather some
Encosse of his.
* As if the de-
nyal of a mans
felie were in
regard of our
nature, which
is of God, and
not of our vi-
ces which are
of our felues.
This flesh (that
is, naturall cor-
ruption) must
be mortified
spiritually; not
the body bodi-
ly killed, or dis-
abled by im-
moderate zeale
to serue the
Spirit.
* *Santos* hath
told you that
hee hath no
name giuen,



That the Iesuites haue done for the aduancing of Christian Religion with the *Abassinos*, yee haue heard. In the yeere 1560. *Consalvus Sylueria* a *Portugall* Iesuite with two companions, went from *Goa* for *Manamotapa*, a Region abounding with gold, but deare bought by reason of the Ayres vnwholsomnesse, and the want of necessities for food and health. They came first to *Inhambane*, and there fell sicke, but recovering proceeded to *Tonge*, and there baptised the King, his Wife, Sister, Children, Kindred, and great Men, with most of the People in few dayes. Thence *Consalvus* went to *Manamotapa*, leauing his Fellowes with the King, which built the Church of the *Assumption*: one of them by want of health was forced backe to *India*, the other stayed there two yeeres. *Consalvus* passed by *Mozambique*, and came to the Riuer *Mafuta* ninetie leagues from thence, where escaping a dreadfull tempest, hee went on shoare with his folding Altar, and said Masse on the Strand, the heate being so vehement that the *Portugals* could scarce indure to tread on the ground, and *Consalvus* his head brake out with pushes as he was in his Holies: which when they would haue medicined, *praclaro sui ipsius * odio incensus*, hee refused all, and permitted himselfe to the cure of Nature and Time. Thence they went to the Riuer *Colimane*, and were well entertayned by *Mingoaxanes*, King of *Giloa* a *Moore*, little caring for his *Mahumetrie*, and giuing them leaue to preach in his Kingdom. But they halted to *Manamotapa*, and so passed to *Cuama*, and then gaue himselfe to priuate deuotions eight dayes, onely once a day eating a handfull of parched Corne and drinking a draught of Water.

From *Sena* he sent to the *Manamotapa*; meane while the King of * *Inhanior* offered himselfe to Christianitie, but he comforted him, and refused till he had first beene with the *Manamotapa*. *Antonie Caiado* was sent for him, who trussed vp his Holies, carrying them on his shoulders. When he was comne, the *Manamotapa* sent him Presents, Gold, Kine and Seruants, which all he thankfully refused. When he came, he entertayned him as neuer any man, and bringing him into his inner roome, caused him to sit on the Carpet by his Mother. Hee offered him his choise of Grounds, Kine, Gold, Women; *Consalvus* answered, that hee would haue nothing but himselfe; the King thereat wondring and friendly with promises dismissing him. One had seene on the Altar a fayre picture of our Lady, and told the King that *Consalvus* had brought with him a tributarie Kings; this was but an *Encosse* (as it seemeth) which yet as *Cesar*s foure Kings in a piece of *Kent* had that beautifull

beautifull Lasse, for which the King sent, and he carried it wrapped in a precious cloth, and tels him it is the picture of the Mother of God, the King of Kings. He worships it and begs it; *Consalvus* grants, and placeth it in the Kings house, and trimmes vp as it were a Chappell for it. Five nights, say the *Portugals*, the blessed Virgin appeared to the King in that forme in his sleepe; and five and twentie dayes after his comming, the King was baptised by the name of *Sebastian*, the Queene his Mother by the name of *Marie*. The same day he sent one hundred Kine to *Consalvo*, which were distributed by *Caiado* to the poore. Three hundred of his chiefe men followed his example. Much victuall was sent into *Consalvus*, but he ate no flesh, liuing only on wild fruits, herbs, and boyled Corne in small quantitie.

- 10 But foure *Moores* enuying these proceedings, and being gracious with the King, perswade him that *Consalvus* was sent from *India* to betray him, and to make way for the *Portugals* to take away his State; adding, that *Consalvus* was a Sorcerer, and whomsoever hee walked on the head with his forme of words, he made to become his. And if *Consalvus* went away in safetie, his Subjects would kill one another like mad men. By their perswasions the King caused *Consalvus* to be murthered, his strangled body being throwne into the Riuer, and fiftie others were slaine, which on that last day of his life he had baptised. Two dayes after repenting of this fact he slue two of the *Moores*, the other two being fled. Long after, no Iesuites (saith *Iarric*) were sent hither, because the *Dominicans* had vnderaken the Conuerfion of those parts, of whose labours yee haue heard somewhat before in *Santos*, which was one of them. *Iarric* hath since told vs of *Petrus Toarius* and *Ludonicus Goex* (in respect of these better hopes) sent An. 1562. and to them was ioyned *Andrew Fernandez* the companion of *Consalvus*, who had stayed at *In-ambane*. These three went to the *Manamotapa*, and stayed there certayne yeeres, till they were sent for back to *India*, King *Sebastian* intending to warre on the *Manamotapa*, for the said *Consalvus Syluerius* his death (being the sonne of the Count *Sortellane*) and for other causes. Thus after their returne An. 1570. *Francis Barret* was sent with a strong Fleet; who being dead of poyson (with others) *Fernand Monroy* succeeded, who dying soone after, the Iesuites then in the Campe could doe nothing. An. 1608. the people rebelling, the *Manamotapa* fled to the parts neere *Tete a Portugall Fort*, and by helpe of the *Portugals* subdued the Rebels. Whereupon he gaue the King of *Portugall* the siluer Mines of *Achicoua*, *Iacobus Simonefius* taking possession in his name. Hee gaue them leaue also to build Forts where they pleased. The *Portugals* thinke meete not to forget the Iesuites in this occasion, and *Francis Gonsalues* with *Paulus Alexius* are destined to that designe, the whole Kingdome seeming a field white to the Christian Haruest, and onely wanting Labourers.

Treacherie of
Mooret.

Consalvus mata-
tyred.

Iar. l. i. c. 10.

Pet. Iarric. Thef.
rerum Iudica-
rum, tom. 3.

Of Barret acts
in those parts;
you read be-
fore in *Santos*.

- Of *Angola* and *Congo* you heard before: the state of *Angola* (for of *Congo* we haue no later intelligence then that of *Lopez*) after the death of *Paul Diaz* receiued some alteration. It is the manner in those parts that the *Soba* or *Gouernours* are as Princes of their Prouinces, and in the Kings Court, whom they acknowledge their supreme Lord, haue one of his *Grandes*, to whom they haue recourse in all difficulties (like the Protectors amongst the Cardinals) who in some manner disposeth them and their states. Thus *Diaz* appointed ouer the *Angolan Soba* by him subdued, some of his *Portugall* Gentlemen, sometimes some Iesuite at the request of the subdued, seeing in what respect they were beld with the Generall. But some Courtiers in *Spaine* perswaded the Catholike King, that this dependance of mediate Patrons should bee taken away from them all: whereupon ensued commotions, and contempt of the *Portugall* name; that in the yeere 1600. *John Rhoderick Cotinius* being sent *Gouernour*, of one hundred and fiftie *Soba* stipendaries before to the *Portugall* Crowne, not one continued his allegiance. Hee reduced some, but (with many others running like Fates) the vnwholsomnesse of the ayre killed him; the Successor being named in a Boxe (the key whereof was kept by *George Pererius* a Iesuite) *Emmanuel Pererius*. Hee ouerthrew *Cafuchens* the chiefe *Soba* with the *Cambamban*, whose Countrey is rich in Mines, in which he built a Fort neere the Riuer *Coaxa* seuentie leagues from Sea (all nauigable from *Loanda* thither in five dayes) and placed therein two hundred and fiftie men, being but thirteene leagues from *Dongo* the seate of the King of *Angola*, who confirmed to him that his Conquest. This Conquest of Mines make hope of the conquest of Mindes to the Christian Faith (how many are by these Thornes choked, and reconquered from it?) and the Iesuites are said to study the language that they may preach the Gospell to them. In the Ile of *Loanda* are said to bee twentie thousand Christians of the Natiues, besides the Inhabitants of *Saint Paul* and *Massangaro*.

Lib. 7. c. 4.

Of *Angola*, see
l. 7. c. 4. §. 3.

Castle of *Cam-
bamba*.

- Anno 1606. *Francis Gois*, *Edward Vaz*, and *Antonie Barrius* Iesuites, were sent thither; their Ship was taken in the way by the *Hollanders*, who set them in the Boat which brought them to *Loanda*, being terrified by two Whales which rising neere the Boat, yet passed without hurt. Now were new missions of Iesuites; one of which comming to the next *Soba*, taught their children their prayers, helping their memories with knots tyed in cords. There were in that Town two thousand baptised, persons all ignorant of the Faith. There was an Idoll Temple with Images of Men and Women; with the heads of Goats and Snailles, and the feet of Elephants, and other wilde Beasts, which the Iesuite caused to be burned, the people being before made beleue that

New Beads-
Many bapti-
sed, few Chri-
stians.

that if any touched them, they should die suddenly. He baptised thirtie and taught the rest their Catechise, and proceeded to the next *Soba*, Lord of foure other *Sobas*, who had beene before baptised of Secular Priests, yet onely had the bare name of a *Christian*. This *Soba* had three hundred wiues for ostentation of his greatnesse. No man could make the signe of the Crosse. And when the Priest would build a Church there, the *Soba* said he would consult about it, but gaue no answer. He found two Idoll Oratories, but no Idols in them, the people hauing before hidden them in the Woods, lest they should haue like fiery fortune with the former. Hee found here also certayne *Chibadi*, which are Men attyred like Women, and behaue themselves womanly, ashamed to be called men; are also married to men, and esteeme that vnnaturall damnation an honor.

Chibadi Sodomites.

Cacongo.

About the same time, an Embassador from the King of *Cacongo* came to *Loanda*, with a Present to the Bishop and Request from the King, to send some Iesuites to baptise him, and all his Kingdome. The Captaine therefore with the Bishop, goe to the Rector of our Colledge, and obtayne *Gaspar Azuered*, and *Francis Gois* to bee sent thither. *Cacongo* is adioyning to *Congo*, and to the great *Macoco* King of the *Anziqui*, hauing also the Kings of *Angola*, *Bungo* and *Bian-go* Neighbours. It is a large Kingdome, and by the Towne of *Pinda* eightie leagues distant from *Saint Thome*, is entrance vp the Riuer *Zaire* in foure dayes vnto it. The King of *Loango* hath also sent for Iesuites, to bee by them instructed and baptised: but what is done in both these Kingdomes, I haue not (saith *Iarrie*) receiued intelligence.

HONDIVS bis Map of Guinea.



Guinea, described and diuided.

Now concerning *Guinea*, that name is given to all the *Atlantike Coast* of *Africa*, from *Senega*, called by the Ancients *Stachiris*, in sixteen degrees of North latitude, to *Angola* in thirteen degrees South: and is diuided into the *Higher* from *Senega* to *Congo*, and the *lower*, containing *Congo* and *Angola*. Over against the higher *Guinea* are the *Ilands* of *Cape Verd* (*Ptoleme* calls it *Ar-finarisium*)

snarium) which *An. 1446.* the *Portugals* first inhabited, twelue in number, the chiefe that of *Saint Iames*, in which is a fortified Citie, chiefe ouer those Forts and Habitations which the *Portugals* hold in that higher *Guinea*; the Bishop thereof subiect to the Archbishop of *Lisbon*. It is in fiftene degrees Mountaynous, hauing no rayne but in August, September and October, fertile of fruits, hath store of Pompons (euery moneth) Sugar Canes, Horses.

Saint Thome is of vnwholsome ayre, and *Praia* vn safe against theemie. In all the Coast of *Guinea* are *Tangos maos*, or *Lancados*, of *Portugall* originall, but degenerated into barbarous rites and customes, which trade in all those parts for Hides, Iuory, Wax, Gold, Gumme, Ambat-grise: in some places they are also naked and raced like the Sauages.

10 King *Philip* the third procured by Letters to *Aquauira*, the Generall of the Iesuites *A. 1604.* that of that Order should be sent into this *Guinea*, *Balthasar Barerius*, *Emmanuel Barrius*, *Emmanuel Fernandus*. These came to *Saint Iames*, and remedied the custome of visiting Wisards and Sorcerers, which was there common, and the wicked abuse of Baptisme, in which three or foure hundred sometimes, seuen hundred of their Slaues were at once washed without any Doctrine of Christian dutie premised, and presently transported to *Brasile* or *India*, ignorant of all things. Likewise they procured libertie to many Free-men, which had beene by the *Tangos maos* or *Guineans* stollen, and vniustly sold, they intending and attending such preyes, no lesse then Hunters and Hawkers their game. One of them dyed of the sicknesse of the Countrey: *Barerius* was sent to the Continent, and writ thence to *Barrin* that in Ianuarie hee came to

20 *Bissan*, where the Kings eldest sonne professed his willingnesse to be a *Christian*, but that he must then leaue off his gainfull man-stealing. Thence they sayled to *Guinala*, where the King was sick and dyed. The manner is to kill Wiues and Seruants, and a Royall Horse for his seruice in the other World, which *Barerius* did what he could to hinder. Thence they set sayle to *Biguba* a very healthfull place; but some *Ethiopiens* professing *Mahomet* were hinderance to him.

Iuly thirteene, 1605. he came to *Sierra Leona*, and arriuing at *Pagono*, the petty King thereof tributarie to *Fatema*, imitated in all things the *Christian* Rites, but durst not be such (hee said) except he saw *Fatema* first. The *Portugals* in these parts liued liker *Ethnikes* then *Christians*, neither hauing Sacraments nor Word of God in many yeeres past, so that they had almost quite forgotten them. Passing by the Ile *Tamarena*, he came to the Kingdome of *Buran*, the King whereof is also subiect to *Fatema*: he would be present also at Masse, and name *Iesus*, was desirous of Baptisme, but I thought fittest to begin with *Fatema*. I Confessed some *Portugals* here, which in ten, twentie, thirtie yeeres had neuer beene Confessed, the *Christians* there little differing from *Ethnikes*.

The King of *Sierra Leona* desired my stay there, which I doing, contrary to my former purpose, he sent all the people of the Towne to cut timber for a Church, was wonderfull desirous also of Baptisme, whereto I told him the multiplicite of wiues was impediment. Hee yeelded to this, but wished he had knowne it sooner, for then would he haue had none of these, but another which he sent for. I hindred not, because their marriages for the most part are by the law of Nature vnlawfull. When the maide came, her friends refused the conditions of our Baptisme and rites: and vpon his importunitie, the King was baptised, and clothed now like a *Portugal*. Hee was named *Philip*, and is called *Philip Leonis*, for his Countrey. I baptised also the daughter of another King, and ioyned her in marriage to him. His brethren also and children were baptised. The Kings Aunt is of great authoritie, and in manner ruleth all: and should but for her sexe haue reigned. Shee leads the reare when they goe to warres, carrying a Bowe, Quier, and military Club, and compells them to keepe their rankes. *Philips* father being dead, when they would haue obserued the Rite of killing some of his wiues and seruants, *Philip* interceded, and tooke away those infernall Exequies: The King of *Toras* sonne was present at Masse, Baptisme, and Sermon, and relating the same to his father; this (said he) is a *Father* indeed, and not those (Priests) which hitherto haue comne into these parts no lesse following the merchandising of Slaues and other things then the other *Portugals*. This King is one hundred yeeres old, originally of the *Cumba* (called also *Manes*) which conquered these parts; as fresh as if hee were but fortie. At Christmas he was present at our solemnitie, the Altar adorned with faire clothes, the image of our Lady with the Child *Iesus* on one side, the Crucifixe on the other, foure Candlestickes with Tapers, the wall and pauement trimmed with boughes. Moued with admiration he desired Baptisme, and a place was designed for building a Church. Their building of houses and Churches is to fasten posts in the ground close together, fastning them with timbers layde ouerthwart, couered with clay, and then laying on a plaister of earth white as milke; the rooffe is thatch and leaues of Palmes. I haue two of his sonnes, and two of *Philips* my perpetuall companions, whom besides the Catechisme I teach to reade. The old King cleaues only to one of his wiues the sister of *Philip*; and at Easter he is to be baptised.

40 The King of *Beni*, the Lord of seuen Kingdomes hath written to mee for Baptisme: but I cannot forsake these two Kings till I haue other helpe. This Countrey is as healthfull as any I euer came in, and *Sierra Leona* would be a fit place for a plantation of the Society: for which King *Philip* wrote to the Catholike King, offering a place to erect a Fort, and commending the largenesse

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Saint Iago.

Tangos maos.

Iar. to. 3. c. 45.

Wash-way Baptisme.

Barerius his Letters.

Bissan. Guinala.

Biguba in Beafarum regno.

Pagono.

Tamarena. Buran.

Of Sierra Leona, See sup. 189

An Amazon.

Tora.

Scandall of Priests, too too Secular.

Their building

A bundle of
stickes wor-
shipped.

Deuillish cru-
elty.

Three Beafares
Kings.
Byags.

Beni or Benin.

The chiefe Be-
xerine is the
high Priest, or
Marybuck of
the Mandingas,
of which see
Master Lobson.

Numerous
issue by reason
of their Poli-
gamic.

Funerall rites.

Straw-torches.

The Iagges: see
l. 7. c. 3. §. 3.

nesse, wholsomnesse, and fertilitie of his Countrey. An. 1607. Emanuel Aluares and his Brother went to *Guinea*, to *Bissan*, and perswaded the King to forsake his *Chima*, (so they call God, and whatsoever is pretious to them) to wit, a Fagot of stickes bound together, which they worship: likewise to leaue those infernall inferies of killing at the Graue of the deceased, Wiues, Friends, Seruants, cutting their fingers and toes in pieces, and stamping the bones in a Morter; leauing the bodies meane while in torture, and when they were at the point of death thrusting a stake thorow their neckes, others looking on with vndaunted countenance, which were to vndergoe the same butchery. The Kings of *Bigub* and *Besegui* also desired Baptisme, which both (as hee of *Guinala*) are *Beafares*. *Bigub* hath three Kings vassals, *Besegui* hie, and the *Guinala* seuen, although the *Byagi* haue taken sixe Kingdomes from him. These *Byagi* are fierce people, in seuentene Ilands ouer against these Kingdomes, alway warring with the *Beafares* and the *Portugals*; with their boats entring the frequent Riuers, and spoyling all. These Ilands are rich and fertile, pleasant with Trees and Riuers, fruitfull in Palmes, Wine, Oyle; stored with Cattell great and small, Iuorie, Fish, Rice, Waxe, Iron, and on the shoare Ambergrise, but to them *uncouth* and *unkissed*; long Pepper enough to lade yeerely two ships.

The King of *Beni* hearing of *Philip* and *Peter* (the King of *Tora*) that they were baptised, sent his best beloued sonne to be instructed and baptised. Hee is the chiefe King of all that Coast. To him *Barerius* trauelled, hardly escaping the treachery of another King in the way; the way was wooddy Mountaines, pleasant Vallies, an Iron-coloured earth, the Iron exceeding that of *Europe*. The King entertayned him ioyfully; and first at his perswasion commanded by publike Edict, that marriageable Virgins should hide Natures secrets. Hee was present (but entreated to stay without the Church) when Masse was celebrated, and heard the Sermon (for he vnderstood the *Portugall* tongue) made great shewes of *Christianitie*, promised to burne his Idols; yea, perswaded his Vassall-kings to *Christianitie*; but all on a sudden by a *Mahumetan* was altered, pretended to feare the *Concha* (chiefe Emperour of the *Souza*) and the great *Bexerine* would incite him to warre against him. The King is said to haue receiued of him certaine Charms, whereby to bewitch any that offended him. *Barerius* also saw him stroking a Serpent as big as a mans thigh, rolled vp in diuers gyres, so beautified with various colours, as hee neuer had seene any creature: this he stroked and dalled with. They call this the King of Serpents, and make much account of it: but *Barerius* thought it was the Deuill in this forme. Thus were the blossoms of his hopes blasted; and he hastened away to his former friends.

It will not be amisse to relate the funerall mournings (worthie mournings and funerall) amongst the *Manes*. *Farma* the King of the *Logui*, had seuentie two sons and fiftie daughters, so that his progenie (most suruiuing) was aboue three thousand. The old Grandfire being dead, newes is sent to all the kindred in their seuerell habitations, euery Village mourning, and the kindred visit the corps with presents, Gold, Clothes, and what they can, accomplishing all with lamentable lamentations. Part of the presents is put in the Graue, another part goeth to the King of the place, the third to the Heire: but the Kings themselves are buried secretly by night, with a few friends attending, hauing all their life heaped treasure to that funerall purpose, and are therefore buried in vknowne places, as in the bottoms of Riuers, turning meane while the streame on the other side. They lose much Gold this way, and if they die suddenly, no man knowes where they haue prepared and treasured that treasure. That the wines and seruants are added to the Exequies, we need not repeat. They hope to finde all ready to serue them in the next life. Some great men haue Houses set ouer their Graue couered with Cloth, and other things there left to waste with time, and hither the kindred make recourse to consult with the dead, and acquaint them with their affaires. The funerall ended, they returne with so many stalkes of straw as there remayne moneths to the yeeres end: against which time they provide store of Rice, Wine, Hennes, and (if the deceased were rich) of Kine, and then assemble to a funerall feast, lasting day and night with all excesse in eating, drinking, dancing, and such a noise, that none in the Village can sleepe. For which cause the *Iesuites* which haue their Churches in the Villages, haue their houses out of them. Their greatest glorie is the number of Meats beyond mouthes, and of Drunkards beyond tale. King *Peter* was inuited to one of these riots, yet rioted not, but by his modest example wanne good opinion to his Religion. They had sacrificed a maide, and certaine Kine with Diabolicall rites to their Ancestors, in a Wood closely before hee came.

Barerius went to *Fatema* the King of the *Boulons*, and was lighted to him by night with Torches of straw, which they vse, and not wax, though the Countrey haue store. Hee sent after him a gold Chaine which he refused. An *Ethnike* Doctor, and King *Peters* sonne were conuerted soone after. They doe not beleue any Hell, but thinke that the deceased goe to Gods house, and there liue and vse the same things they did here, and in the same ranke and reputation.

This King *Peter* was of the *Manes* or *Cumba*, which are the same (sayth the *Iesuite*) which in *Congo* were called *Giacha* (Iagges,) in *Angola*, *Ginda*; that they were the same with the *Imbia* or *Zimba*, of which you reade in *Santos*, or with the *Galla* amongst the *Abissines*, he sayth, without my subscription. These left their Countries, about An. 1550. and pierced to these parts

parts of *Sierra Leona*: of which Man-eating Nation none there remayned but this *Peter*, who now became a Zealous *Christian*, and procured the commission of others. They which are to be baptised bring first their Idols, and cast them in the fire. Besides which Statues, they haue *Chinas*, which are Pyramides with Cells within, wherein are kept white Ants; of so religious esteeme with those *Guineans*, that when they buy a slaue, they set him before a *China*-pyramide, hauing offered thereto Wine and other things, praying that if hee runne away Tigres and Serpents may deuoure him. Which threats fasten them to the cruellest masters. In euery Countrey they haue a place sacred to the Deuill. That which King *Philip* had, was in an Iland, where they offered Rice, Oyle, or what they carried, casting it into the Sea. No man durst venture on the Iland for feare of *Camassono*, the Deuill-Idoll. Once a yeere the King went and sacrificed Hennes, and Goats, (which there liued securely) on a Rocke. The cruell spectacle of the Selfe-whippers on Mandy thursday was terrible to the *Ethnikes*; thinking them (not without cause) mad so to rage against their owne flesh; and *Christopher* sonne of King *Peter* would not be behinde the rest herein. Another thought the blood had beene onely the red ioyce of a certaine Tree. These are the *Iesuiticall* Relations till the yeere 1610. with other like, which I omit.

§. VI.

Relations of the Christianitie of Africa, and especially of Barbarie, and Algier;
written by I. B. GRAMAYE.

Thus much haue I related of the *Iesuites* and *Dominicans* later labours in *Africa*. *Gramaye* hath lately published ten Bookes or Tractates of *Africa*: he sayth that there are some Relikes of the antient *Christians* after so many inundations of Heresie and *Mahometisme*, both in *Marocco*, *Tunes*, and *Lybia*, which vse the Masse of the *Mozarabes* translated into *Arabike*: there are also *Greekes*, and *Abassines*, and of diuers Nations Merchants with free vse of their conscience. At *Tunes*, and *Tripolis*, Priests in Gownes, Monkes in their Cowles, are permitted publike supplications and funerals. In the Kingdome of *Fesse* their libertie is greater. But in all the Coast of *Barbaria* there is no securitie of the publike exercise of *Christian* Religion, nor any Monasteries: but at *Oran* & in the places subiect or confederat to the *Spaniards*. In the places subiect to the *Moors* & *Turks*, there is publike permitted, not secured, both exercise, Churches, & places of buriall in towns; somtimes eclipsed or disturbed by the *Morabutes*, in times of drought, at which times, as it were, to appease the angry Deitie, they spoile Churches, inhibit *Christian* Holies, ouerthrow Tauernes (for none else may sell Wine) which after a few dayes are againe permitted. The *Christian* Church-yard, or rather Buriall-place, is a piece of ground without the Towne, neere the *Iewish* Buriall-place, not inclosed, yea (in places) bearing Corne. But the sandy soyle scarcely secures the Corpse from Dogs. Prayers and other Rites are vsed at the Graues, but not at *Algier*, without scoffes and iniuries, specially from Boyes. Priests administer Sacraments without speciall Cure, or certaine Stipend, or Order; yea, some without Orders. Baptisme is often administered by the Lay-people, and without the Ecclesiasticall Ceremonies; and whatsoever requires Episcopall benediction of long time hath there wanted. Seldom is there Sermon, neuer Catechising, Vespers, or Lauds, till our Author procured.

In the Kingdome of *Argire* are supposed to be two hundred thousand *Christians*, of which the most are Renegados or Apostatas, which professe *Mahometisme*: some, but very few, of their owne accord; some by force, as Boyes which they take, and Infants (neither is it lawfull for any to be freed thence till hee bee fifteene yeeres old) some dissembling, yet hardly escaping, by reason of certaine death, if taken in the attempt; some by rewards of riches and honour; others by feare of torture, and despaire of libertie. Of such as continue *Romish Christians* are in that Kingdome supposed to be two and thirty thousand, besides those of the Reformed or other professions. And although in ten yeeres last past (till *An. 1619.*) 1200. *Spaniards* haue beene freed, yet in that space eight thousand haue succeeded in seruitude, besides sixe hundred dead. Some of which are in the Countrey or Gardens, and haue publike Service onely when they come to the Citie, where at this time were eight captiued Priests, not at all Graduates, and two onely which haue addicted themselues to Diuinitie. There are foure Churches in the Prisons, in the Citie and Diocesse of *Hippon* two, in that of *Cirth* and *Teslen* two. They haue an Oratory in the house of the *French* Consull.

Supplications are performed in their times with deuotion and store of Candles. But there is no Font, nor holy Oyle, Chrisme; nor are the Sacraments (giue me leaue to vse our Authours words) of marriage, Extreme vnction, Orders, or Confirmation administered; Baptisme is done with simple water, Penance by any Priest: the buriall place not consecrated. The Authour being there captiued, did reforme things by a Visitation, with consent and request of those *Christians*, and subiection to the Pope and all which might challenge any right provided.

PPPPPP

There

Numbers of
Christians and
Jewes in a part
of Barbary.

* One sent
thither in dis-
pleasure from
Constantinople.

* Pitifull Chri-
stianitie.

Iol seat of Iuba.

Antiquities of
Algier.

Sarsella.

* Lib. 6. c. 4.

Description of
Algier taken,
out of Gra-
mayes large
Tractate, l. 7.

Their were said
to come 60000
Moorees at their
last eiection to
Algier from
Spaine.

13000. houses.

There are in *Barbary*, in the Kingdoms of *Argier*, *Tunes*, *Tripoli*, *Fesse*, one hundred and twenty thousand Christian captiues; there are eightie six Families in those parts of Christian Merchants, Freemen; Of *Greeke* Christians, one hundred seuentie nine Families; Of *Jewes* which haue trade with the *French*, are one hundred fiftie six thousand Families. *Romish* Priests Captiues sixtie two. Churches permitted to Christian Holies sixteene. In seuen and twentie yeares past (1619.) there hath beene no Bishop, but the *Greeke* Patriarch: neither is there any Ecclesiasticall Discipline, that not one of a hundred liues like a Christian, the Priests liuing of Almes, contenting themselues with their Masse without cure of soules; their paritie also making them carelesse each of other; scarcely any thing Christian-like celebrated but the Masse.

Gramaye is confident that *Argier* is that *Iol*, which was the Seat Royall of *Iuba*, by his Sonne new built, and called *Casarea*; a Coyne of *Claudius* is in inscribed IOL CAESAREA IUBAE REGIA. After his death *Caligula* brought this Kingdome of *Mauritania*, (which containd those of *Argier*, *Fesse*, *Marocco*, and part of *Tunes*) into two Prouinces, *Tingitana* and *Casariensis*. *Claudius* made this *Casarea* a Colonie, some few Antiquities and Inscriptions yet remaining. Thirty miles from the Citie is *Sarsella* where is infinite Rubbish, as the Graue, with Reliques of Fabrickes, and Aqueducts, as the bones of the Carkasses, and Inscriptions, as Epitaphs, ancient Coyne as Memorials (of which many were giuen him) for feare of suspition hee durst not make search. And although *Alger*, *Argel*, *Algiers*, or *Argier* (the very name breeds confusion) be described before out of * *Nicolay*; seeing we haue met with later Intelligence by almost seuentie yeares then the former (since that was printed in our sixth Booke) we haue thought good to adde out of him some better light of this Hel-mouth, the Centre of Earthly darknesse.

It is seated on the mid-land Sea, on the side of a hill, whereby one house hinders not the prospect of the next. *Cheridim Barborossa*, fortified it with the Iland, which yet Tempests sometime assault with great hurt to the ships as happened this yeare 1619. five and twentie shippes broken in the Port. The forme of the Citie is almost Bow-fashion. The circumference of the old Towne is three thousand foure hundred paces: *Barbarossa* began and after 1573. *Arabamet* finished a Wall about the Iland, except that part which is open to the Port and Citie. Lately they haue founded a five cornered Towre to secure both. The Turrets, Fortresses, Bulwarkes, I omit. The houses within are close to the Wall; without, is a Ditch of sixteene paces, scowred by *Arabamet*, but now in some places mired vp, and scarce halfe of it is cleare. Without the Towne are three Castles: two of which were built, Anno 1568. 1569. the third before, was finished 1580. Except one the streets are very narrow, and in Winter very durty. Out of their Rate or Taxe-bookes, I find of late yeares, by the destroying of the Suburbs, for feare of *Don Iohn of Austria* 1573. and since the *Moorees* were expelled last from *Spaine*, it is very much increased in buildings, not like the descriptions anciently published, which leaue therein open and vacant places. And although the Houses to the street side are darke, yet being inwardly built with square Cloisters as it were, the light is supplied, as the Roofes serue them for Galleries and Prospects; in the midst is a Well, but the water brackish. They vse no Chimneyes, but make fires of coales in Earthen Pannes in their Porches or Roofes. They white the out-side of their Houses against great Feasts. The Kings Palace and great mens Houses haue Courts spacious, with specious Pillers about, and many by-rooms spread with Mats or Carpets; their custome beeing to put off their shooes when they enter. Their House-hold Furniture is otherwise meane, the vulgar hauing nothing but a Mat, Carpet, Mattresse, two Vests hanging, Pots and Dishes of Earth, and long wooden Spooones, with a wooden Chest: two or three staues fastned to the Wals covered with boards serue for a Bed, sitting and lying more commonly on the floore on a Mat or Carpet. Their Garments hang on lines ouer the Bed, Pelts are their Naperie, Water their Drinke, Rice their Meate with Pulse, Meale, a little Flesh, and some fruits, whence Victuals are cheape. There are no Conduits, Sewers, nor Wels of sweet water; five Cisternes from without, supplying that want, together with that which is fetched on mens shoulders out of the fields, by about one thousand Slaues and *Moorees*. Their are seuen faire Mosquets, specially the greatest; five Colledges of *Ianizaries*, where some sixe hundred of them liue together in a Houle; one Hospitall built by *Affan Bassa*, foure faire Bathes, being Prisons for slaues; two for washing with hote or cold, paved with Marble, and furnished with Chambers; and Conduits for Arte-brought waters, vsed by the *Moorees* and *Turkes* of both Sexes almost euery day; and the two Royall Porches, one of thirtie sixe foote square with Columnes, where the *Duana* of the *Ianizaries* is kept, the other before the Palace.

Within the Wals are neere thirteene thousand Houses, many of which are inhabited by thirtie Families; the Houle of *Iacob Abum* in the lower *Iewrie* hath three hundred, of *Abraham Ratbin*, two hundred and sixtie Families, and others likewise. There are about one hundred Mosquets, each hauing three *Morabutes* Curats, and some thirtie or fortie, besides the Oratories of Heremites and Sepulchres; sixty two Bathes, eighty sixe Schooles for Children to learne to reade and write, and a few others for the *Alcoran*; Suburb-gardens fourteene thousand sixe hundred ninetie eight, each hauing one or more Christians, some sixe or eight to keepe them. Nor is there scarce a Family in the Citie, which hath not one or more Christian slaues of both

Sexes,

Opinions foolish and Devilish in *Algier*.

Mahumetan *Algier* sinnes, Fie on it.

Of this divining by Books and Arrows, a White for the *Turke*, a Black for the Christian, see *sup. pag. 892*.

Funerals.

Mourning.

The treasure.

hand to the brest and bow the head) with a Turbant, or a coloured cap with Linnen foure or five times wreathed about. They all weare Rings of diuers matter. The womens habit differs little from the mens; nor could a woman going in the streets be knowne but by her woman-slaue attending. They sit at home on Mats or Carpets prating (few except) all day long, except when they goe to the Bathes, Heremites, Wizards, Sepulchres, Gardens, Feasts, which are common with them. They delight in blacke haire which they procure with Medicines. They haue little care of their Children, none of their Familie; too much of Superstitions and Lusts.

These *Algierians* haue the foolish conceits of other *Mahumetans*, some also more proper, that Fooles and Dwarfes are Saints, their *Morabutes* to be inspired and to consult with God, the *Vindictas* set on Sepulchres weekly to be eaten by the foules; and if sicke persons offer there any thing which a beast eateth, that the disease is deriued to it; that the head-ach is lessened with rolling a Goats or sheeps head on the Roofe; that it is not lawfull to buy in May, nor to bring in at doore Garlecke or Broomes, but (if there be need of them) at the Roofe; that it is a meritorious worke to prostitute their Wiues to the *Morabutes*, and that the same men bugger with beasts; that shewing pitie to beasts, shauing, washing (though in the Sea) clenseth sinnes; that (Sodomiticall) sinnes against Nature are vertues. But to bedew the Garment in making vrine, to let paper lye on the ground, the *Alcoran* to be touched or seene of one not *Mahumetan*, to fast in *Sala* (or Prayer) time, or then to defend a mans selfe (as *Mulei Abdelummi* assaulted by his Brother and wounded in the Church 1577. would not stirre till *Sala* was done) or to bleed, or neeze, or spit, to wipe the buttockes except with the left finger, to drinke out of a smacking narrow mouthed pot, to locke the Bed-chamber by night, to stampe on the Earth when they play at ball, to write with a Pen (for they vse Reeds) to eat Snailles taken out of the fields (reputed holy) to touch money before they haue said their Morning Prayers, to hold the *Alcoran* beneath the girdle, to haue printed Bookes, or Pictures of men or beasts; to admit Christians or women to their Mesquits, to vse Bels, to exchange a Christian Captiue for a *Turke*, to breech children with Rods (they whip the sole of the foot with a Whip) these are all sinnes and enormities at *Algier*. They beleue that on their Easter mid-night all waters are asleepe, and hee which can get that sleepe shall be a happie man. With their *Morabutes* you are safe in the midst of Theeues. It is vnlawfull to goe into a new house, vndertake a Iourney or begin any great businesse without Sacrifice of a sheepe: vnluckie to sayle without consulting the Fortune-booke. They play not at Dice and Cards, nor sweare, nor fight one with another. The King and great men let their beards grow, others shauie all but the Mustachos and Crowne; they wash before worke, Prayer, and Meales; and haue a certayne Ceremonie to take water in the hollow of the hand, powring it to the elbow.

Here and in all the East they vse with Christians the Franke Tongue, composed of French, Italian, Spanish, and thereby vnderstand them all. They eat not bloud, or a beast killed by another man; and kill turning the head to the Sunne, and cutting the throate. No testament is available vnlesse acknowledged forty dayes before the Testators death before the *Cadi*. All the Sonnes and Daughters inherit equally; if they be *Moore*s the King hath a childes part, and if all Daughters, he hath all of a *Moore*, and halfe of a *Turke*. When any is sicke, women assist women, and men the men, praying Eastward; wash the dead Corps with hote water and Sope, clothe it and carrie it (hauing obtayned the *Alcayds* leave) with the head forward to buriall: if hee depart on Friday, it stayeth the Prayer time in the Mesquit: they set a stone at the head of the Graue, and another at the feet with an Epitaph and Sentence out of the *Alcoran*. They weare no mourning, saue that the women are a few dayes veiled in blacke, and the men shauie not for a monethes space, and for three dayes space they haue no fire in their house, nor eat any thing boyled; in that space they visit the Sepulchre, giue Almes, and gathering stones on the shoare, tosse them from the right hand to the left, and throw them into the Graue, saying, *Selan Ala*. They begin the Spring on the fourteene of February, and end it on the eighteene of May; they call the raine which fells from Aprill the five and twentieth, to May the fift: blessed of God, and keepe it religiously. Their Summer continues to August the sixteenth, and is very hote, and sometimes hath pestilent raines which kill thousands. Autumne to the sixteenth of Nouember, and Winter is neuer so cold that they need a fire.

The Kings Reuenues are summed by *Harega* at foure hundred thousand Duckets, by *Hardo* foure hundred and fiftie thousand: and payeth nothing to the *Turke*, but a few Boyes and gifts of no value, with some feeling to the Port *Bassas*. Yet would his Reuenue be short of expences on Officers and otherwise, if spoile helped not. Much Gold is carryed out of Christendome, for redemption of slaues threescore thousand Duckets yearly, as much perhaps to buy spoyles, of which little or none returneth to Christendome, they taking to Sea, Bisket, Water, Tobacco, Oyle and Dates, and laughing at our Excesse. The treasure of the *Duana* is administred by three, two of which haue beene *Agas*, the third is the *Haga* or Secretary, who if the King payeth not the *Ianizaries*, by the authority of the *Duana* they will imprison him and sequester his Rents; as it lately hapned to *Osein Bassa* two yeares together.

The Sepulchre of *Morabute Cid Butica*, is saluted with a Peece going out and comming in, by

by whose holy prayers they say, *Charles* preuayled not against them *An. 1541*. In a hill neere, lieth *Caba* the daughter of Earle *Iulian* which *Rodericus* King of *Spaine* rauished, reuenged by her wicked father, with treacherous bringing the *Moors* into *Spaine*. The *Cids* Sepulchres and Chappels are visited some on Munday, some on Thursday, or on Friday, by the deuout superstitious fooles, specially (perhaps not-deuout) women. *Algier* is enuironed with goodly hills and dales, attended with plentie of fruits better then *European*. Three dayes iourney towards *Bugia*, is the Hill *Couke*, the King whereof *Barbarossa* flue *An. 1515*. and sometimes he is tributary, sometimes enclining to the *Spaniard*.

Algier were altogether vnworthy so long discourse, were not the vnworthinesse most worthy our consideration, I meane the cruell abuse of the *Christian* name, which let vs for inciting our Zeale, and exciting our Charitie, and Thankfulnes more deeply weigh, to releue those there in miseries (as we may) with our paynes, prayers, purses, and all the best mediations. Thus writes he which saw and felt his part in those miseries. *Barbarie* and chiefly therein *Algier*, the whip of the *Christian* World, the wall of the *Barbarian*, terror of *Europe*, the bridle of both *Hesperias* (*Italy* and *Spaine*) Scourge of the Ilands, Den of Pyrates, Theatre of all crueltie, and Sanctuarie of Iniquitie, holdeth captiue in miserable seruitude, one hundred and twentie thousand *Christians*, almost all subjects of the King of *Spaine*: of which, partly by the *Turkes* riches, the Pyrates fortunes, the Ianisaries honors, their fellowes flatteries seduced; partly ouercome with despaire of libertie and irksomnesse of daily calamities, euery yeere about five hundred become *Mahumetan* Apostataes; besides, about fiftie Boyes yeerly circumcised against their wills. To the Redemption of Captiues by the Orders of the *Trinitie*, and of Saint *Marie de Mercede* in *Spaine* and *Italy*, are yeerly gathered about one hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets. There is no generall * ordinarie course for Redemption of Captiues of *England*, *France*, *Poland*, *Hungarie*, *Germanie*, and the *Low Countries*; whereby men of those parts vtterly disconsolate, to the losse and shame of *Christians*, Apostatise. And to stirre vp compassion, behold *Algier* captiuitie; represented from his eyes to ours.

Epithets of
Algier.

* The Author saith, *Nullus per eleemosinam ereptus est*, but we know by priuate friends by publike mediation of Embassadors, by collection in Churches, diuers *English* men are redeemed: but not in the sense he speaks: which yet were to be wished; or that Hell-centre to be by publike charge of christendome demolished. Tortures of friends to force from feare a confession of what is not.

First, if any Ship comes into their hands, it is with huge clamors presently inuaded by the Pyrates, and if it be an Enemie, spoyled; if Confederate, they take away their Armes, fill the Poop and strongest Places with Souldiers, search the lading, take meat and drinke as it were free, send the Gouvernours aboard their owne ship, and in a Pyratie counsell examine them, whether they haue any *Spanish* Wares or Men; nor content with words or letters, they force the Boyes and elder Persons by infinite beatings to confesse that which is not, and to promise what they haue not; and one mans confession is enough to make prey. Sometimes gaping after the ships wealth, they throw the men ouer-board, and so possesse the ship, saying, her men had forsaken her. Otherwhiles not satisfied with Truncheons, and Ropes to haue tortured the Wretches backs, binding their hands and feet, they draw them vp and whip them, almost strayne out their braynes with a knotty Rope plucked about the head, thrust Needles in their fingers, rost their feet with the shooes on at the fire, powre forceably salt water into their mouthes to fill the body, and then treading on the belly with their feet, force them to belch it vp; with smoke of Brimstone fill the mouth and eyes, hang them vp racked with weights at their feet, or with a Rope draw them thorow the Sea vnder the ship. The end of these torments is captiuitie, if there be any Enemie in the ship, and hee laden with Irons and Fetters, is thrust into the worst part of the ship, and scarcely hath moldy Bisket and Water to sustayne life. If they receiue not satisfaction touching the Men and Wares, they reiterate the tortures daily; Boyes are flattered and threatned, and often compelled to turne, and without delay presently are circumcised. And such is the course with them which they take in the Shoare and Ilands, chayned together or heapes, and thrust vp like Herrings in the bottome of the ship, to be kept for the Butcherie or Market.

When they come home to the Hauen, with infinite scoffings, the wretches are led forth in triumph, and three dayes set * to sale, and lastly sold to him which will giue most. If any bee Sea-sicke, or otherwise wounded, or ill at ease, for bemonings and medicines hee heareth blasphemies and reuilings; and sooner would a *Turke* releue a Dogge that is sicke, then a *Christian*: and if his sicknesse continue, without hope of recouerie, they throw him into the Sea, or by Land expose him to the Beasts. In the Market you may see them goe vp and downe naked, and with whips compelled to runne or leape, for augmenting the price. After that three dayes ended, may be seene a miserable spectacle, Infants and Children plucked from their Parents sight, the Husbands violently diuorced from their Wiues, Friends separated, with infinite howlings and lamentations: some sold to *Moors* to doe their drudgeries, and vially agree with them by the day to earne so much; some sold to the *Numidians* and *Arabians* to basest seruitude, greased with fat, made to draw the plow with Asses, drawing forth with back and belly beating a miserable life; some employed to the Gallies and Ships, there kept with chaynes, stripes, a little moldy Bisket and stinking Water: When they come on shoare, chayned in rewes, laid vp in prisons, sleeping on the ground, called onely Dogs. If winde fayle, or crosse them, they will appease it with branding crosses on the *Christians* feet, in detestation of the *Christian* name; sometimes they will burne *Arabiike* Characters on the cheekes, or cut off the Nose and Eares; and

* The price set on them; see sup. 890.

* Set in the earth to the neck, and then stoned: the ganchied hang on the hooke diuers dayes till they take them downe and stone them.

1609. to 1619. since they haue beene much worse, specially to English.

sometimes death is inflicted for slight suspicions. Except of basest labours, reuilings, stripes, injuries, they are in nothing liberall to them; in sleepe, meate, drinke, clothing more then penurious. When they carry dung to their Gardens, water from the Springs, and goe by the way, euery third word they must crie, *Balec sidi*, that is, *Out of the way*, or by your leaue, *Sir*, to euery *Barbarian*, or there he shall meet with new Devils, by spittings, stones, stauers, boxes, thrustings, throwings downe, scornes, tormented. If a *Christian* commits a small fault, he is burned aliue, or stamped in the earth * as in a Mortar, or gaunched (throwne from the wall on a hooke) or crucified, or flayed aliue: to the execution of which tortures they take vp any *Christian* they meet, to make them their brethrens tormentors; nor doe any performe baser offices but *Christians*. Now for the Sodomiticall lusts to Boyes, and their damnable seruices, and sending them for Presents to the *Turke* or his *Bassas*, I abhorre to mention. 10

If any Master be milde and gentle, he incurreth suspicion of fauouring the *Christians*, a most odious crime in *Mahometisme*; whereas to breake couenant with *Christians*, yea leagues (vpon aduantage) is *Mahumetan*. They cast their Country-men Embassadors of *Tunes* into bands against publike faith, the *French* Consuls into prison many moneths condemned them to the Gallies, beat them with fise hundred stripes, and burnt them aliue: they imprisoned many yeeres in a lothsome prison the *Spanish Redeemers*, and reduced to slavery one hundred and fortie redeemed by one of them. They suborne false witnesses to testifie a man is otherwise then hee speaks, making a Souldier a Captaine, a Mercenarie a Merchant, to heighten the price. And when the price is agreed on, they will vpon hope of more gayne flee from it. Modestie forbids 20 to speake of the Female sexe abused to naturall, to vnnaturall lusts, their children soone circumcised, their infancy trayned vp in *Turkish* blasphemie, their childhood in lusts passie, and youth in actiue, their riper age rotten in all damnations.

Thus wee maruell not that in ten yeeres past, the vpper and lower *Germanie* haue yeelded 857. Apostates, besides 300. *English*, *Hamburgers* 138. *Danes* and *Easterlings* 160. *Poles*, *Hungarians* and *Muscoutes* 250. Low Country men 130. besides *French* and others. Take it into your mercifull consideration, Kings and Princes, Magistrates and People, and helpe, *Helpe the Lord against the mightie*.

If a circumcised man would returne to Christ, and is thereof conuicted, hee is carried about oynted, naked, and proclamation made before him, chayned after to a poste and burned, often 30 beaten or dismembred first. Delinquents at Sea, are shot, dismembred, pulled apees by diuers ships going diuers wayes, to which they are tyed, set vpon the mouthes of the Ordnance, cut in peeces; to be sewed vp in Sacks and throwne into the Sea, is a fauour. To lay hand on a *Ianissarie*, imitate his habit in wearing a fringe on the necke, or to haue to doe with a *Mahumetan* Woman, is death: though this last bee negligently executed, all Lust, Sodomie and Adulterie being expiated in their Bathes, which are therefore so frequented. Of these, of other kindes of terrible executions our Author hath diuers examples, which I for tediousnesse forbear: God make vs thankfull for our selues, charitable to our Brethren.

An. 1607. three Townes in *Calabria* were spoyled by the *Algier* Pyrates, one thousand and foure hundred carried away captiues: An. 1608. they brought two and fortie ships to *Algier*, 40 and eight hundred and sixtie captiues, besides those which they sold elsewhere: the next yeere six and thirtie ships, men six hundred thirtie and two: the next, twentie three ships, three hundred and eightie foure men: the yeere 1611. twentie ships, men foure hundred and sixtie foure. 1612. they entred *Spaine*, and carried away three thousand eight hundred and foure, in one moneth. 1613. they tooke sixteene ships and two hundred and thirtie men of *Italy* onely. 1614. ships thirtie foue, captiues foure hundred and sixtie seuen. 1616. ships thirtie foue, men seuen hundred sixtie seuen. 1617. six and twentie ships, men one thousand seuen hundred sixtie three; out of *Porto Santo* six hundred sixtie and three. 1618. nineteene ships, men one thousand foure hundred sixtie and eight, robbing *Lancerotta* and *Cays*. (And since mens deficit, vox silet: O our *English* Ships and Mariners! *Cura lenes loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*) As for our Author, a Prouost 50 Deane, Archdeacon, Counsellor to the Archdukes, and the Popes Protonotarie, hee was taken in a ship of *Marfiles*, notwithstanding the peace and league, and therefore without fight the ninth of May 1619. and both aboard and on shoare felt his part of the premisses for six moneths space, informing himselfe further from others miserable experience. Two Boyes were forced to confesse lyes, a *Portugall* condemned to three hundred blowes to make him confesse; himselfe charged to be *Spaniard*, threatned to be taught to speake *Spanish*; then said to bee a *Iew*, robbed of his clothes vnder colour of search whether he were circumcised, at last they detayning some, sent the ship to *Algier*, where hoping better things, they will needs haue *Gramay* a *Spaniard* and imprison him; after that, they affirme him a Knight of *Malta*. After that, the detayned *Portugall* is brought, who by tortures forced made a false confession, that some of the goods were his, and that *Gramay* was a Bishop, and had brought with him a Knight of *Malta* and a *Spaniard*; 60 and he therefore with blowes and hard vsage almost killed, his meate eaten vp by the Bringers; he at last bribed the Keeper to let him come into the light, and haue Paper and Inke to write to the Consul, so that at a deare rate he obtayned vpon caution of fortie thousand Duckets, to goe 10

to the Consuls house. Some of the prisoners lay in Ditches in Water vp to the middle, and otherwise vsed as before is spoken.

He hath written a Diarie of occurrences whiles he was at *Algier*, out of which a word or two. In Iune *Cid Bud a Morabute*, at noone day before the Church, buggered a Mule, all applauding it, and crying out that it might be luckie, which often at other times wee haue sighted to see in Boyes. In the end of August. On the eight a ship of *Spaine* laden with Sugars, and fortie Captiues, was brought in. *Iohn Peers a Belgian Boy* refusing to turne *Turke*, was beaten by *Mami* his Master till he dyed. And two *Spanish* ships more brought in from the sight of *Lisbon*. In Iuly Letters came in my behalfe from *Marsiles*, but they would not read them: A *Holland* ship was taken and a *French*. In August two pledges of the *Catholike King* taken in *Cuko* (whose King was lately dead) after other villanies, were condemned, one flayed aliue, the flesh cut at the small of the leg first, and blowne, and so flayed all off, and the bodie lying on the ground, the skin stuffed with haire, sewed vp, and layd on the backe of a *Christian* which they met, and carried in pompe thorow the Towne, and set on the gate; the other was tyed to the Crosse by the middle, and with foure nailes thorow his hands and feet, crucified naked (saue his priuities) and liued till the euening the next day. Seuentie and two Captiues were brought out of *Gallicia*. Two *Holland* ships complayned of breach of League, the men of one of their ships, and three *French* cast into the Sea. But I am loth to drowne or torture the Reader any longer in these Tragicall spectacles; of takings, spoylings, sellings, killings which follow in our Authour. I will recreate you with more pleasing spectacles from English eyes, and send you home in an English bottoms.

CHAP. XIII.

Larger Obseruations of Master RICHARD IOBSON, touching the Riuer Gambia, with the People, Merchandise, and Creatures of those parts, then in his Iournall is containd, gathered out of his larger Notes.

§. I.

Of the Riuer Gambia, the Raines, and Land-floods, the cause and time of their contagion: the Beasts, Fish, and Fowle of the Riuer; of the Portugals, Mandingos, and Fulbies there liuing.

THe Riuer *Gamba*, *Gambia*, or *Gambra*, is in 13. degrees 30. minutes. The Inhabitants (as farre as I could learne in my trauell vp the same three hundred and twenty leagues, or nine hundred and sixtie miles) call it by no other name but *Gee*, a generall name in their language to all Riuers and waters. It hath one sole entrance, which in the mouth is about foure leagues wide, and three fathome water in the channell without any barre. Foure leagues inward it spreads it selfe into so many Riuers, Bayes, and Creekes, that for thirtie leagues vnto *Tancronally* it is very intricate; the maine Channell may easily be discerned except in that limite. With a faire streame from the mouth it floweth to *Baraconda*, or some little aboue, which is nigh two hundred leagues in the lowest season. The Land-floods abridge this tide, raising the water thirty foot vpright, repelling the Seas force, and couering the flats which in the low season cause impediment. These Raines alwaies proceed from the South-east, beginning within Land, where wee abode in the later end of May, and at the Riuers mouth in the end of Iune: continuing three moneths with great violence, with great windes, most terrible thunders and lightnings, in sudden gusts and stormes; which violence being ouerpassed, the people continue their labour of tillage. They begin, and goe out with more gentlenesse, the extremitie being from the middle of Iuly to the middle of August; in September equinoctiall the Sunne clearing: and thence till May they haue no raine, whereby the ground is hard and vncapable of tillage. In this rainy (vnseasonable) season are they forced therefore to exercise their husbandry; as also to prepare their habitations secured from the ouerflowings of the Riuer, where the bankes cannot discipline it.

And hence may the vnwholsomnesse be caused; whatsoever venome commeth from Trees, Plants, Serpents (whereof are many kinds) Toads and Scorpions, containd and continued all that time of drought in the dust and on the earth, and washed in the first raines, yeelding venomous vapours to the Sunnes strong exhaling facultie, which it vomits againe, crude and vndigested in the next raines; and so the former raines are worse then the later, blistring the naked bodies.

Gambra: they seemed to themselves to trauell South-east to 8. degr. they wanted instruments to make the true height.

Tide 200. leag.
Flood 30. foot high.
The raines.

Cause of the vnwholsomnesse of raines.

Note for
health.

bodies whereon they fall, breeding wormes in garments, therewith wetted and layd by. It were therefore fit to be prouided of water to drinke or dresse meat before these seasons fall; and to preuent the hurt by keeping the Wells couered, and not to water in the open Riuer, as the Saint *Iohns* men did in the first Voyage (thereby the last to the most of them) our mens remayning there three yeeres, and returning sound, freeing the Countrey of the imputation. The Riuer encreased, when no raine is seene where we abode, whereby the raines falling aboue, and further passableness of the Riuer appeares. The shoald which stayd vs might in another season bee preuented; yea, with fit men and instruments cut thorow, continuing so small a space; promising fairely beyond, so farre as we had occasion to looke, the Sea-horses and store of Crocodiles proclayming deep waters vpwards. And if it ioyne aboue to *Senaga* (as it is vsually described) it cannot be farre aboue that place where we were, but promiseth a farre farther streame, whose branches are so great. The higher we went, the more healthfull we found our bodies.

Riuer horses,
and Croco-
dile.

Feare of the
Crocodile.

From *Baraconda* forward wee saw no Towne or Plantation; onely wee found two or three bundles of *Palmita* leaues bound vp, which our *Negros* said some people had vsed to passe the Riuer. There abound in this Riuer Sea-horses and Crocodiles, or Alegators. This they call *Bumbo*, whose length we haue measured in the impression made in the sand, whence we haue driuen him, three and thirty foot, so feared of the Natiues that they dare not wash their hands, wade, or swimme in the great Riuer, telling of many their friends by this enemy deuoured. Neither dare they passe ouer their Cattell; but when they passe ouer a Beefe, a Canoe goeth before, where to one holds him close with a rope fastned to his hornes, another holds vp his tayle, the Priest or Marybuck in the midst praying ouer the beast, and spitting on him, by whom stands another with Bowe and Arrowes ready; and thus they passe them one by one. And when wee were forced in a shallow place to enter the water, and force the Boat against the current, the *Blacks* would not be perswaded, saying, *Bumbo* would haue them; till at last on better consideration, at a third straight, they bethought themselues that a white man was more conspicuous in the water, and therefore aduentured. Yet did I neuer finde them to assault vs in all this way, but when many of them lay on the sands, they would auoide vs, as Snakes vse the noise and sight of men with vs; boldest in deepe waters. Their musky sent made vs oft to stop our nostrils. It made both the water and fish also in some places to taste and relish of them, that wee could not eate the one, nor drinke the other. The noise of them in that place, whereby they call one to another (resembling the sound of a deepe well) might be heard a league.

See before in
Santos c. 12. a
larger descrip-
tion. Where
our men may
learne to take
this Horse, E-
lephant, Cro-
codile, &c.

The Riuer-horse is in fashion of body a compleat Horse; hath round buttocks, short eares, wagged to his mouth, two teeth standing right before on his lower chap great & dangerous, neighing directly like a Horse, foure legs, short, the foot diuided, some so great that I haue measured a print twenty inches ouer. Hee doth hurt in the Rice-grounds, but generally feeds on low marish grounds, where the Sedge is Greene in herds by night; bold in the water, snorting, neighing, and tossing the water within Pistoll shot, very fearefull of fire, as might appeare by a Candles end (we could not spare them any shot) set on a piece of wood, and let downe the streame on them. They were most dangerous when they had their young with them, which sometimes they leaue on the shoare, carried in the water by the female on her backe. I haue seene the Sea-horse and Crocodile to swimme together without disagreement.

Torpedo, *Tremedor*, or
Thinta.

There is store of Mullet and other fish: amongst others, with a net we tooke one like an *English* Breme, but of great thicknesse, which one of our Saylers putting his hand to, presently cried out that he had lost the vse of his hands and armes; another bare-legged, putting thereto his foot, lost the sense of his leg; their sense being seene to returne, the Cooke was called vp, and bidden to dresse it; who laying both his hands thereon, sunke presently on his hinder parts, making grievous moane that he felt not his hands. *Sandy* a *Blacke* comming with his Canoe laughed, and told vs that they much feared this fish in the water; for he benumbed whatsoever hee touched, which he vsed to doe, stroking himselfe on other fish, and then deuouring them: but being dead he was good meat. At that place (neere *Cassan*) the people would come boldly into the water, some great Marybuck hauing secured them from the *Bumbo* by his blessing. And wee might see many on the other side, but neuer any on this. One little fish there is which may bee called the *Running fish*, like our Roach, with a red tayle, enforced to runne a great way on the top of the water, lightly touching it, by his aduersary which is like a Trout, whom to auoide he hath run sometimes into our Canoe.

Embleme of
a flatterer.

Running fish,

Riuer fowle.

There is store of fowle, which we see sit on the bankes, but neuer in the mayne Riuer swimming (it seemes, for feare of the Crocodile) and feeding on the Marishes and Ponds; Geese rather bigger then our tame Goose, with a spur on each pinion, large, sharpe, and if they be not killed dead, ready for offence: Ducke, Mallard, Hernes, Curlews, Storkes, Plouer, and the like.

Natiues fi-
shing.

The people fish their Lakes, and Ponds (which are many, broad, shallow) going a whole Towne or Plantation together, onely the men, each with a kinde of Basket holding the open mouth downward, close one by another ouerspreading the Pond, clapping downe their Baskets before them, and so returne most of them laden.

To speake of the Inhabitants, I will beginne at the mouth of the Riuer, where dwell the *Blacks*,

Blacks, called *Mandingos*, which speake the same language, fearfull of any shipping, because many haue beene surpris'd and carried away, except they know them: they brought to vs abundance of Bonanos (which in the West Indies they call *Plantanos*) with Beeces, Goats, Hens, Graine, and some Hides. Amongst these dwell, or lurke rather, a certaine way vp the Riuer, certaine *Portugals*, some of that colour, other *Molates*, but the most blacke, scattered two or three in a place, begetting children of the Blacke women; but haue neither Church, nor Frier, nor any other Religious Order. It appeareth that they are Fugitiues or Exiles from *Portugall*, or the Iles of that gouernment, which employ themselves in buying Commodities, especially Slaues. A few of them haue vsed one time of the yeere to goe vp the Riuer in a small Barke as farre as *Setico* to trade, whence they haue returned much Gold, and haue not attempted further, which is not halfe the way we haue gone vp. They say that those * which committed the treachery against our men are banished, as detested for that fact; how euer, it is not safe to trust them too farre. Their condition vnder the blacke Kings is base, who after their death seize on all without respect to wife, childe, or seruant, except they haue before provided; as wee haue seene of their poore posteritie, retayning the language of *Portugall*, and name of *Christians* loth so bee called *Negros*, though neuer so blacke. The better sort for feare of reuenge haue remoued their dwellings thence; the *Blackes* banishing them the Towne where it was done, and so much compassionating others of our people which were about in the Riuer in trade, that at their returne they fed them, and conuayed them to the next with their commendations, giuing them safe conduct and guides till they came to *Cape Verd*, where the *French* haue continuall trade, which might ship them home: their commendation from one King to another, being the losse of their ship by the treachery of *Portugals*, and their entertaynement good in all places. What *Ferambra* did, when the King of *Nany* was perswaded by the *Portugals* to destroy them is said before. Others did animate our men, and promised assistance to their reuenge, which their paucity refusing, still these Natiues beare a sullen disaffection to the *Portugall* notwithstanding.

There is another People dwelling amongst the *Mandingos*, called *Fulbies*, a tawny People much like to those vagrants amongst vs, called *Egyptians*; the women well featured, with a long blacke haire, more loose then that of the Blacke women, neatly apparelled in the habite of the Natiues. The men are not so handsome, by reason they liue of and with their Cattell, some Goats, but herds of Beeces in abundance, the keeping of which is their profession. In some places they haue settled Townes, mostly wandring, vniting themselves in Kindreds, and dringing their herds together: where they finde good pastures they agree with the King, and build houses as the season serues, during the raines betaking themselves to the Mountaines and higher grounds, and then succeding the Riuer, euen to his seuerer bankes. Their toyle is continuall, keeping their Cattell in the day from straying, and from the Crocodiles hants; in the night bringing them neere their houies, and parting them in seuerall herds, make fires about them; and likewise in the midst, about which they lie themselves, ready against the roaring assaillants. Thus is the poore *Fulby* almost growne beashtial, and when we haue gone to them to buy a Beefe, he hath come forth from his beasts with his face and hands couered with flies, as thicke as here they vse to sit on Horses in Summer, and the same kinde of flies; but those *Fulbies* seeme more senselesse; not remouing them, as we were fayne with a bough in conference to doe, and as our beasts vse whisking of their tayles and other motions.

They liue in great subiection to the *Mandingos*, who will share with them if they know of their killing of a Beete, and in their Commodities: that when they traded with vs, they would draw vs couertly to see it, lest the *Negro* participate in his returne. Of these the Countrey is full, euery where disperfed; and higher vp they are in one part principall, holding domination, excluding the *Blackes*, but for the most part in warre. Their language is different from the *Blackes*. Their women would daily bring vs Milke, Curds, two sorts of Butter (one new, soft and white, the other hard and of an excellent colour, as good as any we haue here, but for a little freshnesse) brought in Goards like Dishes, neate and cleanly within and without, therein much vnlike the *Irish Calios*, how euer otherwise resembling their course of life. Their returne was swall Beads and Knives of sixteene pence the dozen, with other trifles. But after they had once tasted *Ramdam* (so they call our Salt) nothing else could so well please them, were this neuer so little. If wee denied trade one day, wee should not haue their companie in a weeke; so that we were willing to please them, the *Blacke* not applying himselfe to Cattell.

The *Mandingos* themselves, which are the Naturall Inhabitants, are perfectly blacke, liuing a most idle life, except two moneths of the yeare, in their Seed-time and haruest; wandering vp and downe at other times from one to another, hauing little knowledge, to hunt, fish, or fowle, how much soeuer both Woods and Waters abound in Game, the Beasts and Fowles (as *Guinnie* Hens and Partridges) resorting to their very doores. In the heate of the day they passe the time in companies chatting vnder the shady Trees, hauing one Game with some thirtie stones and holes cut in a piece of Wood, performed by a kind of counting. They ordinarily make but one meale a day, specially the vulgar and younger sort; or rather none, their boure of meale being after the day light is in; and then with fires of Reeds, without the doore, they sit round and

Mandingos.

Portugals.
They may be of the *Tangos* *maos* before mentioned.

* *Hester Nunez*, &c. which vnder colour of trade waited their time to kill the *English*, and take their ship, *Tomson* and others being in their trade in the Countrey, or tincts on shore, and diuers sick: after much loue and pretended kindness.

King of *Nany*, see *sup. l. 7. c. 1.*
The *Fulbies*. These being tawny, and the others blacke, sheweth that this colour comes from the seed which takes hold on the *Portugals* borne of *Negro* women, and not of the Sunne-burn'd *Fulby*, in the same place. Beashtly life.

Base state.

The *Mandingos* idle life.

Their diet.

and fall to their Viands; which for the most part are, Rice or some other Graine boyled, which being brought vnto them in Goards by the women hot, they put in their hands, roll it vp in Bals, and cast into their mouthes. Flesh, or fish their want of skill to get, hath made Rarities; their Cockes, and Hennes are plentifull; but spared to barter with vs for small pieces of Iron, Beads, and such Commodities. They hold it vnwholsome to eate in the heate of the day, the heate and moysture then exhaled to the exterior parts, and the inward cooler and more disabled for concoction: whereby we can in that heate easily drinke, yea and desire it, that quantitie of *Aquainta*, or hote Drinkes, which here would kill vs; and there wee drinke with more Temperance and satisfaction in lesse quantitie both Morning and Euening. And in my opinion it were fitter for vs to eate early, and againe, after the heate is past, in those parts.

Their Houses.

Their vsuall drinke is water, yet haue both Wine of Trees, as also their *Dullo*, of Graine, like our Ale. They place their Habitations round together, and for the most part haue a Wall of Reed made vp together some sixe foot high, (fortifying them against rauinous beasts, which yet cause often alarmes and mighty cryes) compassing their Towne, with doores of the same shut in the night. Some of the houses within are made of the same Reeds, but the better sort of Lome, reddish and remayning very hard, likely to yeeld the best Brick in the World, the whole Countrey but the Mountaynes, yeelding the same Earth. The Ant-hills are remarkable, cast vp in those parts by Pismires, some of them twentie foot in height, of compasse to contayne a dozen men, with the heate of the Sunne baked into that hardnesse, that we vse to hide our selues in the ragged coppes of them, when we tooke vp stands to shoot at Deere or wild beasts. The forme of their Houses is round, and couered with Reeds tyed fast to Rafts that they may endure the outrageous gusts and raines. Such are their meaner Townes and Villages; others they haue of force futable to their Warres, fortified and entrenched, of which the In-land hath store, and *Cassan* (against which the betrayed ship did ride) is such. It is the seat of the King, seated on the Riuer, enclosed round with Hurdles like those which our Shepherds vse, but about tenne foote high, fastened to strong Poles which are higher then the Hurdles. On the in-side in diuers places they haue buildings made like Turrets whence to shoote Arrowes and cast Darts against the Assailants; on the out-side is a Ditch or Trench of great breadth, beyond which againe the Towne is circled with posts and pieces of Trees set close and fast into the ground some fve foot high, so thicke that except in stiles and places made purposely, a single man cannot get thorow; and in like manner a small distance off is the like defence, which they say is to keepe off the force of Horse.

Fortifications.

Their Armes are an Azegay or Iauelin, with which in their hands they walke, beeing a Reed of sixe foot, with an Iron-pike artificially made and dangerous; they haue others to cast like Darts with barbed heads. About the necke a Bandelier of redde or yellow cloth with a Sword hanging of some two foot long and an open handle; the better sort carry a Bow in their hand, and at their backe a Case with many holes holding some foure and twentie Arrowes of Reed, as bigge as a Swans Quill, two foot long, headed with Iron poysoned, without nocke or feather: the Bow also made of a Reed, with a flat string or stick smoothed and fastened, of the same Wood, and to a Basse Jerkin or any sleight Garment of defence is little offense, the danger being in the Poyson. We haue seene them likewise on Horse-backe, their Horses small, bridled and saddled after the *Spanish* fashion, each man hauing an *Assegie*, and a broad Buckler hanging on the right side of his Horse. The Kings House is in the middle of the Towne enclosed by it selfe, with his Wines seuerall Houses about, to which you cannot come, but by a Court of Guard, passing thorow an open House where stands his Chaire emptye, in which none but himselfe may sit; by which hangs his Drummes, which euery night they vse to drumme on, hooping, singing, and making a wild confused noyse till day breake, with fires in the House and Yard: which noyse they vse in meaner Townes also to scarre away wild beasts.

Their Armes.

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Their Kings.

I saw and did eate and drinke with sixe of their Kings or *Mansas*, which haue reference to greater Kings liuing further; all the South-side of the Riuer as wee went, beeing subject to the King of *Cantore*, of the North-side halfe subject to the King of *Bursale*, the rest to the King of *Woolley*. These wee saw not, and they say, that they shew not themselues abroad but in pompe, hunting with great numbers of Horse, as our men saw the King of *Bursale* (when they passed to Cape Verde) and there are warres betwixt one side of the Riuer and the other, which were it not, *Bursale* would soone with his Horse subdue a great part of the Countrey, or if he had meanes of transportation. Before these which we saw, the people present themselues kneeling, and comming neerer layes his hand first on the ground, and then on his owne head couered, some laying dust thereon; which Ceremonie he vseth twice or thrice before he comes at him, then with much submission laying his hand on the Kings thigh, and so retyreth backe. And if a *Marybuck* be present in any company which thus come to him, after their salutation they all kneele downe, and he fals to praying for him and blessing him; to which he crossing his armes (the right hand ouer the left shoulder, and the left to the right) often answers, *Amena, Amena*, which is as *Amen*, with vs. When the common people meet, which haue not seene each other in long time, if there be a *Marybucke* amongst them, before salutati-

Their State.

Denotion in salutation. After their salutation they all kneele downe, and he fals to praying for him and blessing him; to which he crossing his armes (the right hand ouer the left shoulder, and the left to the right) often answers, *Amena, Amena*, which is as *Amen*, with vs. When the common people meet, which haue not seene each other in long time, if there be a *Marybucke* amongst them, before salutati-

on they put themselves in a Ring and kneele to Prayer. The King answers the people with nod-
ding his head. His habit is little differing from theirs, the Countrey yeelding only Cotton to
both, whereof they plant great fields, where it growts like Rose Bushes, yeelding a Cod which
being ripe breakes and is white.

Cotton trees
or bushes. In
other parts are
greater Cot-
ton trees.

Their apparell.

Their apparell is a shirt and a paire of breeches: the shirt downe to the knees, wide like a
Surplice, with great sleeues, which he rolleth vp and fastens to his shoulder when hee vseth his
armes: the breeches made with so much stufte gathered iust on his buttockes, that hee seemeth
to carry a Cushion, and they make him straddle. His legs are bare; some few wearing a piece of
Leather vnder the foot, buttoned about the great Toe, and againe at the in-step. They are for
10 the most part bare-headed, saue that they are bedecked with *Gregories*, which are things of great
esteeme, vsually made of Leather of seuerall fashions wondrous neatly, seeming hollow, with
Writings in them receiued from their *Marybuckes*, reputed so holy that no euill can betyde
them whiles they weare them. On their heads they weare them in manner of a Crosse from
the fore-head to the necke, and from eare to eare: about their neckes, shoulders, bodies, armes
aboue and below the elbow, round their middles, seeming laden with blessings for each member,
both men and women, and most of all the King. Yea, if they haue any Maladie or Sore, they
apply thereto these *Gregories*; neyther could I perceiue amongst them any other Physicke.
Their Horses also are thus blessed, wearing them about their neckes, and their Bowes.

Gregories.

Their women.

The King for greater state hath many times two of his Wines sit by him, laying their hands
20 on his naked skinne about the waste, stroking, and gently pulling the same. He hath an orderly
allowance of seuen Wines, acknowledged with set Ceremonie, besides Concubines; sometimes
yet of so many Wines not hauing one fit for carnall knowledge. The cause whereof is their
membrous Monstrosity, the woman after she perceiueh conception not admitting further know-
ledge, lest she or it be destroyed. Custome also forbids it after deliuey till the Child be weyned,
each Mother being herein complete, and her Childes Nurse. Adultery is seuerely punished, the
man and woman being both sold (which is the punishment for great offences, none being put to
death) the *Portugals* buying and transporting them to the *West Indies*. Other men may haue if
they are able to buy, their pluralitie also, first compounding with the King or Gouvernour with
some gratification, and then with the womans friends: which money, they say, remaynes in
30 banke if he dyes, for her better mayntenance, or if shee please to buy a Husband. For as the
Mayde is bought, the Widow buyeth.

Priapeian Stal-
lions.

Husbands and
Wines bought.

The Wines liue in great seruitude; they beate their Graine in Morters with staues like
Cowle-staues; and dresse it and all manner of victuall, and bring and set it on the Mat before
them, neuer admitted to sit and eate with them; neyther could I euer intreat that fauour of any
for the best accounted Wife (which vsually they haue one most conuersant with the Husband,
whom we called the *Hand-wife*) but euen she also how euer priuiledged from some other labours,
may not eate in sight, but in another house. One shall not see kissing or any dalliance vsed be-
twixt the Husband and Wife, nor euer heare of brawling or falling out (which in this plurality
and equality is strange) amongst themselves. Each woman hath her priuate Lodging and seue-
40 rall House for the night. When they appeare in the morning, they salute him kneeling, laying
their hands on his thighe. Her apparell is loose, parti-coloured, blue and white Cotton Cloth,
from the waste vpwards bare, the rather to shew their printed rased bodies, whereof they are not
a little proud, turning themselves to shew it, and pleased with the handling, seeming to vs as
the printed lids of our baked meates. Sometimes they cast on their shoulders such another Cloth
as they weare below. Most of them are nice in shewing Natures Secrets.

Admirable
subiection.

The Marriage Solemnitie is this; the man gets his friends with whom, and the younger sort
he comes to the Towne where the Mayde is dwelling, in the beginning of a Moone-shine night.
These by violence, as it were, carrie her away shriking with a great noyse, seconded by the
young Maydes of the same place; whereupon the young men of the Towne assemble in rescue,
50 the other notwithstanding, with great shouts and jubilees, carrying her away to the Bride-
groomes abode: where she remayneth for a certayne time vnseene; after which for some Moones
she shewes not her open face, but with a cloth couers all but one Eye.

Marriage-rites.

Their Kings and *Grandes* stand much on their Generositie and Antiquitie, whereof wee had
experience in a quarrell betwixt *Bo Iohn* and the Kings Sonne, in whose Land wee then resided.
Succession is not to the Sonne of the deceased, but to his Brethren in course, and then to the Son
of the eldest, the other Brethren holding some place, gouerned meane-while. *Bo Iohn* is the title
of the yongest, *Ferambara* of the third, *Ferran* of the second, and the eldest is stiled *Mansa*, or King,
which here was the King of *Cantore*, whom we saw not. Their greatest riches is the number of
slaues, and from the King to the slaue they would all begge of vs; but small matters might serue,
60 except *Aquanita*, for which they would sell all, the Kings also drinking drunke: and the Kings
life with them is to eate, drinke, sleepe, and company with their women, thus consuming their
time till time consumes them. Our salutation to the King, he sitting on his Mat, was with-
out moouing the Hat, to lay the hand on the brest bending the bodie (as hee also did) and then
both take hold on the vpper part, then on the lower part of each others hands, and the third
time

Course of suc-
cession.

time ioyned full hand and shake hands: then sitting downe by him, after a little parley touching the cause of our comming (the King for state still speaking by another) out goeth our Bottle of *Aquanita* and Sacke, and calling for a small gourd which is their richest Plate, I beginne and drinke off a Cup, then presenting both Cup and Bottle to the King, after whom it passeth to the rest, no vnkindnesse taken if wee refuse to drinke any more. Before hee drinke, hee wets therewith one of his *Gregories*. They leaue not till all be out.

¶ II.

Of their Marybucks, and Religion: Merchandize, Fiddlers, Instruments, Trades, Husbandry, with a further Historie of the Creatures in those parts.

Marybucks, or Priests of a Mahumetan Sect, differing from the common,

Fodee Bram, see sup. 915.

It seemes they speake some Arabike words: in which also their Law is written.

Slouely cleanlinesse.

** To Mecca ward.*

Marybucke Orations or Sermons.

Their Bookes and abstinence

Marybucks trauellers.

Heir *Marybucks* or *Bassareas*, are their Priests or Religious persons, separated from others in their habitations and course of life. They tell of *Adam*, *Eue*, *Noah*, with other things mentioned in Scripture; like the *Leuiticall* Tribes, they haue their Townes and Lands proper to themselves, wherein dwell none of the Secular but their Slaues, whose Issue is their Inheritance; they marry also in their owne Tribe, breeding all their Children to their owne profession; haue as many Wiues and Women as the rest according to their degree. In every *Marybucke* Towne they haue a principall; they will put their hands to worke, and may be hired to doe seruice as well as others; wee agreed with them by the Moone. Their habit is as that of the vulgar. I visited *Fodee Bram*, the principall in his sicknesse, who sate on his Mat or Bed supported by three of his Wiues, to each of which I gaue a Pewter Ring, which hee tooke kindly, and caused a Dinner to be provided, and sent mee a Hide and an Elephants Tooth in recompense of a Present which I had giuen him, which here cost eightene pence. They worship one God and call him *Alle*, acknowledge *Mahomet*, are circumcised; obserue Friday Sabbath, but haue no Meskits or *Mahumetan* Churches or other Religious place, where they celebrate the same, following therein their occasions without intermission. They haue open round Houses not decently swept, in which they teach their Children to write and reade; Paper is of great esteeme with them; their Pen is a kind of Penfill; their Law is written in a Language differing from their vulgar. None of the Temporall people haue any vse of Bookes or Letters. We thought they made vse of some shade tree in the fields for their Assemblies: and one day saw a *Marybucke* comming with his Slaue to the Riuer-side close by our Wall, hee first with a Gourd full of water washed his members, without any nicety of our seeing him; then washing the empty Gourd, his slaue brought him other water wherewith he washed his hands, and after that a third for his face; after all which making a low reuerence with his body, and laying his hand on his brest, his face directed toward the East, * kneeled downe and in decent forme seemed to vtter certayne Prayers; which ended he kissed the ground, rose vp, turned his face to the West, and performed like Ceremonies, and then returned to his Lodging.

When *Fodee Bram* was dead, hee was laid in a house where a Graue was digged, and a great Pot of water set in the Roome, and after the *Irish* manner much crying (rather then mourning) being made, he was laid into the ground; the women running about in a *Lunaticke* fashion, with their armes spread made a terrible Spectacle of sorrow. The *Marybucks* assembled themselves in a conuenient place to receiue the multitude, neere the Graue, where the people sitting downe in a Ring, a *Marybucke* came forth in the midst, who betwixt saying and singing, seemed to rehearse certayne Verses in the prayse of the deceased, the people interjecting their applauses, clapping hands and running in to gratifie their *Vates*, (Poet or Prophet) with a Present. Thus one after another, euery *Marybucke* had his speech, but the most popular Orator carryed only the Presents. The principall might also take of the Graue, Earth, and Water in the Pot to make a Relike-ball thereof. Some dayes being thus spent, a great Solemnitie was made for the installing of his Sonne in the Succession.

They haue great Bookes, Manuscripts, with which we haue seene some of them laden. As the vulgar is insatiate with hote Drinkes, these are abstentious, strictly deuoted to poore pure water, as also their Wiues and Children; nor would endure the least Infant or playing Boy to tast of our liquor, or Raisins, Sugar, Fruits, or any sweet thing. Nor can the greatest Reasons in their sickness perswade a taste; insomuch that my *Marybucke* almost drowned once in a Whirle-pool, after twice sinking recovered, scarcely had any sense and yet shut his mouth to our *Rosa-solis*, whereby we sought to reuiue him, benefited no doubt by the sent; and being come to himselfe, he asked whether any had entred, saying, hee had rather haue dyed then any should haue come within him. Hereby they are easily discerned from the vulgar, and this sobriety makes them vsfull in their seruice and credible in their reports.

They dispose themselves generally to trauell, together with their Families, Bookes, and Boyes; the Countrey being open to them; renewing (it seemes) their provision when they come

to some principall place: of vs it is most certayne they will begge, and a Quire of Paper is a great gift to a whole Company, which they vse to write their *Gregories*; and when wee send any of the people any whither, he will looke to haue a sheet or two of Paper about his couenant, to buy him sustenance in the way. These *Mary-buckes* by their travels are experienced in diuers Countries: and how euer the Countries agree or haue Warres, the *Mary-bucke* is alway a priuiledged person, with both sides; Yet doe they vse Armes as well as others, but rather I thinke for defence against Mankinde-beasts, then beastly vnkinde Men. Two *Mary-buckes* gaue vs much intelligence of Gold; one of which, when I came to take leaue of him, tooke my right hand betwixt his, vttering ouer the same certayne vnknowne words, and would euer and anon sparingly spetle vpon it; and the like he did ouer my right shoulder.

Cause why Paper is so esteemed, See Sup. pag. 1466.

10 The Inhabitants of *Setico* are all *Mary-buckes*, and haue continuall Trade to the King of *Bur-fall*, and carry Slaues to buy Salt which is there by the Sea side, a durtie kind: like Sea-coale ashes. This they make little vse of among themselves, but carrie it vp farre into the Countrey; their returne is Gold and *Cola Nuts*. The Gold is sayd to bee buried with them, or by themselves hidden secretly in the ground: for their vse in the next world. They buy also Bloud-stones long and square of the *Portugals*, which their Women weare about their middles, to preserue them from bloudie issues, the Mens membroitie seeming to giue thereto much occasion. They follow this Trade with great numbers of Asses. *Bucker-sano* is sayd to keepe three hundred Asses. They goe in Companies together, driving their slow-paced Asses before them, beginning their dayes journey with the Sunne: and trauell three houres, the heat then enforcing their rest; two houres before Sun-set setting forth againe, and holding on till Night, when the wilde Beasts forbid further trauell. At some good Townes they will stay and make shew of their Wares, in a kinde of Market; they carry their mattes for Beds with them.

Trade of Slaues & Salt.

Bloud-stone Trade. Carauans of Asses.

20 *Bucker-sanos* Sword and Wiues Bracelets: seeming to come from these parts, I asked whence hee had them? He answered, of the *Arabecks*, which he described to bee tawnie *Moors*, coming in Companies with Camels, by which I perceiued they were of *Barbarie*. Some Women which had neuer seene white Men, were fearefull of vs, till the gift of Beads made them more daring; and they requited vs with neate Tabacco-pipe Canes: they were the deepest printed that euer I saw. Their Husbands in gallantrie weare Beasts skinnes, the tayles hanging to them as to the Beast, betwixt their buttockes. The Women weare golden Eare-rings; the Language was differing, yet the better sort could speake the *Mandingo*. Wee obserued some with three strakes vnder the Eyes, a distinction of the Subjects, of a certayne King further vp the River. A *Mary-bucke* told vs, that the Salt was sold to a people not farre from *Iaye*, which were deformed, their nether Lippe hanging downe toward the breast and putrifying, against which they vse Salt for a remedie: but conscious of this Deformitie, trade without sight or conference: a Day being set, on which the Merchants bring and lay downe their Commodities, which they leaue there one whole Day; and then returning, finde so much Gold layed by them as the Deformed will giue. If hee likes the price, he takes the Gold and leaues the Wares; or else them, and leaues the Gold, when the price contents him not. This is reported to bee the *Arabeckes*

Arabecks trade.

Deformed people, their Trade and Gold. See Sup. pag. 872.

40 Trade with that people.

No people is more adicted to Musicke, the Kings or principall persons being accompanied with their Iuddies or Fiddlers. The most common Instrument is made of a great Gourd, and a Necke therto fastened, in some sort resembling our Bandora, the strings meane, and vnfit, without frets, yet with Pinnes wound and fitted to some Harmonie. With this they haue a little Drum, whereon with a crooked sticke in the right hand, and the Fingers on the left, they play wringing the mouth and gaping very Deformedly. Their Ballards are a foot about ground, hollow vnder, with some seuentene Keyes on the top, on which the Player strikes sitting on the ground, with two stickes a foot long, with Balls fastened on the end: the sound may bee heard an *English* mile. This Instrument is one of their most ingenious Artifices. To euery one of these Keyes belongs a small Iron a foot long, as bigge as a Quill, vpon which hangs two Gourds vnder the hollow like

50 bottles, which cause the sound. There are few of them, but not a few which resort to them, and spend whole nights in Dancing, each person Male or Female single: giuing to the Musicians, whereby they are esteemed Rich, and their Wiues more adorned then the Kings with Bloud-stone: but these, if any licentious, as their carriage imports, These men are denyed Buriall, being set dead in a Tree, as conceiued to haue most familiaritie with their *Ho-re* Deuill, and are accounted Diuiners. Their greatest assembly is at the Circumcision, which is a set time yeerely. The youths which are Circumcised haue Licence permitted to flich Hennes, and from the *Fulbies* a Beefe, or young Cattle, to make merry with in the time of their sorenesse. It is done without religious Ceremonie, and hath no name but cutting of Prickes, the partie stripped naked and sitting on the ground, and the Butcher pulling the skinne off very farre, and cutting it, not without

60 terrour to the beholder. This is done in the greater Townes, to which the smaller send their Youth for this purpose, they being all kept in a House together: some Knaue neuer fayling to play the *Ho-re* at this meeting, by the *Mary-buckes* pollicie, as I found by experience. Thus the Deuill may bee belyed, who yet is an Oracle to them, as appeared by one of their Iuddies,

Musicke and Musicians.

Their Ballards see before pag. 925. and Sup. 12. the like in *Casaria*.

Circumcision a seale of righteounesse without Faith.

- which had told one at *Pompetane* how many of vs, and at what houre wee should arrive, which was vncertayne to our selues, yet fell out accordingly.
- Their Trades.** There are amongst them three principall Trades, the Smith which of Iron brought to them (for else they haue none) makes their Swords, Assagay heads, Darts and Arrow heads barbed; and Instruments of Husbandry, without which they could not liue. Hee hath his Bellows, small Anuill, and Cole of a red wood, which alone will giue the true heat to our Iron; who thus cut out Iron for vs, eight inches going aboue as well as twelue inches below, at ten for one gaine. The Smith if he be not looked too, will steale.
- Gregorie maker** The next Trade is the *Sepatero*, or *Gregorie* maker, made artificially in all shapes, round and square and triangle, so as Our men would acknowledge Art. They make also Bridles and Saddles, of which I haue seene some very neat, hardly to be bettered heere: whereby it seemes they haue skill to dresse and dye their Deeres skins and Goats skins.
- Potters.** A third Profession is of those which temper the Earth for their wals and pots in which they boyle meats, vsing for other seruices the gourd. Their Tabacco Pipes also (without which few or none, either men or women walke, and cannot of all things want) haue their bowles and neckes about two inches long of Earth, neatly glased, able commonly to hold halfe an ounce of Tabacco: they put a cane about a yard long into the necke, and so draw the smoake. These are peculiar Trades; other things are common to all, Mats to eate, sit, sleepe on, are their Staple commodity, as at *Mangegar* Market, we saw things bought and sold, without nominating any other price but Mats (*How many Mats shall I giue you?*) for Coyne they haue none.
- Tabacco pipes**
- Mats.**
- Husbandry.** But the generall Trade from which none but the Kings and principall persons are exempted, is Husbandry whereto the *Marybucke*-priest, the people of all sises after their abilitie are subject: God hauing not giuen them wisdome to serue themselves of the beasts to that purpose. They make furrowes as decently as we doe, but with handie labour, hauing a short sticke about a yard long, on the end of which is a broad Iron like to that of our Paddle-staues; with which Iron set into the ground, one leades the way cutting the Earth before him, others following in the same tract with their seuerall Irons, so many as will make a sufficient furrow thorow the length of a spacious field: and when they are at the end, they begin againe, many hands making lighter riddance. They haue fixe seuerall graines for food, of which we know none here by name but Rice: the other seeme Seeds rather then Corne, being very small. Neither do they make any bread, but boyling the graine, roll it vp in Bals, as before is said: in like sort they boyle their Rice and eate it warme. This they set first in low Marish grounds, and after remooue them to places prepared for it, where it yeelds great increase: the other seeds they sow, and spaddle ouer the ground with their Irons, and so leaue it. They obserue their seasons for Tabacco, which they set about their houses, and for Cotton-seeds with which they set whole fields. The terriblenesse of their seasons doth further aggrauate the miseries of their Husbandry; which might learne vs thankfulness to whom God hath giuen the beasts in seruice, the Heauens seasonable, and besides, and with infinite other blessings, his owne Sonne.
- * Panike, Millet, &c. No Bread.** They haue growing neere the Riuer mouth Bononos, as delicious and great as any in the West Indies; likewise store of small Limons or Limes, and Orenge were brought vs farre vp in the Riuer. Of Palmita trees their are whole grounds or groues, whence they draw a sweete Wine and wholsome, by cutting holes into the bodie of the tree, into which a Cane is put, which receiueth the sap and conueyes it into gourds. The vulgar may not meddle with this: it tastes like white Wine when it comes first ouer, and as many differences are thereof: but will not last aboue foure and twentie houres. Some of them beare Apples almost like Quinces, which the common people will eate. When they make Dullo, the King or some principall person makes a Feast, and hauing provided three or foure great Gourds, they make an end of all before they part. The Gourds grow like our Pompions, in that manner placed and carried vpon their wals, of vnequall quantities from an Egge to a Bushell, yeelding varietie of household Vessell to eate, drinke, wash clothes: the meat is bitter and throwne away, which seasons the shell so that it must be seasoned before it is fit for vse. They haue Pompions also like ours in nature and vse. They haue great store of Locust trees, which yeeld clusters of cods, ripe in May; the trees bigge and high, of which the younger sort eate. They haue store of Honey; for which they place baskets on great trees about their houses, made of Reed and Sedge, in which the Bees will come and breed: so many in some trees that to vs as farre off, they seemed as the fruit thereof. In hollow trees also are store of Bees. They haue one great sort of trees, which on a long stalke yeeldeth a great and round fruit, with a pleasing pith therein, whereon the Baboones and Monkies feed. Some are so bigge that ten men can hardly fathome. The Cola is much like our bigger sort of Chestnut, flat on both sides, yet without a hard shell, the taste very bitter, yet causing that which is taken immediately after to be very sweet, water tasting like white Wine and Sugar, Tabacco also hauing thereby an admirable sweetness. The elder which want Teeth to chew it, haue morters to bruike it. Fiftie of these presented to the King would buy a Wife. They are brought from some other parts. I would haue brought some into *England*, but they would not last. Amongst their Plants one is most admirable, a tree or bush commonly growing on the Riuer bank, resem-

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resembling much our great Bramble-bushes, only hauing a little ragged leafe; whereof the gentlest stealing touch of a leafe betwixt the finger and Thumbe, would cause the whole bough to close vp all his leaues, as sensible of offence; the touch of a sprigge, would cause the whole Tree to shut vp his leaues. It bare a yellow flowre like our Hedge-roses.

n Of this in the East and West Indies.

Lions and Iackalls

Some say, that if the Lion faile of his prey at three iumps, he will not further toile himselfe. Ounce.

Ciuet-cat and Porcupine. Elephants.

Shed not their teeth.

Baboones and Monkeyes. He told me, he neuer saw greater Lion then of them: their height (standing vp) most admirable!

They haue many Lions, hardly seene by day, easily knowne by night, by reason of his Vshers or Fore-runners the Iackall, sometimes two or three, which is a little blacke shag-haired beast, of the bignesse of a small Spaniell; which when Eeuening comes hunts for his prey, and coming on the foote, followes the scent with open crie: to which the Lion as Chiefe Hunt, giues diligent eare, following for his aduantage. If the Iackall set vp his Chase before the Lion comes in, he howles out maynly, and then the Lion seifeth on it, making a grumbling noyse, whiles his Seruant stands by barking (as we not onely heard of the Countrey people, but might heare our selues riding at Anchor by night in our passing vp the Riuer) when the Lion hath done, this Attendant feeds on the Relikes.

There are many Ounces and Leopards, the prints of whose feet wee might often see in the mouthes of their Dennes or Holes, and many of their skinnies were brought to vs. The Ounce is the more rauenous: I saw a child which the Mother hauing left on a cloth at the doore, whiles she fetched water, an Ounce had gotten and being hotly pursued, let fall the childe out of the cloth which he carried away. Many times our Dogge hath beene driuen to our Bed-side by a hole he had thorow our straw walls, not daring with any animating to goe forth, till we with Firebrands haue scarred away the Ounce. The Ciuet-cat and the Porcupine, are diligent Purueyors for their Poulterie.

These are night-walkers: By day you may see the Elephants, of which the Countrey people are very fearefull: they doe much harme in their Corne and Cotton grounds, going in companies together. They feed amongst the Sedge, halfe their bodies appearing ouer the same, which yet is higher then a tall man can well reach; they bruise also on trees, whereof you shall finde many in the Woods by them pulled downe of bigge bodies, with their two great Teeth which are not like a Bores turning vpward; but downward, so that with his trunk bending the top, hee hasps ouer his two Teeth and then puls, that either the Tooth or Tree must yeeld; whence it comes that so many rift and broken Teeth, and pieces of Teeth are to bee had. They shed not their Teeth as Stagges their Hornes, but by death loose together themselves. I did eate of the flesh at *Ferambrac* house, who only (that wee knew) had a man which durst kill an Elephant, which with a poysoned Azagay tenne foote long (the head whereof I saw bound vp in a cloth with poyson) he performed, stealing into the Reeds behind the Elephant feeding, till hee might thrust his Iauelin into his bodie, there leauing it and fleeing away thorow the Reedes: the Poyson killing the beast, the people about from Trees watch, and when hee fals come and cut away the inflamed flesh, eating the rest. It seemed to mee good and sauourie meate. Thus had he killed so many as he shewed me tayles hanged vp. The people else-where seeme very fearefull of them, and yet they seemed as fearefull as a Forrest Stagge going from vs (which aduentured on them as wee met them) with a swifter pace then an able man can runne. One wee shot three times and lost him; but his Teeth were after brought vs to sell by those which had found him dead. There are wild Buls, and huge wilde Boares, of a darke blue colour, armed with large tuskes, and very bold; walking from vs with his tayle vpriight in a scornfull manner. There are great Antelopes, Deere of all sorts, and Beasts vnkowne. They brought vs strange Hides, amongst which, one foureene foot long, dunne, and streaked with white.

Their Baboones & Monkeyes may deserue mention: they go in Herds, the Monkeyes alwayes by themselves, as the Baboones also; and aswell within the Riuer Ilands to which they swim, contrary to some mens conceit; I had a Monkey which both swamme and diued often to escape from him which pursued him. The Baboones goe three or foure thousand in a Herd, marching in ranke, some of the greater being Leaders (their greatest are as bigge as Lions) the smaller following; euer and anon a great one as a Commander; inserted: the Females carrie their young vnder their bellies, and if they haue two, the other is carried aboue. In the Reare comes a great company of the bigger sort, as a Guard against Pursuers. Thus doe they march along and are very bold. And as we passe in the Riuer, when we come neere their troopes, they will get vp into the Trees, and stand in gaze vpon vs; and in a kind of cholericke humour, the great ones will shake the Trees, and with their hands clatter the boughes, with greater strength then a man is able; barking and making a noyse at vs, as much offended: and so following vs, in the night when we ride at Anchor, take vp their stands on the Mountayne tops or trees aboue vs, where wee might heare their gouernment. For often in the night, you shall heare many voyces together, when instantly one great voyce exalts it selfe, and that noyse is all hush; that we were wont to say, *Master Constable speaks*. On shoare when we suddenly meet with these troopes, the great ones will come forward and seeme to grinne in our faces, flying on the first offer of a Game. One of our people killed one with a Peece, but before the Boate could get ashore, the others had gotten it vp, and carried it away. The Countrey people will eat them heartily. We haue seene in Desert haunts of theirs, Trees and Plants woond and wrought together in that artificiall

Baboones
dancing
Schools.

manner, thickly folded ouer head to keepe away the Sunne, and the ground so smooth and beaten below, as might appeare an excellent Arbour, which place they haue only vsed and kept for their Dancing and Disport. No man liuing which should see the place, and not know of the persons, would conceiue otherwise of it, then of Mans handie-worke (which wee knew it could not bee.)

Vnicornes.

We enquired aboue in the Countrey if they had any knowledge of the Vnicorne; and they haue told me that higher within the Land: is a beast which hath one horne only in his fore-head, but describe him to be of the colour and bignesse of a vallow Deere, and the horne to be about the length of their arme, and no otherwile; not like that which we haue described, of which I doubt, whether there be any such.

Land Fowle.

* Estriches &
Emes vñe san-
die Deserts.

For their Land Fowle, we neuer saw any * Estriches, nor had any of their Feathers brought vs by the people. The greatest we saw is a *Stalker*, whose long legges and necke makes him standing vpright to be taller then a man; his body is in substance more then an indifferent Lambe. Some of his Feathers are worne and well esteemed here at home. The next is a *Wake*, which makes great noyse when he flyeth; they doe much spoyle on their Rice grounds: they are of great stature, good food, carrying a beautifull shew on the crowne with a faire tuft. There is infinite store of those which we call *Guinnie-hennes*, as bigge and beautifull as our Pheasant, his Feathers layd ouer him like eyes: wee haue killed eight of them at a shoot, excellent meate. Their *Partridges* are of darke feathers, and are all ouer the inhabited parts, remayning neere their houses. The plentie of these and the former, shew that they haue no Foxes: their keeping so neere the houses, is to preserue them from the Baboones and Monkeyes which are no night-walkers, and frequent not frequented places by day.

There are store of *Quailes* as bigge as Woodcockes; and of *Pidgeons*, of which I haue killed with my Stone-bow, twenty in two houres. There are *Parrats*, but none good but the dun with the Red taylor; of *Parakitos* there are very faire, some which come to perfection. Of small Birds are many pleasing both the Eye and Eare.

Hanging Bird.

One strange Bird there is which hath no legges, but two strings by which he hangs with his head downe-wards, resembling a dead leafe hanging on the tree, and is directly of that colour, so that except hee light, you can hardly discouer him. And hee seemes to take pleasure to deceiue our Eyes, hanging wondrous steadie without motion, till you bee neere the touching. Another strange Bird there is, which flyeth with foure wings: wee see him not all the day, but an houre before night. His foremost wings are largest; the other two are a prettie distance backward; his bodie is borne vp as betwixt foure.

A Bird with
foure wings.

No trees like
ours.

It is remarkable, how Nature hath taught them to secure their Nests from Baboones and Monkeyes, the professed Enemies of Fowles. In their varietie of trees, there is none that I can call by an *English* name, as beeing of any of our kinds; but one there is full of prickles in the bodie and boughes; many of which grow on the Riuer bankes, hanging their tops ouer the water. On these trees, and on the water-shading side doe these Birds breed, winding their Nests with a hollow necke made of Reedes and Sedge, so that the whole Nest hangs like a Bottle fastned by the necke; in some places so thicke that that side of the tree seemes couered with Thatch.

Cunning build-
ing.

The *Parrat* speedes not so well, making his Nest on the out-most smallest twigge of a tree on the Land, winding it about so that it will not beare that bodie, whose wit seeing the young growne (for he can ouer-looke) teacheth him to sit fast on his hinder-feet, and taking the bough as neere the Nest as he dares, shakes it in that manner with his hands, that the young fall out for his share. Other Birds breed in holes, made in the ouer-hanging bankes of the Riuer: to escape both those beasts and the Snakes.

Hunting
Hawkes.

There are *Hawkes*, one sort as large as our Ger-falcon, which (the people say) will kill of themselves a Deere, seizing on his head, hanging fast and beating with his wings till the Deere faints, falls to his prey. There are small bastard Eagles, Buzzards, some with skinnies smelling like the Crocodile. These are meanes to the people to finde out Elephants, or other beasts dead, which become often sharers with these Hawkes. They haue no Ginnes nor Deuices to take Fowle, but when the King meanes to make a Feast, the people are all summoned, and placed in seuerall fit distances, so that the *Guinie-hennes* and *Partridges* are pursued without rest, till wearinesse deliuer them to their Enemies hands, and they to the King.

Fowling.

CHAP. XIII.

A Letter containning the admirable escape and glorious Victorie of NICHOLAS * ROBERTS Master, TRISTRAM STEVENS his Mate, and ROBERT SVCKSBICH Boatson of a Ship of *Doner*, taken by *Algier* Pyrates : which three men being carryed as Slaues by cleuen *Turkes* in the same Ship, partly killed, and partly sold them all, and returned free and safe home into England.



Ouing Friend, I haue receiued your Letter, &c. You desire to haue the whole proceedings of our unfortunate Voyage, yet fortunate to vs, who are heere to relate what the Lord hath done for vs: the which, as neere as God shall enable mee, I will make knowne unto you. First, ten leagues to the Southward of the North Cape, wee were chased by a Turkish man of Warre: of foure and thirtie Pieces of Ordnance, and being not farre from the shoare, it pleased God wee recovered it before hee could seich vs up: yet hee

was so neere to vs before hee left vs, that he was within shot of vs, and seeing that wee were bent to runne ashoare: rather then to come into his hands, hee espied ten or twelue Boates vnder the Ile of Dones, Fisher-men, where wee were chased in, and left vs; and put out his Boate full of small Shot; and some of them hee tooke, and some got away, and some hee chased ashoare vpon the Island; and there hee landed his men and tooke them all away, to the number of fise and fiftie persons, and one killed. So there hee kept vs the space of foure dayes: at length away hee goes, and the next day wee finding the winde faire, came out and went along the shoare within Musket shot all the way, betwixt that and the Iles of Bayone.

At length wee espied this Sayle comming out of the Sea, and came directly in with the Iles of Bayone, and wee being so neere the shoare did not greatly feare, because wee thought what ener he was, wee should get the shoare before him. At last hee comming something neere to vs, wee saw it was no great Sayle, not passing one hundred Tunnes or thereabouts; and that there was no hope of running away, but that wee must either Fight it out, or runne ashoare. I called up all my Company, and asked them what they would doe, whether they would stand by mee and shew themselves like men, and that it might neuer bee said, that wee should runne away from him, being not much bigger then wee, although hee had as many more Ordnance as wee. They answered all with one consent, that they would lue and dye with mee: whereupon our Boate standing vpon the upper Decke, wee put her over-boord and fitted our selues; and by that time hee was come within shot of vs: presently wee fired a Piece, and shot crosse his Fore-foote * to see what hee was, and seeing hee would not strike, wee knew then that hee was a Turkish man of Warre. And presently wee shot two more, and as soone as they were off, hee held up his Sprit-sayle in the * Clewline, and shot two at vs.

Then wee hauing no Portes right aft, were forced to bring our Ship vpon a winde, to bring our Pieces to beare vpon him. At length he came so neere that hee hald vs: I being vpon the Poope, they let flye their small shot so fast, that there was no staying. For at last, as I was going aft, I heard the Captayne bid them stay their hands. With that I stayed and talked with him, and the Captayne in English bad mee strike my Top-sayle, and hee would doe me no hurt: and I seeing what they were, told him that they were Dogges, and that I would not strike nor trust him, but hee should come aboard and strike it himselfe. They hearing mee say so, let flye all their small Shot at me, and shot the Ropes a sunder besides, and yet it pleased God, not hurt me; so being vpon our weather quarter, wee freed our quarter Piece, and had our Piece haled in ready to put at that Port whiles that was a lading againe: but as soone as that Piece was shot off, he hald up his Sprit-sayle, and bore up his Helme, & fired his two chad Pieces, and came with all sayles to top aboard of vs, and carryed ouer our ship: and shee being something tender sided, and our Ports being all open, our Lee * Ports were all vnder water, and our Chists and things that were betwixt our Deckes did swimme, and the Piece of Ordnance that was hald in, got loose and fell to Leeward, like to carrie out the side and all. At which mischance our men being much discomfited, they tooke our Ship; And Richard White, which all this while was in company with vs, and so neere when wee began: that the Shot flew ouer him; in the time that wee strone with him hee got into Bayone.

And they put all aboard the man of Warre, and so wee put to Sea, and our Ship after vs as fast as shee could, being hardly able to beare any sayle. Yet that night being Munday night, and the foure and twentieth of March, it proued faire weather, and they began to risle vs, and the next day by two of the clocke in the after-noon, they had taken out as much things as possible could bee spared, leauing such things as of necessitie must bee left for the carriage of her for Sally: and then the Captayne sent for mee to come aboard our owne Ship. Where I was no sooner come, but hee caused three men to take mee, and lay me sit to the winde: chac't Pieces, are those which lie right forward, or right aft-ward on; the Decke is the floore which is the Ordnance placed.

* These three men serued their Appren- tiships at *Doner*, but were Western men borne: the Master in *Corn-wall*, the other two in *Deuon-shire*. I haue added this to the former, as pertaining also to *Africa*; and this with the former, and all the relations of Santos, and the Iesuits & some others, and so to the end of this Booke, as Appendix to the first Tome; being such Relations as I had not to insert in their due place but later come into my hands.

* Fore-foote is not a part of a Ship, but when two ships sayle, one so much a weather the other, that shee will goe a head of the other, it is then called the Fore-foote: so that it implies one Ships sayling a crosse another Ships way.

* Clewline, is to the top top-gallant and sprit-sayle, that which the Clew garnet is to the mayn-sayle: the Clew is the lower corner of the sayle where the tackes & sheats are made fast: the Clew-garnet, a rope fast to the Clew running thence in a blocke to the middle of the yard, to which it haies vp the Clew, &c.

* Lee, is that which is oppo- of Planks on

Confultation
with a Wizard.

Eleuen Turkes
and three Chri-
stians.

Steeredge is
the place
where they
steere.

* To Cunne
the Ship, is the
same with
Conducere, to
direct.

* Aft and abaft
hath relation
from any part
of the Ship to
things done
or placed
thence to the
Sternward.

upon my belly upon the Deckes, and two of them to lye upon my legges, and one to sit on my necke, and he himselfe with a Rope did giue me so many blowes, that I did intreat him: if euer hee came of a Woman, not to vse mee like a Dogge, but rather that hee should heane me ouer-boord: then to put me to that penurie. His answer was to mee againe, after that hee had vsed his pleasure to me; Thou Dog, if I doe finde any thing more then thou hast confest to mee, I will giue thee a hundred times as much, and when I haue done, I will heane thee ouer-boord. So leauing mee aboard of our Ship: and foure of our Companie and seuen Turkes, he bad vs stay till wee heard further from him. At last, it was accorded among them who should goe our Captayne to carry vs for Sally; and that was a Hamburger a Renegado, one that could speake very good English. As soone as my Mate understood that hee was to goe our Captayne, hee did intreat him upon his knees that he might goe with him, because hee did alwayes desire that hee might goe with mee wheresoeuer I went: and one of the Moores seeing of him intreating so hard to goe with him, gaue him two or three blowes, and bad him get him downe into the hold againe. But the Captayne hauing something more commiseration on him then the other, gaue him his Plate, and bad him goe into the Boate; for hee should goe with him. And they hauing a Witch aboard, told him: that hee should take but three that could doe their labour well, and send the rest aboard the man of Warre, and that hee should haue an especiall care to keepe the Weapons from vs; and so comming aboard, brought my Mate with him, and sent three of them away of our company, and brought three Turkes more besides himselfe: so there were no more of vs but my selfe, and my Mate, and the Boatson; and there were eleuen of them.

They presently made sayle and went away, and the man of Warre stayed there behind. Being parted from the man of Warre, wee agreed together to see if it pleased God to worke some meanes for our deliuerie: for our vsage was such aboard the man of Warre, that wee feared it would be worse if they got vs where they would haue us; and therefore did resolute by Gods helpe, either to quite our selues of it, or to end our misery: and passing the time from Tuesday to Thursday in this sorrowfull manner, in that time wee did deuise the best meanes that God did enable vs; which was, that when it did please God to send vs a gale of winde to vndergoe our businesse withall, that they should alwayes haue each of them a Wedge in their pockets, to barre fast the Cabbins doore where the Weapons were, because then two did alwayes steere halfe the Night. But they would neuer suffer mee so much as to come into the Steeredge, (for they were suspicious of vs) and would not suffer vs to haue a Knife; or if wee had at any time bene betwixt the Deckes, they would presently haue searcht the Ship from one end to the other, to see if they could finde any thing that wee had layed up. But I alwayes bad them haue a care that they should lay up nothing, but onely take notice where it lay; For there was nothing to trust to, but onely two Pompe-brakes, and they stood alwayes an end in the Pompes without suspicion of any of them. Other thing there was not any, save one peece of Ore that lay upon the Poupe: for they would not leane so much as a Hatchet, but as soone as they had done with it, would straight carrie it into the Cabbins againe.

Thursday night being come, it pleased God to send vs durty weather; but wee not suspecting that wee should haue an opportunitie so soone, they were vnprovided of their Wedges in their pockets. And at last there arose a great gust of winde out of the North-west, and yet was neither of our mens turnes to be at the Helme, which made vs doubtfull whether wee might giue the enterprise or no. At last, the winde did increase so much, that I did intreat the Captayne that one of our men might goe to the Helme, because I told him: I thought they could better * Cunne the Ship afore the Sea then his men could, and hee was very willing that hee should. So the Boates-man being neereft to it, stept vnto the steeredge and tooke the Helme, and hee that was at the Helme before: sate downe in the steeredge beside him, and baled the Steeredge doore too, and made it fast in the in-side. Now there were foure of them upon the Decke with vs, the Captayne and three more, and foure in the Cabbins abaft by the Weapons, and two betwixt the Deckes, and one in the Steeredge. So walking upon the Decke with them, at last wee saw our opportunitie that all the Turkes were abaft * vs, and wee by the Maine-mast.

I tooke my Coate and heaued it from mee for a signe to him, and so wee tooke the two Pompe-brakes and ranne on upon them, and hee with one blow, and I with another killed the Captayne out-right, and the rest were not long a dispatching: onely one that got the Poupe, but hee was not long there, for wee got him downe; yet hee got away from vs little better then dead. Now for the Boatson that was in the Steeredge, when the word was giuen (which was God and Saint George) putting his foot against the Steeredge doore, thinking it would flye open, the Turke had made it so fast that it would not: and the Turke was so busie with him with his Knife, that hee was forced to strue with him to get it from him. And in the meane time came one of the Turkes that was betwixt the Deckes, and opened the Cabbins doore where the weapons were, and one of them with a Cutlaxe ranne him into the side, and bore him vp against the Steeredge doore, and meeting with two ribbes did not goe cleane through his body. Hee seeing they were come all vpon him, did strue to get the Steeredge doore open, and at last did, but with great hurt, hauing sixe or seuen bleeding wounds vpon him: and the doore being open, the Turkes durst not for all their Weapons aduenture to come vpon the Decke. But wee being in the heate of blood, assayed twice to get the Steeredge from them, but could not; for they ranne vs through the clothes but did not hurt vs. Seeing that would not preuaile, wee got a Bucket of water to put the Candle out that was in the Bitakell, which they perceiuing: tooke it away and carried it into the Cabbins, and lighted two more.

Then

Then they began to light their Matches to shoot at vs, which as soone as wee perceived, wee got our Capstaine Barres, and made fast the doore, and one of the rough trees crosse all the Bulke head. This being done, we tooke the men that were dead: and layed them crosse the sight of the steeredge to keepe them from sight of vs, and then tooke one of our Hatches and opened it, and went downe betwixt the Deckes to see if we could find any there. At last, it being very darke, I felt where there was one lay under a Cabbin, and hauing one of the Turkes Knives in my hand, I stucke it into his side as farre as it would goe, and he crying out, my Mate came, thinking to strike him, and strooke mee vpon the hand, which did mee great hurt: for after that, I had but little vse of it when it was cold. But to proceed, that man wee killed, and seeking for more, I happened with another; which as soone as euer I did but touch his clothes,

10 thrust his Knife at me, and cut me crosse the thumbe, and ranne it into my hand a little way, and so got away that we could find him no more. Then fearing lest they would come all downe vpon vs, we went vp and layed our Hatches, and tooke the other rough tree, * and made them all fast. Then wee cut our maine Hall-yards, and let our Main-sayle runne downe to keepe them from sight of vs when it was day: and iust as we had made all things fast, it was light day, and it was betwixt twelue and one when we began.

When it was day, we durst not come vpon the Decke for feare of their Muskets, but went continually without boord: yet they shot twice at me vpon the Poupe, out of the Forecastle through the Main-sayle; and yet, I thanke God, hurt me not. And thus we continued from Thursday night till it was Saturday morning: and I askt them if they would steere in for the shoare, and saue their lines; or else they should presently die. They replied, they would not. Then we hauing an old Axe, I was minded to cut a hole in

20 our Bowe aboue the lower Decke; and then to open a scuttle, and let them come vp (and so wee would haue dispatcht them as fast as they had come) and then to haue layd her by the Lee, to haue stopt it againe. When they saw that was my resolution, and that wee had made a beginning, hee told mee that was the chiefe of them, that if I would saue their lines they would doe what I would haue them. I had them beare up the Helme, which they did, and gaue mee a Compasse out, and I set them their course to steere in by.

At last, I had them giue mee their Muskets out, and hee sware by the Sunne, that they had beaueed them ouer-boord (and so they had) and then I had them giue mee their weapons. They did beginne to feare, lest when we had got them, that wee would haue killed them; and fell downe on their knees, and did entreate that I would saue their lines, and that they were sorry for what they had done; thinking that

30 they had killed him that was in the steeredge with them, because they neuer heard him speake, all the time (and Indeed, he could not helpe himselfe but as he was listd by vs) I promised them, that I would not hurt them, and then they gaue me their weapons, and fetcht vs what we would haue. So by twelue of the clocke that day we made the Rocke: and fearing to beare in with it, for feare of Men of warre, we held in two or three leagues to the Northward of it. Seeing a great Towne by the waters side, we were in hope to get a Boat aboard before night; and comming with it, wee went as neere to it as wee could, and lay by the lee, and put out a weafe, and stayed there three houres, and no Boat would come to vs.

Then night comming on, we got our tacks aboard, and steered away for the Rocke againe, and the wind being at North-west, we were fearefull to hale off farre from the shoare for feare of Men of warre; but steered directly for the Rocke, and went not aboue halfe a mile without it, because the wind was

40 large enough: and as soone as we were shot to the South-ward of the Rocke, in a dye of raine the wind came to the West South-west, and we running that way in hope to carrie it away, the wind Southwarded still, till we had brought our selues so neere, that we had no roome to beare up, and hauing no After-sayle to make our ship stay, were forst (being but we two) to put our Anchor from the Bowe, and to breake open a Scuttle, and goe downe and vered to a whole Cable, and brought up the ship, and went vp and tooke in our Sayles, and got another Anchor from the Bowe, and made three or foure of the Turkes cleere the Cable to vs. This was about twelue of the clocke in the night, and when the day came on, the weather did beginne to encrease much, and the Sea was much growne, being so neere the shoare as wee were, that we were faine to cut our Masts by the boord, and being not able to doe it of our selues (being but two of vs, and ouer-watcht for want of sleepe; (for from Thursday night till Sunday night, we neuer

50 tooke winke of sleepe) I went to the Cabbin doore, and bad them come to helpe vs. They told mee they would come, but made no great haste; for they did feare that we would haue killed them. At last perceiving that I was very angrie with them, as I was cutting at our Main-mast, and my Mate at the Fore-mast, one of them came up, and fell downe on his knees and kist me by the foot, and begged of mee, that I would not kill him, and I told him that I would doe none of them any hurt, but they should come and helpe vs worke, and hee went and told his consorts what I had said. So vp they came all vpon the Decke, and euery one of them one after another came and kist vs by the feet, as well hee that lay hurt; as vs: and then we gaue them the Axes to cut the Masts, but wee kept the weapons, and when our Mayne-mast and Fore-mast were cut away, the ship did ride pretie easie, and then wee went to prayer, the Turkes sitting with vs: and I hauing no more Bookes left but a little Prayer-booke in my Pocket,

60 one of the Turkes went to his Bagge and fetcht mine owne Bible, and brought it to me; saying, Master here is a bigger Booke for you.

After Prayer, we did eate and drinke together, and were as though we had beene altogether consorts: there we ridde from twelue of the clocke at night, till two of the clocke in the after-noone the next day, and all this time there came not a Boat to vs, yet wee were but three miles from Cast Cales, wee were not

Capstaine
barres are smal
pieces of tim-
ber put tho-
row the barrell
of the Cap-
staine, by
which they
turne it about.
The vse of the
Capstaine is to
weigh anchor,
to heaue any
thing of
weight.
* Rooftrees
are Timbers
of light wood,
that goe from
the Half-decke
to the Fore-
castle, and are
to beare vp the
gratings, &c.
But to ex-
pound all the
Mariners
termes in this
Letter, would
make a Glosse
longer then
the Text.

The Rocke a
point of Land
at the turning
in from the
Sea towards
Lisbon.

halfe a mile from the Point, which if we could haue weathered, we might haue gone into Lisboa without any sayle, but it was not Gods will that it should be so. Sunday being the seuenih day after we were taken, we cut our Cables, and with our sprit-sayle and spritsayle-top sayle wee ranne into a flat place, being no more flat places there, that there was no hope of cuer sauing our liues (for the Rockes are as steepe as a house) and so, some by one meanes, and some by another, we got ashore: but we did not suffer one of the Turkes to goe till we were all ashore, and then wee went to a little Village halfe a mile from the place where we came ashore, and there we caused all the Turkes to be pinyoned (for not a man came to the waters side all this time) and so two or three of the men of the Village went with vs to Cast Cales, and there the Turkes were put in prison, and we were very well used, and they that were hurt were drest, and had a Chirurgeon to looke to vs for the space of two dayes, till we had a little refreshment our selues, and then a Boat provided for vs, and the Turkes to carrie vs to Lisboa, where after examination both of vs and them, the Gouvernours gaue them freely to vs, and told vs we did deserue a great deale more.

Thus haue I related vnto you the whole truth of our proceedings, and no more but what is truth, not for that I desire to bee applauded of men, but that whosoener shall heare this discourse, may not thinke that of our owne power we could doe this, but that it is the hand of the Lord hath done it: and the Lord grant that I and euery of vs may neuer be vnmindfull of that the Lord hath done for vs. Amen.

This Letter was written to Master Iohn Moulton, to whom also he wrote another, which I haue, demanding his aduice about that which seemed to mee a strange immanitie (that I say not inhumanitie and vnchristianitie alone) of men; as the other was the vnspeakable grace and bountie of God: namely, that the owners of the ship so taken (being also the Masters kinsmen) demanded, and by Law threatned to wring from him part of the Moneyes which they made by sale of the Turkes at Lisbon; where yet they were not in their possession, but as the Kings slaues; and the Kings Officers (for encouragement of others in like case) gaue them that money as Almes, howsoeuer it was reckoned also as their iust price. Neither would they giue them wages, which yet demanded this money; as if their eye had beene euill because Gods was good and gracious, like Ionas in his mad anger for the Nininites spared. But I hope they better bethought them afterwards, or else I would here name them to their euerlasting reproach: which I now forbear, as David did Shimeis punishment, in regard of so great and present an escape, victorie, triumph, which euen then had happened.

Homo homini
lupus: homo
homini demon.

A Preface to
the ensuing
Treatise.

Supr. l. 3. & c.

And because these Algier Pirats haue brought vs into the thoughts of Turkish power, the rather obseruing that last Turkish businesse, rather then Christian charitie: and of Turkiewe haue deliuered already diuers things remarkable; yet hauing since met with a piece of worth, I thought good also to communicate it vnto thee. It is a Royall present worth the receiuing: namely, to set thee in possession, and make thee Master of the Grand Signiors Serraglio: a sight hitherto prohibited, in manner, to Christian eyes. I doe not promise thee the stones and edifices, but a securer and quieter Title (for how lately hath the Master beene dispossessed of them and his life together, that I mention not the instabilitie of the present, who once before held, and after was holden of the same?) Here thou hast the Rarities of that Great Palace for the Matter and Arte, with the representation of the Turkish Court; the Rites prophane and deuout, solempne and priuate of the Grand Signior and all his Grandes: the Sultanas, the Women and Virgins, the Sonnes and Daughters Royall, the Great Officers of State, and of the Household, their Courts, their admirable Discipline, with other Observations such as I thinke (for a great part of them) haue not yet seene the publike light in any Language. These hath Master Robert Withers collected: after his ten yeeres obseruation at Constantinople, where he was educated by the care and cost of that late Honourable Embassadour from his Maiestie, Sir Paul Pindar, and well instructed by Turkish Schoolemasters in the Language, and admitted also to further sight of their unholy Holies then is vsuall. But why doe I hold thee longer from the Author himselfe; yea, from this promised Serraglio?

CHAP. XV.

The Grand Signiors Serraglio: written by Master ROBERT WITHERS.

§. I.

Description of the place, partitions, and manifold conueniences.

The situation.



He Serraglio wherein the Grand Signior dwelleth, with all his Court of Seruants, is wonderfully well situated; being built directly in that place where Bizantium stood, vpon a great point of the Mayne, which looketh towards the mouth of the Blacke Sea, and is in forme triangle; two sides whereof are circumpassed with Mare Egeum, and the third ioyneth to the rest of the Citie of Constantinople; It is enclosed with a very high and strong wall, vpon which there are diuers

uers Watch-towers, and is by computation, about three *Italian* miles in compasse. It hath many Gates, some of which open towards the Sea side, and the rest into the Citie; but the chiefest Gate (which indeed is a very stately one) is one of those towards the Citie, and by it every one goeth in and out daily; the others being kept shut till such times as the King, or some of the principall Officers of the *Serraglio* shall cause any of them to bee opened, either for their pleasure to sit by the Sea side: where they haue a very dainty prospect, and may behold the ships sayling to and fro) or for any other occasion: likewise, if any other of the Land-gates be opened, it is either when the King sendeth priuately to put some Great man to death, or for the execution of some other secret businesse; but they are all locked fast in the night againe.

The compasse:
Gates.

10 The aforesaid chiefe and common Gate, is in the day time guarded by a great companie of *Capoochees*, which change their watch by turnes; and in the night likewise by others; all which *Capoochees* are vnder the command of a *Capoochee-Bashee*, which *Capoochee-Bashees* being sixe in number, are bound that every weeke one of them lie within the *Serraglio*, for the securitie and safeguard of the same. And without the Gate, about ten or twelue paces off, there stands a little House made of boords, vpon wheelles, in which every night a Companie of *Ianizaries* doe watch, who vpon any occasion are ready to awake those within, and to giue them notice of whatsoeuer sudden accident may happen without.

Chiefe Gate.

Capoochee Bashees, sixe.

Watch house.

20 It is also well guarded, by the Sea side, in the night, for in the Watch-towers which are vpon the wall there lies diuers *Agiamogians*, which are to watch, and see that none come neere; and lest any shipping should dare to attempt some mischiefe, they haue Ordnance ready charged, and the Gunners lying hard by them.

Agiamogians.
Ordnance.

In this *Serraglio* there are many stately Roomes, being appropriated to the seasons of the yeere; the greatest part whereof are built vpon plaine ground, some vpon the hills which are there; and some also vpon the Sea side, which are called *Kiosks*, that is, Roomes of faire prospect, or (as we terme them) banquetting Houses, into which the King oftentimes goeth alone, but most commonly with his Concubines, for his recreation.

Set roomes
sited to the
season.
Kiosks or Ban-
quetting
houses.
Chamber of
Audience.

30 There is amongst the aforesaid Roomes, the Chamber into which the *Grand Signior* repairereth, when he is to giue audience to Ambassadors; to the *Bashees* on the dayes of publique *Dian*, and to those who being to depart vpon any weighty seruice or employment, are to take their leaue of him; as also to such as are returned from their places of gouernment and charge which was before giuen vnto them: This Roome standeth in a fine little Court adorned with many very delicate Fountaines, and hath within it a *Sofa* spread with very sumptuous Carpets of Gold, and of crimson Veluet embroydered with very costly Pearles, vpon which the *Grand Signior* sitteth; and about the Chamber in stead of hangings, the walls are couered with very fine white stones, which hauing diuers sorts of leaues and flowers artificially wrought vpon them, doe make a glorious shew. There is also a little Roome adioyning vnto it, the whole inside whereof is couered with Siluer plate hatcht with Gold, and the ground is spread with very rich *Persian* Carpets of Silke and Gold.

Sofa spread.

Leaues and
Flowers; con-
trary to their
visuall Carpet-
superstition.
Gardens.

40 There are belonging to the said Roomes and Lodgings of the King, very faire Gardens of all the sorts of Flowers and Fruits that are to bee found in those parts; with many very pleasant Walkes, enclosed with high Cypressse trees on each side; and Fountaines in such abundance that almost in every Walke there are some, such great delight doth the *Grand Signior*, and all *Turkes* in generall take in them.

Cypressse-
walkes.

Besides the aforesaid Roomes (which are very many and serue onely for the Kings owne person) there is also the womens lodging, which is in a manner like a Nunnerie, wherein the Queene, the other *Sultanaes*, and all the Kings women and slaues doe dwell: and it hath within it all the commoditie that may be, of Bed-chambers, Dining-roomes, Withdrawing-roomes, Bagnoes, and all other kinds of building, necessarie for the vse and seruice of the women which dwell therein.

Womens Lod-
ging.

50 There are likewise diuers Roomes and Lodgings built apart from all those afore-said, which serue both for the principall Officers, those of a meane degree, and also for the basest sort; and are so well furnished, that not any wanteth whatsoeuer is fit and necessary. Amongst which there are two large buildings; one of which is the *Hazineh* or priuate Treasure, and the other the Kings Wardrobe. These are two very handsome buildings, and secure, by reason of the thickenesse of their walls, and strong Iron windowes, and haue each of them an Iron doore, both which are alwaies kept shut, and that of the *Hazineh* sealed with the Kings Seale.

Roomes for
Officers.
Two large;
the Treasure
(*Hazineh*) and
Wardrobe.

Sealed doores.

In the said *Serraglio* there are Roomes for prayer, Bagnoes, Schooles, Buttries, Kitchens, Stillatories, swimming places, places to runne Horses in, places to wrestle, Butts to shoot at, and to conclude, all the commoditie that may be had in a Princes Palace for things of that nature.

Roomes for
many other
vses.

60 At the first entrance into the *Serraglio*, there is a very large and stately Gate, in the Porch whereof, there is alwaies a Guard of about fiftie men with their weapons by them; as Peeces, Bowes, and Swords: and hauing passed this Gate (through the which the *Bashees*, and other Great men may ride on horse-backe) there is a very Spacious Court-yard about a quarter of an *Italian* mile in length, and almost as much in bredth; and on the left hand of the Court neere

First Gate,
Porch and
Guard.

Great Court.

vnto

- vnto the gate there is a place to shelter the people and horses in raynie weather: and on the right hand there is an Hospital for such as fall sick in the *Serraglio*, in which there are all things necessary, and it is kept by an *Eunuch*, who hath many seruants vnder him to attend vpon the diseased: And likewise on the other side on the left hand, there is a very large place where they keepe Timber and Carts, and such like things, to haue them neere hand for the vse and seruice of the *Serraglio*; ouer which there is a great Hall, where are hanged vp many Weapons of Antiquity, as Cimitars, Iauelins, Bowes, Head-pees, Gauntlets, &c. which they keepe to lend the Souldiers and others, for to accompany the *Grand Signior*, or the Chiefe *Vizier*, when they make any solemne entry into the Citie of *Constantinople*.
- And hauing passed through the aforesaid Court, there is a second gate (at which the *Bashaws* 10 alight) somewhat lesse then the former, but more faire and costly; vnder which there is also a stately Porch, where there is likewise a guard of *Capochees*, prouided with weapons as they are at the first gate; and then there is another Court, lesse then the former, but farre more beautifull, by reason of the delicate Fountaynes, and walkes enclosed with Cipresse Trees, and the fine greene grasse plots in which the *Gazells* doe feed and bring forth young; insomuch, as it is an exceeding pleasant place; and in this Court (the *Grand Signior* only excepted) euery one must goe on foot: On both sides of the said Gate, there is an open Gallerie vnder set with very stately Pillars, without the which the *Chianshes*, the *Ianizaries*, and the *Spahes*, doe vse to stand all along in rankes very wel apparelled, at such times as there is a great *Diuan* held for the comming of any Ambassador, to kisse the *Grand Signiors* hand. 20
- In the said Court on the right hand are all the Kitchens, beeing in number nine, all which haue their Larders, and seuerall Officers for their seruice. The first, and greatest is the Kings; The second, the Queenes; The third, the *Sultanaes*; The fourth, the *Capi Agbas*; The fift, for the *Diuan*; The sixt, for the *Agbas*, the Kings Gentlemen; The seventh, for the meaner sort of seruants; The eighth, for the women; The ninth, for the vnder Officers of the *Diuan*, and such as attend there to doe what belongeth vnto them in their seueral callings.
- And on the left side of the Court, there is the Kings Stable of about thirtie, or thirtie fve very braue Horses, which his Highnesse keepeth for his exercise, when he pleaseth to runne or sport with his Gentlemen the *Agbas* in the *Serraglio*: ouer which Stable there is a row of Roomes, wherein is kept all the Furniture of the Horses, the which I hauing seene I can affirme, that they 30 are of an extraordinary value; for, the Bridles, Pettoralls, and Cruppers, are set so thicke with Jewels of diuers sorts, that the beholders are amazed to see them, they doe so farre exceed all imagination.
- Neere adioyning to the said Stable, are certayne buildings for the seruice of the Officers of the *Diuan*; and hauing passed two thirds of the Court, there is the Roome wherein the *Diuan* is kept; vnto which joyneth the *Hazineh*, called the outward *Hazineh*, the which the *Diuan* being ended, is sealed with the chiefe *Viziers* Seale: And euen with the *Diuan* but somewhat behind it towards the left hand, is the Gate which leadeth into the womens Lodgings, called the Queenes gate, which is kept and guarded by a company of blacke *Eunuches*.
- The aforesaid Court endeth at a third Gate, called the Kings Gate which leadeth into the 40 Roomes and Lodgings kept apart for himselfe, and such Gentlemen as attend vpon him continually; neither may any one enter therein, but by an absolute leaue from the *Grand Signior* (speaking of men of great qualitie) but such as are belonging to the Butterie or Kitchen, and Phisicians, Caters and Sewers, may goe in and out with leaue only of the *Capi Agba*, who is the Chiefe Chamberlaine of the *Serraglio*, and to him is committed the keeping of that Gate; and he is alwayes at hand (by reason his Lodging is neere) with a Company of white *Eunuches* about him like himselfe. So that, what is reported of things within this Gate, is for the most part by relation; for, either one may not see them, or if hee doe see them, it must bee when the King is absent; and hee must bee brought in by some man of qualitie and command, by one of the Gates at the Sea side: the which also cannot be obtayned but with great difficultie, and some 50 charge too, for a gratification to the guide; they hauing not onely great respect to their Kings person, but also to his roomes in his absence.
- And hauing passed the third Gate (the which hath also a very faire Porch) immediatly is seene the aforesaid Roome appointed for publique audience; into which the *Grand Signior* repaireth to giue audience to Ambassadors, and to the *Bashaws*; and there is also another very faire Court, paved with very fine Marble wrought with *Mosaicall* worke, wherein there are many delicate Fountaines, and sumptuous Buildings on all sides, in which (commonly) the King vseth to eate, and passe the time in some recreation.
- It happened, that I taking hold of a fit time, the King being abroad a hunting, through the great friendship which was twixt my selfe and the *Kabiyah* of the *Bustangi Balbee*; had the opportunity (he being my guide) to goe into the *Serraglio*, entring in at a Gate by the Sea side; where he shewed me many of the Kings backward roomes, diuers *Bagnoes*, and many other very curious and delightfull things, both for the excellencie of their gilding, and the abundance of Fountaynes that were in them. In particular, I saw a row of Sommer Roomes built vpon the 60 top

top of a little Hill, so well contriued with Hals and Chambers, and so pleasantly seated and richly furnished, that it might very well be the Habitation of so great a Prince. Amongst which there was a Hall that was open towards the East, but vnder-set with very faire Pillars, which Hall looked into an artificiall foure square Lake (which they call *Hawooz*) proceeding from about thirtie Fountaynes: which were built vpon a kind of Terrase or high foundation of very fine Marble, which compassed the said Lake, so the water ranne from the Fountaynes aboue, downe into the Lake, and from the Lake it ranne through diuers Gutters into certayne Gardens: there might two men walke abreast vpon the Terrase, where they should heare the continuall and sweet Harmonie which the Fountaynes made with their Leaden Pipes, insomuch that it was a most delightfull place. And in the Lake there was a little Boat, the which (as I was enformed) the *Grand Signior* did oftentimes goe into with his Mutes and Buffones, to make them row vp and downe, and to sport with them, making them leape into the water; and many times as he walked with them aboue vpon the sides of the Lake, he would throw them downe into it, and plunge them ouer head and eares.

Hall.
Lake.
Terrase.

Boate.
Mutes.

I looked also through a window which was in the wall of the said Hall, and saw his Highnesse Bed-chamber; the wals whereof were couered with stones of the finest *China Metall*, spotted with flowers of diuers colours, which made a very daintie shew: The *Anteportaes* were of cloth of Gold of *Bursia*, and their borders of Crimson Veluet, embroydered with Gold and Pearles: the posts of the Bed-stead were of siluer, hollow; and in stead of knobs on the tops of them there were set Lions made of Chrystall; the Canopie ouer it was of Cloth of Gold, and so were the Bolsters and the Matteresses. The floore of this Chamber (as of the other Roomes also) and the *Sofaes*, were couered with very costly *Persian Carpets* of silke and Gold, and the Pallets to sit on, with the Cushions to leane vpon, were of very rich cloth of Gold.

Grand Signiors
Bed-chamber
described.

Lions.

There was hanging in the midst of the aforesaid Hall a very great Lanthorne, the forme whereof was round, and the barres of siluer gilt, and set very thicke with Rubies, Emeralds, and Turkeses; the panes likewise were of very fine Chrystall, which made a very splendent shew. I saw also a Bason and Ewre to wash with, of masse Gold, set with Rubies and Turkeses, which did beautifie the Roome exceedingly.

Lanthorne.

Bason and
Ewre of gold
Shooting.

Behind the Hall there was a place to shoot in, where I saw many very stately Bowes and Arrowes; and there were showne vnto mee, such strange passages made with Arrowes by the King himselfe through Brasse and Iron, that me thought it was almost vnpossible to bee done by the arme of any man.

The Roome which is called the publike *Diuan*, hath beene built of late yeeres; it is foure square, and about eight or nine paces euery way from side to side; it hath behind it another Roome for the seruice thereof, and one also at the comming into the *Diuan*, on the right hand, diuided only by a wooden rayle, with many other Roomes somewhat distant from it, which serue for the expedition of sundry businesses: This *Diuan* is called publike, because any kinde of person whatsoeuer publicly and indifferently, may haue free acceffe vnto it to require Iustice, to procure grants, and to end their Causes and Controuersies, of what nature, condition, or import so euer they bee.

Publike Diuan
described.

§. II.

Of the Diuan Dayes, Indges, Session, Indicature, Dyet, Accounts.

THe *Diuan* dayes are foure in the Weeke; viz. Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday, vpon which dayes, the Chiefe *Vizir*, with all the rest of the *Vizirs*; the two *Cadischers* of *Gracia* and *Natolia* (which are the Chiefe ouer all the *Cadies* of those two Prouinces; which *Cadees* are men of the Law, who by priuiledge doe gouerne in all places and Cities of the *Ottoman Empire*, as Iustices of Peace doe with vs, but with a little greater domination) the three *Defterdars* (whose charge is to gather in the Kings Reuenues, and likewise to pay all the Souldiers, and others which haue any stipend due vnto them :) The *Reiskitarob* (which is the Chancellor.) The *Nishawngce*, (that is, hee which signeth the Commandements and Letters with the *Grand Signiors* marke.) The Secretaries of all the *Beshawes*, and other great men; a great number of Clerkes or Scriueners, which are alwayes at hand attending at the doore of the *Diuan*; The *Chiausb Bashee*, who all that while that he is in the *Serraglio*, carrieth a siluer staffe in his hand; and many *Chiausbes* also to attend, that at the command of the *Vizir* they may bee readie to bee dispatched with such order as shall bee giuen them by him, to what place, or to whom soeuer; For, they are those which are employed in Ambassies, in ordinary Messages, to summon men to appeare before the Iustice, to keepe close Prisoners, and in fine to performe all businesses of that nature. All which aforesaid Officers, from the highest to the lowest are to be at the *Diuan* by breake of day.

Diuan dayes &
Officers.
Vizirs.
cadees and
Cadischers.

Defterdars and
Reiskitarob.

Secretaries &
Clerke.

Chiausbes.

Manner of
Session or
Court.

The

Manner of
Session or
Court.
Left the upper
hand.

Nishawnee.

No Attorneys.
Chiefe Vizirs
power.

Manner of de-
ciding.

Dinner rites.

Copper plate.

Napkin.

Dyet.

Officers.

Drinke.

Vnder-officers
vnder-dyet.

Giuing ac-
count to the
King.

By the Cadilef-
chers.

By the Defter-
dars.

By the Vizirs.

Reuerence.

The *Vizirs* being come into *Diwan*, doe sit within at the further end thereof, with their faces towards the doore, vpon a bench which ioyneth to the wall, euery one in his place as hee is in degree, sitting all at the right hand of the chiefe *Vizir* (for with them the left is counted the upper hand) and on his left hand vpon the same bench doe sit the two *Cadilefchers*, first hee of *Grecia*, as being the more noble and famous Province, and then hee of *Natolia*. And on the right side at the comming in at the doore: doe sit the three *Defterdars*, who haue behind them (in the aforesayd roome which is deuided with a woodden rayle) all the sayd Clerkes or Scriueners who sit vpon the ground, with Paper and Pennes in their hands, being ready to write whatsoever is commanded them. And on the other side (ouer against the *Defterdars*) doth sit the *Nishawnee*, with his Pen in his hand: hauing his Officers round about him. And in the middest of the roome doe stand all such as require audience of the Bench.

Now being all come together, and euery man set in his owne place, forthwith the Petitioners begin their suites, one by one (who haue no need of Attorneys, for euery one is to speake for himselfe) referring themselves to the iudgement and sentence of the Chiefe *Vizir*, who (if hee please) may end all; for the other *Bashawes* doe not speake, but attend till such time as hee shall referre any thing to their arbitrement, as oftentimes hee doth, for hee hauing once vnderstood the substance onely of the Cause; (to free himselfe from too much trouble) remits the deciding of the greatest part to others; As for example, if it bee appertayning to the *Ciuill Law*, hee remits it to the *Cadilefchers*. If it bee of *Accounts*, to the *Defterdars*. If of *Falshood*, (as counterfeiting the Marke or such like) to the *Nishawnee*. If concerning Merchants, or *Merchandizes* (wherein there may bee any great difficultie) to some one of the other *Bashawes* which sit by him; so that after this manner he doth exceedingly ease himselfe of so great a burthen, which otherwise hee alone should bee enforced to vndergoe; reseruing onely to himselfe that which hee thinketh to bee of greatest import and consequence. And on this wise they spend the time vntill it bee Noone: at which houre (one of the Sewers being appointed to bee there present) the Chiefe *Vizir* commands that the Dinner bee brought in, and immediately all the common people depart. So the roome being free, the Tables are made readie after this manner before the Chiefe *Vizir*, there is set vpon a stoole a thinne round plate of Copper tinned, about the bignesse of the bottome of a Barrell, at which hee with one or two at the most of the other *Bashawes*, doe eate; the like is prepared for the rest of the *Bashawes* which doe eate together: And another for the *Cadilefchers*; one for the *Defterdars*; and one likewise for the *Nishawnee*. And hauing euery one a Napkin spread vpon his knees to keepe his Garments cleane; and a great quantitie of Bread being layd readie round about the sayd Copper plates, immediately the Meate is brought in, and set before them vpon the Plates in great Dishes (which they call *Tepsee*) and still as they haue eaten of one Dish, the Sewer takes off that and sets on another. Their dyet is ordinarily Mutton, Hennes, Pigeons, Geese, Lambe, Chickens, broath of Rice and Pulse, dressed in diuers manners, and some Tarts or such like at the last, so in very short space they make an end of their Dinner. That which remayneth of the sayd Tables, the Officers of the *Diwan* doe eate, but they haue more also allowed and brought them from their Kitchen. The *Bashawes* and other Great men, haue Drinke brought vnto them, which is *Sherbet*, in great Porcelaine Dishes; but the others doe either not drinke at all, if they doe drinke, it is faire Water brought them from the Fountaines. And the same time, when the *Vizirs* of the Bench and others of the *Diwan* are at Dinner, the vnder Officers, Waiters, and Keepers, doe dine also; the which are not lesse ordinarily then foure or fise hundred persons, but their food is nothing but Bread and Pottage, which they call *Churma*.

Dinner being ended, the chiefe *Vizir* attendeth onely publique Affaires, and taking Counsell together (if hee pleaseth and thinketh it fit) with the other *Bashawes*; at last, hee determineth and resolueth of all within himselfe, and prepareth to goe in vnto the King; It being the ordinarie custome so to doe in two of the foure *Diwan* dayes, that is, vpon Sunday, and vpon Tuesday; to render an account vnto his Maiestie, of all such businesses as hee hath dispatched. And to this end the *Grand Signior* (after hee hath dined also) repayreth vnto his Chamber of Audience, and being set downe vpon a *Sofa*, sendeth the *Capi Agha* (which hath in his hand a Siluer staffe) to call first the *Cadilefchers*, who immediately rise vp out of their places, and hauing bowed to the chiefe *Vizir*, they depart, being accompanied with the sayd *Capi Agha*, and *Chiausli Bashawee*, who goe before them with their Siluer staves in their hands, and so they goe in vnto the King, to giue account and make him acquainted with what hath passed concerning their Charge, and so they being dismissed, (for that day) they goe directly home to their owne Houses.

Next after them are called the *Defterdars*, who in the same manner are brought vnto the King, and hauing dispatched, they take leaue, and giue place to the *Vizirs* who are called last of all, and goe together in a ranke one after another, the Chiefe *Vizir* being formost, vihered along by the two aforesayd Siluer staves. And being come before the presence of the *Grand Signior*, they stand with their hands before them, holding downe their heads, in token of Humilitie; and so none but the Chiefe *Vizir* speaketh, and giues an account of what hee thinketh fit, deli-

uering

uering his Memorials or *Arzes* one by one, the which the King hauing read, the *Vizier* taketh them, and hauing put them into a little crimson Sattin bagge, hee most humbly layeth them downe againe before his Maiestie: and so if the *Grand Signior* demand no further of him (the other *Bashawes* not hauing spoken one word all this while) they all depart and take horse at the second Gate; and being accompanied by their owne people, and by diuers others (especially the chiefe *Vizier*) who is brought euen into his owne house by a great companie of *Chiaushees* and others, all for the most part on horse-backe) they goe euery one to his owne *Serraglio*, and so the *Dinan* is ended for that day, it being about two houres after noone.

Departure.

Captaine
Bashaw.

Agha of the
Ianzaries.

Kings private
awfull win-
dow.

Embassador
entertayned
at the *Dinan*.

Master of the
Ceremonies.

His admission
to the Pre-
sence.

It is to be noted that sometimes also the *Agha* of the *Ianzaries*, and the Captaine *Bashaw* come to the *Dinan*, when they are at home in *Constantinople*, and haue businesse to doe there: but the Captaine *Bashaw* onely doth goe in vnto the King (which also may not be but in companie of the other *Bashawes*) to acquaint his Highnesse with the state and affaires of the *Arsenal* and *Armado*; his place in the *Dinan* is vpon the same Bench, but yet hee sitteth last of all the *Bashawes*, vnlesse he bee one of the *Viziers* (as it is often seene) and then hee sitteth second, or third, as he is in degree by election: but the *Agha* of the *Ianzaries* doth not sit in *Dinan*, but sitteth vnder the open Gallerie on the right hand, within the second Gate; and if so bee it so fall out, vpon some extraordinarie businesse, that hee be to goe in vnto the King, then he goeth first of all others; and being come out againe from him, he sitteth downe againe in his place, vntill the *Dinan* be ended; and he is the last that departeth of all the great men.

The *Grand Signiors* Predecessors were alwaies wont, and this man sometimes commeth privately by an vpper way to a certaine little window which looketh into the *Dinan*, right ouer the head of the chiefe *Vizier*, and there sitteth with a Lattice before him, that he may not be seene, to heare and see what is done in the *Dinan*; and especially at such times when he is to giue audience to any Ambassadour from a great Prince, to see him eate, and heare him reason with the *Bashawes*: and by this his comming to that window, the chiefe *Vizier* (who alwaies standeth in ieopardy of losing his head, vpon any displeasure of the *Grand Signior*) is enforced to carrie himselfe very vprightly, and circumspectly in the managing of his affaires.

§. III.

Of Ambassadors entertainment and audience.

When it falleth out that an Ambassadour from any great King is to kisse the *Grand Signiors* hand, it must bee either vpon a Sunday or vpon a Tuesday; for those are the dayes appointed for his Highnesse to giue audience, to the end he may not bee troubled at other times: and then the *Vizier* commandeth that there be a great *Dinan*, which is, by calling together all the Great men of the Port, all the *Chiaushees*, all the *Mutase-rakes*, all the *Spahes*, and all the *Ianzaries*; who are euery one of them commanded by their Captaines to apparell themselues in the best manner that they are able; and to goe euery one to his ordinary place in the second Court, and there to stand in orderly rankes; who indeed make a very goodly shoue, for they are very well clothed, and are most of them of comely personage.

The *Dinan* being all in order (in which at that time there are very few or no particular causes at all handled) the chiefe *Vizier* sendeth the *Chiaushe Bashaw*, with many of his *Chiaushees* on horse-backe to fetch the Ambassadour, who being come to the *Dinan*, is set face to face close before the chiefe *Vizier* vpon a stoole couered with cloth of Gold; and hauing for a while complimented and vsed some pleasant discourse together; the *Bashaw* commandeth that the dinner bee brought, the which is done after the aforesaid manner, (only the round plate Table, on which the meate is set is of Siluer, and the victuals are more delicate and in greater abundance.) And so the Ambassadour, and the chiefe *Vizier*, with one or two of the other *Bashawes* doe eate together: and for euery such Banquet at such times, the *Grand Signior* alloweth the Steward a thousand Crownes to spend.

They hauing dined, the *Vizier* entertayneth the Ambassadour: with some discourse till such time as the Ambassadors people haue also dined; and then the Ambassadour together with his owne attendants retire into a certaine place neere the *Grand Signiors* Gate, where hee stayeth till such time as all the orders of the *Dinan* haue had audience of the King, who being dismissed, doe all depart (except the *Bashawes* onely, who for the *Grand Signiors* honour are to stay and attend in the Roome vpon his Maiestie.) And then the Ambassadour is called by the Master of the Ceremonies, by whom hee is brought to the Gate, whereat the *Capi Agha* standeth with a ranke of Eunuches, which *Capi Agha* leadeth him to the doore of the Roome, where there doe stand two *Capoochee Bashawes* ready, who take the Ambassadour, the one by one arme, and the other by the other, and so leade him to kisse his Highnesse hand, which he hauing done, they leade him backe in the same manner to the wall of the Roome, where hee standeth till such time as the said *Capoochee Bashawes*, haue also led such of the Ambassadors Gentlemen as are appointed

Departure. to kisse the Kings hand : and then the *Druggaman* declareth the Ambassadors Commission, to which the *Grand Signior* maketh no answer, but only speaketh a word or two to the chiefe *Vizir* to licence him ; and so the Ambassador departeth, doing reuerence to the King, bowing downe his head, and not pulling of his Hat or Cap at all.

Vesting. This one particular is worthie the obseruation, and that is this; There is not any person whatsoever, as well Ambassador as other, which being to kisse the *Grand Signiors* hand, that is not vested with a Vest giuen him by the *Grand Signior*. And to this end, before the Ambassador goeth in to the King, the chiefe *Vizir* sendeth him so many Vests as are appointed in the Canon, for him and his Gentlemen, who put them on the place where the Ambassador stayeth till the King sends for him to haue his audience. The said Vests are of diuers sorts, of which there is one or two for the Ambassadors owne person of cloth of Gold of *Bursia*; the other being of lowe price worth little or nothing. But in lieu of those Vests, there is not any Ambassador (which is to goe to the King for his audience;) or *Bashaw* (which at his returne from some employment abroad, is to kisse his hand;) but they present him to the full of what the Canon requireth, in so much that the *Grand Signior* receiueth farre more then he giueth. Besides, the *Bashawes* (ouer and aboue the ordinarie Canon) doe giue him exceeding great and rich Presents; together with great summes of money; sometimes, to the end they may continue in his grace and fauour.

Recompence. Other Ambassadors which come from petie Princes or States, howbeit they are vested also with Vests giuen them by the *Grand Signior*; yet they goe not to the *Diwan* in that pompe, neither are they feasted as the others are, but goe priuately, carrying their Present with them; howsoever they are lead in vnto the King after the aforesaid manner.

All Ambassadors but the Venetian, at the Kings charge. It is to be noted, that all Ambassadors from absolute Princes, as well ordinary as extraordinary, (except those from the *Signioria* of *Venice*, to whom from their first introduction it was denied) all, I say, lie at the charges of the *Grand Signior*; for, from his owne store they haue allowed them Wheat, Barlie, Pulse, Wood, Coles, Hay, the custome of their Wine, and all other necessities to spend in their houses, and from the *Defterdar* so many *Aspars per diem*; which prouision, though now of late it be somewhat hard to be gotten in; yet by gifts and importunitie, in the end they receiue the greatest part of it, though the Officers will share with them.

Hauiing thus farre made description of the *Serraglio*, and the Buildings which are therein; with some other particulars belonging vnto it, according to that which I haue seene and heard by relation. It followeth that I speake somewhat touching those which dwell in it, and concerning their ministerie and functions.

§. IIII.

Of the persons which liue in the *Serraglio*: and first of the Women and Virgins, their manner of life there.

One Lord, the rest Slaues. **I**rst, I say that all they which are in the *Serraglio*, both men and women, are the *Grand Signiors* slaues, and so are all they which are subiect to his Empire: for, as hee is their onely Soueraigne, so they doe all of them acknowledge, that whatsoever they doe possesse or enjoy, proceedeth meerely and simply from his goodwill and fauour.

This *Serraglio* may rightly bee termed the Seminarie or Nurserie of Subiects; for, in it all they haue their bringing vp, which afterward become the principall Officers, and subordinate Rulers of the state and affaires of the whole Empire.

3000. within the Kings gate. They which are within the third Gate, called the Kings gate, are about two thousand persons men and women, whereof the women (old and young one with another, what with the Kings Concubines, old women, and women seruants) may bee about eleuen or twelue hundred. Now, those which are kept vp for their beauties, are all young Virgins taken and stolen from forren Nations, who after they haue bene nurtured in good manners, and can play on Instruments, sing, dance, and sew curiously, they are giuen to the *Grand Signior* as Presents of exceeding great value; and the number of these encreaseth daily, according as they are sent and presented by the *Tartars*, by the *Bashawes*, and other great men, to the King and Queene: they doe likewise decrease sometimes, according as the *Grand Signior* seeth fit, who vpon some occasions and accidents, causeth many of them to be sent out of this *Serraglio* into the old *Serraglio*, which is also a very goodly and spacious place, as hereafter I shall take occasion to make mention of.

Virgins made Turkes, and how. These Virgins, immediatly after their comming into the *Serraglio* are made *Turkes*, which is done by vsing this ceremonie onely, to hold vp their fore-finger, and say, *Law illaw-beh il Al-lawh Muhamedrefull Allawh*, that is, there is no God but God alone, and *Mahomet* is the Messenger of God: and according as they are in age and disposition, (being proued and examined by an old woman called *Cahiyah Cadun*, that is, as wee say, the Mother of the Maides) so they are placed in a Roome with the others of the same age, spirit, and inclination, to dwell and liue together. Now, in the Womens lodgings, they liue iust as the Nunnies doe in their great Mona-

Monasteries; for, these Virgins haue very large Roomes to liue in, and their Bed-chambers will hold almost a hundred of them a piece: they sleepe vpon *Sofas*, which are built long wise on both sides of the Roome, so that there is a large space in the midst for to walke in. Their Beds are very course and hard, and by euery ten Virgins there lies an old woman: and all the night long there are many lights burning, so that one may see very plainly throughout the whole Roome; which doth both keepe the yong Wenchies from wantonnesse, and serue vpon any occasion which may happen in the night: neere vnto the said Bed-chambers they haue their *Bagnoes*, and Kitchins for their vse at all times, with a great abundance of Fountaines of which they are serued with water. Aboue ouer the said Bed-chambers there are diuers Roomes, where they sit and sew, and keepe their Chifts in which they lay vp their apparell. They feed by whole *Camaradaes*, and are serued and waited vpon by other women; so that they doe not want any thing whatsoever which is necessary for them. They haue other places likewise where they goe to schoole, to learne to speake and reade the *Turkish* tongue, to sew, and play on Instruments; and so they spend the day with their Mistresses which are ancient women: some houres notwithstanding being allowed them for their recreation, to walke in their Gardens, and vse such sports as they familiarly exercise themselues withall.

Their manner
of life.
Chambers.
Beds.

Bagnoes.

Sewing and
Chifts.

Schooling and
Mistresses.

Recreations.

The King doth not at all frequent or see these Virgins, vnlesse it be at the instant when they are first giuen him, or else in case that he desire one of them for his bed-fellow, or to shew him some pastime with Musike and tumbling trickes: and then hee giueth notice to the aforesaid *Cabiyah Cadun* of his purpose, who immediatly chooseth out such as shee thinketh to bee the most amiable and fairest, and hauing placed them in good order in a Roome, in two rankes, halfe on the one side and halfe on the other, shee forthwith brings in the King, who walking foure or fise turnes in the midst of them, and hauing viewed them well, taketh good notice of her which he best liketh, but sayeth nothing, onely as he goeth out againe, he throweth a Hand-kerchiefe into that Virgins hand, by which shee knoweth that shee is to lie with him that night; and she being wondrous glad of so good a fortune, to be chosen out from among so many to enioy the societie of an Emperour, hath all the art that possible may bee shewen vpon her by the *Cadun*, in attiring, painting, and perfuming her, and so at night shee is brought to sleepe with the *Grand Signior* in the womens lodgings: (there being diuers Chambers appropriated for that businesse onely: and being in bed they haue two great Waxe lights burning by them all night, one at the beds feet, and the other by the doore; and there are appointed (by the *Cadun*) diuers old *Blacke-moore* women, which watch by turnes that night in the Chamber, two at a time, one to sit by the said light at the Beds feet, and the other by the doore, and when they will they change, and other two supply their roomes, without making the least noise imaginable, so that the King is not any wise disturbed. And in the morning when his Highnesse riseth (for he riseth first) he changeth all his apparell from top to toe, leauing those which hee wore to her that he lay withall, and all the money that was in his pockets were it neuer so much; and so departeth to his owne lodgings, from whence also he sendeth her immediatly a Present of Iewels, Vests and Money of great value, according to the satisfaction and content which hee receiued from her that night: in the same manner hee is to deale with all the others which hee maketh vse of in that kind, but with some he continueth longer, and enlargeth his bounty more towards some then to others, according as his humour and affection to them encreaseth; by their fulfilling his lustfull desires. And if it so fall out, that any one of them doe conceiue by him and bring forth his first begotten child, she is called by the name of *Sultana* Queene, and if the child bee a sonne, then shee is confirmed and established by great Feasts and Solemnities; and hath a dwelling apart assigned vnto her, of many stately Roomes well furnished, and many seruants to attend vpon her: The King likewise alloweth her a very sufficient Reuenue, that shee may giue away and spend at her pleasure, in whatsoever shee may haue occasion; and all they of the *Serraglio* doe acknowledge her for Queene, shewing all the respect and dutie that may bee, both to her and hers.

Kings comming
to them.

Preparations.

Bed-chamber
rites.

Reward.

Sultana Queene

Her allowance.

Other *Sultanaes*.

The other women (howsoeuer they bring forth issue) are not called *Queenes*; yet they are called *Sultanaes*, because they haue had carnall commerce with the King. And shee onely is called *Queene*, which is the Mother of the first begotten Sonne, Heire to the Empire: the which *Sultanaes* being frequented by the King at his pleasure, haue also this prerogatiue, to be immediatly remoued from the common sort, and to liue in Roomes apart, exceeding well serued and attended, and haue no want either of Money, or of Apparell, in conformitie of their degree. All these *Sultanaes* doe resort together very familiarly, when they please; but not without great dissimulation and inward malice, fearing lest the one should be better beloued of the King then the other; howbeit in outward shew they vse all kind of curtesie one towards another.

And if it happen that the first begotten sonne of the Queene (Heire to the Empire) should die, and another of the *Sultanaes* should haue a second sonne; then her sonne being to succeed the deceased Heire, shee is immediatly made Queene, and the former shall remayne a *Sultana* onely: and so the title of Queene runneth from one *Sultana* to another, by vertue of the sonnes succession.

Queen changed.

- Nuptiall rites.** Sometimes the Queene was wont to bee wedded to the King, but now shee passeth without the *Kebir*, that is, without an assignment of any Ioynture, or celebrating the Nuptiall rites; which is nothing else, but in the presence of the *Musfee*, to giue each of them their assent to Matrimonie, of which the *Musfee* maketh *Hoget*, that is, an *authenticall Writing* or Testification, not onely of the Consent of the two parties contracted, but also of the Dowrie which the King is to allow her.
- Ioynture.** The reason why the Queenes are not now (nor haue not beene of late) espoused; is, not to dismember the Kings Patrimonie of five hundred thousand Chicquins a yeere: For, *Sultan Selim* hauing allowed so much to the Empreffe his Wife, (to the end she might spend freely, and build Churches and Hospitals, so that by all meanes she might bee honoured and esteemed) left order by Canon, that all his Successours should doe the like, if so bee they determined to be married to their Queenes. But now the sayd reuenues being otherwise imployed, the *Bashawes* doe what in them lyeth to dissuade the *Grand Signior* from marrying: and so much the rather, because they would haue none but the King alone to rule: yet howsoeuer, (married or not married) the Mother of the Heyre is by every one called and acknowledged for Queene, and presented with rich Presents from all great Personages, and hath continually at her Gate, a Guard of thirtie or fortie blacke Eunuches, together with the *Kuzlar Aga* their Master, whom shee commandeth and imployeth in all her occasions, and so doe all the other *Sultanaes*, the which neuer stirre out of the *Serraglio*, but in companie of the King himselfe, who oftentimes carrieth either all or most of them, abroad by water to his other *Serraglio's* of pleasure. And in those wayes through which they passe to goe to and fro their *Kaiks*, their is Canuasse pitched on both sides, and none are by them but blacke Eunuches, till they are sealed close in the roome at the sterne of the *Kaik*; then goe in the Barge-men: so that in fine, they are neuer scene by any men, but onely by the *Grand Signior* and the Eunuches.
- Guard of black Eunuches.**
- Canuasse-way.**
- Kings Daughters and Sisters** The Kings Daughters, Sisters, and Aunts, haue their lodgings also in the same *Serraglio*, being roially serued, and sumptuously Apparellled, and liue together by themselves in continuall pleasures; vntill such time as the King shall bee pleased to giue them in Marriage, and then they come out of that *Serraglio*, and carry each of them along with them a Chest which the King giues them, full of Gownes of Cloath of Gold, rich Jewels, and Chicquins, to the value of at least thirtie thousand pounds sterling per Chest, and that is (as wee call it) their *Portion*. They carrie likewise along with them, all that which they hid from time to time, things of great price which haue beene giuen them, which sometimes amounteth to a great matter, and stands them in stead all their liues time. And if so bee that the *Grand Signior* loues them, and is willing to further them, and deale roially with them; then they are suffered to carry out of the *Serraglio*, as many Slaues with them as they will, (prouided they exceed not the number of twentie a piece) and such Eunuches as they like best for their seruice. These also being named *Sultanaes*, serue still (during their liues) the stipend which they had within the *Serraglio* some a thousand, and some a thousand five hundred *Aspers per Diem*, the Slaues also and the Eunuches doe likewise enioy their former allowance. Their Houses are furnished, both with household stuffe and other necessarie prouision from the Kings *Hafineh* and *Begglick*, that they may liue *Alla grande*, like *Sultanaes*; so that in conclusion, they liue farre better without the *Serraglio* then they did within.
- Portion-Chest**
- Slaues and Eunuches.**
- Bill of Dowrie.** And if so bee, that a *Bashaw* hauing married one of them, bee not prouided of a House fit for her, then the King giueth her one of his (for hee hath many) that her House may bee correspondent with her Greatnesse and qualitie. Now for the Husbands part, hee is on the contrarie to make her a Bill of Dowrie, which is called *Kebir*, as aforesayd, of at least a hundred thousand Chicquins in money, besides Vests, Jewels, Brooches, and other Ornaments, amounting to a great summe. For although the fashion of a *Sultanaes* habite bee common, and nothing different from other Womens, yet the substance is farre more proud and costly; the which redounds to the great charge and losse of their Husbands. They being thus married, doe not at all conuerse with any men, more then they did when they liued in the Kings *Serraglio*, (except with their owne Husbands) but with women onely; and that is commonly when they goe vpon visits to see their old acquaintance in the *Serraglio*: but hauing themselves come forth of the same (as I sayd before) they may not come in againe without the *Grand Signior's* leaue and sufferance.
- Prinacesse.**
- Visittings.**
- They are their Husbands masters.** These *Sultanaes* (the *Bashawes* wiues) are for the most part their Husbands Masters, and command them as they please: they alwayes weare a *Hanjar* (that is, a Dagger) set with rich Stones, in token of their predomination, and call their Husbands *Slaues*, doing good or euill for them, as they receiue content & satisfaction from them, or as they find them powerfull with the King. And sometimes they put their Husbands away and take others, but not without the *Grand Signior's* leaue, which would proue to bee the death and ruine of the poore Husbands.
- Their Dagger.**
- Diuorce.**
- What becomes of the other Women.** Now the other women, which neuer were so fortunate as to bee beloued of the King, liue together and dyet with the rest, wasting their youthfull dayes amongst themselves in euill thoughts, (for they are too well lookt vnto to offend in *Act*;) and when they are growne old, they serue for Mistresses and Quer-seers of the young ones, which daily are brought into the *Serraglio*: but hold

it their best fortune (their former hopes of being Bed-fellowes to an Emperour : being now frustrated) through some accident, to bee sent forth from thence into the old *Serraglio*, for from thence they may bee married (if the Mistrresse of that place giue her consent) and take with them such money, as they through their frugallitie haue saued and spared of their former allowance in the Kings *Serraglio*, and such things as haue beene giuen them, which may amount to a reasonable value. For in the *Serraglio* they get many things from the *Sultanaes*, besides their currant pay out of the Kings *Hazineb*, of fifteene or twentie Aspers *per diem*. For the middle sort, and foure or fise for the baser sort, the which is payed at euery three moneths end, without any deferring or contradiction: In that manner also are the *Sultanaes* paide, *viz.* quarterly, hauiug for their allowance from a thousand to a thousand fise hundred Aspers a piece, *per diem*. Besides, as many cloathes as they will, and Jewels in great abundance, giuen them from the Kings owne hands.

Manner of their pay.

Cloathes and Jewels.

The women Seruants also haue two Gownes of Cloath a piece, *per annum*, and a piece of fine Linnen for Smocks, of twentie Pikes long, and a piece more fine for Hankerchiefes, of ten Pikes, and at the *Byram* one silke Gowne a piece, and somewhat else, according to the pleasure and liberalitie of the *Grand Signior*, who at that time hath commonly a bountifull hand towards the Women. And giueth to the *Sultanaes*, Gownes with very rich Furres, Eare-rings, Brooches, Bodkins, Bracelets for their armes and legges, and such like things set with Stones of great worth; of which the King hath an abundance, by reason of the vnspeakable number of Presents which are giuen him. The *Sultanaes* are likewise presented at such times, by the *Bashawes* and their Wiues (that by their meanes they may continue in grace and fauour with the *Grand Signior*) with most stately and rich Gifts, and with money also which indeed is more acceptable to them then any other kinde of Present. For, they being very couetous, doe hoord vp and spend very sparingly, abandoning all manner of prodigallitie (in what may concerne their owne priuate purses) but witilie provide against disastrous times which may betide them, and especially against the Kings death: for then (excepting the Queene which remayneth still in the *Serraglio*, Mother to the succeeding King) all the other poore desolate Ladies (losing the title of *Sultanaes*) are immediatly sent to the old *Serraglio*, leauing behind them their Sonnes and Daughters (if they haue any liuing) in the Kings *Serraglio*, there to bee kept vnder the gouernment of other Women appointed for that seruice.

Byram-gifts.

Sultanaes Presents.

Frugalitie.

Old Serraglio.

And in such case, finding themselves wealthy, they may Marrie with men of reasonable good qualitie, according to the measure of their portion or estate, and according to the good-will of the Mistrresse of the old *Serraglio*, but with the *Grand Signiors* consent. Notwithstanding, who will (for the most part) not onely know the condition of their Husbands, but also what Dowrie they will bee content to make them sure of, in case their Husbands should put them away without their consents, or otherwise leaue them Widdowes: So that by meanes of their being turned out of the Kings *Serraglio*, it is often seene, that though the Daughter of the King bee married to a *Bashaw*, yet the Mother of that Daughter must bee content with a Husband of small account, farre vnequall and much inferiour, both in Title, wealth, and reputation, to her Sonne in Law.

Daughter preferred to the Mother.

The *Sultanaes* haue leaue of the King, that certayne *Iewes* women may at any time come into the *Serraglio* vnto them, who being extraordinary subtil Queanes, and comming in vnder colour of teaching them some fine Needle-worke, or to shew them secrets in making Waters, Oiles and Painting stufes for their Faces; (hauiug once made friendship with the Eunuches which keepe the Doores, by often bribing them) doe make themselves by their craftie insinuation, so familiar with the Kings women, that they rule them as they please, and doe carrie out any thing to sell for them, or buy and bring in whatsoever the *Sultanaes* shall haue a will to. And hence it is, that all such *Iewes* women as frequent the *Serraglio*, doe become very rich. For, whatsoever they bring in they buy it cheape, and sell it deare to them; and then on the contrary, when they haue Jewels to sell for the *Sultanaes*, (which are to bee conueighed out by stealth) they receiue their true value for them of Strangers, and then tell the simple Ladies who know not the worth of them, (and are afraid to bee discouered) that they sold them peraduenture for halfe that which they had for them.

Iewish women.

Their Arts.

And by this meanes, there come things of great price out of the *Serraglio*, to bee sold at very easie rates: yet in the end the *Iewes* haue but a bad market of it, for being discouered to be rich, and their wealth to be gotten by deceit, they oftentimes lose both Goods and life too. The *Bashawes* and *Defterdar* altogether ayming at such as they are, thinking by that meanes to restore to the *Grand Signior*, that which hath beene from time to time stolen from him, and the rather for that they themselves, seldome want their shares in the estates of such delinquents.

The Women of the *Serraglio*, are punished for their faults very seuerely, and extremely beaten by their Ouer-seers: and if they proue disobedient, incorrigible and insolent, they are by the Kings order and expresse commandment, turned out and sent into the old *Serraglio*, as being reiected and cast off, and most part of that they haue is taken from them. But if they shall be found culpable for Witchcraft: or any such hainous offence, then are they tyed and put into a Sacke, and

Punishments of the Women.

Death. in the Night cast into the Sea : so that by all meanes it behooueth them to bee very obedient, and containe themselues within the bounds of honestie and modestie, if they meane to come to a good end.

Preuention of Lust. Now it is not lawfull for any one to bring ought in vnto them, with which they may commit the deeds of beastly vncleanness; so that if they haue a will to eate Cucumbers, Gourds, or such like meates, they are sent in vnto them sliced, to deprive them of the meanes of playing the wantons; for, they being all young, lustie, and lasciuious Wenches, and wanting the societie of Men (which would better instruct them) are doubtlesse of themselues inclined to that which is naught, and will be possesse with vnchaste thoughts.

¶ V.

Of the Agiamoglans, how taken, distributed and employed.

Agiamoglans
700.



Having already spoken of the Women, I now will say somewhat of the *Agiamoglans* which serue in the *Serraglio*, and of their employments. They are in number about seven hundred, from twelue to five and twentie, or thirtie yeeres of age at the most, being all of them *Christian Renegadoes*, as all *Agiamoglans* are, which are gathered

Renegado Children.
How taken.

every three yeeres in *Morea*, and in all the Prouinces of *Albania*; the which tythe Children are disposed of in this wise. They are sometimes more, and sometimes fewer, according to the discretion of the *Capichees*, appointed for that seruice, but a whole harvest of them, seldome or neuer exceeds the summe of two thousand, and are taken from such Families as are thought to bee of a more warlike disposition; they may not bee (when they are gathered) of aboue twelue or fourteene yeeres of age, least they should bee vnfit for a new course, and too well settled in *Christianitie*: and being kept fast for a while by the *Capichees*, they are then forthwith sent to *Constantinople*, to bee distributed and shared out as followeth.

How vsed.

Apparell.

So soone as they are arriued at the Port, they are all cloathed in *Salonichi* Cloath, it skilleth not of what colour, and yellow Caps of Felt on their heads, in the forme of a Sugar-loafe. And being brought before the Chiefe *Vizir* (who at that time is accompanied with the other *Bashawes* and Officers of the *Serraglio*) hee maketh choise of as many, as he seeth to bee well-fauoured and iudgeth to bee likely to proue Souldiers. Then this choise being made, the Youthes chosen by the Chiefe *Vizir*, are carried by the *Bustangee Bashee* into the Kings owne *Serraglio*, and there distributed to such Companies as want their compleat number: then are they Circumcised and made *Turkes*, and put to learne the *Turkish* Tongue; and according as their inclination is discovered by their Ouer-seers, so are they encouraged, and suffered to proceed (if it bee in goodnesse) and are taught to Write and Read: but they are in a manner all of them taught to Wrestle, to Leape, to Runne, to shoote in a Bow, and to conclude, all such Exercises, as are befitting a Souldier.

Election of the best.
Circumcision.

Schooling.

The rest how disposed.

Now part of the residue of them are distributed by the Chiefe *Vizir*, into all the *Grand Signiors* Gardens and Houses of pleasure, and into such Ships as sayle for the Kings account, and which goe to lade Wood and such like prouision for the *Serraglio*; consigning them to the Masters of the sayd Vessels, with this Condition, to restore them againe when hee shall require them: And so hee doth with the chiefe Arts-men of all sorts of Occupations, to the intent the Youths may learne and practice the sayd Arts in their Lodgings at home; when they are become *Ianizaries*, or else if they please abroad at the Warres also. Hee giueth likewise to all the *Bashawes*, and Great men of the Court, as many as they please, to serue them deliuering them by Name vnto them, and writing them downe in a Booke, that hee may haue them againe when there shall be occasion to make them *Ianizaries*. Now these which are giuen to the *Bashawes*, are the scumme and refusall of all the rest; and are employed onely in the seruice of Stables, Kitchens, and such base Offices. But the other are put into diuers *Serraglio's*, vnder the custodie and discipline of certayne Eunuches, who are appointed to bee their Ouer-seers, and take care that they bee brought vp and trayned in Militarie exercises, vntill such time as they become fit to bee accepted into the number of the *Ianizaries*, in the roomes of the Dead, or of Old ones, which are no longer fit for the Warre, but are made *Otooracks*, and haue leaue to stay at home. So that I may say, all these are in a manner kept in a *Seminarie*, to serue at all hands. The King, Queene, and Chiefe *Vizir*, employing them also many times in their Buildings, and other very laborious Offices, without exception.

Otooracks, military Emeriti.

Booke and Pension.

These *Agiamoglans* being thus distributed, the Chiefe *Vizir* presents a Booke of all their Names to the *Grand Signior*, who hauing seene it, appointeth to every one his Pension, according to the ordinary Canon, which is of two or three, or at the most, five Aspers per diem. And the sayd Booke in which their seuerall Pensions are distinctly set downe, being vnder-written by the Kings owne hand, is forth-with consigned into the custodie of the Chiefe *Defterdar*, that euery one may duely receiue his pay. Now this *Defterdar* is bound, when hee giueth out their pay,

pay, (that is, once in three moneths) to visit them; enquiring who is dead, and taking good notice how the others liue and spend their times, whither they profit or not by their Tutors and Ouer-seers.

I will now returne to speake of the *Agiamoglans* of the *Serraglio*, hauing not thought it superfluous to haue digressed a little; for although it hath not bene to that purpose, yet it may prooue delightfome to those who haue not as yet heard of those passages so distinctly.

- These *Agiamoglans* of the *Serraglio*, albeit they were chosen out of the rest by the Chiefe *Vizir*, yet are their first employments but very base and slauish, for they serue in the Stables, Kitchens, Gardens, for digging, for cleauing of wood, and are made to row in *Kaiks*, and to lead the Grey-hounds a coursing; and indeed any thing, which is commanded them to doe by their *Oda Bashees*, who are *Decurions* and *Centurions*, and haue about fifteene *Aspars per diem*, two Vests of Cloth *per annum*, two pieces of Linnen Cloth for Shirts and Handkerchiefes, and so much Satteen or fine Cloth, as may make each of them a paire of *Chiakshirs*, or Breeches after their fashion downe to the heeles, and ruffled in the small of the legge like our Boots: Neuerthelesse, these *Oda Bashees* are all vnder command of the *Kabiyah*, who is the *Bustangee Bashees* Steward; now the *Bustangee Bashee* himselfe may haue about three hundred *Aspars per diem*, for hee is their Patron, Iudge, and Protector. And to the end that the *Oda Bashees*, and *Bulook Bashees* may be knowne from the common sort of *Agiamoglans*; they weare great broad silken Girdles of diuers colours about their middles, and are allowed a larger stipend; who by authoritie giuen them from the *Kabiyah*, doe bring the Vnderlings to such an extraordinary subjection by their often beating them, that they doe not only, not refuse all manner of paines taking, but patiently vndergoe whatsoeuer is done vnto them.

Agiamoglans
of the *Serraglio*
how vsed.

Their wages.

Gouernment.

Gouernours.

Slauerie.

Possibilitie of
preferment.

- They haue their Termes and Prerogatiues amongst themselves, succeeding or preceding one another, according to the length of time which they haue spent in the *Serraglio*; so that in Proceffe of time (if they still continue there, and are not sent out vpon other occasions) they may aspire to the degrees of Chiefe Steward to the *Bustangee Bashee*, or of *Bustangee Bashee* himselfe, which is a very eminent place; for hee steeres the Kings *Kaick*, and weareth a *Telbent* vpon his head in the *Serraglio*, although he were but lately an *Agiamoglan*, and did weare one of the afore-said felt Caps, who also (if the King loue him, as commonly hee doth) may rise to greater dignities; as to be Captaine *Bashaw*, &c. nay, sometimes to be Chiefe *Vizir*.

- These *Agiamoglans* are not altogether forbidden to goe abroad, but may vpon vrgent occasions be licensed: And the *Bustangee Bashee* alwayes takes good store of them along with him, when by the Kings order hee goeth to see some great man put to death, the which is commonly done by the hands of three or foure of the chiefeest and strongest of the said *Agiamoglans*.

- There are brought in amongst them sometimes, (but indeed very seldome) naturall borne *Turkes*, by meanes made to the *Bustangee Bashee*, who therein doth greatly pleasure such poore folkes as are willing to bee rid of their children; but it must first bee made knowne to the Grand Signior, and done with his consent.

Some *Turkes*.

- Their Roomes, *Bagno's*, and Kitchens, are about the wals of the *Serraglio*, on the out side, diuided seuerally to each company of them, and built for the more commoditie of such Offices and Seruices, as the said *Agiamoglans* are appointed vnto.

Their Roomes.

- And as for their Diet, they order it as they please, hauing their flesh and Pulse for their Potage, their Bread and euery thing for Food, deliuered them euery day, and the dressing of it left to themselves: And in that they lye neere the Sea-side by the wals of the *Serraglio*, they take good store of fish, part of which they sell, and rescue the rest to themselves.

Dyet.

- They sleepe alwayes in their clothes (taking only off their vppermost coat, and their shooes) according to the ordinarie custome of the poorer sort of *Turkes*, betweene a couple of Rugges in the Winter, and thinne Blankets in Summer. They neuer see King, vlesse it be when he passeth through the Gardens to some Sport, or when he taketh Boat, or else when he goeth a hunting, for he makes them serue in stead of Hounds to hunt wild beasts.

Sleepe.

- But when his Highnesse will be in the Gardens to take his pleasure with his women, all the *Agiamoglans* being warned by *Helnet*, get them out with all speed at the Gates by the Sea side, where they may walke vpon the Bankes and Causeyes, but must not goe in againe vntill the King be departed: For there must none come neere the women but himselfe, and his blacke Eunuches: Nay, if any other should but attempt (by some tricke in conueighing himselfe into some priuate corner) to see the women, and should bee discovered, hee should immediately bee put to death. Euery one therefore (so soone as they haue notice of the Kings comming into the Gardens with his women) runnes out of sight, as farre as they can, to bee free from all feare, and suspicion.

None may see
the Kings wo-
men.

- Now of this Ranke of *Agiamoglans*, which are in the Kings *Serraglio*, they doe not make *Ianizaries*, as they doe of those which are put into the other *Serraglio's* and Nurseries to bee brought vp; and of such as are lent to diuers of the Kings subjects, as Tradesmen and such like, and to the *Bashawes*. But his Highnesse turne is serued of these, to bestow vpon his Gentlemen, when he employes them abroad in some principall Gouernment, that they may be as Assistants

Ianizaries are
made of *Agia-*
moglans in other
Seminaries.

Other vles of
them.

vnto

vnto them in their busineses; who also in time become men of reasonable estate and condition themselves. The *Grand Signior* likewise maketh vse of them when he intendeth a journey to any place; as when he goeth to the Wars, or any whither farre from *Constantinople*, for the pitching of his Tents, for remouing and carrying of Chifts and Baskets, and many other such like Manuall Seruices, as happen, in those times. For which employment the King neuer carrieth with him lesse then foure or five hundred.

¶ V I.

The choise Agiamoglans, seuere Discipline and Education in foure Subordinate Schooles, and their after- aduancements.



now remayneth, that I say somewhat of those Youths which are kept in better fashion in the *Serraglio*, for the King and Countreyes Seruice, brought vp in Learning, in the knowledge of the Lawes, and in Military Exercises, that they may bee able to performe those things which belong to the Gouvernement of the whole Empire. And albeit for the most part these are Christian Captiues and Renegado's, yet there are some Naturall borne *Turkes* amongst them, (youths of very comely aspect, whose out-sides must promise a great deale of goodnesse;) brought in by the *Capee Agha's* meanes (who is the great Chamberlaine) with the Kings consent; but this hapneth but very seldome, and that with great difficultie: For, the ancient Institution was, that they should alwayes be of Christian Renegado's, of the most Ciuill and Noblest that could be found.

Turkes hardly admitted.

Noble Captiues.

Eunuches cruell. Mortification Turkish.

And when in the Warres, either by Sea or Land it shall so happen, that any youth bee taken, who is of Noble Parents, he is presently appointed and markt for the *Grand Signior*, and is instructed in matters of Gouvernement, being as it were ordayned for great Employments. Now such are of great esteeme, for the *Turkes* themselves affirme, that Noblenesse of Birth cannot but produce the most vertuous and generous spirits; especially, when they are well nurtured and tutored, as it is professed in the *Serraglio*; where there is great seueritie vsed in all the Orders of Discipline, the Gouvernement of them being in the hands of the Masters, who are all for the most part white Eunuches, which are very rough and cruell in all their Actions; Insomuch, that their Prouerbe saith, that when one commeth out of that *Serraglio*, and hath runne through all the Orders of it, he is, without all question, the most mortified and patient man in the World. For the blowes which they suffer, and the fastings which are commanded them for euery small fault, is a thing of great admiration: Nay, some of them are so seuerely handled, that although their time of being in the *Serraglio* be almost expired, and that they should in few yeeres come forth to bee made great men, yet not being able to suffer such crueltie any longer, they procure to bee turned out, contenting themselves with the Title and small pay of a *Spahes*, or a *Mutasferaka*, rather then be so often punished, and made weary of their liues.

Their number.

The number of these youths is not prefixed, but there are of them sometimes more, and sometimes lesse; for the King entertaynes very willingly all such as are giuen him of the aforesaid qualitie (if so be that they be young) and as I haue heard, they are commonly about an hundred.

Discipline in Religion and Ciuilitie.

Foure Oda's Schooles. Silence first Lesson.

1. Reuerence.

Booke or Check-roll.

3. Grammer and Religion to write, reade, and speake Turkish and Arabian Praiers.

Second Shoole.

The course that is taken with them, so soone as they come into the *Serraglio*, is admirable, and nothing resembling the Barbarisme of *Turkes*, but befeeming Subjects of singular Vertue and Discipline. For they are exceeding well entred, and daily taught aswell good fashion and comely behauour, as they are instructed in the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Mahometan Law*, or in Military Discipline. And for this purpose they haue Roomes, which the *Turkes* call *Oda's*, but we may more properly (in regard of the vse they are put vnto) call them *Schooles*; of which there are foure, the one taking Degrees from the other. Now into the first they all come, when they are but chidden, where the Primarie Precept they learne is Silence; then their personall Positures, betokening singular Reuerence to the King; which is, that they hold downe their heads and looke downwards, holding their hands before them joyned a crosse.

They are seene of the King, and registred in a Booke by their *Turkish* Names, and the Names of their Natiue Countreyes set downe with them; they receiue Pensions from the *Grand Signior*, which is ordinarily from three to five *Aspars per diem*. The Copie of the Booke is sent to the great *Defierdar*, that euery one of them, may in due time haue the aforesaid Pension sent vnto them. Then (by a white Eunuch who is chiefe ouer all the other Masters and Vthers) they are set to learne to write and reade, and to practise the *Turkish* Tongue; and are taught their Prayers, with all Reuerence to the Religion in the *Arabian* Tongue. And in this *Oda's*, they are both Morning and Euening so diligently followed, and carefully lookt vnto, that by report it is a thing of admiration: Now, for the most part, they all stay at the least six yeeres in this Schoole, and such as are dull and hard of apprehension stay longer.

From this *Oda's* they are removed to the second, where (by more Learned Tutors then the

for.

former) they are taught the *Persian*, *Arabian*, and *Tartarian* Tongues; and take great paines in reading diuers Authors, that they may be the better able to speake the *Turkish* Elegantly; which cannot be done without some knowledge in those three Tongues, vpon which the *Turkish* chiefly doth depend: So that there is found a great difference betweene their speech, and that of the vulgar sort.

Here also they begin to learne to wrestle, to shoot in a Bow, to throw the Mace, to tosse the Pike, to handle their Weapons, to runne, &c. And in these Exercises in their seuerall Orders and seuerall Places, they spend whole houres, being seuerely punished if they shall in any wise seeme to grow negligent.

10 They spend other five or sixe yeere likewise in this *Odah*, from the which (being become men, strong, and fit for any thing) they are removed to the third *Odah*, where (forgetting nothing of what they haue learned before, but rather bettering themselves) they also learne to sit a Horse, and to be quicke and nimble in the Warres: Moreover, euery one of them (according to his inclination and disposition) shall learne a Trade, necessary for the Seruice of the Kings person, viz. to make vp a *Telbent*, to shauie, to paire mayles, to fold vp Apparell handsomely, to keepe Landspaniels, to keepe Hawkes, to be Sewers, to be Quiries of the Stable, to be Target-bearers, and to waite at the *Grand Signiors* Table, and the like Seruices, as it is also vsed in the Courts of other Kings and Emperours. So that hauing bene in these Offices foure or five yeeres, they become men able to teach others.

20 And whilst they are in these three Schooles, they are but indifferently apparelled, hauing their two Vests of Cloth *per annum*, somewhat fine, but their Linnen is such as the others weare, and so they must be contented to be vnder the correction of their Masters, who are so seuer, that for euery fault, or for suspicion only of Dishonestie, cause them to bee punished with an hundred blowes on the soles of the feet, and on the Buttocks, insomuch that they leaue them oftentimes for dead. Neither are they permitted whilst they remayne in these three *Oda's*, to bee familiar with any but themselves, and that with great modestie too: so that it is a matter of great difficultie for any Stranger to speake with them or see them; which if it be obtayned, it must be by expresse leaue from the *Capee Agha*, who causeth an Eunuch to bee there present, so long as any Stranger shall bee in the company of any of the said youths. Nay, when they haue occasion to goe to the *Bagno*, or the like necessary businesse, they are very narrowly lookt vnto by the Eunuches, to keepe them by all meanes from any filthy Actions: And if they shall be found guiltie, or accused of any fault, they are most seuerely punished for it: And in their Bed-chambers (which are long Roomes, and hold about fortie or fittie in each of them; for they sleepe neere one another vpon the *Sofas*) there are euery night Lampes lighted, and Eunuches lying by them to keep them in awe, and from lewd and wanton behaviour.

Some of them also doe learne Mechanicke Arts, as sewing in Leather (which is in great esteeme amongst the *Turkes*) to mend Guns, to make Bowes and Arrowes, and Quiuers, and the like; from which Trades they often haue both their Sir-name and their Reputation too; For they are exceedingly beloued, who are diligent and flye Idlenesse.

40 And the Eunuches make great tryall of their constancie in Religion, searching (as farre as in them lyes) their hearts, to see how they stand affected to *Turcisme*: For the time growing neere, wherein they are to passe to the fourth *Odah*, which is the chiefeft and last, and from which they are called to businesse of great import; they would not then haue them at all remember that they were formerly Christians, or to haue any desire imaginable to turne to their first beliete; least they should by some stratagems and politike carriage, proue disadvantageous to the *Turkish* Empire. So then, all possible prooffe and triall being made, and they found to bee most strongly perswaded in themselves of the truth of that Religion, they then are preferred to the fourth *Odah*, where they are once more registred: For all they which are of the third *Odah* are not translated to the fourth at one and the same time, but only such as haue gone through all the Degrees in the three former, and are become fit for Seruice: And there is an Account kept apart of them

50 which come into this fourth *Odah*, for they are immediately ordayned for the *Grand Signiors* owne Seruice, and haue their pay encreased, some more and some lesse, vnto eight Aspers *per diem*, and their Habits changed from Cloth to Silke, and Cloth of Gold of great price: but continue still with their heads and beards shauen, only they suffer some lockes to grow on each side from their temples, which hang downe below their eares, for a signe that they are they which are neereft to the preferment of comming into the Kings Chamber.

They must be very cleanly and neat in their Apparell before they come about the *Grand Signiors* person; many of them accompanying him euer when he goeth abroad vpon pleasure: And they may freely conuerse with all the great men of the *Serraglio*, and with the *Bashawes* also, and are often presented with great gifts by men of great qualitie, to keepe in their fauour, hoping that they may become men of great command, and bee able to stand them in stead vpon diuers occasions. Now out of these young men (after they haue finished the appointed terme of yeeres, and haue bene well instructed in all things as aforesaid) the *Grand Signior* chooseth his *Agha's*, which are his Gentlemen and serue him only; whose names and places are as followeth.

And

4. Rhetorike & Languages.
Persian, Arabian, Tartarian.

5. Bodily Exercises.

Third Schoole

6. Horsemanship and A&Uitic.

7. Trades

Punishments.

Clofenesse.

Bed-chambers

Sewing in Leather, &c.

Tryall of Religion.
Fourth Schoole.

Preferment

Neatnesse.

And first

that is,

The *Silihar Aga*.
 The *Chohadar Aga*.
 The *Rechinbtar Aga*.
 The *Mataragee Aga*.
 The *Telbentar Aga*.
 The *Kembasir Aga*.
 The *Chesneghir Bashee*.
 The *Keelergee Bashee*.
 The *Dogangee Bashee*.
 The *Zagargee Bashee*.
 The *Mubasabegee Bashee*.
 The *Turnak gee Bashee*.
 The *Berber Bashee*.
 The *Hamaromgee Bashee*.
 The *Teskeregee Bashee*.

The Kings Sword-bearer.
 Hee which carrieth his *Tagmoorlick*.
 Yeoman of the Stirrope.
 He which brings him water to wash.
 He which brings him his Turbant.
 He which washeth his Linnen.
 Chiefe Sewer.
 Chiefe Butler.
 Chiefe Falconer.
 Chiefe Huntsmen.
 Chiefe Accomptant.
 He which pareth his nailes.
 Chiefe Barber.
 Hee which walsheth the King in the Bath.
 Chiefe Secretarie to his Maiestie.

Gesture.

Waiting.

Great Turkes
Table.Exercises.
Gifts.Ambassages.
conferred.

Vassall Princes

Their going
forth of the
Serraglio to the
chiefe Offices.
Musabib.

Other Officers

All which are of the eldest sort of them; and are alwayes in his Maiesties presence, holding downe their heads, for they may not be so bold as to looke him in the face, and standing with their hands acrosse before them, in token of the greatest Humilitie and Reuerence that may bee imagined. Neither are they permitted to speake at all to the *Grand Signior*, nor in his presence to one another; but if the King shall command or call for any thing, they are wonderfull speedie, and readie to obey. These all doe execute their Offices distinctly as aforesaid, and attend in places appointed for them; that they may bee the better able to performe their Seruices, and the more readie to obey at euery becke; and at the houres of Dinner and Supper they waite in the Roome, taking the meate from the hands of the Vnder-sewer at the doore, and so his Maiesties Table being made readie (which is of a *Bulgar Hide*) vpon a *Sofa*, they bring in the meate which is set thereon orderly, dish by dish, by the chiefe Sewer before the King, and is taken off againe as his Maiestie shall appoint.

The *Grand Signior* is very well pleased, and takes great delight in their Service and company, making them ride on Horsebacke, and playing with them at seuerall Sports, at such time as hee is well disposed, euer gracing them with the bestowing gifts on them, of Vests, Chicquines, Swords, and other such like Presents, as come to the hands of the King before, by way of gift: And besides those fauours, his Maiestie vseth to bestow vpon them the dispatching of Ambassies for other Countries, which is a Merchandize held by them to be of a great price, and bringeth in a great profit with it: For one of them hauing his Commission from the *Grand Signior*, for such or such a Prince, presently thinketh with himselfe, what that Prince vsually doth present the Ambassadour withall, and so accordingly agreeth with a *Chiansh*, or one of such like qualitie, to vndertake the Ambassie, who must giue for the same as they can agree betwixt themselves, either in readie Money, or otherwise at his returne, as he shall thinke best for his profit, and so he forthwith giueth expedition to the partie chosen.

These sorts of Presents, proue wonderfull beneficiall; for, in the establishing of the Princes of *Valachia*, *Bugdania*, *Transluania*, and of the King of *Tartarie* (to all which Princes the *Grand Signior*, sendeth Ambassadors for confirming their Possession of the said Dominions) they reape great benefit, it being specified in the Canon, how much euery one is to disburse for being honored with that Solemnitie.

And this the *Grand Signior* doth of policie, to the end his *Agha's* may become rich, laying vp Money by them to serue for necessary Expenses for themselves, furnishing them with diuers things by that meanes against such time as they shall goe forth of the *Serraglio*: which is only when his Maiestie thinkes fit, and that most commonly on a sudden; either to be Generall at Sea, *Bashaw* of *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Babylon*, or of some other Prouinces; giuing also to some of them a *Musabib*, that is, as it were a *Companion*, who hath liberty freely to talke with him, and to goe out and in vnto him when he pleaseth; The which Title and fauour (of *Musabib*) proues to be of so great Reputation, that it is esteemed aboue any other sort of employment, for it is very rare, and only bestowed on such Subjects as haue deserued well of the Emperour.

And this hath beene a course vied of old by the *Grand Signiors* Progenitors, that so they may haue some trustie Subjects abroad, that may giue notice of the carriage of the *Bashawes* in their seuerall Regiments, or of any other, if so be they should attempt any thing that might bee prejudiciall to the Crowne; that so the King by cutting off their prouision and the like meanes, may anticipate their Plots and Designs. But if his Maiestie be not pleased, so highly to exault some one of the aforesaid *Agha's*, as to be of the Degrees already named; he then makes him *Beglerbegh* of *Grecia*, or of *Natolia*; *Agha* of the *Ianizaries*, *Spaheeler Agasee*, which is Head over all the *Spahees*, *Imrohor Bashee*, which is Master of the Horse; or at least a *Capigee Bashee*, which is Head over the *Capigees*.

Now

Now, the *Grand Signior* hauing bestowed any of the said places vpon them, they leaue the *Serraglio*, and carrie with them all their estates, both money and goods: and oftentimes other young men of the other *Odabs*, which are let goe through their owne hastinesse, and great importunitie, not willing to stay out their times; but losing the Kings fauour are content with small pay and lesser reputation, to goe along with the said *Aghas*.

Such as goe out vpon the greatest employments, are accompanied forth of the *Serraglio* by the chiefe *Vizir*, who also presenteth them, and giueth them entertaynment for three or foure dayes in his house, vntill such time as they can bee provided of houses of their owne, whither afterwards they repaire, and set their families in order, taking also vnto them such as are come out of the *Serraglio*, with them for Assistants and Ministers in the charge assigned vnto them; they also accept of the seruice of others which come in by gifts, which likewise redounds to the benefit and aduantage of the great ones.

Now, they which succeed in preferment, those that are gone out of the *Serraglio* vpon the afore said employments; are (as the custome commandeth) such as are next in yeeres vnto them, and of the longest standing; neither can this course be altered, vnlesse by some sinister accident, or euill behauiour they faile thereof: So that it is alwaies knowne amongst themselues, who is next capable of publique employment; nay, the businesse is so orderly carried, and their course so regular, that euen they of the third *Odab* doe know what their future fortunes will bee, if they liue to enioy them: And indeed all of them liue in hope, and desire that the *Grand Signior* would often be pleased to send them abroad, that they may the sooner be out of their hard seruice in the *Serraglio*, and enter into the state of ample gouernment.

They are most commonly of five and thirtie, or fortie yeeres of age before they are sent abroad. And because they come out of the *Serraglio* with their Beards shauen, they are faine to stay within doores for some few dayes to let them growe, that they may be fit to come amongst other great men, with which staying at home they are very well contented, for that in that time they receiue the Presents which are sent them from all the *Sultanaes*, of Vests, Shirts, Linnen-breeches, and Hand-kerchiefs of all sorts richly wrought, and of great worth: and from the *Bashawes* and other Great men; Horses, Carpets, Vests, Slaues, and other things fit for the erecting of a House and Familie. The which Presents are made the greater and richer, by so much the more as the partie to whom they are giuen, is knowne to bee fauoured and beloued of the King. Now, so soone as their beards are growne, they goe abroad, and beginne their visits; First, to the chiefe *Vizir*, and then in order to the other Great ones, till they haue beene with them all, and last of all, offer their seruice to the *Capee Agha*, in all humble manner, acknowledging that all their best fortunes and honours haue beene conferred vpon them by his meanes; and promising for euer, all dutifull respect vnto him for the same; but this complement with the *Capee Agha* is performed without that Gate on the Kings side, which is kept by the Eunuches; for they may not come no more within that Gate, vnlesse they be called for by the King, for to treat of things belonging to their employments before their departure.

They all strue to gaine the loue of the *Capee Agha*; that he may bee a Protector and Patron vnto them, to possesse the *Grand Signior* with a good opinion of them in their absence; he being the chiefe in the *Serraglio*, and alwaies neere to the King.

§. VII.

Of inferiour persons, as Buffons, Mutes, Musicians; of white Eunuches, and of the Grand Officers of the *Serraglio*.

BESIDES the Women, and *Aiamogians* of this *Serraglio*, and the afore said Youths last spoken of; there are many and diuers Ministers for all manner of necessarie seruices, and particular functions: there are also Buffons of all sorts, and such as shew trickes, Musicians, Wrestlers, many dumbe men both old and young, who haue libertie to goe in and out with leaue of the *Capee Agha*; And this is worthie the obseruation, that in the *Serraglio*, both the King and others can reason and discourse of any thing as well and as distinctly, *alla mutesca*, by nods and signes, as they can with words: a thing well befitting the grauitie of the better sort of *Turkes*, who care not for much babling. The same is also vsed amongst the *Sultanaes*, and other the Kings Women: for with them likewise there are diuers dumbe women, both old and young. And this hath beene an ancient custome in the *Serraglio*: wherefore they get as many *Mutes* as they can possibly find: and chiefly for this one reason; that they hold it not a thing befitting the *Grand Signior*. Neither stands it with his greatnesse, to speake to any about him familiarly: but he may in that manner more tractably and domestically iest and sport with the *Mutes*, then with others that are about him.

It followeth now, that I speake of the White Eunuches; who, as the Blacke ones are for the Service and Attendance of the *Sultanaes*, and for the keeping of their Gate; so are the White Eunuches.

The Chiefe of them <i>Capee Agha</i> , or Chamberlaine 2. Treasurer of the House. 3. Master of the Wardrobe. 4. Keeper of the House. <i>Capee Aghas</i> Priviledges.	Eunuches appointed for the King and his Gate; And the chiefe and most ancient of these, attend only the most trusty and important employments, both about the Kings Person and his Household: of which the first is the <i>Capee Agha</i> , for he is the Chiefe of all the Eunuches; and is High Chamberlaine. The second, is the <i>Hazinehdar Bashee</i> , who is the Chiefe Treasurer for the House. The third, is the <i>Keelergee Bashee</i> , who is the Chiefe Butler and Master of the Wardrobe. The fourth, is the <i>Sarai Agasee</i> , who is the Keeper of the <i>Serraglio</i> . Now of these foure olde Eunuches, the <i>Capee Agha</i> (as I said) is principall in Authority, and in greatest esteeme with the <i>Grand Signior</i> , for, none but he can of himselfe speake with his Majestie, neyther can any Messages, Writings, or Petitions, be sent in (ordinarily) but by his hand and meanes; He likewise doth alwayes accompany the Kings Person whither so euer he goeth, both without and within the <i>Serraglio</i> . And when he goeth to his Women, also he accompanieth him to the very doore, which leadeth in vnto them, and there he stoppeth, and so returnes to his owne Lodgings againe; alwayes leauing some bodie to wayte at the said doore, that when the King is ready to come away againe, they may call him. This <i>Capee Agha</i> hath for his ordinary Pension eight <i>Sultaneens per diem</i> , besides Vests and other necessaries as many as he will; he getteth great store of Money, and (indeed) more then befits a man that hath so small occasion of expence as he hath, by vertue of his place; for that both they of the <i>Serraglio</i> , and those abroad of what condition or degree soeuer they bee, to obtayne his fauour and furtherance in any businesse, doe present him with all that they can imagine may giue him content, whatsoeuer it cost.
Pension.	
Presents.	
Treasurer.	The second, is the <i>Hazinehdar Bashee</i> ; and he hath the charge of the Treasurie, which is within the <i>Serraglio</i> , he hauing one Key of it and the King another, the doore being likewise sealed with the Kings Seale, which is neuer taken off, but when the King himselfe giues order for the opening of the same. In this <i>Hazineh</i> are all the Treasures which haue beene layd vp by the deceased Emperors; and into this commeth no other Reuenue of the Crowne, sauing that from <i>Egypt</i> of sixe hundred thousand Crownes <i>per annum</i> ; all the other Reuenewes going into the outward <i>Hazineh</i> , out of which all Expences are borne, both ordinary and extraordinary. But there is not any thing taken out of the aforesaid inward <i>Hazineh</i> , vnlesse it bee vpon extreame necessitie, when the <i>Grand Signior</i> is not otherwise prouided, to appease the out-cries of the Souldiers for their pay; or for some other the like occasion: Notwithstanding, it is done with this <i>Prouiso</i> , that the <i>Defterdar</i> bee bound to make it good againe to the vtmost <i>Aspar</i> . This <i>Agha's</i> charge is to keepe an exact Accompt of all the Treasure that is brought in or taken out of the same: nor may any goe into the said <i>Hazineh</i> , but only the <i>Hazinehdar</i> , and such as hee shall take in with him when occasion shall require. And when there is any Gold or Silver taken out, it is all put into Leather Bags, and so brought before the King, who disposeth thereof as he thinketh fit. He hath also the charge of all the Kings Iewels, of which he keepeth a Book by himselfe, that hee may know what Iewels the King giues away, what Iewels are giuen to the King, and what are likewise for his Majesties owne wearing; And the <i>Capee Agha</i> dying, hee succeeds him in his place.
Treasurer. Outward Treasurie.	
Household-Treasurers Office.	
Wardrobe.	The third, which is the <i>Keelergee Bashee</i> , keepes the account of the Kings Wardrobe (<i>viz.</i> of all his Household-stuffe.) Into which Wardrobe are all the Presents brought, which are giuen to the <i>Grand Signior</i> , as Cloth of Gold, Silkes, Woollen Clothes, Furres of all sorts, Swords, Feathers, Raw Silke, Carpets, and whatsoeuer else may serue for his Majesties owne vse. Of all which things he keepes particular Notes, to the end he may at any time see what is giuen to the King, and what the King giues away to others: The which is a very painfull employment, inasmuch as his Majesty doth euery day, aswell take as giue a great number of Vests, and other the like things: But the businesse is so well ordered and carefully lookt vnto, that there doth not follow any confusion at all. This Eunuch hath diuers Seruants vnder him; and stayes alwayes (for the most part) within the <i>Serraglio</i> ; his Pension is a thousand <i>Aspars per diem</i> , besides Vests, and other such Presents which are giuen him in abundance from time to time; hee also is much fauoured and graced by the King, for that he is to succeed the <i>Hazinehdar Bashee</i> , in case hee the said <i>Hazinehdar</i> should dye; and is well esteemed of and reuerenced by all, aswell without as within the <i>Serraglio</i> .
Busie employment.	
Pension.	
Keeper of the <i>Serraglio</i> .	The fourth, which is the <i>Sarai Agasee</i> (who is an Eunuch as the former are) hath the care and looking vnto the <i>Serraglio</i> , nor doth he euer goe out of it in the Kings absence; but is very vigilant, not only in seeing all things readie for the daily Seruice of the same; but also to looke ouer all the Roomes and to eye the Officers, marking whither they exercise themselves in their seuerall Functions, as befits them to doe. And because he is old, and his businesse great, he hath liberty to ride within the wals of the <i>Serraglio</i> , as the three former <i>Aghas</i> are also permitted to doe; for which purpose they haue a Stable of Horses within the Garden for their vse alone; his Pension is eight hundred <i>Aspars per diem</i> , besides Vests and Furres, as many as hee can well haue occasion to weare; and is to succeed the <i>Keelergee Bashee</i> , and so curiously the <i>Capee Agha</i> if he out-live the rest.
Riding liberty.	
Differing Priviledges.	And although all these foure Eunuches may weare Telbents in the <i>Serraglio</i> , and ride, (being the chiefe next the King himselfe in authoritie, within the <i>Serraglio</i>) and are reuerenced and respected

respected of all men; yet the three last viz. *Hazinehdar Bashee*, *Keelergee Bashee*, and *Sarai Agassee*, may not of themselves speake to the *Grand Signior*, but onely answer when any thing is asked of them: howbeit they alwayes attend (with the *Capoe Agba*) the person and service of the King, with all the other Eunuches vnder them, and the aforesayd *Aghas*; And they foure onely gouerne the Kings Household affaires, giuing order for all things needfull and necessarie, as well for the Dayes as for the Nights prouision.

All the Eunuches in the *Serraglio* may bee about hundred in number, what with old ones, middle aged, and young ones: they are all guelt and cut cleane off, and are chosen of those Renegado youthes which are presented from time to time to the *Grand Signior* as aforesayd: 10 few or none at all are guelt and cut against their will, for then (as the Master workman in that businesse sayth) they would bee in great danger of Death; wherefore, to get their consent thereto, they shew vnto them the assurance they may haue (in time) to become Great men, all which must bee done at their first comming into the *Serraglio*, for it is a worke not to bee wrought vpon men of yeeres.

They are brought vp with the others, and are taken out by turnes of the fourth *Odab*, for the *Grand Signiors* service, as well as those which are not Eunuches. Education in the foure *Odabs*

His Majestie also employes some of these his white Eunuches in the gouernment of all the other *Serraglios* and Nurseries of young Lads, as well in *Constantinople*, as in *Adrianople*, *Bursia*, and in diuers other places, (in each of which there are commonly two or three hundred Schollers) 20 that by their ouerlooking them (together with the helpe of other Ministers) they may bee brought to an excellent Discipline, by which they may proue men of good manners and reasonable Learning.

And it so falleth out oftentimes, that the *Grand Signior* (to giue way to the other inferiour and younger Eunuches, who expect that they shall succeed in order the aforesayd Officers) sendeth forth some of the ancientest and of the highest ranke, into great employments, as to bee *Bashaw* of *Cairo*, or of some Prouinces in *Asia*, and sometimes *Vizirs* of the Port; for the Eunuches generally proue Subiects of greatest iudgement and fidelitie; their mindes being set on businesse rather then pleasure. And for that they are more trustie then any other seruants of the *Serraglio*, the *Capoe Agba* committeth such things as the *Grand Signior* would haue kept for curio- 30 sitie, vnto their custodie; who for that end haue places made of purpose to lay vp such delicacies as are presented to the King; as great peeces of Amber Greece, sent from the *Bashawes* of the *Morea*, Muske, Treacle, Mithridate of *Cairo*, *Terra sigillata*, *Balsami*, *Bbloarmeno*, and other things of great value; Cups also of *Agat*, *Christall*, and *Iasper*, *Turkeesses*, and other precious Stones; all which are so neatly and orderly kept, that indeed it is admirable; they likewise lay vp his *Indian* Presents of Zeua and Ciuet, of all which things his Majestie and his *Sultanaes* make daily vse, the Eunuches who are the keepers of the sayd Dainties, being first made acquainted therewithall.

There is in the *Serraglio* a very large place, in which are kept all the goods which fall to the King, as well by them which are put to death, as by those which dye of naturall Diseases, of 40 which the King will bee Master. And the goods being brought into the sayd place by the chiefe *Destordar* (whose particular charge it is to see them brought thither) and the King in presence of his Assistants hauing seene and viewed it all; maketh choise of what he thinks fit to reserue, and for to giue away; the rest is cryed in the *Serraglio*, to the end if any one there haue a will to buy, hee may haue a good penniworth: and the surpluse is carryed into the publique *Bezisten*, a place somewhat resembling the Paune in our royall Exchange: where it is cryed vp and downe, the Cryer still naming the most that hath beene already offered; and is at last sold to him that bids most, nor may hee that bids money goe from his word, at least if hee bee able to performe and stand to it. Now the money is deliuered to the *Hazinehdar Bashee*, and is put into the outward *Hazineh*: And although the goods did come from out of the Houses of 50 such as dyed but the day before of the Pestilence; the *Turkes* neuertheless buy them, and vse them as if the Disease were not infectious at all; affirming that *their end is written in their Forehead*, and it cannot bee auoyded by any humane Rule or Policie.

§. VIII.

Of blake Eunuches and Black-moore Girles and Women: of Physicians, and of the Kings Children.

60 **N**OW as concerning the Blacke Eunuches, and Black-moore Wenches, which serue the *Sultanaes* and the Kings Women; It is to bee noted that the Blacke Eunuches, whilst they are Boyes, are for the most part kept and taught among the other youthes of the *Serraglio*, vntill they bee come to age and made fit for service; and being taken from thence they are appointed for the Women, and set to serue with others at the *Sultanaes* Gate (all 70 *SSSSSS* vnder

Eunuches
guelding.

Education in
the foure *Odabs*

Other Semina-
ries.

Their ad-
uancements

Fidelitie.

Goods of the
Deceased.

The *Bezisten*.

No feare of
Pestilence.

Their Educati-
on.

- Kuzlar Agba.** vnder command of the *Kuzlar Agba*, that is to say, the *Master of the Virgins* being allowed a Pension of fiftie or sixtie *Aspers per Diem*, and two Vests of Silke *per Annum*, with Linnen and other necessaries sufficient for their vse, besides diuers gifts they receiue from Women strangers at such times as they let them goe in to the Kings women: they are named by the names of Flowers, as *Hiacynth*, *Narcissus*, *Rose*, *Gilly-flower*, and the like; for that, seruing the Women, their names may bee answerable to their Virginitie, sweet and vndefiled.
- Pension.**
- Names.**
- Negro Girles.** The *Black-moore* Girles, are no sooner brought into the *Serraglio* after their arriual at *Constantinople*, (for they come by Ship from *Cairo* and from thereabouts) but they are carryed to the Womens lodgings, where they are brought vp and made fit for all seruices; and by how much the more vglie and deformed they are, by so much the more they are esteemed of, by the *Sultanaes*; wherefore the *Bashaw* of *Cairo* (who for the most part sends them all) is alwayes diligent to get the most il-fauoured, cole-blacke, flat-nosed Girles that may bee had throughout all *Egypt*, or the bordering Countries, to send them for Presents to the *Grand Signior*, who bestowes them vpon his Women. Now after their comming, if they shall bee disliked by reason of some Infirmitie, then are they sent into the old *Serraglio*, as the white Women are, when they are vnfit for seruice or misbehaue themselues; all which is done by the Kings order and consent.
- Esteemed most for vglinesse.** The aforeseyd blacke Eunuches, by occasion of being sent with Messages to the *Grand Signior* from the *Sultanaes*, may passe through the Mens lodgings to carrie little Notes to the *Capee Agba*, that hee may deliuer them to the King; or for to fetch any thing from any of the Officers of the *Serraglio*, or to speake with a friend at the Gate; but otherwise they may not goe forth of the *Serraglio* from the *Kuzlar Agba*, without expresse licence from the Queene. They likewise are to goe about and doe all other businesse for the *Sultanaes* in the Womens lodgings, which
- Priuiledges.** White Eunuches cannot performe, for they are not permitted to come there; nor any man that is White (but the King onely) may see and come amongst the Women. Insomuch, as when by reason of some one of them being fallen sicke, it is required that the *Hekim Bashee* (who is the *Kings Physician*) should come thither; they must necessarily first haue leaue of the King for his entrance, and being admitted to enter by the *Sultanaes* doore, hee seeth none but the Blacke Eunuches (all the other Women being retired into some withdrawing roomes) who bring him into the Sicke womans Chamber; and shee being closely couered from head to foote with Quilts and Blankets, holdeth out her Arme onely, so as the Doctor may touch her pulse, who when hee hath giuen order what shall bee done, goes his way immediatly by the same way that hee came.
- No White man may come amongst the Women.** Physicians visiting the sicke women.
- But if she which is sicke be the Queene or one of the *Sultanaes*, then her arme and hand which shee holdeth out of the Bed for the Physician to feele her pulse, is couered with a fine piece of white Silke or taffata Sarcenet, for her flesh may not be seene; neither may the Doctor say any thing in her hearing, but being gone out of her chamber, prescribeth what medicine hee thinks fit; which for the most part (according to the common custome of the *Turkes*) is but onely some kinde of loosening *Sherbet*, for they seldome vse any other Physicke; neither doe I hold their skill sufficient to prepare Medicines for euery Maladie. But in case that shee should need a Chyrurgeon, shee must then doe as shee may without any scruple; for there is no remedie to conceale her skinne from him. And as for the other Women which are not *Sultanaes*, or at least which are not well beloued of the *Grand Signior* for some peculiar vertues; they needing a Chirurgion are sent into the old *Serraglio* to bee cured.
- Physicke meane.**
- The Kings Sonnes which are borne vnto him by his Queene, are Nursed and brought vp together by themselues, by choise Nurses which are found abroad without the *Serraglio*; But if hee haue also Sonnes by other *Sultanaes* (as commonly euery *Grand Signior* hath) then those are brought vp apart and not with the Queenes, so that euery Mother careth for her owne Children, and that with great ialousie; yet they may play together till they come to bee of sixe or seuen yeeres of Age; being much made of, sumptuously maintayned, and Apparellled all alike at the Kings charge, and their Nurses are well rewarded for their paines. They liue among the Women till they come to bee of nine or ten yeeres of age; and about fourteene they are Circumcised with a great deale of pompe (especially the eldest Sonne) and solemnities throughout the whole Citie; for the Circumcision of the *Turkes* Children, are like the *Christian* Weddings, there being vsed at them, great Feasting, Banqueting, Musicke, and bringing of Presents.
- The Kings Sonnes by the Queene.**
- Mothers care.**
- Circumcisions solemnitie.**
- From five yeeres of age vntill ten (during which time they liue amongst the Women) they haue their *Hoiah* (that is, their Schoole-master) appointed them by the King to teach them; which *Hoiah* comes into the Womens *Serraglio* euery day, and is brought into a Chamber by the Blacke Eunuches, (without euer seeing the Women at all) whither the Children come accompanied with two old *Black-moore* women Slaues, and are taught for so many howers as their Tutor is permitted to stay, and so hee departeth.
- Hoiah or Schoolemaster.**
- Kings Daughters.** As for the Daughters, they are but sleightly looked after; nor is the King so tender ouer them; for, as they are not suspected for any thing that may concerne the State in future times, so likewise are they not much respected; yet they are well provided for by the *Grand Signior* their Father, in case they liue to bee fit for Husbands.

After the Prince (next Heire to the Crowne) is circumcised; if his Father thinke it vnfit to keepe him any longer with him at home in the *Serraglio*, hee provides all things fitting to send him abroad that he may see the World the better to enable him for to gouerne the Empire after his Fathers decease; and sends along with him one of his principall Eunuches for to be his Ouer-seer and a helpe vnto him, besides many Seruants to attend vpon him, all which hee chuleth out of his owne *Serraglio*: hee allowes him likewise sufficient meanes to maintayne him like a Prince (as he doth also by the rest of his Sonnes if he haue a purpose to send any of them abroad) and so all things being well ordered for him, hauing taken his leaue of his Father and Mother (who present him with many gifts; as also the *Sultana's*, and all the *Bashawes*, and great men of the Port doe) he departs for *Magnesia*, a Citie in *Asia*, there to reside in the Gouvernement of that Prouince; in which hee hath not the Supream Authoritie, but gouernes only as his Fathers Deputie. And should hee passe the limits of his Commission, hee would quickly fall into disgrace, and suspicion of Rebellion; as heretofore it hath hapned vnto diuers: wherefore the Eunuch which was appointed for to bee his Ouer-seer, is bound to giue continuall aduice to the *Grand Signior* and the *Vizirs*, of all Occurrences according to the Canon: and likewise to receiue from *Constantinople* such Commandements as are to bee obeyed in those parts where the Prince resideth; so that all things in a manner, are swayed by the discretion of the Eunuch.

The Prince sent abroad.

Magnesia his Residence. His Commission.

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§. IX.

Provisions of Victuals, Cookes, Kitchens, Diet of the King, Queene, and others, and of their manner of Seruice.

AL the victuals in the *Serraglio*, (for the most part) are dressed by *Agiamoglans*, brought vp to Cookerie; howbeit there are belonging more then two hundred Vnder-cookes and Scullions to the Kitchens that are therein, besides their principall Officers, as Sewers, Caters, and such like: all which are carefully to looke to their seuerall Kitchens, and not any one to trust another with his businesse.

Victuals and Cookes.

The Kings Kitchen beginnes to worke ordinarily before day, for, his Highnesse rising betimes, there must be alwayes something readie for him, and oftentimes he eateth three or foure times a day. Hee dines commonly at ten of the clocke in the fore-noone, and sups about sixe at night, as well in the Summer as in the Winter. Now when hee hath a will to eate, hee tels the *Capee Agha* of it, who forth-with sends an Eunuch to giue notice of the same to the Chiefe Sewer; and he hauing dished the meate, brings it in dish by dish to the Kings Table; and so his Majestie sits downe after the common *Turkish* fashion with his legges acrosse, hauing a very rich embroydered Towell cast before him vpon his knees to saue his Clothes; and another hanging vpon his left arme which he vseth for his Napkin to wipe his mouth and fingers. He is not carued vnto, as other Princes are, but helps himselfe; hauing before him vpon a piece of *Bulgar* leather (which is in head of a Table-cloth) fine white Bread, of three or foure sorts, very new and well relished. He neither vseth Knife nor Forke, but only a wooden Spooone, of which there are two layed before him, the one seruing him to eate his Pottage, and the other to sup vp certaine delicate Sirrups withall; made of all sorts of Fruits, compounded with the Iuice of Limons and Sugar, to quench his thirst: he tasteth of his dishes one by one, and as hee hath done with them, they are taken off againe: his meate is so tender and delicately dressed, that (as I said before) he needs no Knife, but puls the flesh from the bones very easily with his fingers: He vseth no Salt at his Table, neither hath he any Antipasto; but immediately fells aboard the flesh, and concludes with a Tart or some such like thing: And so his Dinner or Supper being ended, hee washeth his hands in a Basen of Gold, with the Ewer all set with precious stones.

Kings Kitchen and meales.

His sitting at meate.

Not carued. No Knife nor Forke.

Two Spooones

No Salt nor Antipast.

His diet.

His Majesties ordinary Diet (as I haue beene told by some of the *Aschees*) is halfe a score roasted Pidgeons in a dish, two or three Geese in a dish, Lambe, Hens, Chickens, Mutton, and sometimes Wild-fowle, but very seldome: and looke what he hath roasted for him, so hee hath the same quantitie boyled, almost of euery thing; there being very good sawce for euery dish, and other ingredients very pleasing to the pallat. He hath likewise Broths of all sorts, and diuers Purcelaine dishes of Preserues and Sirrups, and some Tarts and Pyes, after their fashion made of flesh: and hauing made an end of eating, hee drinckes one draught of *Sherbet*, (not drinking about once at a Meale) which is brought vnto him in a deepe Purcelaine dish couered, standing vpon a flat vnder dish, of the same Metall.

Drinking once

All the while that he is at Table, he very seldome or neuer speakes to any man, albeit there stand afore him diuers Mutes and Iesters, to make him merrie, playing trickes and sporting one with another *Alla Mutescha*, which the King vnderstands very well, for by signes their meaning is easily conceiued. And if peraduenture he doe chance to speake a word or two; it is to grace

No words. Mutes and Iests.

- His fauour. some one of his *Agha's* standing by him whom hee highly fauoureth, throwing him a Loafe of Bread from his owne Table, and this is held for a singular grace and speciall fauour: and hee diuiding it amongst his companions, they accept of it at a second hand, as a great honour done vnto them, in regard it came from their Lord and King.
- Dishes and couers of Gold. Yellow Purcelaine for *Ramazan*, or Lent. The dishes for his Highnesse Table are all of Gold, and so likewise are their couers; they are in the custodie of the *Keelergee*, who attends at the Kitchin; and so are all the yellow Purcelaine dishes (which are very costly and scarcely to bee had for money) in which the King eates in the *Ramazan* time, which is their Lent, and lasteth a whole Moone, and the Moneth it selfe is so called: In which time they neuer eate in the day, but only in the night, not making any difference in meates (excepting Swines flesh and things strangled, of which they are forbidden by their Law to eate at any time.) The King seldome eates fish, vnlesse it be when he is abroad at some Garden House by the Sea-side with his Women.
- Remainders. The meate which remaynes of that which was at the *Grand Signiors* Table, is immediately carried to the *Agha's* Table which waite vpon him; so that they (what with that and their own diet together) are wondrous well to passe. Now whilst the *Agha's* are eating, the King passeth away the time with his Mutes and Buffones, not speaking (as I said) at all with his Tongue, but only by signes: and now and then hee kicks and buffeteth them in sport, but forth-with makes them amends by giuing them Money; for which purpose his pockets are alwayes furnished.
- Capee *Aghas* diet. In the meane time also the *Capee Agha* eates in a Roome apart, such meate as is prepared for him in his Kitchin, being farre inferiour to the Kings diet, and with him doe eate the *Hazineh-dar Bashee*, the *Sarai Agasee*, and sometimes some of the Kings Physicians, whom hee calls in for to beare him company; and such other Eunuchs which are Keepers of the *Serraglios* abroad, as doe come to visit him. And the remainder of his diet, with a fresh supply from the Kitchens, serues *Di man' in mano*, all the other white Eunuchs.
- Diet for the *Odah* youths. In this *Interim* likewise, is meate sent to all the other *Odahs*, for the youths there; which is two Loaves apiece *per diem*, and a little boyled Mutton, and Pottage of Rice mingled with Butter and Honey, which consists more of Broth then substance, it being but thinne of Rice, and so little flesh put in it, that it is well if it giue but a taste thereof when they soppe their bread therein.
- Queene and Sultanas diet. On the other side is meate carried in by blacke Eunuchs, to the Queene, to the Sultanas, and to all the other women, wherein is obserued the same order as is aforesaid with the King. Inso-much as that in the space of an houre and halfe all is dispatched.
- Queenes Seruice in Copper. The Queenes Seruice is in Copper dishes tinned ouer, but kept very bright and cleane, and some also of white Purcelaine: howsoeuer it is to bee vnderstood, that for her owne mouth shee may be serued as she pleaseth, and so questionlesse may all the Sultanas, although their ordinarie allowance be no other then Copper. For oftentimes the King is amongst them a whole day together, eating, sporting, and sleeping; of which there is no notice taken, nor may any one looke into his actions; where amongst themselves they make him delicate and sumptuous Banquets (ouer and aboue the ordinary meales of Dinner and Supper) of sweet Meats and Fruits of all sorts; hauing daily an abundance presented vnto them. They drinke their *Sherbet* mingled with Snow in the Summer, of which there is a great quantitie preserued yeerely for to serue the *Serraglio*, but at a very great charge. For the Snow doth stand the Port in more then twentie thousand *Chicquines per annum*, in Gifts and Ceremonies, and other Expenses, at the fetching it in from the Hills; and in putting it vnder ground in Houses made of purpose for that vse.
- King with his women. They doe not ordinarily vse Comfets, nor Cheese, for the *Turkes* doe hardly know how to make them; especially Cheese (which although they doe make of it) it neuer prooues good: So that the Sultanas, and all great Personages eate none but *Parmezan*, of which the *Bailo of Venice* doth alwayes furnish them, and that very plentifully, for they loue it well, and eate heartily of it when they goe abroad vpon pleasure or a hunting.
- Snow mixed with *Sherbet*, at a deere rate. For the prouision of the said *Serraglio*, all things are prepared in great abundance, and every particular prouision is assigned to particular persons to take care therefore, so that there is neuer any want of things necessary.
- Comfets and Cheese not vsed. The first and best sort of Bread (which indeed is very white and sauourie) is for the King, the Sultanas, the Bashawes, and other great ones. The second sort for them of a middle ranke. The third and last sort (which indeed is very blacke and course) for the *Agiamoglans* and others of base qualitie.
- Order. The meale whereof the best sort of bread is made for the *Grand Signior* and the Sultanas, is brought from *Bursia*, made of the Wheate of that Prouince of *Bithinia*, growing in the Kings owne ground. And the yeerely prouision thereof is about seuen or eight thousand *Keeloes*, which makes almost so many Bushels of ours here in *London*: the which Wheat makes the best flower that comes to *Constantinople*, for that it is also ground at *Bursia*, and those Mills are far better then any that are neere *Stanbol*.
- Bread of three sorts. Now for the other Wheate which they spend, it all comes (for the most part) from *Volo* in *Grecia*, where there is a great deale of Land belonging to the Crowne; a great part of which
- Meale from *Bursia*. Quantitie. Corne

Corne is yeerely spent in the Armado, made into Bisket at *Negropont*: and some part of it is sold to the *Raguseans* and others, who come with their shipping to lade it thence, but they must bring their Authoritie with them from *Constantinople*. There is likewise brought yeerely to *Stamboll* of the aforesaid Wheate, hirtie five, or forcie thousand *Keeloes*, which is laid vp in Magasins that serue for that vse, and is afterwards ground, and spent in the *Serraglio*, for the seruice of the same. Nor is it any wonder that the *Serraglio* consumes so much Corne; for, besides the Seruants as aforesaid; all the *Sultanas* and great Personages, with diuers others, haue their daily allowance of bread from the *Keeler* (that is) the Pantrie, or from his Highnesse Bakehouse; *scilicet*, euery *Sultana*, twentie Loaves: euery *Bashaw* ten: to the *Muskee* eight: and so to diuers others a seuerall proportion, euen to one Loafe a man. All which is by the Commandement and discretion of the Chiefe *Vizir*: the seuerall allowances beeing set downe in the Chiefe Butlers Bookes, or else in his who is the Ouerseer of the Bake-houses: Euery Loafe being as bigge as three penie Loaves of ours here in *London*, but very light and spungie; and easie of digestion.

Quantitie.

Pantry allowance.

Rice, Lentils, Pulse from *Alexandria*. Spice and Sweet meates. Expence of Sugar.

Little Spice.

Egyptian fruits.

Hony whence.

Oyle of *Grecia*.

Of *Candie*.

Butter from *Bogdania*, &c.

No fresh Butter.

Little Milke eaten.

Prouision of flesh.

Kow Beefe.

Dryed and hanged.

The Rice and Lentils, and all other sorts of Pulse (of which there is a great quantitie spent) is brought yeerely from *Alexandria* in the Galeons, which make two Voyages *per annum*, and bring out of *Egypt*, not only the said Pulse, but also all sorts of Spice and Sugar, and a great quantitie of Preserues, and pickled meates, which the *Turkes* much delight in. And as for Sugar, there is spent an vnspeakeable deale in making of Sherbets, and Tarts; which not only the *Serraglio* vseth, but are also ordinary Presents from one *Bashaw* to another, and from one friend to another; insomuch that it is a thing to be admired, to see so great a quantitie so suddenly consumed. True it is, that there is but little Spice spent in the *Serraglio*, nor indeed any great store among the *Turkes* (Pepper only excepted) for inasmuch as Wine is not an ordinary drink amongst them, they therefore auoide such things as prouoke a desire thereunto. Howsoeuer in the Store-houses of the Port, there is prouision of all sorts of Spices and Drugges for whatsoeuer occasion should happen, that may require the vse of them.

There likewise comes from *Egypt* great store of Dates, Prunes, and other dryed Plummes of diuers sorts, which the Cookes vse in their dressing of meate, as well for rost as boyled, and indeed they make delicate dishes of them. The Hony (of which the Port spends a great quantitie both in their Broths, boyled meates and Sherbets also for the common sort of people) is brought from *Valachia*, from *Transilvania*, and from *Moldania*, as well that which is presented to the King, as that which comes for particular mens Accounts; yet that which is vled in the Kings Kitchen comes from *Candie*, and is farre better and purer then the other.

The Oyle (of which there is an vnspeakeable consumption made) is brought from *Modon* and *Coron* in *Grecia*, the *Saniack beg* of that Prouince being bound to see the Port sufficiently furnished therewith: howbeit that which is spent in the Kings Kitchen is brought from *Candie*, it being sweeter, cleerer, and in euery respect better then that of the *Morea*.

The Butter (of which there is also spent a very great quantitie, in that it is vsed almost in all their meates; especially in *Pillane*) comes out of the Blacke Sea, from *Bogdania* and from *Cassa*, being put into great Oxe-hides and Buffalo-hides, and so laid vp in Magazines, for the yeerely prouision of the Kings Court, but commonly they haue so much that they sell part of it into the Citie, as they doe likewise the Oyle, Honey, &c. which is *Beggleek* (that is, for the *Grand Signiors* Account) when they haue more of them then they thinke they shall spend; and make a great benefit of it. The *Turkes* know not what belongs to fresh Butter, there being little or none at all made about *Constantinople*; neither doe they eate much Milke, except it bee made sower, which they call *Yoghurd*, for that it being so turned sower it doth quench the thirst; and of that both they and the Christians doe eate a great quantitie. They eate also some store of *Kaymack* (that is, clouted or cloded Creame) but that is only for the better sort, for it is a meate of too high a price for the vulgar.

Now as for flesh, euery yeere in the Autumne, Winter drawing nigh; the *Bashaw* causeth the Prouision of *Basturma* to be made for the Kings Kitchens; and they make it of Kowes great with Calfe, for then say they, the flesh is most tender and sauourie: they vse it in the same manner as Christians vse Swines flesh, for they make Puddings and Sauceages of it, and therest they boyle and dresse after other fashions.

This sort of dryed flesh, after that it is sufficiently dryed with hanging a moneth or better in a Roome, and little or no Salt vsed about it, will last the whole yeare, and eate very sauourly; and it is in such vse amongst the *Turkes*, that there is scarce a house of any fashion or account, but doth yeerely make prouision of it, and it is held a very thriftie and sparing course; but they doe not all make their *Basturma* of Kowes great with Calfe, for there are some which loue the other better, which is made of Oxen and Bullocks; and they can buy it farre cheaper.

The *Bashaw* hath the ouersight of that which is prepared for the Kings Kitchens; and there are ordinarily spent foure hundred Kowes *per annum*, for the said prouision of *Basturma*. The other flesh which is daily spent in the Kitchens of the *Serraglio* (as I was told by one of the *Aschees*) is as followeth: Sheepe, 200. Lambes, or Kids when they are in season, 100. Calues, 100.

Geese,

- Fish.** Geese, 50. Hennes, 200. Chickens, 100. Pigeons, 200. There is but very little store of Fish spent in the *Serraglio*: yet sometimes the *Aghaes* for dainties will eate some; the Seas thereabouts doe exceedingly abound with diuers kinds, and they may easily take as many as they please: but the *Christians* are well serued with Fish in the Markets, and at reasonable prices; and the common sort of *Turkes* doe beare them Companie.
- Fruits.** The *Grand Signior* (nor any of the *Serraglio*) cannot want for Fruit; there being in time of yeere so many Presents thereof brought thither continually; besides what comes from the Kings owne Gardens (which are many, and neere the Citie) every morning in great abundance, and excellent good; the Gardeners selling the remainder at a place in *Constantinople*, where onely the Kings Fruit is sold; and bring the money weekly to the *Bustangee Bashee*, who afterwards giues it to his Maiestie, and it is called the Kings Pocket-money; for he giues it away by handfuls, as he sees occasion, to his Mutes and Buffons.
- Skullery.** The furniture of the Kitchens in the *Serraglio*, as Ketles, Cauldrons, and Skillets, &c. are almost all of Brasse, and they are so neatly kept, and of such a largenesse, that there cannot bee a brauer sight of that nature. And as for the Dishes, they are of Copper tinned ouer, but so often new forbished and trimmed, that (they being daily vsed) it is wonderfull to behold their continuall brightnesse; and of these they haue a great number, but the King sustaynes great losse by them: for, there being such a companie of people serued daily from the Kitchens with meate both within and without (especially vpon the foure *Diuan* dayes) there are so many of them stolne, that the *Defterdars* (weighing the losse and charge of those Dishes) haue often beene almost resolued to make them all of Siluer, and so to consigne them to the custodie of the Sewers and Butlers, who should from time to time giue account of them, and looke the better to them: but finding it a thing so costly, not any *Defterdar* (as yet) hath performed it, nor aduentured to beginne.
- Losse by pilfering.**
- Wood and Fewell.** The Wood which is spent in the aforesaid Kitchens and in all the *Serraglio*, are almost an infinite number of weights, (for at *Constantinople* the Wood is all bought and sold by weight) there being for the account of the *Serraglio* (which they call *Begleek*) about thirtie great *Caramusals*, which doe nothing else at one time of the yeere, but sayle into the *Blacke Sea*, there to lade at the Kings Woods: It is a businesse which costs but little (in respect of the worth of it) for they haue it for the cutting downe; and the bringing and vnlading of it requires little or no charge at all; for they are to make so many returnes *per annum* for the King, but receiue no freight: and the Masters are to see it vnladen at their owne costs and charges, receiuing only a discharge, but no recompence at all.

d. X.

Apparell, Bedding, Sicknesse, Hospitals. Inheritance; Kings expences, Recreations, receiuing Petitions, Stables; Ramazan Solemnities.

- Fashion of Kings apparell.**  He *Grand Signiors* Apparell, is nothing different in fashion from other mens, sauing in the length of his Vests, and the richnesse thereof; nor are his shooes shod with Iron at the heeles, as other *Turkes* weare them, but are rased and painted like childrens shooes, with knots and flowers.
- His bedding.** And as for his Lodging; he sleepest vpon Mattresses of Veluet and Cloth of gold: In the Summer in Sheets of Shash embroydered with Silke sowne to the quilts: and in the Winter betwixt Couerlets of Lucernes or of Sables, wearing all night a little Telbent on his head;
- Pages watch.** And when he lies alone in his owne Lodgings, he is alwaies watched by his Pages of his Chamber, by two and two at a time, changing every three houres; one of them standing at the Chamber doore, and the other by the Bed side to couer him, in case the clothes should slide off, and to be neere hand, if his Maiestie should want any thing: And in the same Chamber where he lies, there are alwaies two women that attend with burning Torches in their hands; nor may they put them out till such time as the King is risen out of his Bed.
- Two Torch-women.**
- Womens habit.** The habite of the women is much like to that of the men, for they weare Chackfirs, and Buzkins, and haue their Shooes shod with Iron at the heeles. They sleepe as the men doe, in linnen Breeches, and in quilted Waist-coats; hauing thinne and light ones for the Summer, and more chicke and warme ones for the Winter.
- No Close-stooles.** The *Turkes* neuer haue any Close-stooles, or such like implements in their Chambers; but hauing a will to that businesse, they rise and goe to their Priuies, made in places apart, where there doe alwaies stand Water-pots ready, that they may wash when they haue done; nor may they vse Paper in that seruice, as we doe.
- No Paper, &c. Stipends.** The seuerall stipends which the *Grand Signior* alloweth to those of the *Serraglio*, (of what degree or condition soeuer they be) are payd out of the outmost *Hazmeh*; and the chiefe *Defterdar* (who hath a Booke as well of the names of the Stipendaries, as of their stipends) is bound to send

lend once euery three moneths, to all the *Odabs* in severall bagges, so much money as their pay imports, and there they share it amongst them: The like hee doth also by the women, and the *Agiamoglans*, paying them in good money. And against the *Biram*, which is their *Carnual*, hee lends them their Vests, their Linnen, and such like necessaries, of which he neuer fayles them; for, they wanting them, if he should disappoint them, they would so complaine against the said *Defterdar*, that it would bee his vtter ouerthrow; for hee should bee sure (at the least) to lose his place.

When any one dieth in the *Serraglio*, his Chamber-fellowes are made his Heires, and that which he left is diuided amongst them. And if any great Eunuch die, all comes to the King; for they are alwaies very rich, by reason of the manifold gifts which come to their hands: But
 10 if any Eunuch of the *Serraglios* abroad, or in places of other gouernment should die, then two thirds of his estate falls to the King by Canon, the other third part being to bee disposed of according to the Testators will; and that is onely when the King giues way vnto it, and will not out of his supreme authoritie take all to himselfe, as he vseth to doe by all great rich ones, the Kings person being held the principall and most lawfull Heire of all; they being accounted as slaues which haue receiued their liuelihood, goods, estates, and all that they haue enioyed, meerly from his greatnesse, and bountie. And to this end there is an Officer, called the *Beytimawgee*,
 20 who so soone as any one dies, makes inquisition for their estates, and so certifies the *Defterdar* thereof, leauing the execution to him, if it be in matters of import. But the *Beytimawgee* for his owne priuate gayne, doth oftentimes conceale a great part of the estate of the deceased, parting the same betwixt the kindred and himselfe.

When any ordinary person falls sicke in the *Serraglio*, he is carried from his chamber in a Cart which is couered and drawne with hands; and is put into the aforesaid Hospitall or *Lazaretta*, where he is lookt vnto after the *Turkish* fashion; and kept so closely, that none may come to the speech of him but with great difficultie; and growing well againe, he is carried backe in the same manner to his owne chamber where he was at the first.

The expences of the *Serraglio* are very great, as any one may gather by what hath bene already said; besides, there are other charges of great consideration which the King is at, by reason of the Queene, the chiefe *Vizirs*, the Generals of his severall forces, and the great *Defterdars*: All whom he doth present according as he seeth fit vpon diuers occasions; as at the times
 30 of their going forth, or at their returnes from their employments abroad; The which Presents are of Vests, some vnlined, and some lined with very costly Furs; Swords, Bowes, Plumes and Brooches, Girdles all set with rich Stones, and in fine many other things of great value; and some but of lowe price, according to the qualitie and desert of the partie to whom hee is pleased to shew his liberalitie. Nay, the *Hazinehdar Bashee* without (who hath the keeping of the Cloth of gold and siluer of *Bursia*) doth affirme, that in that one commoditie, to make Vests of, there is spent yeerely two hundred thousand Sultanines; besides what he disburseth for the buying of *Venetian* Silkes and Wollen clothes, of which the *Serraglio* consumes a great quantitie, they not wearing (for the most part) any other.

Neither would this alone serue the turne, for besides all this, the *Gr. Signior* giues away all that which is giuen him by strangers, and a great part of that which comes to him of the spoyle of the dead, of which he is Master, as hath bene shewed before. And surely, should he want these helps, the King could not continue in that humour of giuing Presents, long, as he doth, to his wenches, to his *Basshawes*, and to all such as are at any time to kisse his hand. Neuerthelesse, true it is that the greatest part of things of great value, in time, come againe to his hands; for, his *Sultanaes*, *Basshawes*, or other rich men dying, hee becomes Master of all, or (at least) of the greatest part of their estate. And so much of such things, there is a continuall ebbing and flowing in the *Serraglio*.

The Queene also giues much away; for, as shee is presented by many, so is it fit, that shee should in part make some compensation: and to that end, shee hath an allowance of Vests, and other things in abundance; besides, shee hath libertie to dispose of many of those which haue
 50 benee worne by the King.

The chiefe *Vizir* is likewise a giuer, as well whilest hee is in *Constantinople*, as when he is vpon departure as Generall of the Armie: and to that end, before he departeth, hee hath allowed him from the *Hazinehdar Bashee*, a great number of Vests and other things, that he may be provided when he is in the field with Presents; according to the *Turkish* custome, which (in all busineses, and vpon euery occasion) is, to giue and take.

The King (if he please) may at any time goe abroad either by water or by land: when hee goes by water, he hath his *Kaik* of sixteene or eightene bankes; with a very sumptuous Poope, couered ouer with rich embroydered crimson Veluet, vnder which he himselfe sits, and none but he, on cushions of Veluet and Cloth of gold; his *Aghaes* standing all on their feete, and onely
 60 the *Bustangee Bashee*, who steeres the *Kaik*, may now and then sit downe, that he may handle the Helme the better. Now the *Bustangee Bashee*, by reason the King talkes much with him in the Barge, (at which time, least any one should heare what they say, the Mutes fall a howling like little Dogs) may benefit or preiudice whom he pleaseth; the King being ignorant of diuers passages,

Serraglio.
Heires.

Testaments.

Beytimawgee.

Hospitall.

Kings expences.

200000. Sultanines spent in Vests of Cloth of gold and siluer.

Ebbing and flowing from and to this Ocean.
Queenes expences.
Vizirs Vests.

Kings Kaik.

Mutes howling.

passages, and apt to beleue any information, either with or against any Subject whatsoever. His *Kaik* is rowed by *Agiamogians*, which are brought vp to that exercise, and indeed they manage the businesse with a great deale of dexteritie.

His going out
by land.

When he goeth forth by land, hee alwaies rides on horse-backe, and goes out (for the most part) at the greatest Gate, especially, at such times as he goes to the *Moschea* which is vpon the Friday (it being their Sabbath) and is accompanied into the Citie by the *Bashawes*, and other great men of the Port, besides many of his owne seruants which goe by his stirrop, and diuers *Solacks* with their Bowes and Arrowes, for his Guard. And as he rides along the streets, he salutes the people with nodding his head, who againe salute him with loude shouts and prayers of prosperitie and happinesse; and for recompence, hee oftentimes puts his hand into his Pocket, 10 and throwes whole handfulls of money amongst them.

Gratulations
and gratifica-
tions.

Petitions.

Now, they of the *Serraglio*, which goe by his stirrop, haue charge to receiue such Petitions as are preferred to his Maiestie, as he rides along: and many poore folkes, who dare not to approach nigh him, stand as farre off with fire vpon their heads, holding vp their Petitions in their hands; the which the King seeing, sends immediatly to take the said Petitions, and being returned home into his *Serraglio*, reades them all, and then giues order for redresse as he thinks fit. By reason of which complaints, the King oftentimes takes occasion to execute Iustice, euen against the most eminent in place, before they are aware, without taking any course in Law against them; but causing a sudden execution of what punishment he pleaseth vpon them. Which makes the *Bashawes* that they care not how seldome the *Grand Signior* stirres abroad in publike, 20 for feare least in that manner their vniust proceedings and bad Iustice should come to his eare. And indeed, they alwaies liue in great feare, through the multiplictie of businesse that passeth through their hands, and in danger of losing their liues at a short warning; which makes them, vse the Prouerbe; that, *He that is greatest in Office, is but a statue of Glasse.*

His great
Stable.

The *Grand Signior*, for the vse of his household, hath in *Constantinople* neere vnto the *Serraglio*; an exceeding large Stable of a thousand Horses and vpward: And the *Imrahor Bashee*, which is Master of the Horse, hath the charge of them, together with an *Vnder-Imrahor* for his assistant; besides many ordinary Groomes, which are to looke to them and see that they be kept in good case. Now, the said *Imrahor Bashee* and his Deputie, are to see the Kings seruants provided of Horses, at such times as they accompanie his Maiestie abroad, either a hunting, or 30 for other sports.

Other Stables.

Besides this Stable, hee hath diuers others in other places, for his owne seruice, and for the vse of his Gentlemen, at such times as he or they shall come thither; namely, at his Gardens, and Houses of pleasure abroad in the Countrey, to which his Maiestie vseth to goe very often: but these Stables haue not aboue eight or ten Horses a piece in them, for to those houses hee carrieth but few followers with him.

Hee hath also Stables for his Stallions for race, in *Bursia*, *Adrianopoli*, and in diuers other places; from which are brought very stately Horses; besides such as are continually sent him for Presents, from *Cairo*, *Bagdat*, *Arabia*, and from other places from the *Bashawes*, and also such as fall to his share by the death of great persons; all which are Horses of great price, and kept for 40 his owne vse. And because there must bee a great number of Horses for ordinary seruices for the baser sort of his seruants; he is therefore furnished with lowe priced Nags out of *Valachia*.

Mules.

Besides these Stables of Horses, the *Grand Signior* is provided of five thousand Mules which serue to carrie Pauilions, Chifts, Water, and all other necessaries for trauell: but because the *Vizir* (going out Generall) makes vse of a great part of them, there is seldome that number complete at home. And should the King himselfe goe out to the Warres, his very household would vse a thousand of them, besides their riding Horses; for, the Emperours of *Turkie* are alwaies almost as well accommodated in their Voyages abroad, as they are at home in the Citie: and indeed, the generalitie of the *Turkes* are very well fitted against such times as they are to goe forth, especially for long iourneyes. 50

Publike ap-
pearing at Ra-
mazan.

The *Grand Signior* is bound by Canon of the Empire, that vpon the first day of the *Byram*, which is their *Carnenall*, the *Ramazan* being ended, which is their Lent, hee shew himselfe publikely, and let all the great men, and the better sort of his owne seruants, kisse his Vest: wherefore vpon that day, early in the morning, being richly clad and set forth with his best Jewels, he comes out at his *Serraglio* Gate, that is, out of the Eunuches Gate, in the third Court; and sets him downe vpon a *Persian* Carpet of silke and gold, in a certaine place (close by the aforesaid Gate) which is onely for that seruice, and doth not stirre thence vntill all haue kissed his Vest in token of their reuerence and dutie; The chiefe *Vizir* standing close by him, and telling him the names of such as hee thinkes fit, to the end the *Grand Signior* may take notice of them: Now, to some of the Doctors of the Law which are of high degree, the King raiseth himselfe 60 vp a little, to honour and receiue them; and to some he shewes more grace and affection, then to other some, and indeed more then ordinary.

His honour to
some.

Going to Santa
Sophia.

Now, this Ceremonie being ended he goeth to the *Moschea* of *Santa Sophia*, accompanied by them all; and at his returne taking his leaue, hee retires himselfe to his owne Lodgings, where he

he dines alone, as he doth vpon other dayes; notwithstanding vpon that day he maketh a very solemne Banquet in the *Dinan* for the *Bashawes* and other Great ones; and a very great Dinner in the Court yard, for all such as did accompanie him, and are there present. Then his Majestie obseruing the ordinarie Custome, sends to present the Chiefe *Vizir* with a very rich Vest, lined with a very costly Furre, and doing the like by the other great ones of the Port, (though with Vests of farre lower price) hee also extends his bountie to all his *Aghas*, giuing them Swords and such like things; and to the *Sultanaes* costly Iewels, and other Gifts to many others of the *Serraglio*, giuing (as wee say) *New-yeeres Gifts*, to all.

Gifts to the
Grandes.

10 Every night during the three dayes of the *Byram* (for it is but for three dayes and so it ends) hee causeth Shewes to bee made of Fire-workes, and such like, which continue vntill Morning, and that the *Sultanaes* may see them, the King comes of purpose into their companie to be merrie with them, and is more free and familiar then at other times; and hee giues free libertie for mirth and sports Day and Night throughout the Citie, during those three dayes.

Three dayes
Solemnitie.
Fire workes
and Shewes,

To these Festiualls, all the *Sultanaes* which liue out of the *Serraglio*, are also inuited, who both giue Presents to the King, and take Presents from him. Likewise in these three dayes the King is presented by the *Bashawes* and Great men, and indeed with Gifts of great value, for euery one strives to exceed another, thinking thereby to winne fauour. The *Sultanaes* also are not behinde hand, for they present him, with Shirts, Handkirchiefes, Linnen breeches, and such like things of good consideration, the which the *Grand Signior* afterwards makes vse of for his

Presents to
him.

20 owne wearing.

The same *Byram* of three dayes is kept in all his Dominions, and throughout the Citie of *Constantinople*, euen in euery *Turkes* house; the Streets being at almost euery corner set out with Deuises, and Swings of diuers sorts very artificially made; where old and young are solaced, and giuing two or three *Aspers* to them which owe the Swings, they may haue sport sufficient. But during this Feast, it is somewhat dangerous for the poore *Christians* and *Iewes* to walke the streets; for, the *Turkes* being then somewhat insolent and full of Wine, doe put them in great feare of doing them some mischief, if they deny them money when they demand it of them; And so they doe likewise in another *Byram*, which is called the little *Byram*, and comes three

Christians awed

Little Byram.

30

§. XI.

The Old Serraglio, and Womens liues therein: Of their Marriages and Children, Slaue-selling, Witnesses.



Having oftentimes mentioned the old *Serraglio*, which is as it were a dependent of the Kings *Serraglio*, it will not bee amisse briefly to make some kinde of relation of it.

The Old Serraglio.

40 This is a very large *Serraglio*, immured with a very high Wall; the Buildings are faire, it hath many Inhabitants, and is about an *Italian* mile in Compasse, being seated in the noblest part of the Citie. It was the first *Serraglio*, which *Mahomet* the second built for to dwell in with all his Court, when hee tooke *Constantinople*; It hath but one Gate (which is of Iron) belonging vnto it, the which Gate is kept by a Companie of white Eunuches, and no men may come in thereat, vnlesse it bee to bring in such necessaries as they want, at which times they cannot see any of the Women. Now the Women which are therein, are those which are put out of the Kings *Serraglio*, viz. such *Sultanaes* as haue belonged to the deceased *Grand Signior*, those Women likewise which through their euill behauiour and conditions are fallen into disgrace with the King, and such as are Infirme or Defectiue, in what should belong to Women fit for the companie of a King; and none else are there, but for some of the aforesaid causes. All

Who are there
in.

50 which are gouerned, and lookt vnto by an old Woman which is made their Ouer-seer, and taketh care to see them vsed according to the Custome of the House, and that they haue their Food and Cloathing, with their seuerall stipends; all which is farre short of what they had when they were in the Kings *Serraglio*; howbeit such as haue beene Queenes and *Sultanaes*, liue out of the common ranke, in their Lodgings apart; and although they are out of the Kings sight and (as it were) out of fauour, yet they are reasonably well serued.

Woman Ouer-
seer.

60 Now the greatest part of the sayd *Sultanaes* (Queenes excepted) if they bee any thing rich, may (with the Kings leaue by the old Womens solicitation) goe forth and marrie, and carrie with them all that which they haue kept and stollen. For at their comming forth of the Kings *Serraglio*, if they haue ought of any great worth or value that is knowne, the *Cadun* takes it from them, and restores it to the *Grand Signior*. So that I say, if they haue any thing to bestow themselves withall, they cunningly make it knowne abroad, to the end that some men of qualitie may become Suitors for them, and make them a good Ioynter.

In the said *Serraglio*, they haue all the commoditie of necessaries that may bee, as Gardens, Conueniences Fountaines, and faire *Bognoes*, and the King hath some roomes also therein readie furnished: for

some-

- Sometimes hee goeth thither to visite his kindred, as his Grandmother, Mother, Aunts, Sisters, &c. who for some of the aforesaid occasions were put out of his *Serraglio*.
- The other Women of this old *Serraglio*, haue but meane allowance; and had they not somewhat of their owne to helpe sometimes, they would passe but courly; so that they are faine to betake themselues to their Needles, by which they reape a reasonable benefite, and haue diuers *Iewes* women who frequent their companies, and sell their labours for them.
- Hard state.** A *Turke* (if hee please) may take seuen Wiues at *Kebin*: besides hee may haue as many Slaues as hee will, and the Children of the Slaues are held as truly begotten and legitimate, as those of the Wiues, and haue as much right to the Inheritance of what the Father leaues behind him: Nay, a *Bashaw* hauing married a Sister or a Daughter to the King, and hauing Sonnes by them; those Sonnes may not rise aboue the Degree of a *Saniack Begh* or a *Capoogee Bashee*, to the end they may bee kept vnder, being allyed to the Crowne, that so being but in meane places, they may not bee apt for reuolution. But their Brothers which their Fathers beget of Slaues, may come to bee *Bashawes*, for they are free from suspicion, in regard they are not of the Bloud Royall: And hence it is, that those Children which had a *Sultana* to their Mother, are so often seene to bee in lower Degree then the others; for hee which is borne of the Slaue, is aboue him which is borne of the *Sultana*; yet with the Children of the other Subjects it is otherwise, for they are equals.
- Seuen Wiues, Slaues unlimited.**
- Bashawes Sons kept vnder, if of royal Bloud**
- Diuorces.** The parties Married, may vpon diuers occasions specified in their Law, leaue one another, especially when they cannot agree together. And if the man put away the Woman, hee is bound to allow her the Ioynter or Dowrie, which hee promised her when they were Contracted: but if the Woman forsake the Man, shee can recouer nothing, but departs onely with a small Portion, such as shee brought with her into her Husbands house.
- Slaues sold if barren.** Now in case a *Turke* take Slaues for his vse, hee may not sell them againe, but they become members of the Familie, in which they are to remaine till they die; but if they prooue barren, they may bee sold from hand to hand, as often as their fortune so betides them.
- The *Turkes* may buy of all sorts of Slaues of euery Religion, and vse them as they please (killing onely excepted) which the *Christians* and *Iewes* there may not doe; for they haue libertie onely to buy *Christians* and *Iewes*.
- Bezisten.** There is for this purpose in *Constantinople* a *Bezisten*, that is, a common publike Market, where euery Wednesday there are bought and sold Slaues of all sorts, and euery one comes freely, to buy for their seuerall vses; some for Nurses, some for Seruants, and some for their Lustfull appetites; for they which make vse of Slaues for their sensualitie cannot bee punished by the Iustice, as they should bee if they were taken with Free women, and with *Turkish* women especially.
- Manner of selling Slaues.** These Slaues are bought and sold, as Beasts and Cattle are; they being viewed and reuiwed, and felt all about their Limmes and Bodies, as if they were so many Horses, then they are examined of what Countrey they are, and what they are good for; either for Sewing, Spinning, Weaving, and the like: buying sometimes the Mother with the Children, and sometimes the Children without the Mother, sometimes two or three Brothers together, and againe, sometimes taking the one and leauing the rest, vsing no tearmes of loue, regard, or honestie, but euen as the Buyer or the Seller shall thinke, will best turne them to profit. Now when there is a Virgin that is beautifull and faire, shee is held at a high rate, and is sold for farre more then any other; and for securitie of her Virginitie, the seller is not onely bound to the restitution of the money (if shee proue otherwise) to him that bought her: but is for his fraud fined at a summe of money. In the *Bezisten* there sitteth an *Emeen*, that is, a Customer, who receiues Custome of the buyers and sellers; which amounteth to a reasonable summe in the space of a yeere.
- Restitution if not a Virgin.** The *Bashawes* and other Subiects, though by Marriage they become Vncles Sonnes in law, or Cousens to the *Grand Signior*, may not by vertue of their Affinitie, challenge any more familiaritie or freedome with his Majestie, then if there were no such matter of Kindred betwixt them, but onely what may well besit their Office and Dignitie, they remayning still Slaues as the others doe: nay, their seruitude is thereby increased, and they loose a great part of their former Libertie; for they must be very obsequious to the *Sultanaes* whom they haue Married, and turne away the greatest part of their other Women and Slaues (if they haue any) and must with patience support all their imperfections: so that for this reason, few *Bashawes* of worth and iudgement seeke after such Marriages, for they are both chargeable and bring Discontent: but when the King commands, they (as his Slaues) must submit and obey, though their vexation and charge increase neuer so much thereby.
- No benefit by Affinitie to the King.**
- Losse by it.**
- Rites of Marriage.** The Ceremonie of *Turkish* Marrying, is nothing else, but in the presence of the *Cadee* (who is the Iustice) to make *Hoget*, that is, a Writing expressing the Vow and good liking of the parties to bee Married, with a specification of the Dowrie which the Husband is to make to the Wife; all which is done in presence also of Witnesses, which are true and honest, and not to bee denied. For in *Turkie* it is not permitted that euery one that will, should beare Witnesse; but onely such men as are Free, of a good Age, that can say the *Namaz*, and haue some knowledge in the Law, knowne to bee men of ciuill life, and which drinke no Wine: for the Witnesse of a
- Turke*

Turke which drinke Wine is nothing worth, and thus their Law commandeth; But for all this, Corruption is so crept in amongst them, that now in *Turkie* (especially in *Constantinople*) there are (to the outward appearance Graue and Honest men) more false Witnesses, then in any other part of the world besides; and who are they? (at least the Chiefe of them) but a certayne sort of *Emeers*, that is, such as pretend to come of the Race and Stocke of *Mahomet*, which weare greene Telbents: and certayne poore *Cadees* out of Office, and these are they which for money doe vse that detestable Trade, which our *Knights of the Post* doe practise heere with vs. And hence it is that *Ananias* are so commonly framed, for they can stoutly (and that with ease) out-face the poore *Christians* and *Jewes*: nay, for a Bribe they will not spare their owne generation, in bearing false witnesse, or rayeing calumnies against them: For the *Turkes* being naturally giuen to Couetousnesse, not fearing God, but altogether inclined to Rapine (although without question there are many very honest men amongst them) when they meete with a fit opportunitie, they will play the Rogues with any man, bee hee of what condition soeuer; wherefore it proues dangerous to haue any dealing with them, for that they with that tricke will easily free themselves from any Obligation or Agreement before made; for, Iudgement there, consists onely of the force of prooffe by Witnesses, so that a man had need to be wondrous circumspect in his proceedings with *Turkes*, especially in matters of Couenant.

Emirs false Witnesses.

Turkes couetous and dangerous.

Force of Euidence.

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§. XII.

Of their Religion, Opinions, Persons, Times, Places and Rites sacred.

The *Turkes* beleue in Almighty God, that hee is the Creator of the whole Vniuerse, and the gracious Redeemer of all good men in the day of Iudgement, that hee is in the highest Heauen, serued with especiall Angels, hauing from the beginning cast out the Disobedient ones; for whom as also for Wicked men hee made Hell. And as they affirme, euerlasting Life to bee in these two places, viz. Heauen and Hell: So they confesse and wayte for the Resurrection of the Bodie to bee re-vnited with the Soule, at such time as the fearefull Trumpet shall bee sounded by *Mahomet*, at the commandement of the Great G o d of the Iudgement.

Resurrection.

They beleue also, that Life euerlasting in Paradise, is such a happinesse, that it consists onely in the delighting and pleasing of the Sences; and that they shall haue there, the vse of Naturall things in all perfection, without making any difference, inioying perfect health, and free from all manner of trouble. And on the contrarie, that in Hell, the vse of the aforesayd things shall bee in vnquenchable Fire, and shall haue a most bitter and loathsome taste. And this is all that they attribute vnto them, either for the reward of the Blessed, or the punishment of the Reprobate.

Sensuall Paradise.

They say moreouer, that the Power of God is such, that hauing at Mans Creation prefixed and appointed a set time for his end, it is impossible that the wit or deuice of mortall Man, should bee able to diuert or preuent it. Wherefore in the warres, or in other occasions, they are so much the more bold, resolute and couragious; saying, that their End is written in their Fore-heads, and it is not for them to goe about to auoyd it, so that if they dye, they dye.

Fate.

They also affirme Gods Power to bee such, that after mens Bodies are risen againe, hee will giue them such an agilitie, that they shall bee able in a moment to passe from one Heauen to another, euen to the farthest parts of them, to visite and imbrace their Wiues, Mothers, Brothers, and others of their Kindred, the Heauens being all transparent, being of Diamonds, Rubies, Turkeesses and Christall.

Agilitie in the next Life. Transparent Heauens.

As concerning Gods Throne or Seate of Majestie; they affirme, that euery one cannot behold it, by reason of the brightnesse of the beames which comes from his Eyes, and by reason of the vnspokeable splendour proceeding from his glorious Face, and that the Angels and Prophets onely, haue the grace to inioy that sight.

Gods Throne.

These are the principall foundations of their Religion, vpon which they build the course of this their present temporall Life, and by which they hope to obtaine a Life euerlasting and happie; affirmed by their Prophet, to bee full of the delights and pleasures of this World, but enioyed in all perfection and excellencie, in a Supernaturall and Incorruptible manner.

They say, that Almighty God sent foure Prophets into the World, to instruct, gouerne, and saue Mankind; each of them being holy, pure, and vndefiled, to wit, *Moses*, *Dauid*, *Christ*, and *Mahomet*; and that God sent to euery one of them by his Angell *Gabriel* a Booke, that they themselves being first perfected, might the better know how to instruct the people. To *Moses* he sent the *Taurat*, that is, the *Old Law*; to *Dauid* the *Zebur*, that is, the *Psalmes*; to *Christ* the *Ingil*, that is, the *Gospell*; and to *Mahomet* the *Kurawn*, that is, the *Alcoran*, (as wee call it.) And that the three first Prophets with their people, did faile somewhat in the Lawes giuen them by God: But *Mahomet* comming last, brought a Law, more true, plaine, cleere, and sincere,

Foure Prophets and Bookes.

in.

in which all such as beleue should obtayne the loue of God; but they say that other Nations continue still in their errors, and hauing sucked of their Mothers Milke, doe not embrace the Truth; For which fault being (by right) deprived of Heauen, they haue no other meanes to recouer, and to come thither at the Day of Iudgement, but by *Mahomets* protection, who is the only Intercessor and Mediator vnto the Almighty God: And standing in the dreadfull Day of Iudgement at the gate of Paradise, he shall be sought vnto and entreated by the other Prophets to saue their people also, and his clemencie shall be such, as to make Intercession for them, so that the good *Christians* and the good *Jewes* shall by his meanes obtayne euerlasting Life, with perpetuitie of sensuall delights as aforesaid, but in a place apart and inferiour to the *Turkes*, they being beloued of God, and more deare vnto him then others. The women also shall come into Heauen, but shall be in a place farre inferiour to men, and be lesse glorified. 10

Womens Hea-
uen.

All the Prophets are held in great honour amongst them. They call *Moses*, *Musabib Allah*, that is, a talker with God; and *Christ*, *Meseeh*, *Roob-ulloh*, and *Hazrette Isaw*, that is, *Messias*, the Spirit of God, and venerable *Iesus*: and *Mahomet*, *Resul Allah*, that is, the Messenger of God. When they talke of *Christ Iesus*, they speake very reuerently of him; and confesse that the *Jewes* through Enuie apprehended him, and maliciously condemned him, and led him along to put him to death; but the Angels being sent from God, tooke him away from them in a Cloud, and carried him into Heauen, at which the *Jewes* being astonished and vexed, tooke one that was there present, and crucified him in his stead; not being willing to haue it knowne that *Iesus* was the *Messias*; he being in Heauen in company of his Brethren the Prophets, beloued of God, and 20 serving him, as the other Prophets doe.

The Musfee.

The Ministerie of their Religion (or rather their confused Sect) is as followeth. They haue first a *Musfee*, that is to say, an Expounder or Declarer of Cases in Law; who amongst them is as an Archbishop is with vs, for he is also the Primate ouer the Church; and must be a man very expert in the Lawes, and one accustomed to Iustice, chosen by the *Grand Signior* himselfe, the which *Mustees* charge is to ouersee, and heare such things as are belonging to the Law, or to the Church. And although he hath not an absolute command ouer the *Mustees* of the other Prouinces, yet with his subtiltie he preuailes with the King, and effecteth what he list, especially when he hath the Chiefe *Vizir* to friend, who in degree, dignitie, and authoritie is his Superiour. Vnder the said *Musfee* there are two *Cadeeschers*, that is to say, *Iudges of the Armies*, one of *Grecia* 30 and the other of *Natolia*, who also being men of the Law, and they which alwayes succeed the *Musfee*, haue the ouersight of all the other *Cadees*, who are Iustices; of which there is one in euery Citie and Towne, to doe Iustice and end Controuersies betwixt man and man, and to punish Offenders. But they are changed euery three yeeres, and others put into their places by the *Cadileschers*, with order from the *Grand Signior*.

Cadeeschers.
Cadees and
their orders.

Amongst the said *Cadees*, they haue also their orders; *scilicet*, those of the first ranke, and they are called *Meulaws*, which signifieth *Lords*, and they are employed in the principall Cities, the other are but *Cadees*, and they get employment as they can by their vertues: and good carriage in former places. Now the *Cadeeschers* haue Bookes lying by them, wherein are exactly set downe the Reuenues of euery *Cadeelick*, so that by that meanes they know the better how to 40 furnish them; none of them surmounting aboue five hundred *Aspers per diem*.

Bookes.

This order of *Turkes* amongst the rest, hath only this Priuiledge, which is, that they cannot be put to death; so that if any of them by committing some notorious crime against the Law, should deserue death, it must be done by absolute command from the *Grand Signior*, and that very warily and secretly, but this hapneth very seldome or neuer.

Priuiledge.

The *Musfee* and *Cadeeschers* are changed at the Kings pleasure (for there is no Office in *Turkie* during life) howbeit their ordinary Residence is three yeeres; their chiefe Fortune depending wholly in their continuance in the grace and fauour of the Chiefe *Vizir*.

Their conti-
nuance.

All the aforesaid men of the Law, that is, the *Musfee*, the *Cadeeschers*, *Mulaws*, and *Cadees*, weare their Turbants farre bigger then any other *Turkes*, and made vp after another fashion, in 50 token that they ought to be reuerenced aboue others. And although their habit be in fashion like other mens: yet in this there is a difference, for they weare much white Chamblet, and the finest cloth, but no silke at all.

Turbants.

The principall charge of the *Musfee*, is to Answer to all such Propositions as are made vnto him, of matters in generall, vpon Cases concerning conscience, and the Rites of *Turkish* Iustice and Law, the which Answeres are of few words, very brieft, and they are called *Fetfa's*, that is, *Declarations*, or *Iudgements* of the *Musfee*; with which he may compell not only the *Cadees* and *Bashawes* to the performance of the Contents thereof, but the Kings owne person is also bound to see them executed; for in conclusion, they seeke altogether to amplifie their Sect in honour of their Prophet; the *Mustees Fetfa* being in high estimation, in as much as it is vpheld very stoutly 60 by the whole order of the *Cadees*.

Mustees office.

Then next they haue a Gouvernour of the *Moscheas*, called the *Mootenelee*, and *Eemawms*, which are Parish Priests, and next to them *Muyezins*, which are as our Church Clerkes; all which are employed in the Seruice of the *Moscheas*, calling the people to Prayers, burying the dead,

Priests and
Clerkes.

dead, reading vpon the graues of the dead, and to conclude, performing all such Offices as are any way belonging to the Church, for the good of the people.

They pray five times a day (aswell in the *Moscheas*, as in their Houses, or wheresoeuer they are) that is, at foure of the clocke in the morning; at noone; betweene three and foure in the afternoone; betweene seuen and eight at night; and at mid-night: and vpon the Friday which is their Sabbath, at nine of the clocke in the fore-noone also which makes fixe times, and vpon that day there are more *Muyezins* which cry in the Steeples, then vpon other dayes: for at all those houres, in stead of Bells, the people are called to Prayer by the voice of one or two men in the Steeples or Turrets adjoyning to the *Moscheas*, of a reasonable height, by which voices they are stirred vp to the praye of God and *Mahomet*: and may prepare themselves for their Prayers. And because the *Muyezins* which cry, can heare no Clockes (for they haue none in their Churches) they vse Houre-glasses, by which they are directed aswell in this Seruice, as in other ordinary matters.

In euery great *Moschea* there are *Mudereeser*, which are Readers; that teach diuers Schollers the common Prayers, and instruct them in the Seruice belonging to the *Moscheas*, being paid for their paines out of the Reuenues of the said Churches.

The condition of them which are to pray, is only to be corporally cleane; it being vnlawfull for any one to enter into the *Moscheas*, or to pray, if he find that he hath any naturall pollution or carnal vncleanenes about him, be it of what condition soeuer, or of neuer so small moment: wherefore for their clensing, euery one is bound either to wash him selfe in the *Bagno*, if it bee for carnall commerce, or else for other sorts of vncleanenesse with cold water, euery Citie and place abounding with *Bagnoes*, both publike and priuate, and euery Church-yard with very faire Fountaynes for the vse of the common sort. Now immediately after euery one is clensed and come into the *Moschea*, the *Eemawm*, which is the Parish Priest, beginnes, to pray, and all they which are present imitate him in gesture: for, of themselves a great part of them would not else know how to performe that businesse. For their Prayers consist chiefly in rising vp, falling downe, kissing the ground, and sometimes sitting still, one while touching their eyes, sometimes their faces, then their beards, then their heads; saying some few words in the prayse of God and *Mahomet*, the Churches being all matted vnder-foot, and in some places there are Wool-len Carpets spread for the better sort of people.

The said Prayers according to the houres, are diuers; some longer, and some shorter, none of them being aboue an houre long, only that Prayer of the Euening in the time of the *Ramazan*, which is their Lent, which is longer then the other Prayers: they pray after their *Eemawm*, for he is their Guide, and esteemed of if hee haue a good voice, as wee esteeme of our Singing men. They also vse preaching vpon euery Friday in the *Ramazan*: And when they will pray for any good successe in the Warres, or curse any Rebell; they haue a custome then to goe a Procession along the streets by two and two, but without any Lights or any such thing in their hands; and as they goe along they prayse the Name of God, and reade very long Prayers which they haue for those purposes, the people still crying *Amen*, making one whole dayes worke of it, and then they hold that Rebell or Enemie, whosoeuer he be, to be without all doubt, accursed.

In the time of trouble or affliction, They publish in the most eminent places a Conuocation of all the chiefe men in the Citie (and of the common people also, such as will come, may) to pray in the fields which are for that vse, therein imitating the *Jewes*, and being all come together, diuers of their *Santons* of esteeme for their Holinesse, make Sermons of exhortation, to Fortitude, Patience, and to the loue and feare of God: But if those troubles continue still, they then vse the Prayers of forty houres, and of fortie dayes in the chiefeest *Moscheas* built by the Emperours; the which Prayers are made by a company of men, who are belonging to the said *Moscheas*.

The *Musftee* hath his *Entrada* apart, in Land of about fixe thousand Sultanines per annum: but being put out of his place, falling into disgrace with the King, and leauing the *Entrada* to his Successor, he hath then but a thousand *Aspars per diem* pay: as the *Cadceleschers* haue when they are in Office.

All the Ceremonie which they vse in the *Ramazan*, which is their Lent, is no other but to abstayne from eating and drinking in the day time, they hauing leaue to eate all the night long, (that is, from seuen a clocke at night to foure in the morning) and what they please without making any difference of meates; At twilight they light the Lampes in the Steeples, which burne till morning: the *Eemawm* of euery Parish taking especiall notice who is often wanting from Church, especially in the Euening, and who drinks Wine, or eates in the day time; for, besides, that they should bee held despisers of the Law, they should bee most severely punished if they were found in any such fault. I remember once that *Nasooch Bashaw* being *Vizir Azam*, and riding through the streets in the *Ramazan*, espied a *Turke* that was drunke with Wine; so forthwith he caused him to be brought vnto him, and without giuing him any respite to recouer his wits; caused a Ladle full of boyling Lead to bee powred downe his throate, and the Wretch perished immediately.

- Sacrifices.** The King useth in the *Ramazan* aswell as in the times of troubles and afflictions, and so doe the *Bashawes* and other great men, to sacrifice diuers sorts of beasts, aswell at the Sepulchres of such as haue beene holy men, as at the *Moscheas*. Now some were wont to doe it priuately, but the Kings haue still commanded that their Sacrifices be done publikely in the streets, and at the gates of the Citie, diuiding the flesh of the beasts amongst the people, giuing some also to the *Bashawes* themselues, and to the other great men of the Port. The said Sacrifices are vsed very often, for by that meanes they thinke to appease Gods wrath, and regaine his loue and fauour.
- Beads.** Those *Turkes* which are professors of Humilitie and Deuotion, haue their Beades longer then other men, and carrie them in their hands into the *Moscheas*, and as they walke vp and downe the streets: but passe them ouer very quickly, for, whereas the Papiests say the *Aue Maria*, so they say only *Subhawn Alloh*, that is, God is pure and true, and sometimes *Alloh Ekber*, that is, God is great.
- Pilgrimage.** They goe also many of them to *Meccha* on Pilgrimage, and to *Hiernusalem* also, which they call, *Gudds' il Shereef*, to *Meccha*, to visit the Temple which they say was built by *Abraham*, in the which Temple *Mahomet* in the time of Idolatry did hide himselfe: And they affirme, that when he was almost fortie yeeres of age, he receiued the *Alcoran* from God, and that from that time the *Mussulmanlick* beganne, that is, the true Beliefe: and shortly after hee dyed; and his Sepulchre is visited by all such as goe the said Pilgrimage. And when they goe to *Iernusalem*, they goe not to visit Christs Sepulchre, for, they say hee did not dye, but they goe only to see the places which he most frequented, as being a miraculous Prophet, who rayled the dead to life, healed the sicke, and wrought such like Wonders. They goe likewise to the Valley of *Iehoshaphat*, for they say that in that place shall bee the Resurrection at the Day of Iudgement. Now such as haue gone the said Pilgrimage, and returne home againe to their Houses, are euer after called *Hagees*, that is, Pilgrimes, and are much reuerenced and esteemed of. There are also diuers *Turkes*, who forsaking the World, leaue all that they haue, and goe to liue neere to the aforesaid Valley for deuotion, and for that they would be the neerer to the place of Resurrection, supposing thereby to get a great aduantage to themselues aboue the rest at that day.
- Circumcision.** The greatest Ceremonie (for Pompe and Solemnitie) which is vsed amongst the *Turkes*, is that of the circumcising their children; wherein they differ from the *Iewes* in this one particular; for the *Turkes* neuer circumcise them till they be past ten yeeres of age, following the example of *Ismael* whom they imitate, alleadging that *Abraham* loued and esteemed him and not *Isaac*, and would haue sacrificed him. This Circumcision is done without the Church, because of the shedding of blood; all the Kindred and Friends being invited vnto it, in token of joy and gladnesse: They vse the like to those which turne from any other Religion and become *Turkes*, who in token that they imbrace the Religion of *Mahomet*, hold vp their fore-finger, saying these words, *La illah il Alloh Muhamet resull Alloh*, that is, there is but onely one God, and *Mahomet* is his Messenger.
- There are in the Cities, and by the High-ways also, in most places of the *Grand Signiors* Dominions, for the benefit of the Inhabitants and Trauellers, diuers *Hannes* with their Fountaynes. There are Hospitals also in the Cities, and Colledges for the bringing vp of youth, where they may learne to reade and write, all the *Moscheas* built by the Emperours, and other great *Moscheas* also, hauing great Reuenewes for the mayntayning of the said Colledges and Hospitals: For the Emperours by Canon may not build *Moscheas*, but in memory of some notable Conquest, or memorable Enterprize, by which the Church may bee provided for; nor *Sultanas* neither, vnlesse it be the Mother to that Emperour who reignes at that time when shee goes about it; for the building of which, they are at an infinite charge, and they dedicate them with great Solemnities, to the said Enterprize, be it what it will be.
- Moschees and Hospitals. Limited.** In the *Moscheas* there are some very costly pieces of worke, and frames of great beautie; aswell for the largenesse and neatnesse of the places for Prayer, as also for the beautifull Porches and large paved Courts which compasse the said *Moscheas*; adorned with very itately Pillars, and Fountaynes built all of curious Marble; besides their Colledges and Hospitals to which belong very large Reuenewes; Infomuch that some of those *Moscheas* may be well compared with the richest Churches in the World: They are built all of wonderfull faire stone, with their *Cabrioles* couered all ouer with Lead, the Pillers being of Porphir or some such costly stones, and the Basis thereof all whited: the Pillers shine extraordinarily in time of Prayer, by reason of the abundance of Lampes which are burning; the which Lampes are curiously fastned into round Iron hoopes in compasse as bigge as the hoope of a But, vpon which there are diuers rounds of Lampes one aboue another, and are let downe by Copper chaines from the Roofe of the Church; and in euery *Moschea* there are three or foure such clusters of Lampes, according to the greatnes of the Church.
- Magnificence.** There are no Benches, nor any thing to sit vpon; only a little place raised from the ground for the Priest; and another right ouer against it (but somewhat lower) for the King at such times as he comes to Prayer; all the rest sitting vpon the ground, as ordinarily they vse to sit in other places: wherefore the Pauements (although they are of very bright and cleane stone) are couered

red with very fine *Cairo* Ma's, which are kept very cleane: for, besides the *Grand Signior*, no man may come into the Church with his shooes on; but must leaue them at the doore, or else giue them to one of their seruants to keepe.

When any one is extremely sicke, and as they thinke, past hope of recouery; then the *Imamms* Sicknesse fa- comes to vse comfortable words vnto him, and prayes by him: and being dead, they wash him tall, and death; all ouer, and then hauing wound him vp in a Sheete, and layed him in his Coffin with his face downward, they carrie him to his Graue, with his head foremost. If the partie bee a Man or a Man-child, they set a Turbant vpon the Coffin: and if it bee a Woman, then they set a *Filiann takya* vpon the Coffin, that is, such a Cap as the women weare, with a Brooch and Feather in it.

10 They are accompanied to the Graue by the Church-men, and their owne kindred, (but no wo- Funerall. men) vting no lights at all: but the *Muyezins* sing all along as they goe, calling vpon the Name of God, and their Prophet *Mahomet*, and pray for the health of the Soule departed; and at their returne there is a Banquet made for the companie for their paines.

The Tombes of the Emperours most commonly are built vpon the ground, close by their Tombes of the Graues which are couered either with extraordinary fine Cloth, or with Veluet; hauing Tur- Emperours. bants set vpon them of the fashion of those which the Emperours weare, with Brooches and sprigs of Feathers in them: and there stand Candlestickes both at the head and at the feet of the said Graues, and two Lampes burning continually both day and night. Now, these Tombes are for the most part built in little Chappels close by, but not adjoyning to the *Moscheas* of the said Emperours. And in the said Chappels there are *Muyezins*, who by turnes, doe continually read in the *Alcoran*, and pray with their Beades, for the glorie of the Emperours deceased. The *Vizirs*, *Bashawes*, and other Great men also (imitating the Kings) doe the like; but with lesse pompe and charge: And they which haue not burying places neere the *Moscheas*, may make them neere their houses and be buried there, or else in any part of the Citie, provided that the ground be their owne.

The common sort are carried out of the Citie, and buried in the fields which serue for that Common purpose; hauing one stone set vp an end at the one end of their Graue, and another at the other Tombes. end; vpon which is grauen the Name, Countrey, and Degree, and any thing else that they please, of the parties deceased.

30 Amongst the *Turkes* there are no Religious houses, nor Monasteries: onely the *Teckeh*s of the *Meuleuees*, (which are an order of *Derveshes*, that turne round with Musike in their Diuine Religious Service:) for, for the most part, they are all bred vp to Armes, and very few can reade and *Turkes*. write: Nay, it hath beene sometime seene, that a *Bashaw* (which had not his education in the Kings *Serraglio*) hath sate in the *Deewan*, and hath not knowne either to write or reade; but hath beene enforced to learne to write a few words of course, to vnder-write Commandements, and the like. And amongst the *Turkes*, he that can but reade and write, is held a learned fellow, and esteemed of farre aboue others.

There are also diuers which professe a kinde of liuing, out of the common custome of the world; being clothed wonderfull poorely and raggedly, with a kind of Felt caps on their heads; 40 they begge for their liuing, and lie in the courts of the *Moscheas*, and in such like places; and these are accounted very holy; for they pray much in the view of the world, and liue alwaies (in outward appearance) in the loue of honestie; preaching this doctrine, that it is vnpossible perfectly to arriue vnto and gayne the Loue of God, but by the ladder of humane Loue and Innocency: and for this cause they betake themselues to that course of life, that they may be in charitie with all the world, and bee accepted for it of God, in Heauen. Vnder which colour of holinesse they liue at ease, and deceiue the World (euery one being bountifull vnto them) and play the Villaines in secret, as well as any other. Besides them, there are also some, who like Hermites, liue in solitary places, neglecting the World; conceiuing that course of life to excell all other, for Innocency and Holinesse.

50 As for the women, there is no heed or reckoning made of their Religion at all; for they ne- Womens Reli- uer goe to Church: so that, if they happily haue a will to pray, at the houre of Prayer, they gion. doe it in their owne houses. But their honestie is much looked after, the *Imamms* of euery Parish being bound to hearken diligently after their deportment: who if they discouer any thing that is amisse, they must reueale it to their Husbands, that they may put them away: or else, to their Fathers or Kindred, if they bee vnmarried, that they may take some course for their amendment.

And although the Women may not bee conuersant with other Men then with their Fathers, Husbands, or Brothers; and liue in Lodgings apart by themselues, and goe alwaies with their faces couered: yet, they being extraordinarily giuen to the sport, and very dishonest; taking 60 the opportunitie of their Husbands absence at the Warres, or in some long Iourney; vnder colour of going to the *Bagnoes*, and going couered withall; they goe whither, and to whom they list; knowing, that the worst of it is, but to bee put away, if so bee it should bee at any time discouered.

I have hereunto added a Letter, sent by *Sultan Osman* the late murdered Emperour, to his Maiestie, by *Husein Chiaus*; and translated into English, by Master Robert Withers.

Although in this transitorie world, the King or the Beggar should enjoy the longest terme of life that might bee, and obtayne all that his heart could wish; yet it is most certaine, that in the end hee must depart, and be transported to the World eternall: and it is well knowne unto the Wise, that it is impossible for Man to abide for ever in this World.

The occasion of this Prologue is, that the immortall, omnipotent, and onely God, hath through his Divine will and pleasure, called unto himselfe Our glorious Father of blessed memorie, *Sultan Achmet Kan*, who in Life was happie, and in Death laudable, and departing out of this momentany World, to be neere the mercifull Creator, being changed into perfect glorie and eternall blisse, hath his habitation on high, and his rest in Paradise.

This paternall Empire and Monarchicall Kingdome hath almost untill this present blessed time bene alwaies hereditarie, from Grand-father to Father, from Father to Sonne, and so cursively in that manner: but having regard unto the age and yeeres of Our Great and Noble Vncle, *Sultan Mustafa*, hee was preferred and honoured to sit on the Ottoman Throne, and being settled for some time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular.

But he having bene many yeeres retired in solitarinesse, and given to Denotion and Divine obedience; being also as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire; of his owne accord with-drew himselfe from the Gouvernement: for that the Diadem and Scepter of the Empire of the seven Climates, was the true Right and Inheritance of Our most Excellent Maiestie, of the which (with the meeting and consent of all the Vizirs, and other Deputies of State, of the Primate of the Mussulman Law, and of the other honorable Doctors, of the Souldiers, and of all Subjects both publike and private) the almighty God hath made a high Present and worthie gift unto us. And in the happie day in the beginning of the *Moone Rebea-il-euel*, of this present yeere 1027. in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was Our blessed and happie sitting established upon the most fortunate Ottoman Throne (the Seate and Wisedome of *Salomon*) In the Pulpits of all the Moschees (the Congregations of the Faithfull, and deuotion of the Mussulmen) throughout all Our Dominions, is read to Our Imperiall Name, the *Hutbeh*. And in the Mints where innumerable summes of money are coyned, as well upon the Siluer as the Gold, Our happie name and marke is stamped.

And Our most powerfull Commandements are obeyed in all the Parts and Dominions of the World: And the brightnesse of the light of the Sunne of Our Iustice and Equitie, hath caused the darkenesse of Iniuries and Molestations to vanish away.

Now, seeing it hath bene an ancient custome of Our most famous Predecessors to give notice of the same to such Princes as are in sincere friendship, and that doe continue it with the House of great Maiestie, and our Imperiall Court: Wee also have written these our Princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer, the choyce amongst his equals, *Husein Chiaus*, (whose power be great) one of the honoured and respected Seruants of Our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World; to the end that such newes might cause great ioy of Our most honourable Assumption. And Wee doe hope, that when they shall come to your hands (in conformitie of the well grounded friendship upon the sure League, Articles, and Writings, which hath bene established of old with Our most Royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifest infinite ioy and gladnesse, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Governours of the Dominions and Countreies under you, that they may know, that the Articles of Peace and League, and the points of the Oath which are firme, and to be desired on both parts, from the time of Our Grand-fathers and Predecessors of Royall Stocke, now in Paradise (whose soules God enlighten) Vndoubtedly during the time of Our Raigne shall be observed with all respect. And let there not be the least imagination of any want of due obseruance of the signes of friendship on Our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foundation of the Peace and League.

The ensuing Letter was written by *Halil Bashaw*, Chiefe Vizir and Generall in the Persian Expedition, at his returne in Aprill, 1618. to Sir Paul Pinder, Ambassadour for his Maiestie. Englished by Master Robert Withers.

TO the Courteous Lord of the Nation of the Messias; both Great and Honourable among the people of I E S V S, and the true Determiner of Christian Affaires: Our good Friend the English Ambassadour, whose latter dayes bee with all felicitie, to whose Noble presence (after our many kinde Salutations tending to all good affection and manifestation of Ioy, worthy and becomming our Friendship:) our louing aduice is this. That if you desire to heare of our State and beeing, you shall vnderstand, that after wee departed from the happie Port, with the Armie for the Warres of Asia, wee arrived and wintered

red in Mesopotamia, and remooving thence in the Spring with all the Mussulman Host (alwayes victorious) wee went to Van, from which place untill wee came to Tauris, the Mussulman Armie went on alwayes sacking and destroying all those places and Townes of the Persians, which wee met withall by the way in those parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, some thousands of Villages; and tormenting all those people that came to hand. And when wee were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Persian Forces (of peruerse Religion) called Carcighai Han, (the accursed) retired himselfe into the sayd Tauris, where beating up his Drummes in euery Quarter, made a shew that hee had a will to Fight; so wee sent a little before vs, some Tartars and others of our Armie, to hearken out and take notice of the Enemy, who meeting with seuen or eight hundred Persians of note, put them to the Sword, very few escaping, and that with great difficultie and hazard. By which, the sayd Generall finding himselfe unable to resist the power and furie of the Mussulman Host, or to stay any longer in the sayd place; the very same day that wee arriued there, the sayd Generall hauing spoyled all the Citie, fled away; So wee tooke the place, ransackt it, and burned all the Buildings, Towers, Gardens, and whatsoever else wee found within it: And thus the great Citie Tauris by Diuine fauour and Grace became ours. Then forthwith wee sent after the Enemy, the Tartar, with some Beglerbeghis, who overtaking them gaue them Battell, and albeit some of ours did fall, yet they which fell of the Enemies side were innumerable. And so going forward towards Erdeuil (their obscure residence) about ten dayes Iourney of Countrey, wee went burning and spoyling it, and killing all the Persians that wee met. That indeed there was so much Honour and Glorie wonne, as that all the ancient men of the Countrey doe affirme, there neuer was seene the like; Inasmuch, that from the Confinnes unto Erdeuile, twentie dayes Iourney of Countrey, was on that manner by vs destroyed. Thus afterward, the King caused to emptie the sayd place of Erdeuile, and fled into a place called Hulchal, and caused his Armie to goe to the top of a high Mountayne, from whence hauing sent three or foure times Men of qualitie unto vs, seeking and intreating for Peace, with promise to giue yearly to our Emperour, a hundred Somes of Silke, and all such Places as are upon the Confinnes, made in the time of Sultan Solymán, except Der ne, and Der Tink; and wee were contented with the Peace, and his Ambassadour is upon the way comming toward vs. And so wee returning the same way againe alwayes spoyling, wee came to Erzerum. And this our present Letter is written unto you, for the respect and preseruation of our Friendship: And euen as our Amitie hath euer beene hitherto sincere and firme, so likewise by the Grace of God at our arriual in the happie Port, it shall bee in like manner maintayned and continued, that more cannot possibly bee. And so God keepe you in health.

Of these Wars
see before in
Sir Thomas Roe.

To the Reader.

I Heere present thee Reader, many Voyages and Obseruations of Master Iohn Sanderson Merchant; worthy of good welcome, though not in so due place as wee could haue wished. But this, and the former, and all in this Booke from the tenth Chapter forward (enough to haue made another large Booke) thou hast as I could, and not as I would; who could not order them before I had them. I haue therefore presented them to thee as an Appendix to the former Worke, and a Reniew of Africa and Asia, (some fresh Drops after a great Shower, and faire Gleanings after a goodly Haruest) all intended to entertaine thee with varietie of Speculation and Discourse, as thou returnest shorow those long Seas, from the Indian to the English shoares. In which respect there is some Methodicall correspondence hitherto, and especially of this last with the former, both hauing Constantinople for their Centre, and diuersly representing the same to thy view: that giuing thee the Court, this the Citie; that the Gouernment, this the Places and Countries gouerned. And if Ierusalem come often in our way, remember our intended worke is of Pilgrimes, which (bee they Iewes, Turkes, or Christians,) haue conspired in the acknowledgements of her Antiquities and Holies. Neither doe wee much trouble thee with repetitions of the same things which others haue before deliuered; present Pilgrime by reason of his Iewish Associates, his Greeke Guides, and Quarrels with Father Guardian and his Popish Friars, presenting many notable rarities. I haue not shortned him (as some others) both for his request, and for his owne breuitie and pithie Passages. The Letters following will (I hope) giue thee good content, as the testimonies of many English Travellers in those parts, some of which thou mayest finde elsewhere mentioned in this Worke.

CHAP. XVI.

By the permission of Almighty God.

*Sundrie the personall Voyages performed by Iohn SANDERSON
of London, Merchant, begun in October 1584. Ended in
October 1602. With an historicall Description
of Constantinople.*

10

§. I.

His first Voyage to Constantinople, and thence to Cairo, and to Tripoli.



^a We were shewed the Monastery and fine adorned Chappell; a decorated Altar; and the golden Image of Saint Vincent, which stood on the right hand below the steps of the Altar. About five or six yeeres after, as is sayd, Sir Francis Drake did throw that Image over the Rocke.

^b Then flamed, and since I haue diuers times passed by it, but onely now the smoke is seene on the top of that Mount Mongebella.

^c Sio for the pleasantnesse is called the Great Turkes Garden, in that Island, are many raine Partridges, and there groweth Mastick, the bodies of those Trees are crooked, and cragged, not much thicker then very old Vine bodies, the leaues are somewhat like Mirtle leaues, rather longer and narrower, there are no Masticke trees in all the world, but those in Sio, as some doe say.

^d The Dardinelli. These two Castles, our Scholars will haue to bee those of Hero and Leander, yet sure they are eight leagues, before you come to the mouth of the Blacke Sea. These are very formall and very strongly built Castles, double furnished with excellent good and great Ordnance, the one standing on Troy side, the other right opposite, on Europe side, the passage is about a league, little more or lesse.

^e My Lord South when hee was there, as Master Barton sayd, did like exceeding well of this place and attendance of the Dogs. ^f In my company at that time, was an ancient English Gentleman, called Captayne Austel.

IN the good Ship called the *Merchant Royall*, wee set sayle from *Grauesend* vpon Friday the ninth day of October, 1584. The fifteenth to *Harwich*. The eighteenth to the *Ile of Wight*. The fifteenth of Nouember wee arriued at Cape Saint Vincent in *Portugall*, and ^a went there ashore. The foure and twentieth, ²⁰ wee passed the Straights of *Ieberalter*, at the *Ingenies* wee stayed and watered. The next day arriued at *Grand Maliga*, where wee were three dayes. The nine and twentieth, wee passed by *Morrill*, and beheld the Mountayne *Salabrenna*, which is continually couered with Snow; of the same they carrie to *Lisbourn* to mixe with their Wine, which Citie is esteemed to be three hundred miles from thence. The thirteenth of Nouember, we passed Cape de Gate. The third of December, wee came to Cape de Fare; heere the Ship *Charitie* ouertooke vs.

The tenth of December, wee came to *Sardinia*. The thirteenth, wee came to *Maritima*, and in sight of Cape *Bona* in *Barbaris*. The fifteenth to *Sicilia*, wee saw Mount *Etna* and *Mongebella* ^b, which then flamed out of the top, although vpon the same was also Snow: then to Cape ³⁰ *Passara*. The foure and twentieth of December, wee arriued at *Cefalonia*, and stayed there three dayes. The nine and twentieth, wee were in *Zant Road*, and went ashore the first of Ianuarie. The seuenth, wee put from thence, and the eighth at mid-night the Ship came a ground, so that for halfe an houre we were in great danger. The twelfth, wee arriued at *Petrus* in *Morca*, where wee stayed a few dayes; and at that time onely I noted of memorie Saint Andrews Chappell, wherein the *Greekes* say, his Bodie lyeth buried.

The nine and twentieth, I tooke Shipping in the *Charitie*, and came the first of Februarie backe to *Cefalonia*: and passed *Serigo* (where faire *Hellen* was borne) and Cape *Angelo*. The fourth, the winde being contrarie, wee anchored betweene the Islands of *Milo* and *Argentiera*: set sayle and with contrarie weather and calmes, came to the Island *Pattynos*. The eleuenth, from thence dri- ⁴⁰ uen a little backe againe, yet we arriued in ^c *Sio*. The fourteenth, there stayed foure dayes: the weather yet vnprosperous, wee put into Port *Dolphin*, which is in the same Island three leagues distant from the Towne of *Sio*, there we went vp to a Mountayne (hard by a Towne called *Gardamul*;) where the Poet *Homer* lyeth buried.

The three and twentieth, wee put out; and the seven and twentieth, wee passed by old *Troy*; some of the ruinated Walls yet standing. Then wee passed two great Castles which are called the ^d *Dardinelli*, a little within them is a very old ruine of a Towne called *Heritho*, which is reported to bee the place where the *Turkes* first planted themselves in *Europe*; then to *Galipoli*, so to *Rodesto*; and the ninth day of March wee arriued in *Constantinople*.

In the time of my there being, I went to see the chiefe Monuments which are described at ⁵⁰ large in a Booke I translated out of *Italian*, presented me by a *Iew* Doctor. Amongst the Beasts I did at that time see three Elephants: also the Great *Turkes* Dogges, and manner of ^e keeping them are worth the sight, for they haue their seuerall attendants as if they were great Horses, and haue their clothing of cloth of Gold, Veluet, Scarlet, and other colours of Cloth, their sundry Couches, and the place where they are kept, most cleanelly; It is in *Asia* some foure miles off by water toward the *Blacke Sea*.

I was likewise, at the mouth ^f of the *Blacke Sea*, where vpon a Rocke standeth a white Marble pillar, as is reported, set vp by *Pompey*. On the mayne on *Europe* side within little of the sayd Pillar is a Lanthorne, which standeth high and is so great, that fortie men may stand in it: it is Glased, and they light in it many Lamps euery night, that the Shipping bound from the ⁶⁰ *Blacke Sea*, may know where they are.

In a Gallie with the Beg of *Alexandria*, I departed from *Constantinople* the ninth day of

October,

October, 1585. we put into *Galipoli, Troy, Lemnos, Mitelin, Sio, Samos*, and diuers other Ilands in the *Archi-pelago*, and came to *Rhodes*, a most strong place, and much exceeding great Ordinance there; upon the two Rocks where the *Collosses* (one of the seven Wonders) stood, are now two high Turrets; the Towne double ditched, and triple walled on the land side.

From thence we crossed the Seas in sixe dayes very prosperously, and arriued in *Alexandria* of *Egypt*, the second day of *November*. That Citie and Land standeth so lowe, that were it not for the *Pharos*, and some sight of the tops of *Palme trees*, you may bee vpon it before you bee aware; which is very dangerous for the ships that come thither: for in my time diuers were cast away; amongst other, a great Argusie of *Venice*, called the *Gallion Bon h*: and an other *Venetian* ship leaped ouer a Rocke, very miraculously escaped, hauing ouer-shot the Port of *Alexandria*. That said ledge of Rockes lieth out into the Sea a little beyond *Bickier*.

From *Alexandria* I went the nineteenth; and came to *Grand Cairo* the nine and twentieth; passing by land a day and an halfe and a night to *Rosetto*; and there embarked vp the Riuer *Nilus*, our Boat being drawne along the shoare by the Water-men *Moores*, we passed many Towns and Villages. Very pleasant is that trauell, onely the heate troubleth, and some feare of Theeues which continually robbe on that Riuer, and alike on the Land. Many famous matters I was shewed in the way, as the old ruines of Conducts of *Nilus* to the Citie of *Alexandria*: for, there are no Springs, nor prouision of fresh water but what commeth from *Nilus*, which I say, hath in time past bene conducted fise and twentie or thirtie miles to fill the Cisternes vnder the Citie. For *Alexandria* is built vpon admirable marble Pillars all vaulted vnderneath, euery House hauing his sundry Cisternes, the water formerly hauing come in; and now is vpon Camels backs in Leatherne Budgets brought thither: they fill them in the moneth of August, when *Nilus* is at the highest; and that water they drinke of all the yeere.

The same remayneth, though standing, yet sweet, one whole yeere: towards the end of the yeere it is heauier then at the first, cleare as Crystall, and not so vnwholsome to drinke, as when it is but few moneths old, so againe towards August they cleanse their Cisternes to take in fresh. There are store of diuers Fruits: small Fig-trees I haue seene not aboue a foot and halfe from the ground, hauing diuers ripe Figs vpon them. There are also some few Cassia trees, Locusts, and Capers; but very many about *Cairo*; all the whole Land full of Date trees. In *Alexandria* is Saint *Markes* Church, a Church at this day of *Christians*, and there is a noted place at the entrance of the said Church, where Saint *Marke* preached. There are diuers Pillars of Name within and without the Citie. Within the walls is an old ruine of the Castle where *Cleopatra* was stung to death: there is also a ruine of a high Castle, called the *Pharos*, one of the seven Wonders.

In the way as I passed, we rode ouer the Plaine where *Pharo* pitched his Tent, the spaciousnesse whereof was admirable, being marked out to this day with foure great stones: eight dayes wee were going vp *Nilus*, and arriued at *Bollacco*, the Port Towne of *Cairo*; which is a mile and a halfe from the Citie, from whence also they fetch all the water that serueth that great Citie.

Cairo is much bigger then *Constantinople*; many things notable are within and about this Citie, which others no doubt report, and are not beleued; as are the twelue Store-houses, where they say, *Ioseph* kept the Corne the seven deare Yeeres: some say, the same was reserved in the Vaults of the *Pyramides*. I went twice to a place ten miles from *Cairo*, called the *Mataræa*, being yet solemnely visited by *Christians*; it is where *Ioseph* and *Mary* remayned with our Sauour. There is a Spring of water, which, as they report, hath bene euer since; and likewise a plot in a Garden, where growe sprigs that yeeld Balsam. The Papists come often to this House a Massing, in great deuotion; and obserue a place like a Cupboord, where they say our Sauour was laid, and alike a great crof-bodied wilde Fig-tree in the Garden, with the water wherein our Ladie washed our Sauours clouts.

At *Cairo* I was shewed how, and of what sorts of Serpents, the *Moores* doe make their Treacle: I did there also see both wilde and tame *Gattie Pardie* (Cats of Mountaine, as wee call them) little and great Monkeys, Bragons, Muske Kats, Gasels (which are a kind of Roe-bucke) bodies of Momiæ, and liue Crocodiles both of land and water, which haue bene offered at my gate to be sold. Some I haue bought at some times for my recreation of most of these sorts; for there I remayned eightene moneths. Once I caused a Villaine to rippe a Crocodile, which was of some two yards and a quarter long, the same was a female, which had in her panch aboue an hundred Egges, yellow like the yelkes of Egges, and iust of such bignesse: out of the said Crocodile he tooke a piece of thicke round skinne about the bignesse of a Cockes stone; wished mee to lay the same vp vntill it was dry; which I did, and the dryer it was, the sweeter it sauored.

all the way cried, *Christos, Christos, Christos: sum Christiano, & mero Christiano*. This was to mee related by an old *Custie* Priest, whose name was *Comous*; and a *Scriuan* also hee was of the Custome-house in *Alexandria*. There are euer Boyes ready with Asses to let for *Cairo*; so that, wee hire them, and presently pay the hire, about a penie matter: and when we come to *Cairo*, turne off our Ass without more care; for the Ass knowes his place and home: the like we doe when we ride to the Castle, to the *Bashaw* and *Cadiques*, who doe thereabout inhabit. The land Crocodiles are about three quarters of a yard in length, scaly, and of a fiery Dragons colour. Some of the *Moores* doe make Purples of their skinned, after they are dried, and tawed.

A poore fellow, a *Christian* of *Egypt*, called *Hawat*,

g At *Rhodes* I did fall ouer-board: a *Flemming* taking mee by the hand, out of a little shel-boat, a *Black-moore* Sculler, by meanes of the *Turkes*, and the helpe of God, I was taken againe into the Gally, after I had bene in the bottom of the Sea. The *Reg* came by as I was shifting, & laughingly said, that now God had washt me; because I would not wash in the *Banias* as we came by the way. h There dwelt in *Cairo*, a Iew called *Emanuel Serolus*; who euer much ioyed at all mishap that he heard of. And did eate Swines flesh: much giuen to mirth, and many times ysing to our house, I questioned him of his Religion, at a collation of Bacon; he said, that hee was of all Religions: that if any entred Heauen, them hee would follow. I asked, why he did so reioyce at the losses and crosses of other men. Why, *Signior Giouanni*, sayth he, I lost 60000. Chequins in good Gold at the third bastinado vpon my feet, taken from me by the *Deuill Bashaw*, after the decease of my companion; and 60000 more, if I had so many, I would lose, before I would suffer three such other blows; and better then Gold it is to my heart, when I heare that others with my fortune take part. i There lieth one *Iohn*, a *Christian*, which the *Custies* doe make account of. Hee was long since carried about *Cairo*, vpon a Camels backe, bound with his aimes spread broad vpon a Crosse of wood; and on the top of his shoulders were two Lamps burning in his flesh, yet for all this torment, hee

red;

n Though indeed I haue bene among the Oues, and haue seene that manner of hatching.

o And 100. others, Turkes, Moores, Ienes, and Christians; wee stood a distance off, in a round ring: the Estridge; in the midst did before vs all lay her Egg, and did presently rise vp and left her Egge; which was taken vp, and presently carried to the *Cadylesker*, and deliuered to him in his Iudgement Hall: he sitting on his banke of Iudgement.

p I brought, to Tripoly from Cairo, a Libbet; of about a cubits length; for a muster; but in time of my sicknesse, it was stolne from mee.

q The two Germane Gentlemen and my selfe, did in sport spread our selues in that Tombe at that time.

r *Sphinx.*
s A whole body as it was taken vp from the other bodies: It is *extra banda*, to sell of them, but by friendship, which *William Shales* had amongst the Moores, he hauing their language as perfect as English, with words and money the Moores will be entreated to anything.

t This body of *Momia*, after our arriual was carried to the house of Sir *Edward Osborne* in *Filpot lane* in *London*, and there it was with the 600. pounds till they were sold to the *London Apothecaries*.

u Doctor *Sander-son* Arch-deacon of *Rechefer*.

v These Saints, in certaine companies doe goe before the Vesture, in a round ring, leapingly lifting vp their legs, and wagging vp and downe their heads, crying, *Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, Holloh*, euen till their mouthes bee of a white fume, with breathing out only, *Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, &c.* Foul-foole Saints.

red; no Ciuet had euer better smell: such he said was in all those old female Crocodiles; yet being flayed, the flesh before it be cold, sauoreth badly. More I could say of Beasts and Fowles of that place, but I will not talke how they hatch thousands of Chickens, and sell them by measure; neither of the Doues that carrie Letters from *Alexandria* to *Cairo*; neither of the Estridge Henne, when she layerth, how shee goeth round twice or thrice looking vp into the aire, and in a moment deliuereth her Egge: this I did see in the midst of the *Cadyleskers* yard.

There is a place called *Ischia*, adioyning to *Cairo*, some fixe or eight acres in bignesse, as I take it; it hath in former times bene compassed with very faire houles. The yeere that I was there, at the cutting in of *Nilus* (which was in August, 1586.) it is ouerflowen; wherein they fish the first two moneths or more, that the water is sinking into the ground: then in the muddie 10 they sowe their Wheate, and reape it at three or foure moneths end; then groweth it with Grasse, wherewith they feed their cattell three moneths: and the last season of the yeere, vntill they againe let in *Nilus*, they a little labour it, by reason of making channels for the water; and sowe and set Radice, Carrots, Turnep, Lettice, and such like. They reserue of the water for the last encrease, in a great Well which is built in the midst of the said place. This should bee admirable for such as haue not seene nor heard of the like.

There is also a great Plaine of sand, going to the *Matarea*, (this *Matarea* is the place where *Mary* and *Ioseph* kept the Child *Iesus*, when *Herod* sought his life) wherein are many pieces seeming to be of rotten Wood, as of wracked Ships or Boats, and taking them vp, they are very weighty Stones, which also is maruellous.

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, 1586. I went to see the *Pyramides* and *Momia*, being of three Gentlemen of *Germanie* entreated to accompanie them. The next day wee returned. These *Pyramides* (one of the seuen Wonders) are diuers, but especially two of a like bignesse, at the bottome each a thousand paces about; one of them open, that in wee went with Waxecandles lighted, and vp to the top, where standeth in a square roome, a Tombe hewed out of blacke Marble or Iet, wherein they report, that *Pharo* should haue bene buried, which pursued the Children of *Israel*: it is about a mans length and vncouered: I say the Iet Coffin. The rooffe of the said *Pyramides* is of five stones, five and twenty foot long and five broad, each stone: the stones on each side are of admirable greatnesse, and impossible to thinke how they were carried vp so high. It is also maruelous in the foundations, which are vpon mightie Pillars, 30 they are well called one of the seuen Wonders. There is likewise a huge Figure of a Head of stone, standing vpright to the necke out of the ground.

The *Momia*, which is some five or fixe miles beyond, are thousands of imbalmed bodies; which were buried thousands of yeeres past in a sandy Caue; at which there seemeth to haue bin some Citie in times past: we were let downe by ropes, as into a Well, with Waxecandles burning in our hands, and so walked vpon the bodies of all sorts and sizes, great and small, and some imbalmed in little earthen Pots, which neuer had forme: these are set at the feet of the greater bodies: they gaue no noysome smell at all, but are like Pitch, being broken; for I broke of all the parts of the bodies to see how the flesh was turned to drugges, and brought home diuers heads, hands, armes, and feet, for a shew: wee brought also 600. pounds for the *Turkie* 40 Companie in Pieces; and brought into *England* in the *Hercules*: together with a whole body: they are lapped in about an hundred double of cloth, which rotting and pilling off, you may see the skin, flesh, fingers and nayles firme, onely altered blacke. One little hand I brought into *England*, to shew; and presented it my brother, who gaue the same to a Doctor in *Oxford*.

The three and twentieth of September, the *Emir Hagge*, which is the Captaine of the Carauan, goeth out of *Cairo* towards *Mecca*, with very great shew; all the Citie comming out to see him and the rich couering which is carried with great pompe, to couer the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* their Prophet; all or most of the Rogues of *Cairo* (which they call Saints) attending it out with great deuotion, and some goe with it to *Medina*; and they are the holiest men of all, who haue bene twice or thrice there.

One graue old man, who had a long grey beard, I saw led with great ceremonie at that time out of the Citie, who had but one eye: and I likewise did see the same man returne backe againe with the aforesaid *Emire*, and had left his other eye there, hauing had it pluckt out, after he had seene their Prophets Sepulchre, because he would see no more sinne. Many of the *Turkes* and *Moores* Women, and other, came about him, to bid him welcome, reioycing of his returne to *Cairo*; and they who had kissed his hand, arme, or garment, thought themselues very happy.

Another of their Saints went about the Citie continually starke naked, couering neither head, foot, nor any part of his foule fat body, no nor his most filthie foule circumcised member: yet haue I seene diuers, as hee passed along, at diuers times (yea women) kisse his naked armes and hands. On a time at *Bullaco*, going ouer *Nilus*, he going in a passage Boat, in which I with others went ouer; a *Moore* in the companie seeing him come, layed him a piece of an old coat to sit on; but when he felt it vnder him, he layd it aside, and sate on the bare boords: so hee euer did on the stones, earth, and sands. This man was in *Cairo* before I came thither, and I know not how long after.

This

This great fat lubberly beaft would goe through the streetes, and take off the stalles to eate, bread, little baked meates, and fruit and roots, and no bodie denied him, but counted themselves happie that he would so doe. He would not touch money of any sort, a very kinde of scorched Bacon hogge, hee was as fat as he could goe. Other of those Saints of *Cairo* goe but halfe naked, and some of them very leane Rascals.

The said Carauan of some foure or five thousand Camels, meeteth with the Carauan of *Aleppo*, *Damasco*, and *Ierusalem*; so that when they are all joyned, it is thought they passe aboute twentie thousand, but I thinke not so.

10 The last day of May I departed from *Cairo* to *Bullacco*, the fourth of Iune arriued in *Rossetto*, and the sixt in *Alexandria*: From thence the tenth of August, 1586. beeing Tuesday, we had freighted with Wine, Wood and other Prouision, a Barke called a *Iermi*, and purposed for *Cairo* by Sea. We set saile and came in sight of the ruines of the *Mossolia*, ¹ this was a huge Sepulchre, built by a great Queene for her Husband, which is held to bee one of the Wonders; then to *Bickier*, where are the ruines of a Towne, and is at this present a very strong Castle planted with Brasse Ordinance, so we arriued to the mouth of *Rossetto*, where *Nilus* and the Sea meeteth together and mingleth, raising bankes of sand vnder water. We missed ^m the channell and strooke and broke our Barke, we were maruellously saued, holding fast by the Barkes Boate; leaping into the same after a *Turke* had cut the shippes shrouds (my selfe, my companion *William Shales*, our Cooke and the said *Turke* with my two Roe Buckes, our two *Ianizaries*, and our other Seruant a *Christian* swamme to shoare, and by swimming many were saued, and some vpon
20 planks of the ships and chifts, five only drowned: vpon the Iland, wet as we were, we reposed badly all night. In the morning came to shoare diuers of the *Turkes* luggage, and a Sappetta of mine, wherein were our Bookes, and my Apparell recouered by a *Moore* an excellent Swimmer, and our Wine wee saued which boyed to the shoare some seuen Buts, all else whatsoever lost. That morning came Barkes out of *Rossetto*, to take in all that was recouered, so to *Rossetto* wee came, housed our Wine to be sent after vs; and vp along *Nilus* to *Cairo* we went, where we arriued the eighteenth day.

The first of December I departed from *Bullacco*, and so vpon an arme of the Riuier to *Damiatta*, where I arriued the third day, recouered the goods which was sent vs from *Tripoly*, and came thence the fift day in my company one ^a *Englishman*, and my *Ianizarie*, Drogman *Iew*, and other Attendants. That morning comming along by a little Iland, wee espied eight Sea-horses, which were in bignesse like great Swine, rather bigger; headed like a Horse, only their eares round like a Camels, they arose one by one as we came neere them; and plunged into the water. A *Spahi*, which is a *Caualiere Turke*, tooke his Bow and shot at them, did hit one vpon the head, and he snuffed vp out of the water, making a great noyse. But we set eye no more vpon them.

Other matter ^o at *Damiatta* worth the noting, I remember not: only that there are great gardens, full of *Adams* figs, some doe so call them, these are also called ^p *Mousses*; their growing is vpon a great huge stalke, no wood of bodie, but the fruit comming out amongst the leaues in great bunches, some eightene or twentie more, and foure on a short stalke. These figs are commonly five or sixe inches long, ioyning close to one another in the bunch, and formed like a little
40 Cowcumber: when they are ripe they are blackish Greene on the out-side, and within yellowish mellow, they eate like a kinde of a ripe mellow Peare, but more luscious and a little drier, not Sugarie sweet. They peelee easily, the leaues are of diuers lengthes and bignesse; the bigger sort longer then a man, and about a yard in breadth: some lesser and some bigger; this is very true.

There are about *Cairo*, a kind of tree called *Pharohs* figge trees, the hugest sort of all others in *Egypt*, yet yeeld worst fruit, and weighed worth nothing, neither for ^q firing nor other to my remembrance, though some of the trees as bigge, and more spreading then our *English* Okes; the figs or fruit thereof very small ones and wild: euery yeere the poore Villaines climbe the trees, and with small Knives cut euery figge on the tops, I say a little round piece away when they are
50 Greene, so afterward becomming ripe, the poore people eateth of them. The *Cassia* tree is also great and spreading, and very goodly to behold, those long blacke Truncheons among the Greene leaues, aloft the Timber, seemes all threddie, as it were, and corkie; but they doe lay the logs at length, mingled with stone for the strengthening of their wals and buildings.

But of all in *Egypt*, the Palme tree is to be preferred, which yeeldeth Dates to eate alone, and in Cheeses, as it were, and a kinde of drinke that they call *Sherbet*, *Sea-fatches*, of the branches, stalkes, frames to lay their Beds vpon, and to inclose bailes of Spices and other goods in stead of chifts, *Serons*, and Baskets for many vses, and Fannes to coole and to keepe off the flies and dust: Mats, Hoops, and coards of diuers sorts, timber, straw and stubble.

10 The *Moores* in those Orchards of Date Trees, tye a Rope about the bodie of the Tree, and their middle, for it is all body from the Root to the toppe branches. (Knobbed by the meanes of the yeerely breaking off of the old branches, except the branches and fruit that spring at the top) they yeerely goe vp to pare and breake off the out-side branches. The fruit being young, springeth out in a long codde, at opening of which, the *Moores* takes of the Male Seedes, and puts in-

1 *Mansoleum*.
m That iolly
Turke who had sa-
ued himself in the
Boat with vs. As
we were going vp
Nilus towards
Cairo, talking of
the danger which
we had escaped,
to me he said,
Afferum Affrum
Chelbie; twas wel
done Gentleman,
I heard you pray
aloud, but you
saith he, to *Wil-*
liam Shales oldie
were halfe dead,
why said I, we did
not pray as you
did to *Mahumet*,
but we payed to
Christ, *Gusl*, *Gus-*
sel, Wel, wel twas
wel done (saith
he) for euery man
to pray aloud, as
(*Holoh*) God hath
taught him, this
was a wel man-
nered, manly and
ciuil *Turke*, who
tooke our kind-
nesse (for his pas-
sage) thankfully
although he had
suffred shipwrack
in our company.
n *William Law-*
der a Garbler,
whowas sent with
those goods.
o *Hippopotamie*.
Those of *Damiat-*
ta doe say, that
these Sea-horses
doe for a season
keep thereabouts,
and in the night
time doe come in
and eate of those
Mousses, Lettice, &c
other hearbes.
p They are ordi-
narily sold in *Cai-*
ra, and we com-
monly did eat of
them, as of other
fruit after, or ra-
ther toward the
end of our meales
q Wood in *Grand*
Cairo, is extraor-
dinary deere, that
and the Wine we
spent flood vs in
more then all our
other Expences,
and house rent, &c
Seruants wages.

* Most part of the yeere at the hottest time, wee haue a Seruant all the while we doe sit at meate, to fan away the flies from the dishes, and our Trenchers.

John Sanderson.
Will. Shales.
Will. L. wonder.

* In Tripoly standing vpon the Tarras, John Eldred, W. Shales, Nicholas Salter, Samuel Stone, W. Lawnder, Robert Gold and others, wee did at two sundry times see two spouts: one of them appeared at first sight little bigger then a great Conger, but coming from the cloudes downwards did, to our sight appeare, watering as through a spout of Glasse, and fel with great force vpon the Sea in the Ports before vs: the other did so come downe and suckt vp the sand on Tripoly banke, that to our eyes appeared in the Skies a cloud of sand. All the whole time of ships being in the Port, I had a very great sicknesse, & departed in her for England, before I had thoroughly recovered. Many deceased at that time in Tripoly, as I haue elsewhere at large related.

Where we found such a fall, that staggerd the Mariners, Master and all.

to the Females; so it commeth to perfect fruit: otherwayes of themselues, they say, they yeeld but wild Dates; this I haue beene told, and I doe beleue it. I doe beleue also that as they say, the Plague comming into some of their Orchards of Date Trees, that one infects another: and many doe dye of the Plague.

Nilus water I thinke also to be the profitablest and wholsomest in the World, by being both Bread and Drinke to them: for Bread there could be none without it; no Rayne falling in *Egypt* to that purpose: yet I haue seene it rayne there, but it hath beene very little, as it were a small showre, at a time this Riner doth couer the Land, and fatten it, whereby it fructifieth abundantly. It breedeth no manner of disease in the bodie, as diuers other waters doe: it hurteth not to drinke thereof either troubled or cleere; for being brought to our Houses one mile and halfe or two miles off, it commeth in warmer then blood, and troubled seeming sandy; standing all night in our Iarres of Earth, it is very cleere and coole in the morning, and so continueth in the House be the weather neuer so hot.

We were there much troubled, * alike, with flies and dust: for the streets of *Cairo* are all vnpaueed, except on each side some two or three foot broad before their Houses (the middle way about a foot lower then those Pauements) and the Horses, Camels, Asses, Mules, Men and Monsters, make such a stirre passing to and fro, that what stranger soeuer commeth thither, in short time will wish himselfe further off. So much by the way.

Now I say, from *Damiatta*, I arriued againe in *Cairo* the thirteenth. The nineteenth, I went being inuited by the *Venetian* Consul once more to the *Pyramides*, where wee were feasted and returned home at night. The twentieth of March 1586. we set from *Carro* being three English, and our Seruants, a *Iew*, a *Turke*, and *Christians*, arriued in *Rossetto* the three and twentieth; fraighted a *Carmisale* the eighteenth of Aprill 1587. came to *Bichier* the eight and twentieth of Aprill. I went to *Alexandria* to see what newes the ship *Tiger* had brought, who arriued there two dayes before. Backe to our *Carmisale* I returned the next day.

We set sayle the seuenth of May, calmly coasting all the *Palestine* Sea; and arriued in * *Tripoly*, the thirteenth being Saturday. The ship *Hercules* arriued the twelfth of Nouember, being Munday. Three dayes we were in a great storme, and like to haue perished in the Bay. To *Tripoly* we came againe on the Friday. On Saturday came the *Tobie* of *London*. Friday the two and twentieth of December, wee departed from thence in company with the *Tobie*: wee went by *Cyprus* the foure and twentieth.

The three and twentieth of Ianuarie, we were ashore at an Iland by *Candte*, called *Christiana*; The five and twentieth, we cast Anchor at *Caldarona*. The eleuenth and twelfth of February, we passed betweene *Sicilia* and *Malta*. The thirteenth, to *Pantalerea*. The fourteenth, we were in the sight of Cape *Ben* on *Barbarie* side. The fifteenth, we saw *Goletta*, a *Rocke* a little off of *Carthage*. The last of February we arriued in *Argier*, set saile from thence the second of March. The sixt, came in sight of Cape *de Gat*. The seuenth, at night we passed by *Gibberaltare*, and lo through the Streights; From *Suta* wee were espied, they shot twice; In the morning wee had Cape *Sprat*, about fixe leagues a sterne. The eleuenth, wee were as high as Cape *Saint Vincent*. The nineteenth, wee were euen with Cape *Finister*, from thence caped North North-west. The two and twentieth being Friday, we came to the Soundings, threw the Lead at night and found ninetie two fathome; then we caped North-east and by East. The next day in the morning we found seuentie fathome, and at noone fiftie five.

The next day we fell with *Portland*, which was the first of *England* we had sight of, then to the *Downes*, and so to *Gravesend*, from thence in a *Wherrie* to *Black-wall*, so by land to *London*, the nine and twentieth of March 1588.

¶ II.

His second Voyage to Constantinople, with other his Trauells.

THe fourth of Iune being Saturday, I departed from *London* in company of Deputie *Edgerton* and others. Sunday we passed from *Gravesend* in a *Hamborough* Barke fraighted by the *Ladie Drurie*, who in the same was bound ouer with her two Daughters and diuers Attendants to Sir *William* Governour of *Bergen vp Zone*. Sir *Henry Palmer* in a ship of the *Queenes* guarded the Barke to *Flushing*, where wee arriued vpon Munday; to *Middleborough* with the Deputie and others went presently, and two dayes after had a Court called one purpose to make free my selfe and my companion *Thomas Calthorpe*. Vpon Thursday we departed thence and came to *Flushing*; went aboard a small Barke that Euening. And in the Morning were at *Sandwidge*, lodged at *Knowlton*, Master *Calthorpe* being sicke, yet departed in the morning, and were in *London* on Saturday night. Thus were wee eight dayes on this Voyage, and eight dayes after *Thomas Calthorpe* departed this life.

In September, 1590. we set sayle in the *Samaritan* of *Dartmouth*, bound for the *East India*, victualled for thirteene moneths at the least, and well manned; *John Davis* Captayne and Pilot, *Edward Rene* Master. About the *Maderas* we were overtaken with a great storme; in which extremitie we lost our Pinnasse consort, but afterward met with an *English* ship who had saved our men. We had before that storme been in diuers fights with *Spaniards*, and braued by a couple of *French* at vnawares; in that Voyage of one hundred and fve men and boyes we lost only one: a very hot fight we had with an Armado of *Spaine*, she gaue vs seuentene great shot ouer night, and in the morning fought some foure or fve houres, shee shot downe our top-mast, and thorow our sailes and ships fortie times, yet no hurt to any of vs in person, except a poore fellow which was touched on the legge with a great stone shot, which shot rested in the ship: the next day an ill Surgeon cut off the legge about the knee, in which torment of cutting, sawing and searing, the poore Wretch died in his armes. This ioly *Spaniard* left vs; for if he had durst he might haue laid vs aboard: with this fight and the extreame storme we had before passed, our *Samaritan* was so crasie and leake, that all in generall tooke our turnes at the Pumpe, made foure or fve hundred strokes in a Glasse for many dayes and nights together. With the said water we watered our fish, so were we forced to returne for *England*, where at *Famouth* we arriued in February, and so to *Dartmouth*, in that Voyage we went ashore only at *Safia*, *Santa Crus*, and the *Maderas*, as I remember.

The thirteenth of September, 1591. I went out in the *Tobie*, the first of October to *Tilburie*, then to *Lee*. The fourth to *Gorend*, wee departed thence the eighth, and arriued at *Dartmouth*, Munday the eleuenth. From thence we set saile the sixteenth, being Saturday the last day of October, wee arriued at the Streights mouth. The eleuenth of Nouember, we entred the Streights. The thirteenth and fourteenth, we saw *Grand Maliga*, *Velis Maliga*, *Salabrica*, *Cape Negro*. The fine and twentieth, we came in sight of *Maritima*, the next day of *Sicilia* and *Malta*. The twentieth of December, we arriued in *Cephalania*, there remayned six dayes, and came to *Zant* the thirtieth. The first of Ianuarie, we were at *Patras* in the *Moria*, thence the *Tobie* went the thirteenth to *Zant* for her lading. Thursday the foure and twentieth of February, by land we departed *Petras*, that night to *Postigia*, Sunday *Vasilago* and *Corinth*. Tuesday at a *Casale*, and so to *Thebes*, which they now call *Tma*.

There grow abundance of Aniseeds, it hath a most delectable situation, so doth *Corinth* stand most gloriously where we aboad two dayes: wee also were in sight of *Athens*. Then wee came to *Negroponto*, where we freighted a little *Turkish* Vessell, imbarcked our selues and goods, and on Friday departed for *Constantinople*, sailed by *Macedonia*, but had no sight of the Citie *Thessalonica*, it is vp in the Gulfe now called *Salonica*, it was the chiefe Citie of *Macedonian Philip*, Father of Great *Alexander*: then we passed diuers Ilands in the *Arches*, as *Taradano* and others; were ashore at *Troy*, passed two great Castles, called the *Dardanelli*, and came to *Galipoli*, the seuenth of March. Vpon Palme Sunday we arriued in *Constantinople*, where then I remayned fixe or seuen yeeres, in which time I had the view of many Animals, as Elephants, tame Lions, tame spotted Cats as big as little Mastiffes, great and small Deere, Ro-bucks tame; but these are brought out of *Egypt*. The admirablest and fairest beast that euer I saw, was a *Iarras*, as tame as a Domestickall Deere, and of a reddish Deere colour, white breasted and clouen footed; he was of a very great heighth, his fore-legges longer then the hinder, a very long necke, and headed like a Camell, except two stumps of horne on his head. This fairest Animall was sent out of *Ethiopia*, to this Great *Turke* Father for a Present; two *Turkes* the keepers of him, would make him kneele, but not before any *Christian* for any money. An Elephant that stood where this faire beast was, the keepers would make to stand with all his foure legges, his feet close together vpon a round stone, and alike to vs to bend his fore-legges. Many things passed also worth the noting, as the deposing and placing great Rulers, the contention of the Souldiers many times, once for their pay which the *Spahies* demanded in the time of *Sultan Marat*, who not being answered, as they desired, made an uproare in the Court, that the Vice-Royes were glad to hide themselves in the *Turkes* Lodgings for feare of their liues; and most of the Household Seruants of the meaner sort, came out with Spits, Tongs, and other Kitchin tooles to end the fray, who cleared the *Serraglio* of the *Spahies*: at that broyle were slaine of all sorts, some two hundred or more. Not long before they had the *Beglerbegs* head (whom the Great *Turke* especially loued) giuen them, which they spurned about the Court.

Other strange actions I could speake of, and of their cruelties, but I am loth to wearie you with many particulars. Only the crueltie of that government may be marked in this, for at this Great *Turke* his taking possession of the Empire, were strangled all his liuing Brethren, which were in number nineteene. They are brought one by one before him, and hee seeth them both

ned *Turkes*, as *Beniamin Bishop*, *George Butler*, *John Ambrose*, and others, but to turne *Greeke* I neuer heard of any except that Consul at *Patras*, who did cause the *Greeke* Priests newly to baptize him, which they performed, and did name him *John Gold*; being at the very instant demanded (by an honest *Englishman*) his meaning, his answer was, that as he had liued in credit amongst those *Greekes*, so his purpose was to be carried to his Graue with credit, a very notable Whoremaster, one of the cutters of the Cabina in *Turkie*. p This was at my being there in *M. Harborne*s time, before I was sent to *Cairo*.

A little rich
Rene, Dir. and o-
thers of *Dart-*
mouth were Ow-
ners, victualers, &
voluntaries, were
Randall Coston, Is.
Arundell, *Thomas*
Moore, *Edward*
Rivers, I my selfe
and others, who
all came home by
crosse and losse,
for which our
God Almightyes
mercies, his holy
Name be euer
magnified.

A strong and
good old ship.
in Off and on 11.
dayes at the
mouth of the
Streights of *Gibe-*
raltar before wee
could enter. The
next yeere after a
younger Master
making more
speed, imbarcked
the ship & broke
her, and drowned
himselfe with
griefe and anger.
n *Corinth* where
we lodged three
nights by reason
of some misrule
committed going
betweene *Vasilago*
and that place, by
Iffer our *Chaous*,
R. Gold the Con-
sul and *Will Ald-*
ridge, I went be-
fore with the
goods for feare of
the worst, and was
in *Corinth* five
houres before
they came; *Robert*
Gold came first
into the *Carnasera*
with his *Giamber-*
lake all to bee
fished, then in
came the *Chaous*
cut in the arme a
deepe wound, and
Will Aldridge
with his forehead
wounded; which
in the said *Williams*
was dressed for
the present by
a Surgeon of
Corinth, so
with some satis-
faction to the
Cadie, we were
permitted to
passe on our Voy-
age.

o Consul R. Gold,
W. Aldridge, *John*
Sanders, our
goods, our *Chaous*
se, two other Ser-
uants *Turkes*, and
two or three *Chri-*
stians, *Greekes*, our
Attendants.
Memorandum, that
many *Englishmen*
old and young,
haue in my re-
membrance tar-

e One Master
Winckfield an an-
cient English Gen-
tleman, being
then in my com-
pany with others.

alive and dead. I did see e them carried to buriall, the next day after their dead Father. That Great Turke Sultan Morat left also foure or five Women with Child, two of which brought Sonnes; who also at their Birth were deprived of life; the Daughters all live. It was crediblie reported, that hee had buried thirtie Children in his Life time, and had at his Death seven and twentie Daughters living, so it appeareth hee was Father of eightie one Children.

This new King Sultan Mahomet, went to the Warres in Hungarie against the Christian Emperour, the first yeere of his Raigne, our Ambassadour worthy Edward Barton, attended him (with also an ancient Greeke, a Galatean called Signior Matteo, who had many yeeres beene Servant and chiefe Interpreter for the Emperours Ambassadours,) to whom the Great Turke had before his going presented two and twentie Christians, which had layne in Prison in Constantinople three yeeres: they were the late Ambassadours Household, who had beene resident there for the Christian Emperour when the Peace was broken. The Great Turke also gave Commandement that through his Countrey, their charges should bee defrayed, and alike allowed foure Coaches and a Chaouise, to conduct them to the Emperours Court. The chiefe cause of our Ambassadour his accompanying the Great Turke, was, to have concluded a Peace betwixt those two Great Potentates, as formerly hee had done, betweene the Poles and the Great Turke deceased; which had beene most easily performed, had it pleased her excellent Majestie so to have commanded. The Ambassadours absence was sixe moneths, from Iuly to Ianuary, which space I remayned his Deputie in Constantinople. 10

After the Ambassadour was fully resolved to goe with the Grand Signior, some few dayes before his departure, hee went with me John Sanderson to Hassan Bassa, Eunuch, who governed the Citie of Constantinople in the Great Turkes absence. And taking his leaue of the sayd Hassan Bassa Vice-roy, hee recommended mee vnto him, as his Deputie; praying him so to respect me in his absence. The Vizier promised all kinde respect and regard of mee; saying, *Volo volo bosh Gediet*, Welcome welcome, *Hosh Geldie*, I will, I will, *Elchee* Ambassiater, and so I kist his Hand, and then the Ambassadour kist his hand, and wee departed his presence.

g Cloth of Gold.
Velvet, Scarlet
and Purple cloth.

Sec Sup. 1.8.

When the Great Turke went out of the Citie towards the warres, it was with wonderfull great solemnitie and notable order, too long to describe particularly; but I remember a great number of Dogs led afore him well manned, and in their best Apparell; his Hawkes by Horsemen also carried in great number. Tame Lyons and Elephants, with other Beasts of many sorts, but especially, the *Jarraff* before spoken of, being Prince of all the Beasts, was led by three chaynes of three sundry men stalking before him. For it is the custome, that the Great Turke in person going on Warfare, most or all in generall, the chiefe Men and Beasts, attend him out of the Citie: and at his returne, it is lawfull for all their Women both of high and low degree, meane and great, to meet him without the Walls: at other times the Women of any account or credit, neuer come in multitudes among Men. By a Letter dated in October 1596. the Ambassadour advised me of all passed that imported the taking of the Citie *Agria*, and after overthrow of the Christians Campe. Copie of which Letter I sent for England, to the Right Honourable her Majesties chiefe Secretarie Sir Robert Cecil. 30

The Turke returned with great Triumph, entred at *Adrianople Gate*, three or foure miles without which Gate, and so along within the Citie to the Gate of the *Serraglio*, which is at least foure or five miles further, all on both sides the way as hee should passe through, the people his Subjects (*Turkes, Iewes, and Christians*) held in length whole peeces of cloath of Gold, Velvet, Sattin and Damaske, of all sorts and colours, and for three dayes together Feasted, keeping open Shops and Houses day and night, in Ioy of his Victories and safe Returne. Two or three miles before his entrance, I did meete our Ambassadour with a fresh Horse, and about twelue or thirteene attendants: the Ambassadour by *Ebrehim Bassa*, the Vice-royes appointment, did stay in the way to take his leaue of the Grand Signior, which was thus performed: Sultan Mahomet made a stand with his Horse, and vpon Horsebacke, Hee, and the Ambassadour saluted, hee sate still, our Ambassadour did alight and kist his Hand; then got vpon his Horse, hee saluted; the Great Turke re-saluted him, saluted me also, and all our Ambassadours trayne, and so turned his Horse: and ouer the Fields we came to the Vines of *Pera*, before he was come into Constantinople. 50

For the whole full and fine discourse of the Citie Constantinople, I referre to a little Pamphlet that was presented mee by a Doctor Iew Poet, which sayd Discourse hee gave me in *Italian*, I immediatly translated the same into *English*, the seventeenth and eighteenth of August, 1594. I gave it at that time both in *Italian* and *English* to a friend Master Edward Riners, since which, the Copies haue beene dispersed, and it may bee some fantasticall will attribute it to himselfe both Author and translator. For five yeeres past, one in England required it of mee, but I had left the Copie amongst my papers at Constantinople, where at my last beeing I found that scribed originall in *English*, but the *Italian* was common amongst them, it hath beginning on this manner. *Pausania* a Captayne of the *Lacedimonians*, &c. I haue written it againe in the end of this Discourse, and alike followeth a true Relation of my three Moneths trauell, from Constantinople to the Holy Land, and backe againe to Tripoli Sirria, ouer the highest Mount of Libanon. Many worthy 60

thy things passed in this my long abode at *Constantinople*. Amongst other I note the extraordinarie esteeme was had of the Ambassadour afore named, with them all in generall, both *Christians*, *Turkes*, and *Iewes*. By meanes chiefly of the *Turkes* Mothers fauour, and some money: hee made and displaced both Princes and Patriarches, befriended Vice-royes, and preferred the suites of *Cadies* who are their chiefe Priests and spirituall Iustices. The *Hoggie*, a very comely, graue and wise *Turke*, who was *Sultan Mahomets* Schoole-master, (and I may well say Counsellor) was a very true friend, and an assister of Master Barton, in all his businesse with the *Grand Signior*, and had a Catholike *Roman Christian* Corrupter about him, a Consull, by name *Paulo Mariani*, who was hanged by the necke in his Consuls Robes at *Grand Cairo*, vnder the chiefe Gate of the Citie; vpon whom the *Moores* in the morning had great pitie. For *Monsieur de Breuis* the French Ambassadour, had procured the Execution to bee performed in the night, to preuent the *Moores* who euer fauoured *Malleus Paulo* (Master Paul) as they commonly called him.

From *Constantinople*, I departed the three and twentieth of September, 1597. hauing in my time there remayning, beene at diuers notablest places within the Citie, and on all the confines of the same, as when I accompanied the Ambassadour towards the Warres, rid on the way with him some thirtie or fortie miles. And alike was often at the *Blacke Sea*, which is eightene or twentie miles off. At the entrance of the said Sea, are remayning ruines of the old Castles *Sestus* and *Abidus*; but the Schollers of our Age affirme, those neere *Troy* ruines, to bee they, time hauing eaten out the ruines; and so the true remembrance of the other too at the very mouth of the *Blacke Sea*, though I was shewed a marke of a peece of a Rocke vpon *Asia* side, where the Louer was Drowned in swimming from *Europe* side to his beloued. And then I say, in Anno 1585. was there to bee seene on each side, some very old appearance of Castles foundation walls, though in a kinde as it were couered with Earth and Grasse, which remembreth to vs the Storie of *Hero* and *Leander*. And other two great Castles at halfe way, one esteemed the chiefe Prison in *Turkie*, except the seuen Towers within the Citie wall. I was also at *Colcos Ile*, and other Ilands thereabout. And alike diuers times wee went ouer into *Asia* to *Calcedon*, &c. At *Calcedon* now called *Scutari*, my selfe and attendants being fve, well Horfed and a sumpter Horse, there wee remayned two dayes, at *Curtall* one, *Gibs* one, *Dill* one, *Giourkie* one, *Isnike* two, *Gini Shar* two, *Auc Binke* one, *Bosuke* one, *Eschi Sheer* one, *Sidie Batal* one, *Baiat* one, *Buluadin* two, *Anke Shar* fve, *Ilgin* two, *Guarchi* one, *Casal* one, *Conia* (*Iconiam* where *Barnabas* and *Paul* preached) I remayned two dayes, *Siml* one, *Caribonar* one, *Regli* one, *Vluc-kistia* one, *Cadengighen* one, *Sareshek* one, *Casale di Turkie* one, *Adina* two, *Missis*, *Tharso* one, where *Paul* was borne; *Court Colucke* one, *Bellan* one, *Curdi Casall* one, *Iuni* one, to *Alepo* one. Dayes foure and fortie, in companie of *Court Vizeir*, who went to Gouverne in *Alepo*, where I remayned some three moneths. The one and twentieth of Februarie, wee were in *Antiochia*, where wee beheld an admirable Wall, edging vp vpon the Mountayne hauing very many Turrets, some say as many as there are dayes in the yeere, the Riuer *Orantes* is at the bottome of this Hill, and runneth close along the nether part of the Citie wall. Entering in at one of the by gates, there is a place of excellent Spring water, where many were Baptised that became *Christians* at the f Apostles Preaching.

The fourteenth, wee came to *Alexandretta*, there are the ruines of an old Citie built by Great *Alexander*, the *Turkes* call it *Scandarone*.

The three and twentieth, wee departed thence in a great *Venetian* Ship called *Nani Ragaxoxa*, and arriued in *Ciprus* the fixe and twentieth of the said February. At my being in *Ciprus*, I went to the chiefe Cities, *Nicosia* which is in the middest of the Iland, and *Famagusta* a very strong Citie and Port for their Gallies: before a Towne called *Larnica*, we rode with our Ship. At the *Salinos**, there is the Church that *Lazarus* built, and likewise the *Greekes* say, that the Mother of *Constantine* lyeth buried in a Mountayne in that Iland, which is called *Santa Elena*.

The tenth of Aprill, 1598. wee set sayle from *Ciprus* in the sayd Ship, and arriued in *Venice* the two and twentieth of the same.

The foure and twentieth of May, I departed from *Venice*, to *Trafino* Castle, *Franco*, *Sismon*, *Grinio*, *Luenico*, *Trent*, *Alanis*, *Enia*, *Boldax*, *Clusa*, *Maols*, *Luke es Bruke*, *Sesfield*, *Patakerk*, *Am-brega*, *Sanga*, *Lansberg*, *Augusta*, now called *Osburge*, *Danower*, *Fetling*, *Dink selfspill*, *Perte*, *Herbisbouson*, *Martigall*, *Pissiche*, *Miltiburgh*, Riuer of *Maine*, *Valstat*, *Ostum*, *Pobohouson*, *Frankford*, *Ments*, *Elfni*, an Almes house *Eruels*. *Mistorne* a little Castle vpon a Rocke, where at this day they report that the Bishop of *Ments* was deuoured of Rats, for hoording vp Corne when the Poore starued with want thereof. *Snikwere*, *Gesinan*, *Roderfen*, *Bubard*, *Andernough*, *Bon*, *Cullen* the thirteenth of Iune, in their chiefe Church they reserue a Monument of the 3 Three Kings, so much talked on. *Sons*, *Nues*, *Druselthorp*, *Keserswert*, *Ruer Wert*, *Berk*, *Wesell*, *Emrick*, *Sniks Sconce*, *Nemingham*, *Tele*, *Wercam*, *Kercam*, *Dort*, *Viana*, *Camsine*, *Middleborough*, *Flushing*. The eight and twentieth, from thence embarked in a man of Warre a *Flushinger*, who set vs alhoare in the Downes the nine and twentieth of Iune, the same day arriued in *England*, and so from *Sandwich* to *London* by Land.

e *Natalia*.
c *Carmanida*
Silicia.
Surtia.
f There at that place, some affirme, that the three thousand also, at Peters Sermon, were conuerted and Christened in that Spring water.
* Where they make great store of Salt.
Fine white salts
Slauonia.
Italie.
Germanie.
Friesland.
Erabant.
Holland.
Zealand.
g There they are within a double Grate beyond the quier behind a battlement, where also I did see the Picture of *Christ* drawne naked, stripped so artificially and iust the bignesse of a man, that it made mee to weepe. Our Lady was more lower in the Church, an Image in a blacke sattin Gowne.

B. III.

The third Voyage of Master Iohn Sanderson to Constantinople.

From London to Grauesend, the eleuenth of Februarie, 1598. The fourteenth, tooke shipping in the *Hector*, lay at *Tilburie* two dayes. To the Downes the seuenteenth, lay there eight dayes, came to *Dartmouth* the third of March, rid there foure dayes, and came to *Plimouth* the eighth. Set sayle three or foure dayes after, and in May, 1599. arriued in *Alexandretta*, hauing touched at *Argier* and *Zant* by the way. In the sayd moneth of May wee departed, coasted all along the North-side of *Ciprus*, passed close by the seven Capes, came and cast Anchor at *Roades*, I went also at this time ashore there. Thence wee went and came with the Ship a ground at *Samos*, the Island where *Esope* was borne; so sayled by *Sio* and *Metelin*; were also a ground about Cape *Ianesarie* in some danger, and with much adoe wee came off at last, pulling the Ship off with our Boate and skiffe at the sterne, by strength and labour of the Marriners. Hauing doubled that Cape, I tooke a small Barke and went to *Galipoli*, and thence to *Constantinople*, where the *Hector* arriued about the fifth of September. At her entrance the Port in tryumph discharging the Ordnance, they lost a Man who was parted in the middle, being busie about cleansing a Peece in the fore-castle. At this my third and last being in *Constantinople*, of one of the *Coens*, an ancient and very learned Iew Priest, I did with much intreatie and my money, get a very old Booke; it was the five Bookes of *Moses* in foure Languages. I presented it to my Brother, Doctor *Sanderson*, hee lent it Doctor *Barlow*, hee to Doctor *Andrewes*: They vsed it in their Translation at *Cambridge*, and did returne it to Bishop *Barlow*. The Bishop dyed, and I thinke one *Johnson* his Sisters sonne hath it, who as I heard had the residue of the Bishops bookes.

I went to visite the Sepulcher of that fore-named Master *Edward Barton* late Ambassadour, who lyeth Interred (according to his alwayes desire) vnder an Oliue Tree, before the entrance into the Monasterie on the top of *Calcos Ile*; a Stone of white Marble is layd vpon him, Letters thereon engrauen of his Title and Decease. Other places I went to also, which I had bene at in former times. And some strange actions, other then formerly the like had happened in their most cruell Executions, I note not.

Yet can I not let passe to relate, that a Iewish woman of the greatest credit and wealth in *Constantinople*, was brought out of her House and stabbed to Death in the Vice-royes yard, thence by a window in the *Serraglio* wall where the *Grand Signior*, *Sultan Mahomet* stood to see; shee was drawne with Ropes to the publikest place in the Citie, and there (betweene a Pyramed pillar erected by *Theodosius*, and the Brasen tripled Serpent) layd for the Dogges to eate, who did deuoure her all saue her bones, sinewes of her legges, and soales of her feet. Her head^a had been carryed vpon a pike through the Citie, and alike her shamefull part; also many small peeces of her Flesh, which the *Turkes Ianizaries* and others carried about tyed in a little Pack-thred, shew-⁴⁰ ing to the *Iewes* and others, and in derision sayd, Behold the Whoores flesh; one slice of her I did so see passe by our doore in *Galata*. Her^b eldest Sonne the next day in like manner cruelly stabbed and murdered in the sayd Vice-royes court; dragged thence and layd by his Mother, but was so fat and ranke that the Dogges would not seaze vpon him, or else they were satiate with the Womans flesh the day before, who was a short fat trubkin. So together with his Mothers bones the next day was this body burned in that place. Her second Sonne became *Turke* to saue his life; so would his dead Brother, if hee could haue had the fauour. The third Sonne a young youth, their wrath being appeased, they permitted to liue. This was an act of the *Spahies* in spite of the Great *Turkes* Mother; for by the hands of this Iew woman shee tooke all her Bribes, and her Sonnes were chiefe Customers of *Constantinople*; who tooke all the gainefull businesse into their owne hands, doing what they listed. The Mother and Children were worth Millions,⁵⁰ which all went into the Great *Turkes* Coffers. After this their *Mala Pasqua*, for it was at their time of Paskeouer, the chiefeest Feast of the *Iewes*.

After this, the *Spahies* had a great sling at the Head of the *Capie Agha*, who was the Great *Turkes* chiefe Seruant and Fauourite, but by meanes partly of the Admirall *Sigallogli*, alias *Sinan Bassa*, *Vizeir*, and fiftie thousand Duckets of money amongst them, they were for that time pacified. But since my comming away it is written mee, that they haue got his Head and the Heads of one two or three more, and forced the *Grand Signior* to come forth and see the Execution done. I thinke not good heere as I said before, to note their Crueltie in sundrie sorts of Executions, yet some I cannot let passe. Their vsuall punishment for Adulterous women, is binding in a Sacke and so throw them into the Sea. Seven I haue scene so vsed one Morning, in the time that the Eunuch *Hassan Bassa* gouerned *Constantinople*, when the Great *Turke* was at the Warres. But for such crueltie and other actions, the^c Queene Mother got his Head at her Sonnes returne.

^a Master *Henry Lillo*, the Ambassadour and my selfe went of purpose and thus did see these two, Mother and Sonne.

^b He was a goodly Gentleman Iew, some few dayes before, I had shewed him our Ship, and had talked with him at his Mothers house, and Master *Paul Pinder* and my selfe, were with his Mother, to whom shee deliuered for the Ambassadour, to send the Queene a *Safana*, of *Rabines* from the *Sultana*, and another of Diamonds from her selfe, with teares in her eyes I well remember.

^c The Queene Mother, with the *Grand Sultana*, and other of the *Grand Signiors* women, walking in their *Serraglio*, espied a number of Boates vpon the Riuer hurrying together. The Queene Mother sent to enquire of the matter; who was told that the *Vizir* did Iustice vpon certaine *Chabiers*, that is Whoores. Shee taking displeasure sent word, and aduised the Eunuch *Bassa*, that her Sonne had left him to Gouerne the Citie, and not to deuoure the Women; commanding him to looke well to the other businesse, and not to meddle any more with the Women, till his Masters returne.

The commonest Death for men is Gaunthing; which is, to be stripped into their Linnen breeches, with their hands & feet bound all foure together at their backs, and so drawne vp with a rope by a pullie vpon the Gallowes, and let fall vpon a great Iron hooke fastned to a lower crosse Barre of the Gallowes, most commonly lighting vpon their flanke and so through their thigh, there they hang sometimes talking a day or two together, but if they bee Gaunched through the belly and backe, then are they dead in two or three houres. Thus they vse their common Theeues at *Constantinople*. In *Cairo* and other parts, they doe Stake them, a most ouell Death, yet speedie or lingering as they list to execute. But Hanging by the necke they vse in a fauour to any offender who meriteth Death, yet sometimes cutting downe for Dogges to eate. They strangle with a Bow-string their Brethren, *Bassaes* and other Great men. But for their Religious men false Iudges, their Law is to pash them all to peeces in a stone Morter with wooden Mallets. And for their false Witnesses, they are set vpon an Asse, with their faces towards the tayle which they hold in their hands, and the Inwards of a Bullocke, powred vpon and bound about them, and so ride they through the Citie. And for any found Drunke in the time of their *Ramazan* (which is a Fast they haue one whole Moone in the yeere) their Law is, to melt a Ladle full of Lead and powre it downe their throats; (Their manner of Fast, is to eate nor drinke any thing, neither Water nor other, vntill they see a Starre appeare in the Euening, and then they may begin and eate till Morning.) Any chiefe Officer belonging to their Artilerie if hee bee a Thiefe, is bound to the mouth of a brass Piece and so shot into the Sea; thus I saw one vled^d at *Tophana*.

d *Tophana*, is their
Artillerie yard,
where is a great
Wharfe to take
Boatear, it is be-
tweene *Rophagh-*
mak and *Garlati*:

20 And alike in my time, a *Iamoglaine*, found Drunke in their Fast, was vsed as I haue reported. I did see vpon the Gaunch *Vssine Bassa*, the Traytor that first rose in *Asia*; but hee for a more crueltie had from each shoulder bone a muskell taken out, in presence of the Bench of *Vizeirs*, the Great *Turke* also looking out at a Lattice ouer their heads. By reason of that torment he died presently vpon the Gaunch, being led from the *Serraglio* halfe a mile or more before hee was put thereon. Not long before that, a *Christian* Tributarie Prince called *Stephano Vinoyda*, being deposed of the Great *Turke*, after hee had enioyed the Princedome a yeere; by malice of some Great men who preuayled with the *Grand Signior*, was brought to the Gaunch, ledde of the *Bustangi Bassi*.

e To see this,
Master *Like* the
Ambassadour, and
my selfe, went
purposely and did
see him on the
Gaunch, being
starke dead.

3C This *Bustangi Bassi* is a man of account about the *Turke*, and the great, but not the common Executioner (for the *Turke* employes him in strangling ^f *Vice-royes*; throwing by night rebellious Souldiers into the Sea, and such like. Chiefe Gardner is his Office, hauing thousands *Iamoglans* and their *Gouernours* at his command: hee keepeth the *Caiks*, and alwayes steereth when the Great *Turke* goeth vpon the water, whose *Caikes* are most rich and beautifull to behold, the poepe all *Iuorie*, *Ebonie*, or Sea-horse teeth, mother of Pearle and Gold, set with all manner of precious Stones. To row him hee hath eightie chosen men, two and two at an Oare, twentie Oares on a side, all in white Shirts and red Caps, coloured Cloath shackshers Breeches, Cordiuan leather coloured shooes, who often in their rowing baie like $\S$ Dogges; the reason I know not, except it bee when they heare him talke (to the *Bustangi Bassi* who sits at the rudder) that they dare not hearken to his talke. His Court of Dwarfes and Dumme men, alwayes follow (except the very principall who are with him) in another *Caike*; and many times also his Women.

Hee strangled
Ferrat Bassa, in the
seuen Towers,
first, after hee had
wakened the *Bas-
sa*, he shewed a
little testimony of
his authoritie,
then turnes the
wrong side of the
Carpet vppwards,
so the *Bassa* layes
his *Salah*, then
with a boxe on
the eare hee as-
tonishes him, and
the *Le Mogians*
come in presently
and strangle him,
the *Bustangi Bassa*
found but fixtie
Chequins in his
pocket, and so
thence departed.

Now to the Prince I spoke of; this poore Prince intreated for life at the place of Execution. The *Bustangi Bassi* told him, that if hee would become *Turke*, hee should see what hee would doe for him. Whereupon hee turned, and vttered to such effect the words ^h; being content rather then dye, to bee *Turke*; which they call *Mussulman*. Which done, this cruell Dog told him, that hee was glad hee would dye in the right Beliefe, and therefore, whereas hee should haue beene Gaunched, now he shall bee but Hanged by the necke. Whereat the poore soule presently repented, and cryed often and aloud vpon CHRIST, and bad all witnesse that hee dyed a *Christian*.

g I have often
heard them vpon
the water, now
and then between
times, many of
them say, *Bough,*
boughwake, bough,
bough, boughwake,
&c. and then pull
some few strokes
and tut againe.
h *Allah, allah, ill*
lallah, &c.
Being a *Musli*
ma.

Here I leaue them to their cruelty. Now, the fourteenth of May, 1601. I departed from *Sidon*, in the ship *Mermaid*, with my Voyage to *Damascus*, and the holy Land, and so ouer the highest Mount of *Libanus*, to *Tripoly*; being iust three moneths. I leaue to bee seene in that my discourse: At *Tripoly* for passage I remayned vntill the sixteenth of Februarie; in which time our people of the *Troian* passed some trouble in that bad gouerned place. Our men of the ship *Troian*, were most of them imprisoned in *Tripoly* Iayle the Castle; and fise were in great hazard to haue beene executed: for the *Emiers* people accused them to haue robbed a Caramisall of the *Emers*, of Sope and other merchandise: but as God would haue it, the *Cadie* of *Tripoly* being a Green-head, that is one (a holy man) of the Parentage of *Mahomet* their Prophet: who came Passenger with me to *Sidon* (in the *Mermaid*) from *Constantinople*, he and his hauing beene well entreated in that Voyage, together with my very often and earnest solicitation, did to his vtmost power fauour our people so effectually, that euery one of them were freed, without further harme, from those false accusing *Moores*.

The tenth day, the ship *Trogian* was cast away vpon the Rockes in the Road of *Tripoly* by boysterous billowes, that broke her anchors, and shou'd her on the shoare. The sixteenth I departed in the *Edward Bonauenture*, came to *Scandaron* the nineteenth; from thence the four-

teenth of May, 1602. to *Limiso* in *Ciprus*, the seuen and twentieth; the one and thirtieth wee parlied with two great Ships *Spaniards*, and two *Frigots*; they durst not fight, but said they were of *Malta*. The seuenth of Iune, we espied seuen Gallies, which we imagined to be *Spaniards* bound for *Scandaron*: now, we were as high as the seuen Capes the eighth, and met thereabouts the *Samuel*. The tenth, wee passed by *Rhodes*: *Scarpanto*, the eleventh: *Candia*, the twelfth: Cape *Sapientia* in the *Moria*, the fise and twentieth: *Stranalia* an Iland, the sixth of Iuly: at *Zant* the eighth wee arriued: from thence the fifth of August in the *Cherubin*, to *Corfu* the fourteenth: from thence the sixe and twentieth in *Istria*: the one and thirtieth *Ostrenta*: the seuenth of September, *Rouina*, *Prensa*, *Citta noua*, an old walled Towne at the end of the Gulfe: the eighth of September in *Venice*.

The fifteenth, I departed to *Castile Franco*, *Carpanet*, *Grenio*, *Burgo*, *Riuer Trent*, *Neus*, *Nimmarke*, passed *Ladise* the Riuer, *Bulsano*, *Clusa*, *Sterching*, *Matara*, *Churla*, *Riuer Tine*, *Mitebant*, *Ambergam*, *Sandar*, *Stadell*, *Riuer Ligh*, *Osburgh*, alias *Augusta*, *Susmerhausen*, *Leibham*, *Olme*, *Getzingen*, *Blochenn*, *Stuchert*, *Diesen brunt*, *Almatingen*, *Ratstat*, *Litfinkal*, *Strossburge*, *Galsenburch*, *Cansman*, *Blanbenburch*, *Luncuil*, *Portadi*, *Saint Nicolo-Nantes*, *Tull*, *Saint Tobin*, *Barloducke*, *Tanhuer*, *Russefason*, *Salon*, *Fonte*, *Effael*, *Momil*, *Butchier*, *Fuerti*, *Sant Giouan*, *Marne*, *Meaw*, *Paris*. Dico *Paris* the nineteenth of October. From *Paris* to *Saint Denis*, to *Puntoys*, the Riuer *Almais*. The twentieth, to *Maine*, *Equie*. The one and twentieth, to *Roan*, to *Deepe*, the two and twentieth. The three and twentieth, from thence in the *Vantgard* of the *Queenes*. The foure and twentieth, to *Doner*; from thence at eleuen a clocke in the night. In *London* the fise and twentieth being Monday, at foure a clocke in the after-noone. For all which the Almighty God bee magnified.

§. II. III.

A Discourse of the most notable things of the famous Citie Constantinople: both in ancient and late time.

Read hereof
Strabo lib. 7.

Pansania a Captaine of the *Lacedemonians*, wandring through the world with his people, seeking where he might settle himselfe, of the Oracle of *Apollo* in *Delfas* it was answered, that they should make their abode ouer against the blinde, vnderstanding thereby the *Magares*, who had not the fore-sight to take so faire a situation as they had in *Europe*, fertile and good; but built in *Asia Calcedonia*, that now is called *Scutari*; heere then stayed *Pansania* with his *Calcedonians*, 663. yeeres before the comming of *Christ*. (*Tullio Hostillio* remayning in *Rome*) building at that time a little Citie, which hee named *Bizantio*; whether it were as some say, for the two Seas it hath, or according to others, of a Captaine so named. In the beginning, this was a very small thing, as others of small time were wont to be, subiect once to the *Lacedemonians*, founders thereof; and another time to the *Athenians*: it flourished in short time with the felicitie of the Countrey in such sort, that *Philip* King of *Macedon*, Father of *Alexander* the Great, being in loue with her beauty and riches, resolved with himselfe to conquer the same: laying siege thereto many dayes, and could not take it: notwithstanding that hee enterprised it with a great and chosen Host; with whom encountered *Leon Sophista*, a man of *Bizantio*, who said vnto him: Tell mee, *Philip*, what iniurie hast thou receiued of *Bizantio*, that in such fury thou art moued to warre against it? I haue not (answered *Philip*) of thy Citie had any iniurie that prouoketh mee, but because it is the fairest Citie of *Thracia*, being enamoured therewith, moued me to conquer it. Those that be in loue (answered *Leon*) and would of their Beloued bee loued, with sweet Musike, Gifts, and such like, doe seeke to obtayne; and not with their Armies and Warre to damnifie them. *Philip* in conclusion departed without taking it.

The same went forward prosperously, and in processe of time was augmented with buildings and riches, in such sort, that then it passed all the Cities of *Asia*, and in fertilitie was equall to the fairest of *Europe*. Amongst the beautifullest things, it had goodly to be seene, and most worthe to be praised were the walls, the stones whereof they brought from *Milesio*, not any of which were carued or grauen, but sawed in manner of planks. This caused that the walls being of many stones, notwithstanding appeared to be but one. And the Citie increased vntill the time of *Seuero* the Emperour, that hauing possession thereof the Tyrant *Pesenio* (the *Blackmoore* his mortall enemy) the sayd Emperour was moued to goe and besiege it: hee kept siege thereto three yeeres, in the end they were constrained through hunger to render to the discretion of the *Romanes*, which was such, that after they had slayne all the Men of warre and Magistrates, they ruinated the famous walls from the top to the bottome.

Constantine the
Great.

It remayned in this calamitie vntill the yeere 313: that *Constantine* the Emperour (surnamed, the Great) was minded to transport the Seat of the Empire of *Rome* to the East, to the end that with the more facilitie he might bridle the vntamed *Persians* and *Partians*, that hourly

ly rebelled: and for that *Rome* was so farre off, the Emperours could not come so speedily, to force them to order. After they had searched diuers places to this effect, and in some began to build: they were still diswaded by dreames, vntill in the end they came to *Calcedonia* (which as before I haue said is *Scutary*) who hauing now chosen and designed the place, certaine Egles (as writeth *Zonora* a Greeke Author) flying thereabout tooke in their bills pieces of the wood of the builders, and houering about the Streight of *Hellspont*: they let them fall neere to the ruined *Bizantio*, of the which *Constantine* being aduised translated the builders from *Calcedonia*: and taking it to be the will of the Diuine power, and for good lucke, well liking also the maruellous situation, hee compassed and enclosed in one circuit seuen most pleasant Hills, imitating *Rome* which hath so many) building a wall about, of length, thickeesse, and fairenesse, one of the famousst in the world, with all things needfull, adorned and furnished like vnto a Fortresse; the forme thereof Triangle, two parts washed on with the Sea, and the other compassed with Land.

Seuen Hills.

Hee erected also many high Towers, built many sumptuous Temples, and adorned it with infinite other magnificall buildings publike and priuate, commanding by publike Edict all Princes of the Empire, that euery one should build either Palace, or some sumptuous and splendent other Monument, after which for the greater adornment, hee caused to bee brought from *Rome* diuers memorable Antiquities, and amongst the rest the most famous *Palladium* of old *Troy*, which hee caused to be set in an open place that was called *Placote*, and the high Piller of *Porfido* (which is a kinde of hard Stone) in the same place was erected. At the side whereof was planted an Image of *Brasse* in likenesse of *Apollo*, which was of vnmeasurable greatnesse, in whose head hee would haue his name written thereon. So greatly was increased the adornment and beautie thereof, that not without merit it might haue beene called another *Rome*. The old Writers which saw it in the flower, rather Iudged it a dwelling for the Gods, then an habitation for earthly Emperours.

Constantine named it *New Rome*, but the peoples voyce preuayled, which called it alwayes after the Emperours name *Constantinople*, the which his Successors daily adorned, and amongst the sightliest Ornaments, was the most proud Palace of the publike Librarie, which contrayned aboue 120000. chosen written Bookes. In the midst of which Librarie, there was the Guts of a Dragon in length aboue one hundred and twentie foote, vpon them written in Letters of Gold *Homers Iliads*. There were many other worthy things in diuers places of the Citie; as the Nymphs Groue, the Market-place of Metall, with infinite others. There was also most famous Images, as of *Iuno*, *Samo*, *Minerua*, *Lindo*, *Venus*, *Gnido*, in such sort that all Strangers who came to it, full of admiration were astonied at the beautie thereof, reputing it a celestiall thing.

New Rome.

Librarie.

Nymphs groue.

It suffered diuers fortunes vnder the *Greekish* Emperours many yeeres, insomuch that through their disgraces it went by little & little declining; so that it came to be subiect to the *French* and *Venetian*, in company, the space of fife and fiftie yeeres, and in the end by the Illustrious familie *Pa-lealoga Genonesi*, was brought out of their hands. Vntill long after by a long Siege, in the yeere 1453. the nine and twentieth of May, it came into the hands of the most mightie House of *Ottaman*, and was taken by the Great *Sultan Mahomet* the second, the eight Lord of *Turkes*, 1190. yeeres, little more or lesse from the time that it was built of Great *Constantine*.

Frankes.

Pa'calogie.

Ottaman.

It is obserued of the Writers, that the first founder was called *Constantine*, and his Mother *Hellen*. Likewise hee that lost it *Constantine*, the Sonne of *Hellen*. Within the which, *Time*, the destroyer with his true Teeth, one, *Mars* with his Sword another, the ordinary Pestilence and continuall Fires, diuers Earthquakes, and many ouer-flowings which it hath alwayes had, hath brought it to such a passe, that now there is not remayning of so many Antiquities, other then scarce the name of *Constantinople*. And for conclusion, to say thereof that which remayneth, the Citie is scituate in the Prouince of *Thracia*, being fertile and mightie in Armes. Insomuch, that it hath of Old time beene called the Countrey of *Mars*. It is in the Straight of *Helespont* in *Europe*, which is distant fourteene miles from *Calcedonia* (now *Scutarie*) built ouer against *Asia*. At the Point or Sea *Euxina*, called the Great or *Blacke Sea*, where *Ouid* named it Port of the two Seas, being in 45. degrees of Latitude, and in 56. of Longitude.

Latitude 45. degrees Longitude 56.

First Hill.

The mightie Princes of the House of *Ottaman*, who wanne it of the *Greekes*, hauing destroyed all the Temples and famous Buildings, with their Churches, Sepulchers, &c. They haue giuen it another sort of ornament building, them on the top of the seuen Hills within the Citie. On the first Hill is to bee seene, beginning from the West towards the Port of *Andranople*, a fragment standing in memorie of the old Emperiall Palace with certayne Galaries, wast roomes, and pillers within it selfe, doth well shew the great power of *Time*, the destroyer and overthrower of all, that a Prince of the world, his Palace is now become a Lodge for Elephants, Panthers, and other Beasts. Hard by that Gate in the South street, is a Church newly built by the Queene, Mother of this present *Sultan Murat*, the same is little but faire and finely contriued.

On the second Hill, was the Temple and Palace of the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, a thing worthy the memorie, where was buried in Chests of fine Marble, most of the *Christian* Emperours; but about foure or fife yeeres since, it is reduced into a Church as now may be seene.

Second Hill.

Third Hill.
Mahomet's Sepulchre and Hospitall.

The third and highest Hill, hath vpon it the Church and magnificate Sepulcher of the Great *Sultan Mahomet* the second, that tooke the Citie from the last and vnfortunate *Greeke Constantine*, a building worthy of admiration chiefly at these times, in which the *Turkes* are more practique, then in those times when matters were more grosse and rusticall. Maruellous is the greatnesse and magnificence of it being made in similitude of the *Sophia*, and hath about it one hundred Houses couered with Lead (of a round cube fashion) ordayned to receiue Strangers and Trauellers of what Nation or Religion soeuer they be, where they may rest (as alike at other Churches) with their Horses and Seruants, three dayes together if they please, and haue their charges borne, not paying any thing for their owne and seruants dyet. Besides, there are without the circuit of the Church, other one hundred and fiftie Lodgings for the poore of the Citie, vnto whom they giue to eate, and to euery one of them in money one Asper a day. It hath also a place where they giue Sirrop and Medicines of free cost to all that demand, & another for gouernment of the Mad people. The sayd *Sultan Mahomet* left for the maintenance hereof sixtie thousand Duckets yeerely rent in that time, which now doth import aboue two hundred thousand, for they haue allowance of the rents of *Sofia*; to which also besides other reuenue belongeth the *Basistans* and in a manner all the principall shops of the Citie, euen vntill yee come to the *Serraglio* of the Great *Turke*, which payeth Rent thereto 1001. Aspers per diem.

Fourth Hill.

The fourth Hill hath vpon it the Church and Sepulchre of *Sultan Selim*, Father of *Sultan Soliman*, in the same forme and order as the others are; a Building rather firmer then other wayes.

Fifth Hill.

The fift Hill hath the Church and Sepulchre of *Sultan Bajazet*, Father of the aboue named *Selim*, with a great *Piazza* (a void place) which is the spaciousest belonging to any their Churches, and most frequented by the *Turkes*.

Sixth Hill.

The sixth Hill hath the maruellous Church and Sepulchre of the Triumphant and Inuincible *Sultan Soliman*, a Building worthy of such a Monarch, in the best and most traffiqued place of the Citie; which passeth in greatnesse, workmanship, Marble Pillars, and Riches more then Kingly, all the other Churches of the Emperours his Predecessors; a Worke which meriteth to be matched with the seven Wonders of the World.

Seventh Hill.
Temple of
Sancta Sophia
described.

The seventh and last Hill hath the sumptuous Temple of *Santa Sophia*, founded by *Iustinian* the fifteenth Emperour of the East, in the yeere five hundred and thirtie. It was a Building of greatnesse, workmanship, beautie, and riches incomparable, which it is said hee made to match the Building of the Temple of *Salomon*. In time past this tooke a great part of the Citie, the centre of which Temple is made round in a Cube, like the *Pantheo* of *Rome*, which *Agrippa* built; as that was, so this top is round, but much more large and high, and there are two rankes of very great Marble Pillars, all of one colour and of such thicknesse, that two men can scarce fathome one. Then there are another order more higher, and not so long nor thicke, that holdeth vp the Cube, the which is made within with great Art, after the *Mosaicall* resemblance with Gold and Azure, the inside of the Temple is all implastered, and ouer wrought with great Tables of *Porfido*, *Serpentino*, and Marble of diuers colours; and the cloysters round about are of like vaulting and workmanship, all singular faire, and beautifull, more then ordinary, but of the Pictures of all sorts (as the painted Images) the *Turkes* haue scraped out the eyes. The couering on the out-side is of Lead, the gates (which haue beene the fairest in the World) of fine Metall of *Corinth*.

The quondam
glorie.

It was in the time of the *Greekish* Emperours, the most rich, perfect, and sumptuous Temple, not only of the East, but of all the World; for there were one hundred gates, and it was more then a mile about, compassing the houses of the Canons, Priests, and others; it had 300000. Duckets yeerely Rent. There is now the Sepulchre of *Sultan Selim* the Second, Father of this present *Sultan Morat*, his Church for want of place he caused to be made in *Adrianopoli*, which is also a sumptuous thing.

Solims Sepulchre and Church.

Seraglio.
Of it see the
former Treatise.

Vpon one of the corners of the Citie (a point at the mouth of the freight that diuideth *Europe* and *Asia*) on the *Promontorio*, called of the Ancients *Christophori*, (which is as much to say, *Lord of Gold*) a name that whosoeuer gaue it, peradventure did foresee as much as now is inclosed in the bosome thereof, and of the *Greekes* called (Saint *Demetrio*) is the admirable Habitation (*Seraglio*) of the *Grand Signior*, that hath beene in time past a Monasterie of Monkes of the said *Sophia*, and is foure miles about compassed round with a high Vault, and very faire Towres built by great *Mahomet* the Second, amplified and decked by all his Successors; it is so replenished with braue Palaces, faire Gardens, Marble Cisternes, fine Fountaynes, sumptuous *Banias*; that it were an vnwise part to describe them, especially in regard that this present *Sultan Morat*, hath begunne so magnifically to replenish it, for he alone hath built therein more then all his Predecessors together, and particularly he hath beautified with two faire Lodgings, or as we may say Banqueting Houses, which they call *Chouskes*, the top coverings of Lead, but vnder wrought with curious Worke of Bossing, Painting, and Gilding, built of fine Marble Pillars of *Porfido*, and *Serpentino*, richly laid with Gold and inestimable expence.

Without the great *Seraglio*, neere to the point thereof is a little Fountayne, but rich, of white Marble, laid on with Gold of very fine workmanship, (abounding with excellent water) built by this present *Sultan Morat*, in memory that there he went a Land dismounting the *Caske*, when he

he came to take possession of the Empire; as may be read therevpon written in *Turkish* Letters. In the chiefeſt place of the Citie, betweene the *Piazza* of *Sultan Baiazet*, and that of *Sultan Soliman*, there is another *Seraglio* called of the *Turkes Eschi Serrai*, as much to ſay, the old *Seraglio*. The ſame was firſt builded and inhabited by Great *Mahomet* the Second (I meane before the aboue named) it was two thouſand paces about, before that the triumphant *Sultan Soliman* to make his Church tooke away the halfe. It is compaſſed with a Vault of fifteene yards high without any Turrets, the Virgins of the *Grand Signiors* remayne there. Thither hee goeth many times vpon pleaſure, for within it are faire Lodgings, great Orchards, many *Banies*, cleere Fountaynes, and of old time the deceaſed Emperours were wont there to hunt.

Old Seraglio.

- 10 Many other faire Churches are diſperſed through the Citie of great coſt and goodly proſpect, built with Royall magnificence, as that which *Sultan Soliman* cauſed to be made at the death of one of his Sonnes, called *Iegni Sultan Mehemet*, as much to ſay, as new *Sultan Mahomet*, (different from the other of the Great aboueſaid) neere thereby are Lodgings of the *Janizaries*, who are houſed in manner of Friers, *Guimas*, *Mosches*. And other places for Prayer are there likewiſe built by many *Baſſaes*, and other great Perſonages (but not of ſuch importance as thoſe afore nominated) as that of *Mahomet Baſſa*, *Dauit Baſſa*, *Roſtan Baſſa*, *Mahomet Baſſa*, and of *Meffih Baſſa* the Eunuch, and now they are a building two new ones, better then the others, one for the excellent *Sinan Baſſa* neere the red Pillar which is by the Lodging of the Emperours Ambaſſadors, the other very faire in *Aurat Bazar* (hard by the Pillar which they ſay to bee of
- 20 *Pompey*) of the excellent *Girabe*, *Maher Baſſa*, and diuers others very many.

The Iew the preſenter of this Pamphlet, ſaith without number, ſome *Turkes* to me haue named the number to be 18000. great and ſmall Churches of *Turkes*. The Patriarch of *Greekes*, *Meleteo*, who had formerly beene of *Alexandria*, and there dyed, told me that there is in *Conſtantinople* one hundred *Chriſtian Churches*, moſt aſſuredly within the Citie and Suburbs, I take it there are more: For at *Galata*, ouer the water, as may bee compared to *Southwarke* from *London*, there are of *Popiſh Churches* (wherein are grauen Images) foure or five, and two or three *Monaſteries* of *Romane Friers*; of *Greekiſh Churches* and *Friers* many more, in whoſe Churches are no grauen Images; yet they whip themſelues there, as the *Papiſts* doe. This I haue ſeene vpon a *Good Friday* as I remember: Bels the *Chriſtians* are not permitted to haue in their Churches. Thus much from the matter of the Iewes

- 30 Diſcourſe, which is not from the purpoſe of that therein handled.

The greateſt and moſt famous ſpacious place of the Citie is that which in time paſt of the *Greeks* was called *Hippodromo*, and now of the *Turkes Atmaidan*, which is as much to ſay, both in the one and the other Language, running of *Horſes*, for there they did and doe runne them. In time paſt it hath beene much more greater, but the many Palaces (that diuers great men in proceſſe of time haue built) hath leſſened it; as the Great *Ebrim Baſſa*, who builded in the time of *Sultan Soliman*, that faire Palace which is to bee ſeene; now the Lodging of this other *Ebrim Baſſa*, giuen him when he married the Emperours Daughter.

- Right ouer againſt it is another *Seraglio*, that, alſo built in my time by the excellent *Roſtan Baſſa*, when he married his Daughter vnto *Ahmat Baſſa*. In the middeſt of this great *Piazza* is to be ſeene rayſed vpon foure Dice of fine Metall, a very faire Pyramide of mingled ſtone, all of one piece, fiftie Cubits high, carued with Heroycall Letters, reſembling the *Agulia* of *Rome*, in whoſe top were incloſed the aſhes of the vnconquered *Iulius Caſar*, that now Pope *Sixtus* hath reduced into the middeſt of the place of *Saint Peter*: this Monument *Theodoſius* the three and fortieth Emperour of *Rome*, (by Nation a *Spaniard*) and eightie of *Conſtantinople*, cauſed to bee erected in memory, that he had conquered the *Goths*, the *Alani*, the *Hunnes*, and ſo many Tyrants that vſurped the Empires of the Eaſt and Weſt, as by the *Greeke* and *Latine* Verſes there ingrauen, yet after ſo many yeeres is to be read, although a wheele hath carried away ſome part of the *Latine*: His foot that is double in the foundation which is two Cubits high, is carued the manner and way they tooke to ſet vp this Pyramide or Obeliſke, the which was there rayſed
- 40 by *Theodoſius* in the yeere 390. ſo that it paſſeth 1200. yeeres, ſince it was erected; now that it is in the yeere 1594, and ſeuentie ſixe yeeres after that the Great *Conſtantine* built the Citie. In the ſecond foundation which is foure Cubits high, are carued the Tyrants round about, who to the ſaid Emperour *Theodoſius* (he alſo being carued in the middeſt) on euery ſide bring Preſents and render obedience. This *Piazza* hath alſo another Pillar very high of ſquared ſtone in manner all lineated with the time, and likewiſe one of Braſſe made with maruellous art in forme of three Serpents wreathed together with their mouthes vpwards, which is ſaid, was made to inchant the Serpents that on a time moleſted the Citie. There was betweene the *Agulia* and the Braſſe Pillar, foure very high Pillars equally diſtant with their foundation and top ornament, the which *Sultan Selim*, Father of this preſent *Sultan Morat*, remoued & ſent to *Adrianople* for the
- 50 Church which he there built. This place had alſo before the place of *Ebrim Baſſa* ſome yeeres paſt three faire Images of Braſſe, that the victorious *Sultan Soliman*, after he had taken *Buda*, brought and no other thing, in teſtimonie of his Victorie; they were of the great *Mathia Coruino*, the moſt famous King of *Hungarie*. The ſaid Image, when the named *Ebrim Baſſa* was ſlaine, were by the furie of the people throwne to the ground.
- 60

m In the Mo-
naſtery at Ca-
leos Iland
(where Maſter
Edward Barton
the Ambaſſa-
dor lies buried,
I did ſee, which
they vſe to
knocke vpon,
with a barre of
Iron of a Cu-
bit length:
Tinge, Tange,
Fiſt, vpon one
ſide then on
the other ſide,
a long piece of
flat Iron; halfe
a foot broad,
an inch and
halfe thicke,
ſet edgeling
one yard and
an halfe from
the ground:
this they vſe in
ſtead of a Bell,
to call the
Friers toge-
ther in that
*Greekiſh Mo-
naſterie*.
An Obeliſke.
The Verſes
were added, ſo
imperfect, that
I thought fitter
to omit
them.

Admirable
Vaults.

At the end of this place towards the *Sofia*, are also to be seene certaine ruines of a great circle of a Theator which was there, where the people sate to see the Playes and Pastimes that there were shewed; now it is a place wherein the Lions and other Animals of the Great *Turkes* are kept, one thing resteth in my Iudgement) to be maruelled at, and the most notable in this place which is, that it is all hollow vnderneath, and holden vp with Pillars of rich Marble with their foundation, and top garnishing all wrought in branches. They are said to passe the number of one thousand, and vnderneath it is light and fresh water, there are also Instruments or great wheelles that they vse to spinne Silke with, and not only vnder this void place, but it is held for certayne that vnder all the Citie they may walke, as may be perceiued by many other ruined places; this was very faire to behold some yeeres past, when the present *Sultan Morat* for the space of three or foure moneths made there in Pastimes at the Circumcisiou of his first begotten Sonne *Sultan Mahomet*, it was a maruellous incredible thing, the Shewes and Playes they had at that time.

In another large and spacious place farre from this towards the Port of *Selimbria*, called by the *Turkes Aurat Bazar* (which is as much to say, the Market place of women, for thither they come to sell their Workes and Wares) is to be seene a very high great Pillar, written vpon round about on the out-side, made hollow within, which they commonly call of *Pompey*, perhaps, because it resembleth another that is of *Pompey* in *Rome* of the like Fashion; but I beleue that neither *Pompey* nor other for him, euer caused this to be set vp. Another high Pillar of red Marble bound about with Iron hoopes, is to be seene neere to the Lodging of the Emperours Ambassadour, with certayne Greeke Letters, which time hath consumed and often fires many times burned it, in such sort that they cannot be vnderstood or read.

Naumachia.

There are to bee seene also in the Citie of *Constantinople* certayne very great places of the Ancients called *Naumachia*, which they filled with water, and shewed thereon the battailes of their Nauie to delight the people, which at this time is full of Orchards. There is in the chiefeft places for Traffique of the Citie, two *Basistans*, which are certayne Buildings foure square high, and made round at the top, in the forme of great Lodges couered, each of which haue foure Gates, opening vpon foure streets, round about garnished, with shops stuffed with all rare and exquisite Merchandize, as of inestimable value, Precious Stones and Pearles, (*Zebulini*) Sables, and other rich Furies of all sorts, Silkes and Cloth of Gold, Bowes, Arrowes, Bucklers, and Swords: here likewise they sell many *Christian* Slaues of all Sects and Ages, in manner as they sell their Horses, looking them in the eyes, mouth and all other parts; this they doe every fore-noone, except Friday, which the *Turkes* hold for their day of rest.

Bathes.

There is also to be noted the *Sarachiana*, which is a street of Sadlers, & of them that work in Leather, a thing so worthy and rich that the more part of strangers, who come thither, maruell more at this place then at all the rest of the most worthy and rich that are to be seene in *Constantinople*. The Citie is also full of a number of very faire *Banias*, as well publike as priuate, which in imitation of the Ancient *Greekes* and *Romanes*, are built and contriued with great industry, sumptuousnesse and expence almost incredible, besides those of the Great *Turkes Seraglio*, his women, and *Bassaes*, the most of the common sorts are beautified with Pillars, Bankes and Pavements of diuers and rare coloured Marble: faire they are and very great with plentie of water.

Great mens
Seraglioes.

I let passe the diuers *Seraglioes*, faire Houses of many Vice-royes, old and new, so great and compassed with such high wals, that they rather appeare to bee Cities then *Seraglioes*, which without make no beautifull shew; but within are full of all Riches and Pleasure the World affords; for the *Turkes* are wont to say, that they build not to pleasure the sight of those that passe by the way, but for their owne commoditie: deriding the goodly shewes that our Palaces in Christendome make outwardly, and that within they are not agreeable to their minds.

Conduits.

Heare I would make an end, but I cannot forget the goodly Arches and Conduits of water, which *Sultan Soliman* of good memory brought with incredible expences so many miles by Land, and in so great quantitie; that ouer and aboue so many old Fountaynes, he increased many more with faire Marble so magnificall, and with such quantitie of water that is most notable; being a very necessary ornament to the Citie. There are so many that there is not in a manner a street which hath not one of his, and the greatest prayse in my opinion which he meriteth for so worthy a worke, is that setting a part the expences which he made in conducting this water, and in making the Fountaynes; all the places where he built, he caused to be bought with ready money of the Ownors without forcing any; and oftentimes changed the places appointed, because he would not haue the people lament, who were vnwilling to sell them, and tooke not one Aspar towards the charge. Also being broken, some of the Conduits after they were finished. *Sultan Soliman* said, that he thanked God they were decayed in his time, that he might repaire them without exacting on the people, or that there should haue come another Prince that would not haue regarded them.

The Citie of *Constantinople* in time past had eleuen Gates, every one for some purpose called *Aurea*, *Pagea*, *Roma*, *Carthaseo*, *Regia*, *Caligaria*, *Xilina*, *Haringa*, *Phara*, *Theodosia*, and *Syliaca*. But the continuall fires, the many Earth-quakes, and particularly that which hapned in the

time

time of *Sultan Baiazet* Father of *Selim* the moneth of September, Anno 1509. which lasted eightene dayes together (letting passe the other Buildings in which about 13000. persons perished) it ouerthrew the famous ancient wall; the said *Sultan Baiazet* gathered together more then 60000. men to rebuild it, making new Gates which are at this day five and twentie. They were one lesse, but the *Sultana* Mother of this Emperour made a faire publike *Bania*, few yeeres since, and for the more magnificence opened a new Gate; these following are the names at this present, beginning at the East Gate of the Citie hard by the great *Seraglio*.

Five and twentie Gates.

- The first, *Giebud Capasi*. The Jewes Gate, for thereabout they dwell.
- The second, *Baluc Bazar*. The Fish Gate, for there they sell their Fish.
- 10 The third, *Yemis Eschelessi*. The Fruit Gate, for to that Scale comes their Fruit.
- The fourth, *Odun Capi*. The Wood Gate, there they weigh and sell their Wood.
- The fifth, *Yegni Capi*. New Gate.
- The sixth, *Vn Capan*. The Corne Gate, there they sell their Corne.
- The seventh, *Giubali Capi*. The Moone Gate.
- The eighth, *Aya Capi*. The Holy Gate.
- The ninth, *Yegni Capi*. New Gate: which the Empresse caused to be made.
- The tenth, *Petri Capi*. Saint Peeters Gate.
- The eleventh, *Tener Capi*. The Lanthorne Gate, where *Mahomet* the Second entred, when he tooke Constantinople.
- 20 The twelfth, *Balat Capi*. The Palace Gate, for it was the chiefe Gate in time of the Greeke Emperours.
- The thirteenth, *Aynansari Capi*. *Iobs* Gate, for there they say, hee lyeth buried: it is a little Church, to which the Great Turke goeth often in Deuotion.
- The fourteenth, *Egri Capi*. The Eye Gate.
- The fifteenth, *Anderne Capi*. The Gate of *Andranople*.
- The sixteenth, *Top Capefi*. The Artillerie Gate.
- The seventeenth, *Celebri Capi*. The Gate of *Selembria*.
- The eighteenth, *Yegni Capi*. New Gate.
- The nineteenth, *Yedi Cula*. The Gate of the seven Towres: for so many there are together, neere thereunto, built of the Ottoman Princes, where it is said, they haue in time past put their
- 30 Treasure.
- The twentieth, *Narli Capi*. Gate of the Pomegranates.
- The one and twentieth, *Semati Capi*. Saint Matthews Gate.
- The two and twentieth, *Yegni Capi*. New Gate.
- The three and twentieth, *Cum Capi*. Gate of the Sands.
- The foure and twentieth, *Chiatladi Capi*. The cracked Gate.
- The five and twentieth, *Abircapi*. The Gate of the Stables, where the Grand Signiors Horses are kept.

This is all which at this time commeth to my purpose to say (*A. V. S. Illstre*) hauing spoken only of the bodie of the Citie Constantinople, with the most breuitie and veritie that I could possible; not touching the matters of the *Aynansaria*, (where the Turkes say, is buried patient *Job*) and where are many Sepulchres of much importance, of the chiefe *Bassas* and other great men, holden of them for holy ground, neither touch I the Citie *Pera* (a Colonie in time past of the *Genueses*) *Tophana*, or *Scutari*; for it would bee needfull of them to make a long Discourse, leauing the same vntill some other occasion that you please to command me, and if herein be any error; let the small time I had to write it excuse me, and supply the same with the good will I haue to serue you. And seeing this Discourse accepted, I will present you also with a Summarie of the Liues and Deeds of the Ottoman Princes; which I am gathering together with the greatest breuitie and veritie that I can possible. At Constantinople presented me, written by a Jew Doctor, an ancient dweller in that Citie, which when I had read, I presently out of Italian translated it, the seuenteenth and eighteenth dayes of August, 1594.

Sepulchres

¶ V.

The Pilgrimage of *IOHN SANDERSON* from Constantinople, to the Holy Land, and so to Tripoly in Syria, begunne the fourteenth day of May, 1601. ended the fourteenth of August.

- 60  He fourteenth day of May, 1601. we set saile in the good ship called the *Mermaid* from Constantinople, so to Galipoly, Troy, Sio, Rhodes, and the first day of Iune arriued at Zur, which is Tyrrus: passed by *Sarfanta*, in time past *Sarepta*, anchored and went ashore at *Sidon*, now called *Saiet*, where the third day of the same we visited the Sepulchre

pulchre of *Zebulon*. *Sophani* the Prophet, and *Basaleel* which built the Arke, buried halfe a dayes journey from *Sidon*.

Tobar Asladi.

Iewes Bookes.

The ninth, I departed in company of *Iewes*, and arriued in *Damasco*, the twelfth, passing by *Samcania*, *Baruck*, *Hermiston*, *Libiton*, foure Mountaynes so called. The nineteenth, I went to a Towne within three miles of *Damasco*, now called *Iobar Asladi*, where *Elias* did anoint *Azael*, *Iehu*, and *Elisha*; the *Iewes* hold that like as in Mount *Horeb*, so heere *Elias* hid himselfe in a Rocke from *Iesabel*, where also they say the *Rauens* fed him. Here is built a Synagogue of the *Iewes*, in which is solemnely reserued their chiefest ancient written Books, and thither they go to worship with great deuotion. The sumptuouslest matter to be noted is the Church which hath twelue Gates of Brasse, excellent *Corinthian* Metall, the middle one of each three being bigger and higher then the two on each side) curiously wrought, (it is now called *Bedremon*. Here it was that the Idoll *Rimmon* was worshipped, it is iust square, three doores on each side. Any man may passe by the doores (being they are open to foure publike places) but not any enter other then are of the *Mahumetan* Religion, many Pillars there are, but two especially noted about the rest in respect of some passed matter. Hither it was that *Naaman* the *Affyrian* desired the Prophet *Elisha*, after hee had beene healed of his Leprosie, to licente him to bring from *Samaria*, which at this day is called *Shomrom* (the said Prophets Country) two Mules lading of Holy Land to build an Altar vnto God; which the Prophet denied him not, and there are also foure Riuers called *Barada*, *Towra*, *Tesed*, *Cananat*, two of which are *Abana* and *Pharpar*: which *Naaman* said (murmuring) were fairer then all the Riuers of *Israel*, when the Prophet bad him goe wash himselfe in *Iordan*, to heale his disease.

Silke Girdles, Shashes, Bodkins, &c. fit to sell in Sio and Natolia.

I remayned ten dayes in *Damasco*, by reason that my rich Companion *Iew*, bespake much Merchandize to be readie at his returne, left there tenne or twelue thousand Duckets of Gold; which for surer conueyance he had carried quilted in his owne and Seruants vnder-garments: all he left in a friends hands, except two or three thousand which he spent of Almes, and disbursed for Bookes in the Holy Land; that money he reserued still in their quilted Coats, fearing theues which abound in these Countries.

This Bridge as I doe remember, is strong built of stone, some Bricke, & hath seven or eleuen Arch as I remember.

From *Damascus* to *Sasa*, the two and twentieth, so to *Conetra*, neere Mount *Hermon*, whose Eastermost part confineth the Countries of *Reuben* and *Gad*, then to *Naube* the Countrey, where was borne the Virgin *Ebrew*; whom *Naaman* had taken Captiue, shee counselled that her Master should goe and be cured of the Prophet in *Shomrom*. Here likewise I saw the Lake I could not be certified the Name, it is in the Country of the *Gergesites* where the Legion of Devils entered into the Swine. Then to the Bridge vpon *Iordan*, on the right hand is the little Sea *Cadis*, on the left *Genazeret*, a little on this side that Bridge, as the *Iewes* to mee reported, the Angell wrestled with *Iacob*, had passed ouer his Wiues, Children, Family, and Cattel; fearefully he meeting his Brother *Esan*, who receiued him kindly; then wee came to a Mountayne which they called Mount *Canaan*, and on the backe side of that Mountayne towards the right hand, came to the high Countrey of *Galilee*, passed by some Townes, and so to a Citie called *Safet*, the foure and twentieth of Iune: here the *Iewes* look for their *Messias* to appeare vpon a most high Mountaine adjoyning, which as I remember they called Mount *Caram*. Heere on this Mount *Canaan*, *Mahaleel* a *Iew* Priest that had beene about in gathering (he told me he had got but five hundred Chequins in Gold, and had them about him) for the *Iewes* of the Holy Land did bid mee marke the current of the River *Iordan*, which seemed to stand and slowly beare towards *Tiberias* and *Sodome*, but withall a forceable current, did runne in the middest backe againe towards the Bridge, and so to fall into *Cades*, toward *Ior* and *Dan*, from whence the whole River of *Iordan* doth take his increase.

In this Citie of *Safet* are all the most learned and deuout *Iewes*: and here are fixe Colledges or Schooles of Learning, this they call the *House of God*, and many aged goe purposely to dye there: this is *Bethel* where *Iacob* slept and dreamed in the way he went to serue his Vncle *Laban*, afterward returned, dwelt there and built an Altar to the Lord, the Citie of old was called *Lus*. Built it is on the top of a high Mountayne; and compassed about with many Mountaynes, which are both high and steepe, but the highest is that adjoyning, where I say (they affirme) the *Messias* wil come; on the top of the Mountain where this Citie is, is the exceedingest old Cattle that I haue seene or heard off, except a part of that at *Hebron*, and alike the ruines of *Tiberias*, where I was at my returne from *Ierusalem*. At the foot of the said Citie *Safet*, is interred the Prophet *Osea*, Sonne of *Beer*, first of the twelue Prophets (so say the *Iewes*) ouer his Sepulchre is built a *Cube* not very old, and the *Iewes* now doe bury their dead at that place.

At Sefferhittim we repoled the heate of that day.

Then we passed by a little Village, where dwelt and is buried the Prophet *Abakuke*, so said the *Iewes*, and that the Towne was called *Teacoke*; thence wee came to a Village called *Sefferhittim*, where they say is buried *Iethro* the Father in Law of *Moses*: then wee came to *Aionto-sar* at the foot of Mount *Tabor*, on the top of which Mount our Saviour *Iesus Christ* transfigured himselfe talking with *Elias* and *Moses*; with him was *Peter*, *James* and *Iohn*: (leaning on the right hand, the place where was the Warres with *Sisera* and *Deborah*; and on the left, the River *Chison*: *Sisera* fled to *Sefferhittim*, where *Iael* killed him, and from thence by a Village called *Zarni*,

Zarni, the place is called *Isarel*, so wee passed the Valley of *Iesserell*; here *Iehu* fought the battell with *Ababs* sonne. So we came to *Ienin*, of old time *Ingenin*, interpreted, is *Paradise so pleasant*; that is the place and situation that well may be called *Paradise*; it may be assuredly compared to the Citie of *Palme* trees spoken of in Scripture, so pleasant and prospectiue, it is with also Woods of very many *Palme* trees replenished.

But the Valley wherein *Damascus* is built, is much more fairer to the eye, pleasanter and larger.

The twentieth sixe, we passed by *Dotana*, in Scripture called *Dotan*, or *Dotban*, the place where *Iosephs* brethren cast him into the pit. From thence wee passed the Mountaines of *Gilboa*, where *Saul* and his sonnes were slaine: on the right hand a faire off wee saw the Sea *Palestine*, thence we passed a place now called *Sabastia*, in Scripture *Shomron*, that is, *Samaria*, a Citie of *Ahab*, a pleasant situation on the top of the Mountaine, but not very high. From thence to *Sichem* the twentieth eight of the same, which is ^a situate betweene two Mountaines, Mount *Gerezin*, that is the Mount of Blessing, and Mount *Ebal*, that is, the Mount of Cursing; euen betweene these two Mountaines, a little before wee came to the Citie, is a great Conduit of very good water, twentieth paces before, which is a piece of ground marked out by two short Pillers of plaine white Marble: There was some notable thing done in *Moses* or *Iosias* time, else I suppose there stood the stone whereon the seuentie heads of *Gedeons* sonnes, *Abimelecks* brothers were piled.

Samaria.

^a At *Sichem* wee lodged both at our going, and at our returne from *Ierusalem*.

Betweene the said Mountaines at the Easter-most of them was interred *Iosephs* bones, where the *Iewes* prayed as alike at all the Sepulchers they went to visit, and about five miles off, neere to a Village called *Awarta*, are buried vpon a Hill on the Mount, ^a amongst the Mountaines of *Ephraim*, the two sonnes of *Aaron*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, and *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eliazar*: and hard by vpon another Hill are the ^b seuentie antients buried all in one plot, one Caue, one Sepulcher, these antients of *Israel* are spoken of in Scripture. Also some two miles further neere the tops of one of the highest said Mountains of *Ephraim*, is the Sepulcher of *Iosua*, kept by the *Moores* as the others are, this we did very wel discern. The *Iewes* at all pay pole pence, some more, some lesse to the *Moores*, before they be permitted to say their Ceremonies.

^a Here all the *Iewes* of our company prayed very deuoutly.

^b As the *Iew* to me reported.

^c Here we rested two or three

houres. Old great stony ruines of a Citie. No Inhabitants there, and many other ruined places wee

trauelled ouer, where had beene Townes, but now were craggd

stones, and here and there some plots of ground

where they sowed Corne: bread very plente and cheape in the

Citie of *Ierusalem*, and all places that we came at

in the holy Land; and also at *Damascus* and all *Syria* ouer.

^d *John Sanderson* in companie of the *Iewes* his fellow traellers.

^e Tedious iourney I made, yea a very chargeable and dangerous

iourney; for had not *Rabby Abraham*, *Cohn*, the principalls, and the other *Iewes*

also fauoured and much regarded me: I had beene

singled out by some villanous *Moores* of our owne company,

who grudged at me, and at last one of them, that we had hired our

Mules of, did punch at me with a staffe, reuiling me with *Bre* *han*

zier *Goner*, saying that I had beene the cause that

Maronis, the *Christians* of Mount *Libanus* had broke the head of a *Ta*

The thirtieth of Iune, wee came to *Biera*, in Scripture called *Beroth*, in the Countrie of *Beniamin*; this Citie is five miles short of *Ierusalem*, *Rama* is to bee discerned three or foure miles, on the right hand going to *Ierusalem*. This day we arrived in *Ierusalem*; vpon high ground we had trauelled when we drew neere the Citie, though most of the way were rockie and stony, yet now we might euidently see a signe of a long broad high way all craggd, with cornered diffused stones that no beast could trauell ouer, so that along hard by the said way through the fields all traellers passe, yet that also very stony and craggd, but they are not so big as those on the foresaid high way. Then being within a mile we had sight of *Ierusalem*, which to our view was most excellently situated on Hills, and compassed with other huge Hills round about, some neere, some many miles off. The adornement of waters it wanteth, for there are not any beautifull neere it: *Jordan* onely we might see a great way off, which *Jordan* is North-east of *Ierusalem* about nine or ten miles. The neereft part Eastward *Jordan* passeth the Lake of *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, and so commeth along towards *Ierusalem*, which is some fifteene or sixteene miles off; so we entred at the gate opening to *Damasco*, which I take to be South, and to the Westward.

The second of Iuly ^d, we went to *Rama*, to the Prophet *Samuel* his house, vwhere the *Iewes* say he was buried; vpon the top of the said house is the place where the children of *Israel* had their haire cut off, at vvhich time they made vowes, gaue great sums to the *Sanctorum*: at this day there are of the *Iewes* that vow & performe, carrying their children to haue their haire cut there for deuotion; on the right hand is a Well vvhich is called *Samuels* Well, other matters here I obserued not. Many and sundry ruinated both great and small Townes, I passed in the Holy Land, both outward and backe againe, vvhich to my desire I could not be informed the names of: as may bee imagined by these nominated in the tedious ^e iourney I made.

In *Ierusalem* is a little part of the wall of *Salomons* Temple (so say the *Iewes*) vnder the said piece of wall is the place vwhere the high Priest went to wash himselfe, within is a stone of twentieth sixe braces long, and twelue broad; in that Temple the Greekes say the holy Ghost came to the Apostles: in these times no Christian nor *Iew* is suffered to enter that Church on paine of death; a broad going vp also there is of Marble steps, and on the tops of the stayres two white Marble pillars, not very big; vpon these steps none dare come except *Turkes* and *Moores* of the best account, this is there held by Christians of the place to bee *Salomons* Porch. The mount on which the Temple is built, is called in Greeke *Thusia tou Abram*, where *Abraham* would haue sacrificed his sonne: this is mount *Moria*; where to this day I say is curiously kept part of *Salomons* Temple, the *Turkes* hauing bestowed very great cost in re-building and leading it all ouer. It is formed, one part a round Cube, close to which cube goeth, as it were ascending a long bridge of building leaded, comparable to the Easter-most part of *Pauls*, but seemeth some-

60

Marie, who by the way fell into our company hauing beene at *Mecca*. Of this *Marie* ouer night they had asked a little gun-powder, which he deeming they met him on the Hill in the morning and did sore wound him: the *Turkes* did marke that those *Christians* had been kinde to me, therefore by that one old collicke fellow I did with patience pocket some abuse, though no great hurt. Abuse for the present, but at *Tripoly* the *Iewes* so handled this businesse, putting the *Moore* in a great feare that I would complaine to the *Bassa*; so that in their presence the *Moore* prayed mee of pardon, and withall did bow downe and kist my hand, seeming sorry he had so abused me; nay very sure I am that he did repent, so I forgane him, and hee afterward did bring me a present of fruit and flowers.

what

what flatter and broad, with the leads more cheuerend and of a deeper worke, and at the end a proportionate forme seeming higher then the rest of the leaded worke.

Ierusalem hath only foure gates, at one of which is the Tower of *Dauid*, where he fell enamoured with *Bertheba*, as those fondlings say. Without the said gate, a stones cast from the corner of the wall on the top of Mount *Sion* are buried *Dauid*, *Salomon*, and most of the Kings of *Iuda*; here neither *Iewes* nor *Christians* are suffered to enter, neither permitted to come neere the walls in sight of *Turkes* and *Moores*; such as peradventure doe, are forced to pay summes of money to their vttermost abilitie. On the out-side of the aforesaid piece of the Cities wall appeareth apart, as the *Iewes* to mee reported, of the old wall of the studie of *Salomon*, vpon one of the stones wherof is written in *Hebrew* letters carued בתי that is *Bitti*, which interpreted is to say, my house: 10 here for two dayes I left the company of my great companion *Iew*, and had attendant on mee a *Coloiero*, a *Greeke* Priest, which the Patriarke commanded, to shew me all the notable places in and about *Ierusalem* and *Bethalem*. This holy Priest had continued one whole yeere in the Church where they say our Sauour was buried, and for that space neuer came out night nor day, so doing of his owne will onely in deuotion; he chiefly attended me, with other *Greeke* Friers at my pleasure: likewise also a poore *Iew* of *Ierusalem* whom I hired to bee still with mee, partly to interpret, for the Friar *Greekes* speake but meane *Italian*, and my selfe vnderstood but little *Greeke*.

First, the *Coloiero* went and shewed mee the gate where our Sauour entred when they cryed *Hosanna*, *efsemati*, after which wee viewed *Caiphas* Palace, *Pilats* Palace (the ruines, remaining as now they say) and alike the Marble pillar of diuers colours at which Christ was whipped; it 20 standeth distant from the house: ouer the way wee passe through somewhat high, a place neere to that where was a water called *pronatichi*, *colinithra*, a maruellous great dry ditch which came to the prison or deepe durty dungeon, wherein the *Iewes* Princes in *Zedechias* time caused *Ieremie* the Prophet to be put. He found fauour of the Kings chiefe Eunuch a Blacke-moore, who drew him out, hee standing halfe way in the mud, as by the Scripture appeareth: these *Greekes* hold that hee was throwne amongst Lions, who licked him in stead of deuouring, and that at last the *Iewes* caused him to be sawed in sunder.

These Lamps
did hang, burning
ouer the
Virgins tombe.

Then went wee to the Virgin *Maries* Sepulchre, a space without the walls of the Citie, in a little Chappel going down many steps, the stayres very broad; on the right hand, as it were, halfe the steps down lieth buried her father and her mother, the Virgin below in a roome a part, where 30 in were only seuen Lampes burning; her stone is of streaked Marble of diuers colours, her Tombe not so high as a mans waste from the ground. My *Greeke* Priest shewed great deuotion at this Sepulchre (so did hee at the place where our Sauour sweat water and blood, and at the ascension place on top of Mount *Oliuet*.) A Well of good water is also at the foot of the stayres; then to the place where Saint *Steuens* was stoned; (the *Greekes* say our Sauour had made him an Arch-deacon) so to *Iesami* where Christ was in a bloody sweat (here I prayed) and likewise I saw the place where the Apostles slept; then to the place where hee taught his disciples the *Pater noster*, the *Greekes* call it *Pater emos*: and where he stood when hee wept ouer *Ierusalem*, and the place where hee was betrayed by that reprobate seruant *Iudas*.

Then walking further on the side of this Mount *Oliuet*, wee saw the Garden where *Mary* 40 met our Sauour after his resurrection. From this part of the Mountaine is seene a farre off the Lake of *Sodome*, through the which runneth the River *Jordan*. Then to *Orosteolo*, the place of Christs ascension, which is on the very top of this Mount *Oliuet*, a stone yet remaining wherein is the print of a foot: all those *Christians* hold assuredly, that it is the signe of our Sauours foot, most formall and proportionably it is to bee perceiued, but worne much by the touching and kissing of *Christians*: here I prayed and hope my Sauour beheld mee. The like square stone white Marble, wherein is the print of the other foot, was stolne from hence and carried to *Rome*; so say these *Greekes*.

f Hauing read
the name of
Iefferie Kerby,
vpon the wall
written by
himselſe in
that Sepulcher,
for he had been
a thither tra-
ueller in com-
pany of *Ed-
ward Abbot*, *M.
Bidulſe* a pre-
acher, and one
Ieffyent a
jeweller.

Then to *Bethſage*, the Village where the Colt was loſed; so along ouer againſt it wee came to *Bethania*, the *Greekes* call it *Vithania*. In this Towne they also affirme, that our Sauour eate the 50 *Paſſeouer* with his disciples; here was *Lazarus* raised, who had beene dead foure dayes, in whose Sepulchre I was, wherein I writ my name on the wall, and not in any other place all my pilgrimage. This *Lazarus*, as the *Greekes* hold, was afterward Bishop of *Larnaca*, in *Cyprus* thirtie three yeeres, where at a Church so named, they say, hee lyeth buried; truth it is of such a faire Church so called in such a Towne of *Cyprus*, where foure yeeres past I was; but of the bones of *Lazarus* to be there it is vncertaine to mee. Also the *Greekes* affirme, that Saint *Ellen*, the mother of *Constantine* the Great, is likewise buryed in the said Island of *Cyprus*, on a mountaine, which at this day is called after her name: shee was erecter of all these Churches, alike repairer and obseruer of all these holy places in the holy Land.

Then returned we backe againe to the water of *Siloam*, where our Sauour commanded a blind 60 man to wash his eyes, after hee had with earth and spittle touched them, this is at the foot of Mount *Sion*. Vpon the side of Mount *Oliuet* is buried *Hulda* the Prophetesse, there in the middelt of Mount *Oliuet* was the Altar where they burnt the Red Cow: In a Caue on the right hand are the Sepulchers of *Haggi*, and *Malachi*, *Zacharia* is buryed below. Neere to the Sepulchre of *Zacharia*

Zacharia is the tombe of *Absolom*, made of seven stones, and a sharpe pinnacle on the top: at which Monument the *Moors* of the Countrey when they passe by at this day, throw stones, with railing speeches at him for rebelling against his father. Betweene the places of *Zacharia* and *Absalom*, is a plot where in old time they put the vncleane apart to purge themselves; this was the Poole of *Bethesda*, into which the Angel descended at certaine times and troubled the waters. The Scripture speaketh of five Porches; but I noted not when I was there, neither to me by my *Greekes* was mentioned, as I remember, any such matter. And there is the Valley of *Iosaphat*, betweene Mount *Morea* and Mount *Olivet*, where the *Iewes* say the world must bee iudged; most huge stone of incredible bignesse is here to be seene, out of some of which are carued whole houses, two or three I did see, one of which had diuers parted roomes all hewed out of one stone: these in respect of the painfull workmanship I thought notable; as alike a mile off from *Ierusalem* is a place of buriall, out of a rocke of one Marble stone hewed, with foure doores to foure sundry roomes, and foure coffins of the said stone, but the bodies turned to dust, and the bones not any remaining, except very small pieces. This place or rocke is called *Celbasabua*; this may well bee the Caue wherein the five Kings hid themselves. Then went I to *Esaia* the Prophet his Sepulcher, where I beheld the fig-tree, vnder which the *Greekes* say that the sonnes of *Ieremie* slept sixtie three yeeres: their names were *Varub* and *Abdimeleck*; this may be thought a fallacy in respect of the fig-tree which cannot be of that age; but they say, it is and hath bin euer since replanted of the branches in that selfe place.

Then went I to the Sepulcher of good old *Simeon*, from thence to a place (neere vnto the Church and Sepulcher where the *Christians* affirme the bodie of our Sauour was layd) a place, I say, called *Anastasia*, where *Mary* met our Sauour after his resurrection, saying, *If thou bee the Gardener, tell mee where thou hast layd him*. Ouer against the Church doore, in a place where *Iesus* our Redeemer and Sauour shed his most precious blood, paying the ranfome of our sinnes was cruelly crucified, I say where the Crosse stood, is at this day a prison & in the Church, whose distance is twentie or twentie five paces, are diuers Altars of diuers sorts of *Christians*; but first I noted in the Church doore two great holes, at which is daily giuen in the victuals to all the sorts of religious persons which keepe continually in the said Church; for the *Turkes* neuer open the doore, except for some Pilgrime, who first payeth to the *Cadie*, which is the chiefe Iustice, the Great *Turkes* due, vpon euery one vnder the Popes banner, which they call *Franks*, nine *Chequins* in gold, and *Greekes* vnder the Patriarke foure and a halfe, with other *Christians* alike, some lesse. Six officers of the *Turks* at least comes to open the doore, which house being opened, all *Christians* that are of that sort who hath payed, may enter the Church with that one, if it be registred that they formerly had payed; but *Turkes* and *Moors* may at all times goe in when the doores are opened for any sort of *Christian*, but must presently come out againe; the *Christian* for whom the gate was opened, may at his pleasure lye all night, or two or three nights in the Church if he will, and the *Turkes* Officers returne to open and let them out.

Diuers little Bell-strings there are at the inside of their doores, which rung euery sort of Friers to come downe into the Church to receiue their victuall, or take out pitchers of water to poore folkes, or other actions that may happen. Some eight or nine paces in, is the Sepulcher vpon which they haue made a formall round worke of twelue white Marble Pillers, two and two together, and leaded with a round Cube on the top; open ouer is the Church, with a kind of round building, open I say ouer the said inward proportionate matter, that alike is leaded on the outside very substantially: within the Church I say about that part where the Tombe is, are twelue other coloured great Marble Pillers; those Pillers vpon it formerly spoken of, stand about a Brace from the ground, and a wooden foot-pace vp equall with it some five paces distant. At the end towards the Altars are on each corner one white little Marble stone squared smooth, but not made like Pillers, and are some two foot high; in the midst of the white Marble Pillers ouer the Tombe is three holes made of stone, out of which once a yeere the Popish Friers make artificiall fire to appeare, perswading the *Christians* that it hath bene euer since the bodie of *Christ* was there layd.

Right afore vp in the Church is a great white Canopie, vnder which are diuers pictures and lamps, but in the midst hangs a most stately white Crosse of siluer curiously made; the Altars are more vp in the Church aboue that Canopy: many Idolatrous *Christians* haue their Altars euery sort apart, to say an Altar for the *Romanists*, for the *Greekes*, for the *Custies* of *Cairo*, *Georgians* about the Blacke Sea, *Armenians* of *Persia*, *Abbasies* of *Ethiopia*, *Nestorians* of *Bagdat*, *Iacobites* of *Aleppo*, *Merdi*, and *Babylon*, *Maronites* of Mount *Libanus*, *Shemsi* in *Siria* and *Cilicia* a kind of Family of Loue. In the Sepulcher these sorts of *Christians* haue their Lamps continually burning, to the number (as say the *Greeke* Friers) of sixtie sixe, and alike haue their superstitious Crosses apart; I went not downe into the Sepulchre, by reason I had a great controuersie with the Popish Friers, but might haue done in their despight, had I not bene entreated by the *Greeke* Patriarke and others to auoyd an vproare at that time; yet made I those foolish Idolaters spend much money, and at last they sent to intreat mee: but then I would not, hauing to my content seene enough when the doores were opened for mee, and alike out of the Patriarkes house which

At this day a prison, in this prison *M. Henry* *Timberly*, alias *Capitaine Timberly* was, as by this digressing paper appeareth, which he himselfe recordeth in a printed booke; but thus much I had copied from his owne hand.

More *M. Timberly* relateth that from *Grand Cairo* to *Ierusalem* all the way by land he performed this, and backe againe to *Cairo* in fewer then fiftie dayes.

h I had paid these nine *Chequins*, and had by the *Turkes* the Church doore opened for me, was within, & entering the Sepulcher, the *Roman* Friers and others fell in an vproare, saying that I was a *Jew*; the *Turkes* had me goe in in despight of them, but the brabble was so terrible that I returned to the *Cadie*, with the Friers: the *Padre* *Gordiano* sent his Drudgeman and accused me to be a *Jew*, because I came in company of *Iewes*: diuers *Turkes* followed to heare the matter, one old *Turke* came & earnestly exhorted me to become a *Musselman* in presence of the *Cadie*, I gaue him the hearing, and told him that I was a *Christian*, and no *Jew*; then he said in the hearing of all the *Iewes*, *Turkes*, and *Christians*, let him bee searcht: but the *Cadie*, before whom we were (being a very discreet man) did reprove that *Turke* & also the Drudgeman and Friers my accusers, and so did dismisse me; but (as I was afterwards told) it cost my aduersaries aboue 200. *Chequins*, I spent not past some twentie in that businesse,

ioyneth to the Church, in whose possession the whole steeple and halfe the *Tarras* is (halfe I say of one side the Church) where are three great grates of Iron open, seruing to giue light into the Church, and where they let downe daily baskets of victuals for the *Greeke* Friers there abiding; those grates are aboue a mans length, and five or sixe foot broad, at which I did see as much as if I had stood in the Church, and drew with my pen the forme of the inside, and alike the outside. More lower in a roome, at a window out of the Patriarkes house, I stood and drew the forme of that which is erected right ouer the Sepulchre, as I haue described it.

From *Ierusalem* halfe way to *Bethlehem*, is a *Greeke* Chappell (built by *Brittish Hellen*, the mother of *Constantine*; who found, they say, the Crosse of Christ; and erected all the Monuments in the Holy Land) in place where *Elias* his house stood; ouer against which there is a stone in the high way that sheweth an old Monument print of a man leaning sleeping, with his arme vnder his head. The *Greekes* affirme it most certainly to be the print of *Elias* bodie, when the Angel bad him eate and make himselfe strong to goe fortie dayes iourney to Mount *Oreb*, where for a time hee remained fed of Rauens, and after at Gods command arose and went to *Damasco* to appoint *Hazael*, *Iehu*, and *Elisha*. No remembrance at this place of the Iuniper tree the Scripture speakes of, but a Fig tree there is betweene *Ierusalem* and *Bethlehem*, which the Friers shewed mee, saying that the Virgin rested her selfe against it, when shee fled into Egypt with the child *Iesus*, and her husband *Ioseph*. They cut thereof little pieces for relikes, and alike in deuotion they at this day make many formall carued Crosses wherein are relikes, and Beads, & they make *Pater noster*s as they call them of the *Oline* trees which grow vpon Mount *Oliuet*. Likewise there they told mee (an vnlikely thing it was) that the withered Figge tree which Christ accursed, is yet standing vpon Mount *Oliuet*.

From the Figge tree before spoken of, one halfe mile, is *Rachels* Tombe ¹ in the midst of the high way, in sight whereof on a great Bankeside, is finely situate a pretty Towne on the right hand as we went to *Bethlehem*, and two miles off is *Bethlehem*, being on a Hill side situate very pleasantly: the high way and land chaulkie the space of halfe a mile euery way round about it. A Church the mother of *Constantine* hath built ouer the place where our Sauour was borne, and first worshipped of the Shepherds, and then of the Wise-men, before *Ioseph* and *Mary* fled with him into Egypt, where also I haue beene some seuentene yeeres since, as in discourse of my former trauels is recorded. The *Romanist* Friers haue a Chappell going downe vnder this Church, where they haue continually Masse, and ceremoniously keepe the very place of his birth. The Church hath fortie or fiftie very faire Marble Pillers all of one forme and bignesse (I counted them ^m not) it hath beene a very sumptuous Church, *Greeke* pictured Saints yet remayning in the vpper end of it, which is in forme round, with large steps to goe vp to the Altar, and on both sides vnderneath halfe round steps to goe downe to the Popes Friers *persingute*, who haue the custodie of the very place of birth, and where the Manger stood. By a gray-headed *Greeke* Priest and Frier *Gretian* my attendant, I was brought vp a payre of stayres, going vp at the vpper end of this great Church aloft to a little Chappell, where are many pictures according to the *Greekes* manner, but especially a large Saint *George*; before whom they had a Lampe burning, expecting of mee great deuotion, they vnto it making many crosses, and told me he was Saint *George*. I answered, that I had neuer seene a bigger: they fixed earnest lookes vpon me at that answer, seeing I regarded it not, and the old man told the other in *Greeke* he thought I was no *Christian*, because I made no crosse nor reuerence neither, as hee said, to our Ladies, Christs, Saint *George*, or to other Saints pictures; his fellow, a foolish Frier, told him that those of my Countrey were *Christians* of the worlds end: I presently turned them both out of their talke, by hastning to bee gone thence.

But they led me vp to the top of the Church which is leaded, & many *Christians* had there ingrauen their names, so did not I, then they offered mee kindly to stay and dine with them, but I refused. The old Priest required of me almes towards their Lamps, which I did, giuing to them foure Chequins, and came downe the same way I went vp, through the Chappell full of painted (most sorts and sizes) Saints. In which Chappell also is a Well where ordinarily the *Christians* draw water, and it is, they say, the best in *Bethlehem*: they draw of it in that place, being neere the top of the Church: but that within the Church (it stands at the very entrance within) I take to be the Well that *Dauid* desired to drinke of from the hands of his valiant men: The *Papists* hold neither of both, but say it is another neere *Bethlehem*.

So we returned to *Ierusalem* the same afternoone, and in *Ierusalem* my holy *Coloyro* led mee to a Monastery of *Greeke* Nuns, where I bestowed some mony in trifles of needle-worke wrought by them, and there the Nuns required my beneuolence, I gaue them seuen Chequins; then presently not farre from that, he had me to another Monastery of Nuns, where I saw their Chappell full of very fine pictures, and they told me that a man comes daily to doe their seruice; there I did as at the other, and more I bestowed in buying, for there they graced me with the sight of a very faire young Virgin Nun, that so much beautie and youth I could doe no lesse then praise, and pittie her estate to my *Coloyro*, who was readie the next day to attend mee thither againe, if so had beene my pleasure to haue bought more new workes of the old Nuns, &c.

With Gold and thankes I rewarded his passed paines, leauing him at that time: and to my Pilgrime,

k Of these Crosses & Pater-noster Beades, Rosaries, I did bring from thence, and at my returne presented my brother and some others, hauing onely referred for my selfe one Crosse, two paire of Beads, and two Girdles, which are the length of the Sepulcher. These Crosses, Beades, and Girdles are brought to vs by poore *Christians* to sel, they saying that they are holy things, for that they had been put into the Sepulcher: I, as the custome was, and as other *Christians* did, did buy of them & brought from thence.

I When I was there, Anno 1601. ouer the graue of *Rachel*, there was a Cube raised vpon foure Pillers made of stone and mortar, and open it was on all sides. m And yet it comes in my mind that I did tell them, and I thinke they were in number fortie of verie smooth whitish Marble, the vpper end of this Church, the halfe round mounting steps I meane, are much like those at the Church of *Rocheſter*.

n Amongst which names I did see *Huet Stapers*, who (as some said) had trauelled from *Grand Cairo* thither in Friers weeds, and (as I haue heard) was made a Knight of the Sepulcher, by the *Padre Guardian* and the other *Romish*, &c. Those, who so euer *English* or others, who are so knighted, are made to take a mad kind of oath.

grime mates the *Jewes* I returned; and prosecuting my purpose desired, I againe further traced the *Holy Land*, where two miles from *Bethleem* are to bee seene two Vallies, then Rivers, now *Drie*; which the *Jewes* say *Salomon* digged to water the Woods. A little way off on the left hand is buried *Gad*, one of the twelve Patriarchs, and halfe a mile on this side *Hebron* is the Valley *Eshcol*, where the twelve Spies sent by *Moses* were, they returned with good newes. At this day there are Grapes * in that Valley growing, one bunch of them weigh eight or nine Okes, as those of the Countrey affirmed, which may be of our weight twentie or one and twentie pound. I saw none such, though some there were very great sprung out, but not neare ripe. This was the fifth of July, 1601. At the end of this Valley *Eshcol* is *Hebron* the Citie, the Valley is a long mile before you come to it, all planted with Vines and many Trees. In this Citie is the Sepulcher of *Abraham*, the *Jewes* hold that there also are buried *Adam* and *Eve*, *Sara*, *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, *Jacob* and *Lea*. Into this Tombe not any are suffered to enter, but at a square hole through a thicke wall: they may discerne a little light of a Lampe. The *Jewes* doe their Ceremonies of Prayer, there without. The *Moores* and *Turkes* are permitted to have a little more sight, which is at the top where they let downe the Oyle for the Lampe, the Lampe is a very great one continually burning. An exceeding old Castle (but of late time somewhat repaired) joyneth to it on the one side: a Moschea that is a Church of *Moores* on the other, and it seemeth to bee within part of the Moschea. At the right side of *Hebron* on the Mount, is the Sepulcher of *Iesse*, the Father of *Dauid*, and in the Citie also is the Tombe of *Abner*. On the North side of *Hebron* is the Playne of *Mamre*, where hee received the Angels into his Tent.

* *Eshcol Grapes* still great bunches.

This we went not to, but might perceiue it a pretie way off; and riding backe to *Ierusalem* also wee saw the Lake of *Sodom*, and all the Countrey thereabouts: but thither wee went not. From thence the length of the Riuer *Jordan*, most pleasant to behold in the way wee trauelled through the Countrey, yet was I not that I know of, at that very place where *Iohn* baptised our Sauour *Christ*: notwithstanding I washed my hands and head, and dranke of the Riuer in diuers places, as if you haue and doe marke this Discourse, may bee perceiued.

* *Jacobs Well* is iust square, about foure yards euery way, built of some squared stones and not very deepe, but excellent cleere and coole, so flat at the top that we did sit vpon it for our ease, recreation and refreshment, the space of one houre parlying.

Vpon thursday the eight of July, 1601. wee departed *Ierusalem*; came backe to *Beer* or *Beeroth*, then to *Sichem* the ninth day; but our Horses, Camels, Mules and Asses, being very hot and wearie, wee stayed and refreshed our selues and them at *Jacobs* * Well, which is about halfe or three quarters of a mile before yee come to *Sichem*. The *Jewes* are there also somewhat ceremonious, the water is excellent good & abundant, being hard by the high-way. There it was that our Sauour talked with the Woman of *Samaria*. In sight of this Well, two stones casts off, are *Iosephs* bones buried, where I had beene with the *Jewes* at my last being in *Sichem*, as I went to *Ierusalem*.

* *Memorandum*, that my honourable and most honest Iew, in a kind sort to doe mee pleasure, was content to goe out of the straight way fixe miles, to shew me the Citie *Tiberias*, and *Capernaum*, where wee lodged that night.

The eleuenth, wee came to *Ienin Paradise*. The twelfth, to the ancient Citie * *Tiberias*, this is built close by the shoare side. From thence wee might see most excellent pleasantly, appearing about the tops of other high Mountaynes, the Citie *Bethel* vpon his Mountayne, the highest Mountayne neare vnto it, whereas I say they affirme, that the *Messias* will come; those for the pleasurablest Mountaynes which in my life time I haue seene, and *Libanus* for the hugest; ouer top of which *Libanus* I haue passed, (the Playne of *Baalgad* at the bottome of Mount *Libanus* to words *Damascus*, is the spaciousest; but the Playne wherein *Damascus* is built, is the pleasantest that any eye can in earth behold.) The Sea *Tiberias*, is in my iudgement at the most fixe or fixe miles * ouer in the broadest place. Heere it was that our Sauour and *Peter* fished, and went ouer when hee fed the fixe thousand. Wee onely remayned heere foure houres, in which time we cast crummes of Bread into that little Sea, and diuers Fish like Carps (but like Carps in scales and of colour, but they were somewhat longer and thinner bellied) came in abundance to the shoare, some small, some great: thence wee passed for * feare of *Arabian* Theeues, which are in troupes about those Countries, pitching their Tents at diuers times in diuers Playnes and fruitful places; liuing a little Common-wealth amongst themselues, subiect to no Law, begetting Children, and breeding vp all sorts of Cattle for their vse. They are of diuers Trades, as Smiths, Shoemakers, Weauers and such like, and amongst them haue excellent running Horses, where-

* And yet by reason of the very high Land on the other side, I may well imagine the breadth to bee three or foure leagues.

50 with they often ride a Theeuing. We came to *Almenia*, which hath beene a great Citie also, seuen or eight miles off, close built by the Sea side, along through which runneth a Channell of *Jordan*; this vndoubtedly is *Capernaum*, for that it is ouer the point of the Land, there wee lodged. So riding vp the higher part of the Countrey, wee came to a reasonable great Towne, which may well bee *Nazareth*, from thence to *Cana*. Wee saw the Riuer *Arnon*, so called as some sayd, being a Riuer it seemed to vs a Poole, apart from this *Jordan*; which *Jordan*, as I haue sayd before, runneth through the Lake of *Sodome*, and alike through the Sea *Tiberias*, which is *Genesaret*, passeth a Bridge and falleth into another little Sea or rather great Poole called *Cadis*. Then progressed we through another excellent scituation where had beene some famous Citie, like to be *Gilgall* or *Nazaret*. For the Patriarch * of *Ierusalem* told me, that comming from *Damascus* ward, we must

* And yet in the foure houres that wee there rested, we fell to the prouant wee brought, and we got foure or fixe of those Fishes fresh out of that Riuer *Jordan*, and did broyle them vpon hot coales, that of wood wee had quickly made for that purpose, and I did eate my part of them so broyled.

60 We came to *Almenia*, which hath beene a great Citie also, seuen or eight miles off, close built by the Sea side, along through which runneth a Channell of *Jordan*; this vndoubtedly is *Capernaum*, for that it is ouer the point of the Land, there wee lodged. So riding vp the higher part of the Countrey, wee came to a reasonable great Towne, which may well bee *Nazareth*, from thence to *Cana*. Wee saw the Riuer *Arnon*, so called as some sayd, being a Riuer it seemed to vs a Poole, apart from this *Jordan*; which *Jordan*, as I haue sayd before, runneth through the Lake of *Sodome*, and alike through the Sea *Tiberias*, which is *Genesaret*, passeth a Bridge and falleth into another little Sea or rather great Poole called *Cadis*. Then progressed we through another excellent scituation where had beene some famous Citie, like to be *Gilgall* or *Nazaret*. For the Patriarch * of *Ierusalem* told me, that comming from *Damascus* ward, we must

* Of this Patriarch I had to his power most louing and kinde entertainment: out of his Librarie I had a very

old new Testament Manuscript *Greeke*, for which I gaue him fixe Chequins in Gold, and I gaue it to my Brother Doctor *Saunderson*, old and torne as it was, yet they the Translators of *Pauls* Epistles at his house in Saint *Laurence* Parish, did make some vse thereof in their Translation. D. *Barlo*, Bishop. D. *Hutchinson*, D. *Spencer*, D. *Felton*, D. *Tighe*, Master *Rabbes*, Master *Fenton*, &c.

needs goe through *Nazareth*. So that I say, either this was *Nazareth*, or that formerly spoken of; but my *Jewes*, neither *Turkes*, could directly aduise me which it was.

So by diuers Townes wee came againe to *Safet*, which is *Bethel*, before spoken of, this was the thirteenth of Iuly, heere the *Jewes* stayed to keepe a solemne Sabbath, were visited of all the Priests in generall, who are cloathed in an outward habit of White, but made of Goates hayre, as are our Grogerains, and some of them in white Grogeraine. With great modestie and holy shew they came one by one to salute, imbracing and conferring some small time, and so departing. These my companions stranger *Jewes*, bought many Bookes, some two or three Mules loadings, which were holy Bookes of the declaration of their Law. To *Christians* they will not sell of some of them for any money, I imagine they thinke it a sinne so to doe. Here they gaue almes, much money, and likewise sod meate, great Caldrons full for the Poore, to euery one a peece at a time, with a loafe of Bread and Portage, with also at other times money; this they did three times in the sixe dayes wee there remayned. I thinke they spent, I say the chiefest *Jew* called *Abraham Coen*, hee I say, gaue away heere at least two thousand Dollers, and one thousand at *Ierusalem*, others in his company according to their abilitie reasonable summes. This all to the poorer sort with their owne hands; but to the greater Doctors and Schooles, they allow yeerely stipend, most or all *Jewes* of abilitie wheresoeuer they remayne, although they goe not to the *Holy Land*, yet such as haue beene there and safely returned, giue great voluntary Almes. For once in their life time, the *Jewes* say, they are bound by the Law of *Moses* to goe thither, if they can or bee able, and the Bones of many dead *Jewes* are carryed to the *Holy Land* and there buried. Wee were fraughted with Wools from *Constantinople* to *Sidon*, in which Sackes as most certainly was told to mee, were many *Jewes* bones put into little Chests, but vnknowne to any of the ship. The *Jewes* our Merchants told mee of them at my returne from *Ierusalem* to *Saphet*; but earnestly intreated mee not to tell it, for feare of preuenting them another time.

The nineteenth, wee came to *Conetra*, the twentieth to *Safa*, and the one and twentieth wee arriued at *Damasco*; entring in at the Gate called *Toma*, which leadeth to *Iobar*. From *Damascus* the eleuenth of August, going out at the Gate called *Amara*. Without the sayd Gate are two great Mountaynes, one of them wee mounted, it is called *Dobonet*, where on the top there is vnder a Cube not leaded, a great huge Foote of stone set vp, in signe (as the *Turkes* say) that *Mahomet* was there, and viewed the Valley wherein the Citie of *Damascus* is built, calling it *Paradise*, most assuredly thence to see the same all along the lly plaine Valley, being rarely mixed with many Trees, most glistering siluer sided shaking leaues, eye cannot behold a more pleasanter sight, the Citie being long and close as it were to the side of the right hand Mountayne. As wee came towards the same from *Sidon*, seemed at our view so mingled amongst the branches all alongst the Valley, that out of doubt branched Damaske tooke the name thereof, if not pattered by it. The other Mountayne is called *Dora*, so wee came to *Seraglio* a Village.

The one and twentieth, we passed the Mountaynes now called *Hagbhet* and *Romani*, in Scripture called *Halacke*, where a farre off wee saw the end of *Hermion*. Close vnder the side of this Mountayne *Halacke*, open to the very midst of the Playne which is betweene it and the Mountayne *Libanon*, is a very great and most ancient Citie, called now *Balbarka*, in which at this day standeth a row of very great Pillers, set vp as is said in *Salomons* time. This Citie in Scripture is called *Baalgad*, old, ruined and vninhabited it is, as I remember. An old Piller also there is in the middest of the Plaine built of squared Stones, yet doubtlesse of much later time then the other Pillers that wee beheld from the Citie. This surely is the Valley of *Gad*. The flat Playne from hill to hill, may bee in bredth some ten, eleuen or twelue miles; the length double: it seemes the pleasantest leuell (as it were a *Sea of Land*) that I haue euer seene, it farre passeth the Playne of *Antioch*.

The thirteenth, wee came to a Village called *Ainat*, at the foote (or rather some fise miles ascended) of Mount *Libanus*, which said Mountaines the tediousst and I thinke the highest trauelled in the world: being the hottest time of the yeere wee passed the very highest top, the foureteenth day of August, 1601. yet some Snow was there remayning, and so extreame cold that my hands were benumd and seemed white all ouer, like vnto a kinde of Frost, but being descended three or foure miles, were againe reuiued as formerly.

At after-noone, wee came to a Village some seuen or eight miles from *Tripoli*, called *Aigdel*, there wee reposed halfe an houre, and so passed some old Townes, among the which is *Acon*, a very strong Fort and Castle full of great Ordnance, heere the *Emier* of *Tripoli* hath his abode. And then wee had sight of one plot of ground in those Mountaines, wherein are growing diuers Cedar Trees: these are of indifferent bignesse but not very huge, the bodie streight, and branches spreading of very excellent shew, the broadest row of them lowest, and so rowes of branches going vp narrower & narrower, vntill at the top they do seeme in a manner sharpe, the fruit growing vp right, vpon the very branches (very finely) the leaues in forme of Rosemary, but rather slenderer and sharper, yet doe they grow in pretie little bunches pert vp right together with the Fruit, but the fruit beareth vp aboue the leaues, with a very small wrie stalke, as it were set into the side of the branch. That same night very late wee came to *Tripoli* safely, the Lord bee euer praised.

a *Jewes* bones carryed to the *Holy Land*.

b Wee traueling betweene *Safa* and *Conetra*, I was told by some, that about this very place it was where Saint *Paul* was stricken off of his Horse, but I could not tell how to belieue them, yet sure I am, that wee did twice passe ouer that very way.

Pleasantnesse of *Damascus*. Branched *Damaske*.

* *Sea of Land*, the Hills a farre off, rising aboue this Playne to our appearance as if we should descrie land, we sayling as it were vpon the Sea, the Valley is so very plain and spacious, most pleasant to behold.

* There is a more common way and lower road-way, but that makes more miles before we come to *Tripoli*.

c Being at *Tripoli*, in Anno 1586, I went diuers times vpon pleasure vpon those *Libanus* Mountayns and gathered of those Cedar branches before I fell sicke.

Memorandum, that, I noted that in all my Pilgrimage, the grauer and better sort of *Iewes*, in whose companie I trauelled, would neuer reason with mee of *Christ*, for offending or being displeasing vnto me, for without scoffing they neuer talke of him or his followers. Yet one day I had from the mouthes of the meaner sort (aged men who professed knowledge in their *Jewish* Religion) an Argument wherein is consideration, and in my opinion a kinde of acknowledgement and confession.

- They said that there was a Stone in the Lords House at *Ierusalem*, in the middest of the world, called *Eucnasediya*, vpon which there was written the Name of God, and that whosoever could get in thither, and returne with it written, might haue what he required and doe what he would.
- 10 Which they said, I E S V S, *Ioseph* the Carpenters Sonne by extraordinary meanes got vnto, and wrote it, and cutting his owne thigh, so hid it, and escaped out of the Temple and sayd, *Tea adoni anni*. But was presently answered, *Mamzer bemitadah*. Which interpreted as the *Iewes* told mee, is, saith *CHRIST*, Let the people serue mee. The Oracle answered, *After death not in life*. Then say they, at first hee began to flie, and make of Earth Birds, with many more such like workes, as these *Iewes* to mee confessed, in an opprobrious and very scornfull manner; adding further, that they marvelled how wee *Christians* could bee so led, by one *Peter*, and *Paul*, *Iohn*, *Marie*, &c. Further adding, that it was not possible for the best Learned amongst all *Christians*, to expound the meaning of the Letter *A*. and that their Doctors could, onely vpon that first letter write whole Volumes, to be studied in vntill the end of the world. And they knew they said,
- 20 that *Ierusalem* should bee built againe, and their *Messias* come to make them Princes, as they haue beene in times past: but then to Gouverne all the world, and that the other dispersed Tribes who at this day they say, doe liue in *Ethiopia* but cannot come out thence, by reason of a Sea of Sand, which parts *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, the said Sea flowing and is continually troubled, except euery seuenth day, (which is their Sabbath) so that they cannot passe it, vntill the time appointed by *Adonai* (God Almightye.) Many other opinions they haue, as that God sends their soules if they haue not at first forgiuenesse, twice more into other new Bodies in the world, to amend and become better, and then either receiue them according to their deserts; and that in what part soeuer of the world they dye and are buryed, their Bodies must all rise to Iudgement in the *Holy Land*, out of the Valley of *Iehosaphat*, which causeth that the greater and richer sort of them, haue their Bones conuayed to some part thereof by their kindred or friends.
- 30 By which meanes, they are freed of a labour to scrape thither through the ground, which with their nayles they (say they) hold they must, who are not there buried nor conuayed thither by others. Other talke I had from them, offering as little taste of truth, as this last reasonlesse likelihood, So I them left to become wiser and better, if Goodnesse will, who in all bee euer glorified; and wee *Christians*, by our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ sanctified and saued, our sinnes being drowned in his Blood, by the spirit of true Beliefe in his powerfull Predestination; *Glory, glory, glory, for euer and euer and euer*. Amen.

Jewish blasphemies, which yet argueth that they beleeue hee wrought Miracles, &c.

Jewish boasting and vaine hopes.

Jewish dreams & themselves are a sandie Sea.

Transmigration of Soules.

- 40 Thus haue I giuen thee the Voyages of Master Iohn Sanderson. Touching the difficulties of entrance into *Ierusalem*, I thought good to adde this which followeth; the rather that my Countrey-men may be aduised, before they aduenture this Ierosolymitan Pilgrimage; Superstition on the one side and Tyrannie on the other endangering the best Pilgrimage, which is the peaceable way of a good Conscience to that *Ierusalem* which is aboue. For if a man doth not gine content to the Friers, which a good Conscience cannot doe (except some of their Patrons and Benefactors letters, or other extraordinary provision helpe) you see these superstitious Friers to prone malicious lyers, as here they slandered Master Sanderson to bee a Iew, and Master Timberlie to bee a Spie; that I mention not foure other Englishmen not long before, seene to enter their Monasterie but neuer seene to come forth, as the Patriarch of *Ierusalem* confidently affirmed to Master Sanderson. Hence it is that Master Timberlie affirmeth, that none enter the Citie but protected by them, which others hauing otherwise entred by extraordinary course disanow, and yet may that speech (vnderstood of ordinarie entrance) bee true. For Master Timberlies
- 50 passage wee will adde it to the end: for Master Sanderson, thus hee writeth.

- Now Master Purchas, take a memorandum of mee, that my first dayes entertaynment into *Ierusalem* was somewhat crosse, in that I crossed two Friers which came to bid mee welcome. I said that I had not to vse of their kindnesse, because I was recommended to the Greeke Patriarch, so in some colour they left mee, but a *Turke* presently after came in the Name of the *Bassa*, and tooke my Sword from my side, which had cost me thirtie Dollers in *Damasco*, alleadging that no *Christian* ought to enter the Citie Gates, with his Sword girt about him, but that I might haue borne it in my hand. And yet their Custome is, to priuledge the *Iewes* in that case. Thus I lost my Sword and after was ledde to the *Caia* of the *Bassa*, who related to mee the errour I had committed, and further demanded of me a Present for his Master, and another for himselfe: then I shewed him the Great *Turkes* Letter, which imported a command to vse mee respectiuey wheresoever I came in his Dominions: he read the Letter with great regard, and said that he had not, neither would he offer me any abuse, nor any in *Hierusalem* should doe me wrong, and that he would passe ouer my errour, concerning the presumption to enter the Citie Gate with my
- 60

Sword by my side, if in courtesie I would bestow a Vesture of Veluet vpon the *Bassa* his Master, and a Garment of Satten vpon himselfe : which I denied to doe, hee then presently committed me to the *Subbassie* againe and grisly *Turke*, and his rascally terrible Attendants to bee laid in Prison : but the *Iewes* in whose company I had trauelled fell downe at his feet, and entreated for me, often kissing his hand & Garment, praying him to pardon my bold behaviour and words of displeasure with much whispering ; they agreed for mee that I should giue him twelue Chick-
 quines in Gold ; wherewith, together also the losse of my Sword, I escaped at that time. But
 two dayes after the Friers set vpon mee againe, and feed the *Turkes* lustily and largely, thinking
 to doe me some displeasure, but effected not their purpose, for I still defied them and their *Padre*
Guardian, which in a manner broke their very galls, only they did put mee to some trouble and
 charge. And I in their despight kept company with the Patriarke of the *Greekes* and his *Colo-*
ros, (I meane Priests and Friers) and I went not at all to the *Romish* Clergie, nor visited their
Padre Guardian (though the poore *Greeke* Patriarke did very much, and often intreate mee
 to it) at which they were so exceedingly distempered, that that my scorne of them
 was written of to *Tripoly*, they certifying an old Frier thereof, all past on my part in *Hierusa-*
lem, which *Tripoly* Frier at my coming ducked very kindly, and came to our House to bid mee
 welcome from the *Holy Land*: yet he with a Fowling-peece shot made at me two sundry times,
 out of an *Italians* House where he kept, I being trayned abroad by a *Iew*, a Broker an old acquaint-
 tance of mine, whose name was *Daniell Gallana*, but as God would haue it, missed both the
 times : the first time I suspected nothing, although the Bullet fell within my length, and flapt
 against a Tree about the Root; the *Iew* taking occasion to goe somewhat before me ; we hearing
 the report, I told him how neere the bullet fell : hee said that it was *Signior Francisco*, shooting
 at some Bird from the Tarras, or out of the Window, and I then imagined no other. Some few
 dayes after walking abroad againe the second time, about the very same place, another bullet
 whirld very neere before me, when on a sudden the *Iew* lingered behind me; then I mistrusted,
 and walked no more that way, nor at all againe with that *Iew*, And prayled God in my heart
 for that escape, as for many other former Deliuerances, from Murthering, Poysoning, Shipwrack,
 &c. with intolerable agrieuances and terrible temptations, in the course of my Pilgrimage.

I Haue in my hands three originall Certificates or Letters of commendations written in be-
 halfe of the said Master *John Sanderson*, two in *Moderne Greeke*, the third in *Talmudicall Ebrew*.
 The first, from the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, to the Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, commending him
 to his care; the second, a Testimoniall of the Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, to this sence.

Sophronius by the mercy of God, Patriarke of the holy Citie Ierusalem. Master John Sanderson, Englishman, hath come to the holy Citie of Ierusalem, hath there done his Deuotion, hath vi-
sited the Sepulchre, Bethlehem, and Gethsemani, Mount Oliuet, the Ascention, Bethania, the
Sepulchre of Lazarus, Iordan, Hebron, and the rest of the holy places where Iesus Christ walked: and
this present Writing is made to testifie the truth. Amen. Dated the Yeere of the World 7111. The
eleuenth of Iuly. Sophronius by the mercie of God Patriarke of Ierusalem.

This was written, sayth our Author, by the Patriarke his owne hand. Hee was a graue man
 with a grey beard, had eight or ten Attendants : at the first meeting in his Monasterie, offered
 his hand to kisse after their fashon ; Master *Sanderson* vsing his owne, kissing his hand, and tou-
 ching therewith the Patriarkes, wherewith he seemed well pleased. The occasion of his *Iewish*
 societie he thus deliuereth.

When it was determined, that Master *Best* the Captaine and Master of the *Mermaid*, at our
 arriuall at *Sidon*, with three other and my selfe should haue gone for *Ioppa*, and so to *Ierusalem*,
 but the Master, by danger of Rockes, and rising of Winde, thought not good to leaue the ship,
 and the other three passingers would not; so that I was faine (holding my determination) to post
 alone without fellow *Christian*, in company of Honourable *Iewes* ; in which journey by the
 Principall, named *Abraham Coen*, who went to accompany his Wifes Father to *Saphet*, which
 is at *Bethel*; and there to end his dayes, after two thousand Dollors at least distributed in charity
 to those Colledges of *Iewes*; We went to *Ierusalem*, and in our returne wee tooke *Tiberias*
 and *Capernaum* in our way, which was somewhat out of the way, direct to *Damascus*. But this
 my companion *Iew* Merchant, and a dweller in *Sio* and *Smirna*, was so respectiue kind and courte-
 ous, that neuer in any *Christians* company of what degree soeuer I euer did receiue better con-
 tent : for morall carriage towards all, vnderstanding and honestie; this *Iew* was without com-
 pany, I kept his company three moneths together by reason that from *Sidon* wee went to *Da-*
mascus, to disburthen him and some of his, of at least ten thousand Chequins, which he left there
 to be employed in commodities till our returne thither againe : So ouer *Libanus* to *Tripoly* wee
 went, and there the *Gentile Iew* with his *Damasco* commodities and Attendants, departed by
 Sea to *Sio*, not without moist eyes betweene *Iew* and *Christian*, when wee parted company. A
 most deuout, zealous, and soft hearted man he was; I cannot speake too much good of him in re-
 gard of his great humanitie and extraordinary charitie, his measure being more in those per-
 formances, then is to be found in many of vs *Christians*.

The *Iewish* Testimonie written in *Hebrew*, and subscribed by diuers *Iewes*, I haue here added.

These

THese are to declare the Iourney of the Worshipfull Master Iohn Sanderson English Gentleman, who came hither unto Ierusalem the holy Citie (may it shortly bee built) with the Caravan and company of honourable Iewes, upon Tuesday the tenth of the Moone Tamas, Anno 5361. of the Creation of the World; and went with them unto many holy places, and hath brought with him also Letters of fauour from the Patriarke of Constantinople, for the Patriarke of this place; and he hath sent together with him of his men; and they haue shewed him all the places of their Denotion, and they brought him to Bethelhem. And to declare the truth I haue written, and under-written this with my owne hand, for to giue knowledge thereof unto all the people of his Citie, & the Gentlemen of his places; and all the places which he went to, he hath kept a true note of under his owne hand. I that write this in Ierusalem the holy Citie (may it be shortly built) The seuenteenth of the nominated Moone and Yeere. I Gedelia

10 Cordoero (he was the Hacham * or Priest) Abraham Coen, the sonne of Isack Coen, an Inhabitant in Sio (this * was Rabbi Abraham, the chiefe Iew of the company) Salomon Marabi, an Inhabitant of Tirria. Iacob the Sonne of David, a dweller in Smirna, Abram Aluo, a dweller in Constantinople; this ancient Iew was their Cooke all the iourney. Mose Rasimo, a dweller in Damasco, who of deuotion went with vs to the Holy Land, and in whose House in Damasco, wee did remayne and lodge both at our going and comming, and thence we went to Tripoly ouer the highest top of Libanus, where was some Snow remaying, though it were in the heate of Summer, namely, the fourteenth day of August, 1601. from the bottome to the top, they accounted it to be at the least eight miles up: and about ten miles downe to the Towne of Tripoly. Salomon di Vrbino, a dweller in Constantinople. Isack, he was the sonne of the aboue named Iacob, he was of yeeres one or two and twentie, and yet his Father had much feare of him; in tranelling those Sodomiticall places, because as he said, the Boy was beardlessse. The old Iew Father in Law to Rabbi Abraham, we left to die at Bethel; which they do call Saphet Casa di Dios. At our first entrance thither, the Iewish women cried from the tops of their Houses; Sei ben venito à la casa di Dios Rabbi Abraham.

I haue this Certificate in Rabbinicall Hebrew, with the Iewish Subscriptions, and the Italian translation thereof.

* Subscriptions. * This and the following descriptions of their persons, is added by M. Sanderson.

MEletus, by the mercie of God, Pope and Patriarke of Alexandria: Most Illustrious Ambassador of the Renowned Queene of England, my beloued sonne, these dayes are so peruerse by the iniquitie of our times, that if our Lord present not, there is no hope at all of any good. The Archbishop of Efasus, hath attempted to get also the Archbishopricke of Smirna, from the Bishop that holds it, hee being absent, to me it appears vnjust, neither is it iust, and it is also prohibited by the Vniuersall Councils, that one be consecrated in two Chaires, though hee should be worthy; not such a one as he is. The matter is also to be considered of, in presence of the other both Actor and accused; it appears that these Musselmen Turkes doe the contrary, they came to mee that I should under write a matter that is not indged of; a thing also which they cannot indge of: I denied once, twice, and diuers times; euen now a gallant fellow came to me with the same writing, and said that your Lordships Neighbour Signior Mahomet Aga, by one of his Capogies, sent also a command that I should under-write. I haue abstayned purposing to come this Euening for to haue likewise the opinion of your most Illustrious Lordship; for I am resolu'd to depart hence, rather then to haue to doe with men void of all conscience. Let your Lordships write vnto me, and if you find the distaste of this miserable time of ours; bewaile you also that wee haue beene borne in such an Age, worse then the World of Iron stormie.

Having mentioned two Easterne Patriarkes Letters, I thought fit to adde this also, though of another subject.

40 Our Lord blesse you and saue you, this fixe and twentieth of May, 1593. From the Cell of the Patriarke of Alexandria.

This holy Patriarke Padre Melete, was a very comely blacke long bearded man. He neuer did eate any sort of flesh in all his life time. He often frequented, and was very inward with our Ambassadour Master Edward Barton; I haue heard him reason often, and seens him pray one time, in the Ambassadors chamber together with vs: he spake in Greeke, which Master Barton did little vnderstand; my selfe nothing at all except Theos, &c. When he hath eaten with the Ambassador, our Table was euer furnished with the best fish, and not the weakest Wine; yet euer he had a young Priest for his Taster of all the Wine he dranke; and all the while that the cup was at the Patriarkes mouth, the fixe other Coloyros that waited on him at Meales, did euer pray in a soft kind of voice. This man was very meeke in the shew of his behaniour towards all sorts and manner of men, which amongst his Greekes made him to be much respected and beloned. Yet did he aspire and got by Master Bartons meanes and his money, to be Patriarke of Constantinople, which soone he was weary of. The Turkes Ministers did so much and extraordinarily exact vpon him, so that before his death hee resigned it; and went from Constantinople, and did de cease at his old Patriarkado Alexandria, and there iyet buried. Of all these Moderne Greekes, I haue not heard of a better man; most certainly he was a true Christian Professor, although the times permitted not that he might declare it, except in priuate, to some of Learning and vnderstanding. Master Edward Barton the Ambassador, as Master Henry Lillo did tell mee, who did see it, said, that few dayes before his de cease, the Patriarke and he did weepe vpon one anothers neckes, he kissed the dying man, who had seriously recommended a Kinsman, and other his Seruants vnto him, pretending (that of the monies which by his promises he was behind with him) his desire was that he would be good vnto his said Seruants, and so they parted.

Aged 45: M. Sandersons report of P. Melete.

I haue

I haue here added also a Letter from Master *Biddulphe*, or *Biddle*; dated, *Aleppo*, October the two and twentieth, *Anno Dom.* 1601. I could also haue added other notes with M. *Sanderfons* Charts and Delineations of the Citie and Temple of *Hierusalem*; but I dare not be too tedious, for which caule I also omit diuers Letters written in those parts to and from him.

IN right heartie manner I commend mee vnto you (good friend Master *Sanderfon*) with heartie thanks for all your former kindnesse towards mee, and lately towards my poore Brother who hath written to me of your kindnesse towards him. I pray you impute it not vnto mee for vngratefulnesse, or forgetfulnesse that I haue not saluted you with my Letters all this time. The last newes I heard of you was, that you were gone from *Tripoly* to *Cyprus*, and from thence to *Zante*, otherwise you had heard from me sooner, and so much the rather because we haue both commenced Hogies in *Hierusalem*, which Degree no *Uniuersitie* in the World can giue besides. But if your Hogiship hath beene as chargeable to you, as mine hath beene to mee, you will take as little delight to remember it as I doe, for mine cost mee two hundred and seuentie Dollers. And at my returne to *Aleppo*, I heard of the losse of the *Rebecca*, wherein I had a bale of *Nutmegs*, besides a *Carpet*, and other Tokens which I sent to my friends.

I haue beene sundry times sorrie that euer I came out of *England*, or that I had not gone with you to *Constantinople*. For I haue had here no profit besides my bare wages, and scarce that. But great discontentment sundry wayes, especially of late by that () Wherefore as you haue beene my friend euer since our first acquaintance undeseruedly, so I pray you continue. And I, although I bee no other wayes able to pleasure you, yet I will not be unmindfull of you in my Prayers, that God would grant you continuall health, long life and much happinesse in this life, and euermore felicitie in the life to come.

Yours in the Lord wholly to command,

WILLIAM BIDDLE.

I pray commend me to Master *Timberley*, *John Brochurst*, *William Pate*, &c.

After so often mention of Master *Timberley*, I haue here giuen you some Extracts of his Iournall, (the whole the Reader may see printed) Before the Impression I writ out of a Manuscript many yeeres agoe the whole Iournall, of which thus much I haue here presented in memorie of him and Master *Burrell*.

CHAP. XVII.

A Report of the Voyage of Master *HENRIE TIMBERLEY* * from
Cairo in Egypt, to Ierusalem in fiftie dayes 1601.

* Or Timber-
lake.

M. Burrell.



Departed from *Grand Cairo*, the ninth of *March* 1600. which day I came to the place where the *Virgin Mary* staid with our Saviour when shee fledde into *Egypt*. From thence with my fellow Traueller Master *Burrell* in our Pilgrimes Weed, came that night to a Towne named *Canko*, where wee lodged that night in a yard vpon the bare ground, wanting no Fleas nor Lice. The next day we came into the Land of *Goshen*, and here wee found a company of *Turkes* *Jewes*, and *Christians*, about seuen hundred and fiftie, which were all bound ouer the *Deserts* of *Arabia* for *Damasco*. Among which were some two and twentie *Greekes* and *Armenians*, bound for *Hierusalem*, of which company I was right glad. Here at this Towne wee staid two dayes and one night, called in their Language *Philbits*, at which Towne I went into the Houses where I saw the secret of hatching Chickens by heate artificiall in greater abundance then I had before seene at *Cairo*.

m If Thunder
or troubled
Aire happen,
all die. They
all haue a claw
too much or
too little. The
Hatcher hath
the tenth for
his Fornace &
paines.

The thirteenth of *March*, we departed from *Philbits*, and travelled all night in company of the Carauan of *Damasco*. And the fourteenth, at nine of the clocke we pitched our Tents at *Baire*, in the Land of *Goshen*. From thence that night, and pitched at () on the East of *Goshen*, on the edge of the *Deserts*. Here we staid two dayes for feare of the wild *Arabians*, departed the seuenteenth; and that night passed ouer a great Bridge, vnder the which the salt water standeth. This water commeth out of the Sea from the parts of *Damiata*, and was cut out of that place by mens hand some one hundred and fiftie miles into the Land by *Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt*, intending to bring the *Mediterranean* and Red Seas together: but foreseeing hereby the drowning of all the Countrey, hee left and built this Bridge which is the parting of *Egypt* and *Arabia*. We were no sooner past this place, but we were set vpon by the *Arabians*. Notwithstanding we were about 1000, wee had a Camell laden with *Callicoes* taken away, and foure men

men sore hurt, and one of the foure mortally. Thus they ranne away with their prey, and wee could not remedie it because it was in the night. So the eighteenth in the morning we pitched at a Well of brackish waters. In this vprore in the night past my fellow Master *Burrell* escaped ver-
 ry hardly. Here wee repofed our selues till three of the clocke in the afternoone called *Lazera*. For the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* diuide the day but into foure parts. And then we departed, and the next morning pitched at a Castle, in the Deserts called *Cattay*. This is one of the three Castles which the *Turkes* keepe in the Deserts to defend the Trauellers from the *Arabians*, and therefore here we pay a certayne taxe, that is to say, sixtie pieces of siluer, and two pence the piece for the head of man or boy, and seuentie fixe for a laden Camell, and fourteene for a Mule.
 10 Hence we departed and pitched at another brackish Well, thence at another. The twentieth of March at the second Castle called *Arriis*, here our taxe was twentie pieces of siluer by the head, a Camell thirtie. From hence with many Souldiers to conduct vs to the third Castle; and so making a long Journey of foure and twentie houres, we arriued at a Castle called *Raphael*, here we payd tenne pieces of Siluer, and a beast twentie. In the one and twentieth we pitched our Tents at *Gaza* in *Palestina*, a goodly fruitfull Countrey, beeing now cleere of the Deserts. Here did I see the place, as they say, where *Samson* pulled downe the two Pillars. Here we paid two and twentie for the beast, and tenne for the head. The two and twentieth we pitched at a place called of the *Arabians*, *Canny*, of the *Christians* *Bersheba*. Here we paid two for the head, and foure for the beast. The three and twentieth we pitched vpon a Greene vnder the wals of *Ramoth Gilead*. Hence the next morning, I with the other *Christians* departed toward *Hierusalem*, the
 20 Carauan to *Damasco*, yet we pitcht short that night at a place in *Arabia*, called *Cude chelaneb*, being fifteene miles from *Hebron*, from *Hierusalem* siue little miles. Hence wee departed in the morning being our Lady day, and at nine of the clocke I saw *Hierusalem*, kneeling said the Lords Prayer, singing we went to the West Gate, and then stayed. For it is not lawfull for any *Christian* to enter not admitted. Then Master *Burrell* requested mee to say that I was a *Greeke*, only to auoid going to Masse; but I not hauing the *Greeke* Tongue, refused absolutely so to doe; affirming to him, euen at the Gates, that I would neither deny my Countrey nor Religion, so that when they asked what we were, Master *Burrell* answered in the *Greeke* Tongue that hee was a *Greeke*, and I an *Englishman*, so hee was admitted to the *Greeke* Patriarch, and I was taken and
 30 cast into Prison, after that I had stayed an houre at the Gate, for the *Turkes* did all denie that they had heard either of my Queene or Countrey, or that shee paid them any tribute. Then the *Pater Guardian*, who is their defender of all the *Christians* Pilgrimes, and the principall actor of my imprisonment, because I would not offer my selfe vnder his protection, but said I would rather bee protected vnder the *Turke* then vnder him, made the *Turke* so much my foe, that they supposed I was a spie, and so would not let mee out of the dungeon. Now for my deliuerance you shall vnderstand, that being at *Ramoth Gilead* I went to a Fountaine to wash my foule linnen, in which time one came and called me by my name, and tooke my linnen from mee to helpe me. Whereat I maruelling: What Captaine, quoth hee, in the *Frank* tongue, I hope you haue not forgotten me. It is not yet fortie dayes since you landed mee at *Alexandria* among the
 40 passengers, which you brought from *Argier* in your Ship called the *Troian*. Here is also another that you brought. I asked if he dwelt there, hee answered no, but that hee and his fellow were going in the Carauan to *Damasko*, which they call *Sham*: and from thence to *Bagdet*, which wee call *Babylon*, and so to *Mecha* to make a *Hadge*, for so they are called when they haue beene at *Mecha*. He dwelt in *Fez* in *Barbary*. After better view I somewhat remembered him to haue beene of those three hundred and sixtie I brought to those parts. This brought me to the other, which both agreed that the other should goe in the Carauan, and this with me to *Ierusalem*.

This *Moore* accompanying me, when he saw that I was in prison, wept, and bid me be of good comfort, and away he went to the *Bassa* of the Citie, and to the *Saniack*, and tooke his oath that I was a Mariner in a Ship that had brought two hundred and fiftie, or three hundred *Moores* into Egypt, from *Arger* and *Tunis* which came to go for *Mecha*. The *Moore*, because he was a *Musselman* so preuailed, that hee came that night to the prison with fixe *Turkes*, and called mee to the
 50 doore, and there told me, that if I would go to the house of the *Pater Guardian*, and rest in his protection, I should onely hold a Waxe candle, to which I consented, and so paying the charges of the prison departed, and went to the *Pater Guardians* Monastery. He bad mee very welcome, and said, hee maruelled that I should so much erre from Christianitie, as to put my selfe rather vnder the *Turkes* protection, then vnder his. I told him I did it because I would not goe to Masse; here hath beene, saith hee, many *English*, but *Catholikes*, and told the *Turke* at the gate they were *French-men* or *Britons*; for the *Turke* vnderstandeth not the word *English-men*. About twilight came Master *Burrell*, although hee professed himselfe a *Greeke*, for all *Christians* must here haue the Popish protection. We being thus together in the Court of the Monastery, there came to vs some
 60 ten or twelue fat Friers, with each a Waxe candle burning, and two to spare for mee and M. *Burrell*. Then another Frier brought a bason of hot water, with Roses and other flowers therein, and so there was a carpet spread, and chayres set with cushions in them. Then the *Pater Guardian* set vs downe, and gaue each of vs a candle in our hands. Then came a Frier and pulled off our hose and set

set the water on the carpet, and when hee began to wash our feet, twelue Friers began to sing, and so continued till our feet were washed: then they altogether brought vs singing to a Chappell in the said Monastery: where one preached how meritorious a thing it was to come into the Holy Land. Hence they brought vs into a chamber to supper, which we for feare of poyson doubted to eat. Thence to bed.

His obseruations here are omitted, ha-
uing before so
largely out of
others giuen
you the sight of
these holies.

The sixe and twentieth, we rose early, and hauing saluted the *Pater Guardian*, hee appointed vs seuen Friers and a Trudgeman, and forth wee went to see the holy places within the Citie, except the Sepulchre, and at euery place where wee came we kneeled downe and said the Lords Prayer, &c.

To conclude, it was prophesied that *Ierusalem* should bee an heape of stones: so is it come to passe that I could see no ground neere to the Citie by fiftene or sixteene miles, the Plaine of *Iericho* excepted, but it is all a heape of stones, in such abundance as may bee wondred at how the Inhabitants can liue: for prooffe, we being within fve miles of the Citie lodged in the field. I sent my *Moore* to a place not farre hence to buy some bread, who returned with this answer, That he and his did neuer eat bread in all their liues. A man may goe twentie miles before hee finde a place to feed a horse or a cow. But the countries about *Palestina*, *Galilee*, and *Syria* are all goodly plentifull countries, and *Ierusalem* it selfe is the most barren that I saw in all my trauels, the desert excepted. I cannot compare any place in *England* to it, except the barrenest place in *Cornwal*, where is nothing but rocks & stones, and daily by the report of the Inhabitants, the stones grow more and more: that *Ierusalem*, and fiftene miles round about is but a heape of stones, and I am of opinion that it is quite forsaken of God; for the more sort of *Turkes* there inhabiting vse all filthinesse, that the *Christians* are forced to marry their children very young, yea euen at tenne yeeres of age; boyes they keepe openly, and shew them at their doores which hath the fairest. Thus hauing my Patent sealed with the great seale of the *Guardian*, and a Letter Patent that did shew I had washt in the water of *Iordan* the thirty one of March I departed from *Ierusalem* in my *Moore*s company, the same night I came to *Ram*. April 1. to *Askalon*, so to *Gaza*, where I hired two wilde *Arabians*, with two Dromedaries to carry me to *Cayro*; wee rode two vpon a beast: by the breaking away of one of our Dromedaries at our lighting, being left alone we were seized by foure other *Arabians*, who would haue made prey of vs, had not the other their fellow theeuers returned. I had nothing to lose but my clothes, but promised to pay them twentie foure pieces of gold. The fourth, at night we came to these theeuers Tents, where we had Camels milke. The next night to *Salbia*, where being ouershaken I hyred horse. The Dromedarie is like a Camel, but that his head is lesse, his legs longer, and a very small necke, the difference being as betweene a Grey-hound and a Mastiffe. In this foure dayes trauell I neuer saw them eat nor drinke, from which they say they will abstaine ten dayes, but not so long from meat. Yet I thinke a good horse will runne faster but not continue with this beast. Their pace harder then a trot. I paid them, gaue my *Moore* sixe pieces of gold, and sent him to *Mecha* with the Carauan; so I came to *Bolack*, to *Roshetta*, thence with a *Ianizarie* to the walls of *Alexandria*, in the eleuenth of April, 1601. I came aboard my Ship, hauing ended my Pilgrimage in fiftie dayes.

Dromedaries.

CHAP. XVIII.

* See sup. c. 3. Two Letters of M. I O H N N V B E R Y, relating his third * and last Voyage into the Easterne parts of the World: with three other Letters from M. E L D R E D, &c. concerning the same affaires; found amongst the papers of M. W I L L I A M H A R B O R N E, Her Maicsties Embassadour to the Grand Signior at Constantinople: communicated to mee by M. I O H N S A N D E R S O N.

R

Ight Worshipfull, my heartie commendations premised, &c. My last I sent you was of the thirtieth day of May last past from Aleppo, and the next day after came from thence. And the nineteenth day of the last moneth arrived at Feloge, the which is one dayes iourney from hence; notwithstanding some of our company came not thither vntill the last day of the last month, which was for want of camels to carry our goods, & since the goods came hither, as yet haue found but small sales; but towards Winter I hope it will be better, notwithstanding if I had mony to put away with the *Carsie*, we might haue very good Spices, for with mony there is here great good to be done, and without mony there is no great profit made. Tomorrow I meane to goe, with Gods helpe, from hence to Ballara, and so to Ormus, but my going to Ormus is more of necessitie, then for any good will I haue to the place: for I want a man to goe with me that hath the Indian tongue, the which is the onely cause of my going thither for to take one there: I was minded to haue gone from Ballara by Sea, to a place called Abowsher, and from thence by Land into the Indies; but the want of one to speake for mee forceth me to leaue that way. In Aleppo I hired two *Nastraynes*, and one of them

Two *Nastraynes* deceitfull.

them hath the Indian tongue, and hath bene twice there, but hee and the other are so lewdly giuen, that it is not for mee to trust to either of them: one of them I leane here with Raphe Aleyn and William Skinner, and the other at Balsara with Iohn Elured and William Shales, and forced so to doe for that here is no other to be had; although I am in great doubt they will be a thousand Crownes hinderance to the Voyage, for that in diuers matters of small valew they haue manifestly deceined vs, but wee put no more trust in them saving to speake for vs. I was enforced to take them in Aleppo but two or three dayes before my comming from thence, or to haue had none at all. Here followeth the prices of Spices, as they are worth here at this present; Cloues and Maces the Batman, five duckets Synnagon, sixeduckets and none to be had, Nutmegs fortie fine Madynes, Ginger the Batman, one ducket Pepper seuentie fine Madaynes, and Silke which is much better then that which commeth out of Persia, Duckets eleuen and a halfe the Batman. And so God preserue you. In Babylon this fiftenth day of Iuly, 1583.

Your Worships at command,

IOHN NEWBERY.

Right Worshipfull, my heartie commendations premised, &c. My last I sent you was from Bagdet of the sixteenth day of the last moneth, and the two & twentieth day of the same came from thence but by reason that our Barke was great and the water very low, halfe a dayes iourney from thence came a ground, and in a long time could not get her off againe. Whereupon doubting that further below in the Riuer we might be put to more trouble, I returned to the City, and hired a smaller Boat, and the twentie seven day embarked our goods in the same Boat, and the sixth day of this present arrived here: since which time I haue hired a Barke to goe to Ormus, and within a day or two I mind with Gods helpe to depart from hence. About the beginning of this moneth arrived here foure Venetians from Ormus, whereof three are for the account of Michaell Stroopenny, and the other for himselfe. Their Conducts are twentie Bales of Turbith Cloues, and Synnagon and Long-pepper, and Muske, Pearles, and Feathers, which Feathers come from a Citie called Syndye, about one hundred and sixtie leagues from Ormus, and are very much esteemed in Italy. The Bashaw here hath taken away of their Feathers 84000. the which they say are worth a thousand duckets, and he would haue giuen them for the same 501. duckets. So they say that they will certifie of it to Constantinople, and hope to haue some remedie from thence. And if it were not sometimes for this kind of dealings by the Bashaw towards the Frankes, here were in these Countries verie much good to be done: for the exchange from Ormus to Aleppo is sixtie per cento, and commonly they make their voyage in fine or sixe moneths, and if it were but onely for the profit of the exchange it shall bee good to haue one remaining here, and one at Ormus, and another at Bagdett. And to auoid all troubles that may happen either here or at Bagdett, you shall doe well to procure a commandement from the Grand Signior, both to the Bashaw of Bagdett, and the Bashaw of this place, that and if any of our folkes should die in this Countrie (the which God forbid) that the Bashaw, neither any other Officer shall meddle with the goods, but that it may be kept in a Magasine within some Cane or Crauancera, untill such time as the owners shall send for it, except there bee more in company to take charge of the same: for here hath chanced Venetians to dye; and although bee were one that had nothing, and hee bee in company with those that haue great store of goods, the Bashaw will take the goods, and say that the goods did belong unto him that is dead, and by this meanes they shall be in great trouble, and leese halfe their goods, if they can escape so. And if any of our company should die here, as God defend, the rest should bee in great trouble about it; as also that it may be in your commandement, that it shall not be lawfull for the Bashaw, or any other for to take away from vs any of our goods, except hee will pay for the same to our content, for many times there are fine things brought out of the Indies, and the Bashawes man sitteth alwayes in the Custome-house, especially at the comming of the Frankes, and if there bee any thing that liketh him hee taketh it, and payeth for that which is worth a hundred pound, ten pound, and so the Bashaw hath dealt with many. But if you send this commandement, that it may bee registred both heere and at Bagdett, it will for euer hereafter preuent those troubles that now wee are in danger of, and this is a thing very needfull to be sent with those that shall next come hither. There is as yet no Spaniards come into the Indies, and by report of one that is here, who came from Ormus, there was a Spaniard sent out of Spaine to Goa to haue had some authoritie there, and the Vice Roy caused him to bee put to death, and will suffer none for to come thither. As yet they alter not the keeping of their Christmasse, as the Spaniards and others haue done, but continue in keeping of their old reckoning of the Feasts and Moneths, neither will they alter untill commandement come from the Pope to the contrary. And so I commit your Worship to God. From Balsara this fiftenth day of August, 1583.

Yours euer to command,

IOHN NEWBERY.

A Letter

At this time
Portugall was
not settled, &c.

A Letter of Master John Eldred, to G. S. Written in Bagdet the fourteenth day of Iuly, 1583.

These Letters I had of Master Sanderson and were found amongst Master William Harborne (Ambassadour from her Maiestie to the Grand Signior) his papers endorsed with the said Ambassadour his owne hand. Master Eldred yet liueth, a graue, rich and principall Citizen. Some of these heere mentioned I haue known and discourted with of these parts.

Right Warshipfull, my humble and heartie Commendations remembred, wishing your health, and desiring to heare of your prosperitie, the which God increase and long continue, &c. My last to you was in Aleppo the nine and twentieth of May, wherein I certified our arrivall in the Tigre, and the determining of this Voyage, how there was appointed to take at Aleppo for the summe of two thousand pounds sterling, in Carsies, Cloathes, Tinne, and other Commodities, and with the same Master Newberie, Raph Fitch, Raph Allen, William Skinner, William Shales, and my selfe, to goe with the same goods to this place, there to leaue two, and part of the goods. At Balsara, there leaue two and part of the goods, and Master Newberie and Raph Fitch, to take for three or foure hundred pounds sterling at Balsara of these goods, and to goe for the Indies.

Since which time, it may please you to vnderstand wee all in company haue come to this place, and beere arrived the nine and twentieth day of the last, hauing past the hands of many bribing Dogges, wee arrived heere all in safetie thanks bee to God, and whereas wee had thought to haue sold in this place, great store of our Commodities, wee cannot sell, nor haue not sold this sixteene dayes for thirtie Duckets, nor no likelihood of sales there untill the Winter, this Towne is so full of Carsies and Tinne, most bought at Aleppo of William Baret, which were the Tinne and Cloath that came in the Emanuel. Tinne is heere as good cheape as it is in Aleppo, and Cloath also, God send it to mend, or otherwise this Voyage of ours will make no profit; but in hope wee rest the same will mend.

Wee haue at this present imbaled and laden aboard a Barke for Balsara, one hundred and twentie peeces of Carsies halfe, some Tinne, three Scarlets, eight & twentie Rotellos of this place, of Tinne and Amber, with diuers small Haberdash wares, which is for the summe of seven hundred sixtie foure pounds sterling, and heere wee leaue the rest, which is about one thousand pounds, and with the same in this place we leaue William Skinner, and Raph Allen, and all the rest of vs goe forward, and at Balsara, William Shales and my selfe, doe determine to stay to make sales and imployment as the Market will giue vs leaue: and Master Newberie, and Raph Fitch, with the Jeweller and Painter, are determined to proceed for the Indies, and out of this wee carrie to Balsara, hee will take out his foure hundred pounds in Commodities for the Indies. Thus the Lord blesse our doings, and send us a merrie meeting in our Countrey Norfolke; and that I may bee your Seruant, &c.

In Balsara the sixth of Nouember. 1583.

Right Honourable, our humble duties considered, &c. Our last unto your Lordship was from Babylon of the nineteenth of Iuly, wherein wee signified our safe arrivall there, and euill sales which wee found, that in twentie dayes staying there, we sold not for thirtie Duckets. Insomuch as by direction of Master Newberie, wee tooke of our Commodities for seven hundred pounds sterling, and came to this place Balsara, out of which, Master Newberie tooke for the value of foure hundred pounds, and departed for Ormus, where hee arrived the fourth of September, and the ninth of the same, was committed to Prison with all his Company, accused for Spies from Don Antonie, and that his Painter was to draw the plats of Castles and Fortresses, in the behalfe of Don Antonie. Whereupon the Captayne of Ormus hath determined to send them with the remayner of their goods which is vnspend, Prisoners to Goa, there to bee at the will and pleasure of the Vizrea, what shall become of them God knoweth. Hee hath written to our worshipfull Masters, to procure the King of Spaine his Letters to the Vizrea of Goa for his deliuerie, which Letters wee haue sent by mosse expresse to Aleppo. This his false accusation was by meanes of Venetians Letters written from Aleppo, and directed to Michaell Stropennie in Ormus, who as Master Newberie writeth, hath beene the onely cause of his trouble. Concerning our estate, wee haue not sold neither can sell of all our Commodities for two hundred Duckets. Our Carsies heere are not worne, neither come there any Merchants to make imployments heere, being this place onely as a thoroughfare for Merchants which come from Ormus to discharge their goods and pay Custome, and so to passe for Babylon. Before wee came hitber, Master Newberie told vs, wee should finde to make Bazar for any kinde of Spices, which wee haue found cleane contrarie, for neither are there Merchants resident heere, or Commodities to bee found to make Bazar for two hundred Duckets, they which come from Ormus mindeth neuer to make Bazar here, but departeth presently after his Custome payd, for Babylon. Wee haue offered to giue our Commodities at price very reasonable, with as much money to haue taken up the same by Exchange for Aleppo, but no man would deale with vs. Whereupon wee imbarcked our goods to haue gone for Persia, but before our Ships departure there arrived heere two Venetians with diuers sorts of Spices, who had taken up ten thousand Duckets by exchange to bee payed heere in Balsara, this money their credits will not serue to take up for Babylon. Insomuch as being in some distresse for money, they offered to barter with vs halfe money halfe commoditie, whereupon wee haue disembarked our goods, and hope within these few dayes to make Bazar with them. Thus humbly taking our leaues, we cease to trouble your Lordship any further.

Your Lordships most readie at Commandment,
John Eldred. William Shales.

In Balsara the two and twentieth of January 1583.

Right Honourable, our duties humbly considered unto your Lordship, &c. Our last was of the tenth of Nouember sent by the Cadie of this place, wherein wee signified vnto your Lordship the alteration of our mindes for going into Persia, and how wee were returned with our goods backe againe to this place. Wee also wrote you the hope which wee had to make Bazar with a French-man, which was at that time newly come from Ormus, the which is now come to passe and finished, although with some trouble. Wee deliuered all our goods, which amounted vnto 2000 Duckets, and gaue him more in money two thousand eight hundred and thirtie Duckets, which wee tooke vp by exchange for Bagdet at fiftene per Cento, and to pay more two per fiftie per Moneth, during the time of our staying heere. which God knoweth how long it will bee, the way betweene this place and Bagdet is full of Theeues, and no Merchants dare venture to depart till the wayes be cleare. There haue gone no Barkes from hence this foure moneths and more. We haue imbaled all our goods for Camels being of them as followeth, foure somes of large Cynamon, foureteen somes and an halfe of middle Cynamon, three somes and an halfe of Nutmegs, one some & an halfe of Ginger, one some and a third part of Cloues, foure somes & a halfe Fusses of Cloues, 197 Turbands fine, and one Chest of gilded Pusillanes; all these goods haue beene in readinesse this moneth wishing euery day our departure, which God grant may be shortly, for here wee spend, and our money eateth, and that which is worse, wee feare wee shall loose our passage from Bagdet to Aleppo, except wee depart very shortly. We receiued no Letters from Master Newberie since the first newes of his trouble: but we beare by others that hee and his Companie are sent Prisoners to Goa, and the remayner of his goods is left in the hands of the Kings Factor. Thus not hauing others to trouble your Lordship with at this present, wee rest, humbly taking our leaue, and commending you and all your Lordships affaires, to Gods mightie protection.

Your Lordships most readie at commandment till death,

JOHN ELDRED.

WILLIAM SHALES.

30 Master Hakluit hath deliuered Master Fitches Indian Peregrination, with notes also of Master Eldred and Master Barret, to whom I referre the more desirous Reader. Linschoten also hath mentioned the troubles at Goa (whereof he was eye-witnesse) of Master Fitch and Master Newberie. I haue added hereto three Commands from the Great Turke, in behalfe of the English.

To the Cadilesquire of Egypt.

40 **K** Now that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, resident in our most famous Port, by Supplication certified, how that our Vice-roy Ebrahim Bassa, then Beglerbie of Egypt, did giue the Custome of Cassia to a certaine Iew called Abraham Ripollo, with expresse and straight commandement, that whosoeuer brought Cassia to Cairo, should sell it to him and none other, and what Merchant soeuer would buy Cassia, should buy it of him and of no other. Wherupon certaine of the English Merchants, buying of the foresayd Iew three and thirtie Kintals, to the value of foure hundred and fiftie duckets of Gold, and hauing before iustice payd to the said Iew the whole summe, and receiued Hogetta from the Cady, the Beglerbie that now is Synan Bassa, casting the said Iew in Prison, and seazing on all his goods in the behalfe of the Grand Signior, did also take from the English Merchants all the Cassia they had bought of the Iew, and for which they had fully payed, nor restoring to them one Asper, and thereby did them great harme and iniurie. Wherfore wee charge thee, that this our Commandment comming to thee, thou doe examine this matter according to Iustice; that if the English Merchants haue bought of the sayd Iew so much Cassia, and haue payed to the sayd Iew the full price, and haue receiued thereupon Hogetta from the Cady, and if the Beglerbie haue taken the sayd Cassia into his hands, that then you cause the sayd Cassia to be restored to the English Merchants, suffering nothing to bee done against Law and Iustice.

To the Beglerbie of Cairo.

60 **K** Now that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England, by Supplication certified in our most famous Court, that for default of their Consull in Egypt, the French Consull that there is Vento, alledging that they are vnder his Banner, doth violently vsurpe authoritie oner them; and that heretofore hauing sent our Commandment to the contrarie, yet hee hath not abstained, nor ceased from molesting and troubling the English Nation. Wherfore know, that to the Queene of England our Priniledge is granted, by which priniledge it is by no meanes permitted, that the French should

Yyyyyyy

should bee Consull ouer them, or intermeddle with them. Wherefore wee Command, that against our Priuiledge, the French Consull doe them no iniurie, nor vsurpe the Consulship ouer them. Wee haue sent our Letters to the Cadilesker of Egypt, according to which, and contrarie to our Priuiledge, wee command him also, that the French beare not the Consulship ouer the English Nation.

To the Cadilesquire of Egypt.

K Now that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England, by Supplication certified vs, that for default of their Consull in Egypt, the French Consull there resident called Vento, alledging that they bee vnder his banner, doth trouble and molest the English men, contrarie to our priuiledge: our commandement was formerly given that hee should abstaine from molesting the English Nation, but hee did not onely not leaue off, but did more arrogantly persist to trouble and iniurie them. And therefore the Ambassadour required our commandement, that according to their Priuiledge, the French Consull might not intermeddle with their Nation, nor beare the office of Consull ouer them. Know thou therefore that our Priuiledge is granted to the Queene of England, and wee command thee, that the French Consull resident in Egypt, doe not hereafter beare the office of Consull ouer them. Wee command thee againe, that our commandement comming to thee, according to our Priuiledge giuen the Queene of England, and this our commandement, thou neuer permit the French, to exercise the office of Consull ouer the English Nation, nor suffer them by the French to bee molested and troubled. 20

To the Reader.

From the tenth Chapter to the end of this Booke, all is of later Intelligence, and added by way of an Appendix.

O Vr Countrey-men, in loue with the wealth of India, haue brought vs (I know not how) backe thorow Turkie to Bagdet and Balsara; neither can wee now retorne without some renew of India: especially of the parts and Ports there before least visited; and wherof later Intelligence hath come to our hands. Such are the Maldiuies Ilands, of which hitherto wee haue taken small notice in our multi-forme Peregrinations. Loe heere therefore wee present you them in a French-English Chart (that I may so speake) both for the translation from the French, and because our Author was Piloted by an Englishman, whose name I finde not; who seeking to escape with some others of his wracked Companie, was done to death by the Maldiuans. This our Author learning the Language, with long and deare experience learned this which heere hee freely teacheth, and many many more Obseruations of these and other places in India; out of which I haue gathered what I deemed fittest for our purpose. 30

CHAP. XIX.

The Voyage of FRANCOIS PYRARD de Laual, to the East Indies (an English-man being Pilot) and especially his Obseruations of the Maldiuies, where being Ship-wracked hee liued five yeares. Translated out of French, and abbreuiated. 40

An Dom. 1601.



Company of Merchants of Saint Malo, Laual and Vire, in the yere 1601. set forth two ships to the Indies; one was of the burthen of foure hundred tunne called the Croissant, the other of two hundred, called the Corbin, sent vnder the command of the Lord of Bardeliere Burgesse of Saint Malo, & Francis Grou, Lord of Clos-neuf, Constable of Saint Malo, his Lieutenant or Vice-admirall, Captayne of the Corbin. Wee set sayle from Saint Malo with a North-east winde to begin our 50

Canaries.

Flying Fishes.

The Ternades.

Superstition.

Voyage the eighteenth of May, 1601. Being not aboue nine or ten leagues out in the Sea, our Miffen mast broke and split in the middle: this was the beginning of our misfortunes. The third of Iune, we coasted the Iles of the Canaries. The twelfth and thirteenth of the same month, wee came to the Ilands of Cape Verd. The nine and twentieth of Iune, wee found our selues in the height of 5. degrees, and saw the North-starre very low: and at the same time, wee perceiued the South-starre. In the same place and height, we saw great quantities of flying Fishes, with wings like to Bats.

The foure and twentieth of August, wee passed the Equinoctiall line, where are very violent heates, and vnconstant weather, in an instant a maruellous calme, and halfe an houre after very fearefull Thundrings and Lightnings, and impetuous windes. Often they see come as farre off great whirle-winds, which the Marriners call Dragons: If this passeth ouer their ship it bruiseth them and ouerwhelmeth them in the waues. When the Marriners see one come they take new Swords and beate one against the other in a crosse vpon the Prow, or toward the Coast

Coast from whence this storme comes, and hold that this hinders it from comming ouer their ship, and turneth it aside.

The nine and twentieth of August, our Pilot who was an *English*-man, from the tops saw land ten leagues off: this was the Ile of *Anabon*, whither we came the day following, and were there a while courteously entertayned by the *Portugals* Lords of the Ilands, but after had treacherously fūe of our men surpris'd by them, and one slaine. The sixteenth of October, we went out of the road of this Ile, and on the seuenteenth of Nouember, came to the Iland of *Saint Helena*. The nine and twentieth of the same moneth, wee doubled the *Abroilles*.

English Pylot.
Anabon.

Trecherie of
Portugals.

Saint Helena.

The *Abroilles*,

shelues to-

ward *Brasil*.

Saint Laurence

Iles of *Comorro*

The seuen and twentieth of December, wee passed the Cape of *Good Hope*. The nineteenth of Februarie, 1602. wee cast anchor in the Bay of *Saint Augustine*, in the Ile of *Saint Laurence*, where we abode to refresh our selues, vntill the fifteenth of May. The three and twentieth of the same moneth, wee came to the Iles of *Comorro*, where all that had the *Scorbuto* or other diseases recouered their health, as well because of the good ayre, as of good water and fruits.

The one and twentieth of Iune, wee passed the Equinoctiall toward the North Pole. The second of Iuly in the night, wee were miserably ship-wrackt vpon the Bankes of the *Maldines*, where we lay till the day following, when we imbarcked our selues in our Gallion: hauing taken our Swords, Harquebushes, and halfe Pikes, to goe to Land: after great labour wee attayned one of the Iles called *Pouladon*, but the Inhabitants would not let vs land, before they had disarmed vs.

Shipwrack on
the *Maldine* I.
lands.

Pouladon.

They ledde vs all together into a House in the midst of the Ile, where they gaue vs Fruits, Cocos, and Limons. Then the Gouvernour of the Ile came to vs called *Ibrahim*, who seemed very aged, he could speake some words of *Portuguese*, by the meanes whereof he asked vs many things: after his people rifled vs, and tooke away all that wee brought, saying that it did belong vnto the King. Hauing bene in this Lodging the space of a day, they tooke the Master of our Ship with two Marriners, and conuayed them to the King fortie leagues distant in the Iland of *Male*. The King sent his Brother in law with many Souldiers to our ship-wrackt Vessell, to get what they could.

Male chiefe of
the *Maldines*.

The Kings Brother in law when hee went away, ledde me and two others into the Iland of *Paindoie*, where at our first comming the Inhabitants gaue vs a little food, but when they saw that our companions had money (this money was about fūe hundred Crownes, which we tooke while wee were in the ship, and the first night we came on Land wee buryed in the ground, which they after digged vp wanting necessaries, but wee that were in the Ile of *Paindoie* had none of it) they tryed by extremitie of famine to make vs to giue them some also, for they beleued we had some. By reason of this euill resolution of the Ilanders to giue vs nothing without money, wee were brought into great miserie. All that wee could doe, was to gather Periwinkles on the Sea shoare to eate, and sometimes to meet with a dead Fish. This extremitie endured a long time, till that the Inhabitants seeing wee had no money, began to haue a little more commiseration on vs; we offered our seruice to them, to doe what they would imploy vs about.

Paindoie.

Miserable fa-
mine.

I went often with them to the neighbouring Ilands to get Cocos, and sometimes on Fishing, and in recompence of my labour they gaue me part of the Fish or Cocos. While wee liued thus, I endeaoured my selfe to learne the Language, which my companions despised. The Commander of the Ile seeing mee so studious of their Language, began to esteeme and fauour me. Then there came one called *Affant Ocaonnas Calogue*, a *Grand Signior*, to fetch the rest of the Lead of our ship and some Iron Ordnance, and to make search for the Money which the inhabitants of the Ilands had of our men. The *Signior* of the Ile of *Paindone* and the *Catibe*, with those that affectioned me, presented me to this *Signior* that came from the King, and commended me to him: this commendation was the cause that the *Signior* began to fauour me: and also because hee saw I could expresse my selfe in their Language, and daily studied to learne it, hee tooke me with him to carrie me to the King.

He learns the
Language.

When wee arriued at *Male*, hee went presently to the King to render him an account of the Voyage, and among other things failed not to speake of mee to him. In the euening I went into a Court, whither the King was come to see that which was brought from our Ship. I saluted him in the Language, and after the fashion of the Countrey, which pleased him, and gaue him occasion to enquire much concerning those things which were brought from the Ship: hee commanded the *Signior* that brought me, to lodge and entertaine me. The day following, I was busied with relating to the King, the manners and fashions of our people of *Europe* and of *France*. Hee made me see the Queenes, who imployed me diuers dayes in giuing answers to that which they asked me; being curious to vnderstand the Habits, Manners, Marriages, and fashion of our *French* Dames.

He is presen-
ted to the King,

I was about foure or fūe moneths in good health, and wanted nothing but the exercise of my Religion and my libertie, hauing all things else to my content. After this, I fell sicke of a hot burning Feauer. There passed not a day but the King and Queenes sent to know how I did, and euery houre sent mee delicious viands to eate, and thus I continued a great while. But afterward the King sent me to the Ile of *Bandos* (a little Ile in sight of *Male*) which hath a better ayre

Bandos.

then *Male*, where an experienced man by the Kings appointment recovered mee. Afterward the King gaue me a lodging neere him, and euery day rise out of his owne house, and necessarie prouisions for my sustenance, hee gaue me also a seruant and money, and other presents, so that I became somewhat wealthy after the mann^r of the Countrey. While I thus continued heere (despairing euer to returne into *France*) I was diligent to enquire of the people, their manners and customes, which heere I haue written and particularised.

Q. II.

Description of the Maldiuēs, their thirteene Cantons, twelue thousand Iles, Sea-changes, strange Currents, Monsons, Maine-Inlets, blacke boyling Sea, Heate, Seasons, Ciuilitie, and haire Ceremoniousnesse.

Scituation.

Their distance

Diuision into
13. Atollons.

Force of the
Sea.

12000. Islands.

Kings Title.

Sea makes
daily alterati-
on.

Danger by
Sharkes and
sharpe stones.

A kind of Cur-
rall.

The Islands of the *Maldiuēs*, begin in eight degrees of the Equinoctial line, on the North-side and end in foure degrees on the South-side. They are of an extraordinarie length, about two hundred leagues, but not about thirtie or fve & thirtie leagues in Latitude. They are distant from the firme land, that is to say, from Cape *Comorin*, from *Coman* and *Cochin*, one hundred and fiftie leagues. The *Portugals* reckon that there are foure thousand and fve hundred leagues by Sea, to goe thither from *Spaine*.

They are diuided into thirteene Prouinces, which they call *Atollons*, which is a naturall partition according to the scituation of the places. Forasmuch as euery *Atollon* is seperated from others, and contaynes in it selfe a great multitude of small Iles; It is admirable to behold, how that each of these *Atollons* are inuironed round with a huge ledge of Rockes. The *Atollons* are all after a sort circular or ouall, hauing each of them thirtie leagues, some a little more, some a little lesse, and lye all one at the end of the other: from the North to *Susans*, they almost touch one another: there are betweene two channels of the Sea, the one large the other exceeding narrow. Being in the midst of an *Atollon*, you shall see about you a great ledge of Rockes which impale and defend the Iles, against the impetuousnesse of the Sea. But it is a very fearefull thing euen to the most couragious to approach to this ledge, and see the waues come afarre off and breake furiously on euery side. For I assure you, as a thing which I haue seene a thousand times, that the surge or billow is greater then a House, and as white as Cotton: so that you shall view round about you as it were a very white Wall, especially when the Sea is loftie.

Now within each of these Cantons, is almost an infinit number of Islands, both smal and great. The Inhabitants told me, that there are about twelue thousand. But I coniecture that there appeare not so many, and that they say twelue thousand, to note an incredible number, and which they cannot count. It is true that there are an innumerable multitude of small ones, which are as it were Hillockes of sand, all vnpeopled. And moreover, the King of the *Maldiuēs* puts this number in his Titles, for hee is called *Sultan Ibrahim dosos assa raltera Atolon*; that is to say, *Ibrahim Sultan*, King of thirteene Prouinces and twelue thousand Iles.

Which notwithstanding, the currents and daily flowing of the Sea diminish that number, as the Inhabitants informed me, who said also that a proportion of the number of the people are consumed, and that there are not so many as were accustomed to be anciently. Also they reported that within one of the *Atollons*, all the little Iles and Sea which part them, was one continued ground, and that it was in former times but one only Ile, cut and diuided after into many. And surely they which nauigate neere the *Maldiuēs*, discern all within white, by reason of the sand which is of this colour, vpon all the Flats and Rocks. The Sea thereabouts is very quiet and of a meane depth, insomuch that the deepest entrance is not twentie fathomes; and yet heere are very few entrances: for a man may almost see the bottome euery where.

All the shallowes are stone, Rocke and sand, so that when the tide is out, it reacheth not to ones waste, and for the most part to the mid-legge; so that it were very easie to goe without a Boate throughout all the Iles of the same *Atollon*, if it were not for two causes. The one great fishes called *Paimones*, which deuoure men and breake their legges and armes, when they encounter them; the other is that the depths of the Sea are generally very keene and sharpe Rockes which hurt them wonderfully that goe into it. And moreover, they meete with many branches of a certaine thing which I know not whether to terme Tree or Rocke, it is not much vnlike white Corall, which is also branched and piercing, but altogether polished; on the contrary, this is rugged, all hollow and pierced with little holes and passages, yet abides hard and ponderous as a stone. They call it in their Language *Aquiry*, they keepe it to make their Honey and Sugar of *Cocos*, hauing bruised them with little stones, and putting them to boyle with the water of *Cocos*, this is that which fashions their Honey and their Sugar. It greatly hinders those which wash themselves in the Sea, it was very difficult to me to goe so from Ile to Ile without a Boate, but they which are accustomed goe often.

Amongst

Amongst these Ilands there are very many, and as I beleene the greatest number, which are wholly vnhabited, and which haue neither Trees nor Herbs; others which haue no greene thing, and are but a moueable sand: yet there are some which are for the most part ouerflowne at spring tides, and are discouered when the Sea is out, the residue are all couered with great Crabs (which they call *Caconne*) and Cray-fishes.

Many of the Ilands are not inhabited.

There are great store of Fowles called *Pinguy*, which heere lay and hatch, and here is such a prodigious multitude of them, that a man knowes not (I haue often made triall) where to set his foot without touching their Egges, or young ones, or the old Birds, which flye not farre when they see men. The *Ilanders* eat them not, and yet they are very good meate, and as bigge as 10 Pidgeons, their Feathers white and blacke. These Iles which I haue said to bee vnhabited, appeare as farre off white, as if they were couered with Snow, by reason of the great whitenesse of the Sand which is fine and subtile, as that of an Houre-glasse, and so hot and burning, that the Egges of those Birds are hatched with great facilitie.

Prodigious numbers of the *Pinguy* Fowles.

Heat of sands.

They haue great scarcitie of fresh water, some Ilands are well woodded and inhabited which haue not any: except some few, whither the Inhabitants are constrayned to go and seeke it from the confining Iles; also they haue inuentions to receiue raine water: and although they haue water in the Iles, they are not like one another, being better in one respect then another. All their Pit-water is neither very sweet nor wholsome. They make their Pits in this manner, digging 20 (that which is very strange) not aboue foure feet from the Sea-shore, in places also which are often ouer-flowne. I haue obserued that their waters are very cold in the day, principally at noone, and in the night very hot.

Want of water

Pits how made

Hot at night and cold at noone.

But to returne to the thirteene *Atollons*, here are their names beginning at the North Point, which is in the head, which the *Portugals* call for that cause *Cabexadel las ilhas*, and in the *Maldines* Tongue, *Tilla dou matis*, in the same signification, that is to say, the high Point, which is vnder eight degrees of the Line on the North-side, in the same height that *Cochin* is. Now the first *Atollon* is called *Tilla dou matis*. The second *Milla done madone*. The third, *Padypolo*. The fourth, *Malos madou*. The fift, *Ariatollon*. The sixt, *Male Atollon*, which is the principall where is the Iland of *Malé*, chiefe ouer the others. The seuenth, *Poulisdou*. The eighth, *Molucque*. The 30 ninth, *Nillandous*. The tenth, *Collo madous*. The eleuenth, *Adon matis*. The twelfth, *Sonadon*. The thirteenth, *Addon* and *Poua Molucque*, which are distinguished into two little ones, and separated, as the others, but are very small, and therefore are accounted as one. Notwithstanding, *Addon*, as the better giues name to the other.

Names of the *Atollons*.

Euery *Atollon* is separated from his Neighbour by a channell of the Sea, which passeth betweene them. But although they cannot passe with great ships without perishing, yet there are foure which are farre larger then the others, and may easily passe for great ships, notwithstanding, it is very dangerous, and perillous to goe there, and especially in the night: for it is certaine to bee shipwrackt (as we were) because they cease not to encounter certaine Shoalds and Rockes, which they ought to shunne. I haue seene amongst the *Maldines* many Sea-cards, 40 where these were exquisitely deciphered. These people also are maruellous cunning to auoide them, and to saile through passages very dangerous without perishing. I haue seene them often passe in the middle of the Bankes, Sands, and Rockes, through little channels so narrow, that they had roome only for their Ba ke, and sometimes so euently that they grated the Rockes on both sides; and neuerthelesse they went securely in the midst of those perils, and with a high saile. Once being with some of the *Ilanders* in a little Boate, which was not aboue foure fathome long, the Sea was higher then the two Pikes length, and so outragious and turbulent as could not be more. I thought euery moment that the billow would haue carried mee out of the Boat; where I had great labor to hold my selfe, and they were not a whit perplexed, nor did feare any thing. For they feare not the Sea, and are very skilfull to conduct Barkes and Boats, being 50 made and accustomed to this from their youth, as well the Gentlemen as poore people, and it should be a disgrace to them to be ignorant in it. For this cause it is impossible to summe vp the number of Barkes and Boates which are throughout all the Iles, for as much as the poorest will haue one, the rich many. They neuer saile by night, but take Land euery euening, they saile not neither without sight of Land without a Compasse, except when they goe out of their Iles, and goe some long Voyage. They carrie therefore little prouision, but buy daily whatsoeuer they need in diuers Ilands.

Foure principall channels.

The Natives dexteritie in sayling.

Numberlesse numbers of Larkes.

No sayling by night.

The greatest part also of the Iles which are within the circuite of one *Atollon*, are surrounded with a shoald, and there are but one or two open places which are very strait and difficult to heede: wherefore it is necessary that they vnderstand well the manner actiuelly to guide their 60 Barkes, otherwise if they be defectiue the least thing in the World, their Barke will bee ouerthrowne, and their Merchandize perish. As for the men they can swimme well within those parts of the Sea preserues them daily, and to speake truly, they are as it were halfe fishes, they are so vsed to the Sea, whither they goe daily either swimming, or roading or sailing. I haue seene them many times within the ledge of Rockes where the Sea is calme, runne swimming

Shoalds:

Good Swimmers.

- after the fishes, which they haue suddenly perceiued bathing themselves, and haue taken them in their course. And this is visuall. And yet they faile not often to lose their Barkes, notwithstanding all their dexteritie.
- Strange Sea-currents.** The greatestt discommoditie is the current *Pynarou*, which runn aswell to the East as the West, in the channels of the Iles, and in diuers in-draughts of the Sea, six moneths on one Coast, and six months on another; yet not certainly, but sometimes more, sometimes lesse. This is that which deceiues them, and ordinarily casts them away. The winds are alwel fixed as the currents, from the East quarter or the West, but they vary sometimes, and are not so ruled, fetching their Compasse toward the North or the South, and the current goes perpetuall his accustomed course, till the season alter. It is a very remarkable thing, that whereas the *Atollons* are continued one at the end of the other, and separated by channels of the Sea which goe thorow them, they haue open places and entrances opposite one to the other two on one side, and two on the other, by which meanes men may goe and come from *Atollon* to *Atollon*, and alway communicate together. Wherein may be obserued an effect of the prouidence of God, which hath left nothing vnperfect. For if there were but two open places in euery *Atollon*, that is, one on one side, and another on the other; it were not possible to passe from *Atollon* to *Atollon*, nor from entrance to entrance, because of the boysterousnesse of the currents; which runne fixe moneths to the East, and fixe to the West, and permit not to crosse ouer, but force them downe. And when the two entrances are not aduerse, but one on the East Coast, the other on the West, men may easily enter, but not returne, except the fixe monethes are ended, and the current changed. Now as these entries are disposed, men may notwithstanding the currents goe from one *Atollon* to another, in euery season, and Traffique, and Merchandize freely together, as they doe; for as much as euery *Atollon* is open with foure entrances which are in opposition to their two Neighbours.
- The Monsons.**
- Inlets opposite.**
- Forme of the Entrances and their danger.** The entrances of these *Atollons* are vnlike, some competently broad, others very narrow, the largest is not more then two hundred paces or thereabouts; some are but thirtie, nay lesse. On both the sides of each of these passages are two Iles, on each side one; you would say that it were to guard the comming in, which surely were easie to doe, if they would, with Ordnance hinder the ships to enter, because the largest hath not aboue two hundred paces. Now concerning the channels (which they call *Candon*) which diuide the *Atollons*, foure are Nauigable, where the great ships may goe to passe through the *Maldines*, many strangers ships of all sorts passe often there, but not without perill, for there are a great number yeerely cast away. It is not that they affect this passage (for all on the contrary shunne it; as much as may be) but they are situated in such sort in the middest of the Sea, and so long, that it is not easie to escape them, principally the currents carrie the ships thither against their wils, when the calmes or contrary winds take them, and that they cannot helpe themselves with their sailes, to make way against the currents. The first beginnes on the North-side, and is that where wee were shipwrackt at the entry of the shelve of the *Atollon* of *Malos madou*. The second approacheth very neere *Malé*, called *Caridon*, in the middest whereof is the greatest of all the Iles, so hemmed in with Rocks as I haue said. The third, is by *Malé*, stretching toward the South, and is called *Addou*. The fourth, is called *Sonadou*, which is directly vnder the Equinoctiall Line: this is greatest of all, hauing more then twentie leagues in widenesse.
- The first.**
- The second, third, and fourth.**
- No Compasse but in long Voyages.** The Ilanders going by the Iles and *Atollons*, helpe not themselves with a Compasse, except in farre Voyages, but when they passe through the great channell they vse it. All the other channels betweene the *Atollons* are very strait, and full of Rockes and Shoalds, they cannot goe but in small Barkes, and yet it is requisite to haue great knowledge of the places to faile without danger. I found it strange sayling with the Ilanders in the channell, which separates *Malé* and *Polisdon*, and which beares the name of *Polisdon*, and is seuen leagues broad or thereabouts, that the Sea appeares there blacke as Inke, notwithstanding beeing taken vp in a Pot, it differs not from other water; I saw it daily boyle in bigge blacke billowes, as if it had beene water on the fire. In this entrance the Sea runnes not as in other places, which is feareful to behold: I thought I was in the nethermost depths perceiuing not that the water mooued on one side or the other. I know not the reason, but I know well that the Natiues are greatly afraid of it: they very often encounter such tortures.
- Sea blacke as Inke; the water not.**
- Heat.** Seeing these Iles are so neere the Equinoctiall on both sides, it may bee judged what is the qualitie of the Aire, which is very intemperate, and the heate excessiue. Notwithstanding the day and night are alwayes equall, the nights are very coole, and bring abundance of dew. This coolenesse is a cause that the Countrey may bee more commodiously inhabited, and that the Herbs and Trees are fruitfull, notwithstanding the heate of the Sunne. The Winter beginnes in the moneth of Aprill, and continues fixe monethes and the Summer in the moneth of October, which endures sixe other moneths. The Winter is without Frost, but alwayes rainie. The Winds are violent from the West Coast; on the contrary the East is extreame hot, and neuer causeth Raine.
- Dewes.**
- Winter.**
- Winds.**
- Whence peopled.** They affirme, that the *Maldines* haue beene heretofore peopled by the *Cingala*, (so they call the Inhabitants of the Iland of *Ceylan*.) But I finde that the *Maldines* resemble not at all the *Cingala*,

Cingala, which are blacke, and very euill featured, and these are well shaped and proportioned, and little differ from vs, except their colour, which is Oliue. But it is out of doubt, that the place and the length of time haue made them more gracefull then those which first inhabited the Iles. Adde also that there are seated a great number of strangers of all parts, which inhabit there, (besides the *Indians*) who from time to time haue been shipwrackt as we were. Wherefore the people which inhabit *Male*, and round about to the North point are found more orderly, honest and ciuill: and they which are on the South-side toward the low point, are more rude in their Language and Fashions, and not so well featured; and blacker, and also many women of the poorer sort are naked without any shame, hauing only a little cloth to cover their Priuities:

Ciuitie of the North parts. South barbarous.

10 And for as much as the North-coast is daily more haunted and frequented with strangers who ordinarily marrie there: Also that it is the passage of all the ships, which enrich the Countrey, and ciuillize it more and more, which is the cause that persons of ranke and qualitie seate themselves there more willingly, and not toward the South, whither the King sends in Exile those which he will punish with banishment. And yet the people which inhabit the South parts, are not inferiour in capacitie or Religion to the others, if it be not more for other things, but all their Gentry inhabit on the North Coast, where also they take their Souldiers.

20 The people is very Religious, greatly addicted to Manufactures of all kindes of Workes, wherein they excell, also in Letters and Sciences after their manner, principally in Astrologie, whereof they make great esteeme. They are a wise and circumspect Nation, very fraudulent in their Merchandizing, and their liuing in the World. They are valiant and hardie, and well seene in Armes, and liue in great order and policie. The women are faire, but that they are of an Oliue colour: and some are found as white as they be in *Europe*, yet they haue all blacke haire: but they esteeme that beautie, and many make it to come so, wherefore they keep their Daughters heads shauen, till the age of eight or nine yeeres, not leauing them till then any haire but a little on their fore-heads, to distinguish them from Boyes, who haue none at all, yet this comes not lower then their Eye-browes, and after that the children are borne, they shauie them from eight dayes to eight dayes, which makes their haire very blacke, that would not be so else, for I haue seene little children with halfe flaxen haire.

Religion.

Women.

Haire-ceremonies.

30 The beautie and ornament of the women is to haue their haire very long, thicke, and blacke, which they accommodate and wash often, and purifie with water and Lye made of purpose: hauing well washed and clensed their heads and haire, they abide in the wind all disheuelled, but within the compasse of their house, vntill it bee thoroughly dry; after they rub and oyle their haire with odoriferous Oyle, which causeth that their heads are alwayes moist and Oily. For they neuer wet their bodies men nor women, but after they oyle them, two or three times in the weeke for their haire, but for their bodie, oftener then there are dayes. As for their haire they are not obliged to wash it, but when they haue accompanied together, and they are bound particularly euery Friday, which is their Sabbath, and in all their great Feasts; the men on their Fridayes, the women on their seuerall Feasts only, but sleepe after it when they shall thinke good and according to their necessitie. The women also perfume their heads for a little reason which they haue, and so washed, oyled, and perfumed they attire themselves, which is to bring all their haire from before backward, and draw it out as much as may be, that one haire may not moue nor wauer this way nor that way: after they tye them behind, or they make a great tuft bound on, for which greatnesse, they haue a counterfeite Locke of mans haire, but as long as the womens, in fashion of a Horse taile; and to hold it, they garnish it at the great end after the manner of a (^l) and all the rest of their haire is put in order: after the (^m) of Gold or Siluer is couered with Pearles and Jewels according to their abilities: and some weare two of these false haire, because it serueth to tye their haire behind, and make the tuft greater. They put also odoriferous flowers of the Countrey, which is not thereof defectiue.

Bathing and Oyling.

De dez a colla-dre.

m De.

40 It is not permitted the men, but onely the Souldiers and Officers of the King, and Gentlemen to weare their haire long, who doe so for the most part, and as long as the womens, yea take as much paines as they to wash, clense, and oyle and sweeten it with flowers: and there is no other difference, but that the men bind their haire on one of their sides, or right vp, or vpon the head, and not behinde as the women: also they neuer weare any false Periwigs: they are not compelled to weare their haire so, but short or long, as they thinke good. I haue seene the King and the Princes, and greatest part of the Grandes and Souldiers, who weare their haire short, and they which weare them long, for the most part, when they are weary, or when they grow no more, cut them off to giue or sell to women, for they haue no counterfeite haire, but mens, because they neuer shauie the womens haire liuing or dead: the most part of these false haire come from the Continent, as from *Cochin*, *Calicut* and all the coast of *Malabar*, where all the men weare their haire

Increase of haire.

60 long, which after they cut and sell for women, as wel of the Countrey as Aliants. Their haire increaseth there a great deale faster then here, because, as I coniecture, they so often wash and oyle them, also by reason of the extraordinary heate, which causeth their haire to be thicker and harder, but neuer curled as with vs. Commonly also the men are hairy ouer all the bodie, yea so thicke as more cannot be imagined; hereof they boast, as if it were the strength of nature; which yet

Haire on their bodies.

yet they finde not alwayes true, and if a man bee not so hairy, they say, that hee rather resembles a woman then a man, and despise him for it: but the women are not so hairy, and haue no haire but in ordinary places.

All Barbers
and none.

There is no common Barbers, but euery one hath skill to shauē, as well men as women, and vse no razor for it, nor any combe; but they haue sizers of cast copper, and looking-glasses also of copper, which they vse instead of razors of Steele, but not made as ours. They shauē themselves after our fashion: for the King and Peeres, there are men which account themselves honoured to serue in this office, not for gaine, but for affection, being men of fashion; the King sends them presents at the yeeres end. Also throughout all the Ilands there is neither man nor woman, rich nor poore, great nor little, which after the age of fiftene yeeres hath not all their furniture and instruments to order their head: and they are very curious to take them off when it neuer so little grieues or troubles them.

Boyes and
girdles.

The maidens weare no coats till the age of eight or nine yeeres, but onely a cloth which reacheth from the girdle to the knee, which they weare from the time they begin to goe: but the boyes weare nothing till they are seuen yeeres olde and are circumcised: they say that it is not necessary that their daughters should weare any other robe the time aforesaid, for that then their breasts begin to beare out & increase, and it is needfull to couer them, as a thing which they hold as great a shame to show, as here their priuities; and then they let their haire increase without any more cutting, but adorne and trim it, being then in the time to finde some to marry with; for before that they hold them as children, and permit not men nor boyes to speake of loue to them, for that they are not acknowledged nor arrayed as maidens. Now the men being very old and couered with haire, as I haue said, and not clothing their bodies from the girdle vpwards, they shauē not the haire on the breast and stomacke, but in such a fashion as they cut the haire in one place, and leaue it in another, to the end that it may appeare and bee like the fashion of a cased doublet.

Shame to let
the breasts be
seene.

Beards of two
sorts.

The men weare their beards in two fashions: one which is permitted to the *Pandiares*, *Naibes*, and *Catibes*, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, and those which haue gone on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and *Medinat alnaby* in *Arabia*, where is the Sepulchre of *Mahomet*, to weare their beard so long as they will, and not to shauē it but vnder the throat, and their vpper and lower lips, because they would not for any thing being eating or drinking touch a haire, being the greatest nastinesse and filthinesse in the world: wherefore they haue no haire about their mouth; and I haue often seene that for finding onely one haire in a platter of meat, they would not touch it, and remained rather without eating, giuing it to the birds and other creatures, except any bodie would haue it. The other sort of beards for the rest of the nation, and the commonest is to weare a little one after the *Spanish* custome, shauen about their mouth and vnder their throat, but without mustaches, and in the cheekes they make like holes and fashions with the sizers, and they shauē them very close, yet so that it may appeare. Their chin as we vse now.

Neat superstition.
Curiositie.

Very niggards

In the meane while they curiously keepe the shauings of their haire and nailes, without losing or letting fall any, and are carefull to interre it in there Church-yards with a little water: for they would not for any thing in the world goe vpon it, or cast the left part into the fire; because, they say, being part of the bodie it requires burying as wel as the bodie; and they inclose it neatly in a little cotton, and the most of them wil be shauen in the porches of their temples or *Moschees*. They are verie hardie and insensible in all this, and vse no hot water in shauing them; their razors cut verie naughtily, and they doe nothing but poure a little cold water vpon it; and whatsoeuer hurt they doe, they complaine not, and say that it paines them not: this comes of custome to them, for else they would be as sensible as we.

§. III.

Their Cocos and other fruits and food, their Trades and trading, Creatures profitable and hurtfull. Of Male the principall Iland. Their Houses, Candou, Languages, Apparell.

Their food
Millet.

THE *Maldines* are very fertill fruit, and other commodities necessarie for the life of man. They haue abundance of Millet, which they call *Oura*, also of another little graine called *Bimby*, which is like to Millet, but that it is blacke as Rape-seed. These graines sow themselves, and are reaped twice in a yeere. They make a kinde of meale, whereof they make pottage with milke and hony of Cocos, and also of Torteaux and Bignets, and many other sorts of food. There grow also rootes of many kindes, one called *Itelpoul*, which growes in abundance without sowing, and is round, and two handfulls in greatnesse, like more or lesse. Now they bruiſe it by rubbing it on a rugged stone, after they lay it in a cloth in the Sunne to dry, this is like our *Amidon* or wheate-flower, which they keepe as long as they wil, whereof they make pottage, and Torteaux and Galletus, which is a verie delicate meat, but that it a little surchargeth

furcharge the stomacke, it must bee eaten while it is new. They haue plentie of another sort of root, called *Alas*, of a very good taste, which they sow and cultivate, one sort red, like red-partinip, another white like nauews, and are ordinarily bigger then a mans thigh. They boile and dresse them in diuers fashions, and keepe them a great part of the yeere; also they order them with hony and sugar of Cocos, and it is a great part of the nourishment of these people. They call wheat *Godame* & rice *Andone*, which grows not there, but is brought in great quantitie from the firme land. They eat and prepare it in diuers manners, boyling it only with water, and eat it with other viands in stead of bread. They boyle it also, after dry it and bray it, and of this bran, with egges, hony, milke, and butter of Cocos, they make Florentines, and verie good belly-timber.

Roots.

10 Hearbes and trees grow plentifully in all the Iles; many that beare fruit, others that beare none, whereof notwithstanding they eate the leaues which are sweet and daintie. There are Citrons, Pomgranets, Orenge in abundance; Bannanes, which the *Portugalls* call figges of *India*, and the *Maldives* *Quella*, which is a great fruit, and multiplies exceedingly, delicious and of great nourishment; so that they nourish their infants with it in stead of broth. There is none more profitable then the Cocos or nut of *India*, which they call *Roul*, and the fruit *Cate*: they abound more in the *Maldives* then in any place of the world: this onely tree serues for all necessaries of life, furnishing them in great quantitie with wine, hony, sugar, milke, and butter; and moreover the pith or kernell serues to eate, with all sorts of meate in stead of bread. Adde also the wood, barke, leaues, and shells make the greatest parts of their moueables and vtenfills.

Hearbs, trees, and fruits.

Cocos.

20 There is such store of fire-wood, that they buy it not, for as much as the cuntry is couered with all sorts of trees: it is lawfull to goe and cut those trees at any time when they haue need, which serue for nothing but to burne. Also there are whole Ilands full, whither euerie one send their seruants and slaues daily to fetch for their vse. It is admirable that each of the thirteene *Atollons* produce sundry fruits, although they are all vnder the same climate; yet euerie one hath not that which is necessarie. You would say, that God would that these people should visite one another, here is such diuersitie: for what is plentiful in one place is rare in another. Although euerie thing growes particularly in each place, yet it is little, and not so good and naturall as that which comes from the *Atollons* and Iles proper to it, because it is brought from other places.

Trees common.

30 The people also haue followed in their habitations a like order, for the crafts-men are assembled in Iles apart, as the Weauers in one, the Gold-smiths in another, and so all the rest. In brieft, none of their mechanick Arts are mingled, but each hath his Ile, yet they communicate one with another in this sort: they haue close boates, with a little deck, and goe from Ile to Ile traueilling and retayling their merchandize, and sometimes are more then a yeere before they returne to their Ile and ordinarie residence. They carrie with them their male children, from foure or five yeere old, to learne and be accustomed to it. They lye alwayes in their Barkes, and drinke and eate there, and often worke also. Where I was on the *Maldives*, there was found a Bird (which landed in an Iland) of prodigious shape and greatnesse. It was three foot high, the body exceeding great, more then a man could fathom: the feathers all white as a Swan, the feet broad like Fowles that swim, the necke halfe a fathom long, the beake halfe an ell; on the vpper part at the end a kinde of crooked claw, vnderneath larger then aboue, whence hung a very great and capable bagge of a yellow gilded colour resembling parchment. The King was much astonished whence this creature should come, and what was the nature of it: and enquiring of all men which came from other regions, at the last hee happened on certaine strangers, who told him that this creature was particular to *China*, and that it was bred nowhere else, and that the *Chinois* vse them to take fish, for this creature swimmeth on the water as other riuier Birds, and very long. It takes fish with great dexteritie, and fills the great purse or bagge which hangs from the beake vnderneath, which is so great and capable, that it will hold many fishes each two feet long, which the King handling hard, wondred greatly how it was possible that this Bird should come so alone from *China*, being distant more then a thousand and two hundred leagues. The King made triall, causing them to tye and fasten his throat, onely giuing it leaue to breath, that it might not swallow the fish, but bring vp the poke full. I haue seene it often goe so on the Sea, and come with it full of fish. It goeth a long time on the Sea, and carries there sometimes a day, which makes me beleue that it is not impossible that it should come from *China*.

Crafts differing with the Ilands.

50 They haue Hens in such plentie, that it is strange, and cost them nothing but the taking, for they are wild: in the Market they sell them but for one *Som* apiece, and thirtie fixe Egges at the same price; this is the meate they vse most next to fish. They haue store of Pidgeons, of Duckes, of Rayles, and of certayne Birds which altogether resemble Sparrow-hawkes, Muskets blacke and gray, which liue not of prey, but of fruits and many other differing kinds, all wilde and none domesticke. The Crowes greatly indanger the Inhabitants; for they are so bold, that they will come into the Houses; and take any thing, although men be present, of whom they are not awhit afraid. At the first, I thought they had bene tame and domesticall, they are in so great abundance that they cannot be numbered, because they kill them not. The Bats are as great as Rauens. They are greatly annoyed by the Muskites or Gnats, which picke very sorely. But that which troubles them most are the Rats, Dormice, and Pismires which are found euerie where,

Hens wilde.

Other Fowle. Crowes bold. Great Bats. Muskites, Rats Mice, Pismires, &c. Of these creatures see *Linschot. C. 45.* who relateth the like in *Goa*.

where, with other sorts of Creatures and Vermine which enter into their Houses, and eate and spoyle their Graine, Prouision, Fruits, and tender Commodities, so that they are forced for to resist them, to build their Lodges and Granaries on piles in the Sea two and three hundred paces from the Land, whither they goe in Boates, and there lay vp their graine and fruits to keepe them. The most part of the Magazines of the King are builded after this manner.

Sea-snakes.

In the Sea there is a kinde of Snakes which are very dangerous. There are great store of Cats, Foines, and Ferrets. There are no beasts for riding; there are few great beasts, wilde or tame. It is true, that there are about foure or five hundred Cowes and Bulls: but they appertaine to the King onely who breedes them in the Ile of *Male*: whither they are brought from the firme land for curiositie to multiply to that number; They eate them not, but in foure or five months in the yeere, and at great feasts when the King causeth to kill one, and sometimes he giueth one to the strangers ships, whom hee will gratifie. There are also some Weathers which are the Kings. They haue no Dogges, yea are greatly afraid of them. While that I was there, the Portugalls of *Cochin* sent two to the King for a raritie, who caused them incontinently to be drowned. If any touch a Dogge, he presently goes to bath, as to purifie himselfe.

Dogs dreadful and vncleane.

Fish.

The Sea is very full of fish, of all sorts great and small, principally because it is shallow and calme within the *Atollons*. It is their chiefe sustenance, either fresh with Rice or other meate, or fried with Oyle of Cocos, or sod in sea-water and dried to keepe it. They send many ships daily laden to *Achen* in *Sumatra* and other places. There is one great kinde of fish which greatly vexeth them, for it deuoures the men when they bath or go a fishing. I escaped very hardly from being deuoured. A man may see a great number of persons which haue lost their armes or legges, or otherwise are lamed by this misfortune. The great abundance of all things causeth that victuall costs little, and that euery thing is good cheape. Foure hundred Cocos may bee bought for one *Larin*, which is eight souses: five hundred Bannanes for one *Larin*: in like manner after the same price an hundred great fishes, or a dozen of good Hens, or three hundred pound of *Roots*, and so of other things: so that there is no * Country in *India* where strangers grow rich so soone, because trading is good, and victualls cheape.

* Note.

Male the principall Island.

The principall Island is called *Male*, which giues name to all others: for the word *Dines* signifieth a number of small Iles heaped together: it is very neere the middest of all other Iles, and is in circuit about a league and a halfe. It is fruitfuller then all the rest, and the Staple and Mart of them, and of strangers; the seat of the King and of the Court. By reason whereof it is best peopled, but vnhealthfullest; there dye many, whom they interre each a part, so that all the Ile is full; the Sunne, which is very hot, draweth vp noysome and pestilent vapours. The waters also are naught, the King therefore is compelled to send, for him and his houle, to another Ile, where the water is better, and where they bury no bodie; so doe also the principall and men of abilitie in the Ile. Throughout all the Islands they haue no enclosed Townes, no not in the Ile of *Male*. But all the Ile is replenished here and there with houses and buildings, either of Lords and Gentlemen, or of the common people, and also of others. Notwithstanding the houses are distinguished by Streets and Wards, in a faire order, and all know their owne diuision. The houses and edifices of the common people are of Wood of the Cocos, which they cut from the trunke of the Tree, they couer them with leaues of the same Tree, sowed double one within another.

Vnhealthfull.

No walled Townes.

Their houses.

Sea-stones how drawne thence.

Candon strange wood.

The Signiors and rich men build with stone, which they draw forth of the Sea, from vnder the Shelves and Rockes, where they find as much as they will, of good length and greatnesse. It is smooth and good merchandise, verie white, somewhat hard to cut and fashion: but as soone as it raines on it, it loseth its naturall hardnesse and whitnesse, and becomes all blacke when it is beaten with the raine, or wet with fresh water: the manner of drawing them forth of the Sea is remarkable. There groweth in that Countrey a kind of Wood which they call *Candon*, which is as great as the Wall-nut tree here, like in the shaking leafe, and whitnesse, but wonderfull soft. It beares not any fruit, and is fit onely to burne: being dry they cut it into Plankes, which they vse as we doe fire. This Wood is lighter then Corke. Hauing noted the stone within the water which they will haue, they fasten it with a great Cable. This is ordinary, for as I said before, they are halfe fishes, very expert in swimming, their women swim as well or better then the men of these parts: so that they will goe on euery occasion to the bottome of the Sea, fiftene or twenty fathoms deepe, and stay there a long time and marke the depths very often, to see where it is good laying their anchor. Sometimes also in stead of an anchor they choose some great rocke in the bottome of the Sea, and there fasten their Cable. Then after that they haue selected the stone, which they will draw vp, & that they haue bound it to their Cable, they take a piece of the wood of *Candon*, & tie or thrust through (after they haue bored it) their cable right opposite to the stone, and after aloft adde a certaine number of these pieces, as many as shall be necessary, so that which is marvellous light, and fleeting aboue the water, pulls vp with it the stone and draweth it aloft, whatsoeuer weightie or ponderous a thing it bee, euen to a thousand pounds. The Cannons and Anchors of our overwhelmed Ship were drawne vp thus. I haue scene that the Hauen of the Ile of *Male*, being full of great Rocks, so that the Ships could not ride nor anchor in safetie, clefted and made nauigable thus in lesse then five dayes.

They

They vse also to take five or sixe great pieces of this kind of wood, and binde them fast in a row, and aboue set sawed Plankes of the same Tree after the fashion of a Hurdle, after eleuate it with little boords round, before, and behinde, and on the sides, and in the middle to sit. This serues them to goe to Sea, and passe from Ile to Ile: they principally fish in such, euery man hath one, for they need but one to guide and conduct them. Another propertie of this Tree is, that rubbing pieces one against another, fire comes forth, and this is their kindling of fire. For chaulke they vse shells found on the Sea side, which ioynes and conglutinats their buildings very well together.

Fire how
kindled.

Languages.

10 They haue two languages in vse. The first, which is particular to the *Maldines* and is very ample. The second is the *Arabick*, which they greatly esteeme and learne as wee doe *Latine*. Also it serueth them daily for their holies. In the *Atollon* of *Souadou*, and toward the South of the *Maldines* they speake a language hard to vnderstand, and very clounish and rude.

Their apparell.

20 They apparell themselves thus. First the men tie about their priuities a great swath-band of cloth, which comes round about them, for feare that going or comming, or in doing any worke, they might be discovered. After, they put a little cloth of cotton died blew, or red, or some other colour, which goes no lower then their knees. Vpon that they put a great piece of cloth of cotton or silke (if they are a little rich and wealthy) which reacheth to their ankles, and gird it with a faire square handkerchiefe imbroidered with gold and silke, which they fold in three corners, and spreading it vpon their backes make it fast before; after for greater ornament they adde a little piece of silke of diuers colours, transparent as cobweb-laune, which is short and extends no further then the middle of their thighes: and after all that they incomasse themselves in a great girdle of silke, which is like to their turbant, and is well fringed; they let the ends hang before. Within this girdle, which serues them for a purse, they put their money, and their bettele on the left side; and on the right side they weare their knife, which they esteeme very honourable, and there is no bodie but weares one, no not the King. These kniues are very well made, all of excellent Steele, for they haue no inuention to mingle yron with Steele. They which haue any meanes, weare the haft and sheath all of siluer wrought and fashioned. In the end of the sheath on the top they haue a buckle of siluer, whereto hangs a little chaine also of siluer, whereto are tyed their tooth-pickers and eare-pickers, and other little instruments. Others, which haue not meanes to haue them so costly, weare the sheath of wood wrought, the haft of a fishes bone, as of a Whale or other

Girdle.

Knife.

30 Sea creature, for they will not weare bone of any Land creature. They are very curious of their kniues, and thinke themselves not well clothed, except they haue them at their girdle.

No land-bone
worne.

They are not suffered to carry other Armes, except the Souldiers and Officers of the King, and they onely while they are in seruice of the King in the Ile of *Male*, or elsewhere sent by him. They haue commonly at their side a waued dagger, which they call a *Cris*; they come from *Achen*, *Iana*, and *China*. And moreouer when they goe in the street, they alwayes carry their sword naked in one hand, and their buckler in the other, or else a janelin. Their principall brauerie, is to weare about their girdle many chaines of siluer. There is not one man nor woman, boy nor girle, little or great, which will not haue of them according to the proportion of their goods and

No Armes
ordinarie.

Siluer chaines.

40 substance. Thereon they put their Treasure, and ordinarily designe it to defray the expences of their Funerals. But none except the Grand Lords and Strangers weare them vpon their clothes to be seene: the other weare them hid vnderneath: and yet they will haue them to speake of them, and shew priuately. The residue of their bodie from the Girdle vpward is naked; I vnderstand of the common people, for the *Signiors* of qualitie are not so. Yet in their Feast dayes they couer themselves with Ierkins and Cassocks of Cotton or Silke which they fasten with Buttons of gilt Copper. These Ierkins are of all sorts of colours, but the edges are welted with white and blue. The sleeves come but to their elbow; they say, if they should descend to the wrist, as ours, they should not haue the free manning of their armes. They put on also coloured linings, which are very strait, and reach from the ankles to the waist, which they fasten also on the bottome with gilded buttons.

Nakednesse.

Ierkins.

50 The chiefe men array themselves ordinarily with Ierkins and Cassocks. A great number on Feast dayes vse another kind of gallantry: they bruse Sanders and Camphire on very sicke and smooth stones (which they bring from the firme Land) and sometimes other sorts of odoriferous wood; after they compound it with water distilled of flowres, and ouerspread their bodies with this paste, from the Girdle vpwards, adding many formes with their fingers, such as they imagine: it is somewhat like cut and pinked Doublets, and of an excellent sauour. Sometimes they bind together faire flowres, and of the best sent. They dresse their Wiues or Lemmons in this sort, and make vpon their backes workes and shadowes, as they please. This is one kind of brauery which is much vsed, but they dare not present themselves so trimmed before the King, nor within the Palace. Vpon their heads they weare red Turbants, or diuersified into various colours, the richer sort of Silke, the poorer of fine Cotton. The Souldiers and Officers of the King attire themselves after one fashion, which is not permitted to others, putting often on their heads imbroydered Hand-kerchiefes, which others may not. All the people goe naked on their feet, and often on their legges, yet within their Houses they vse a kind of Slippers or Sandals

Past-garment.

Skin-prints.

Souldiers and
Officers attire.

Barefeet.

dals

dals made of wood, but when any of their Superiours come to visit them, they pull off their Sandals, and remaine with bare feet.

Womens habit.

The women haue a great cloth of Cotton, or of coloured Silke which comes about them from their middle to their ankles, and serues them for a Coate. Vpon that they put a Robe of Taffata, or very light Cotton, but very long: It descends to their feet, the borders are blue and white; it is very like the Smocks which women weare in these parts. It is a little open on the necke, and fastned with two little gilded Buttons, and so before in the Throate, without any more opening in the bosome: so that when they will giue their children sucke, they are constrained to pull vp their Garments, yet without any indecencie, by reason of the cloth which they vse in stead of a Coate. Their Armes are laden with great Bracelets of Siluer, sometimes from the wrist to the elbow; the poorer sort weare them mixed with Brasse, others of fine and massie Siluer, so that there are some found with three or foure pound of Siluer on their Armes: and moreover they haue Chaines of Siluer on their Girdles vnder their clothes, which are not seene, but sometimes when their Garments are very lightsome. They haue many Chaines of Gold about their neckes if they be women of ranke and fashion, or they knit together pieces of Gold Coine, which comes thither from *Arabia*, or elsewhere from the Continent. In their eares they weare very rich pendants according to their wealth, but they weare them not after the same fashion we doe heere. For the Mothers pierce the eares of their Daughters when they are young, not only in the lap or fat of the eare, but all along the gristle in many places, and put there threds of Cotton to encrease and keepe the holes, that they may put when they are greater little gilded 20 nailes, to the number of twentie foure in both eares. The head of the naile is commonly adorned with a precious Stone or Pearle, also in the lap of the eare they haue an earring fashioned after their manner. When the women goe in the streets either in the night or day, (although they go seldome in the day) they weare a Veile vpon their heads; but they put it downe going with the Queenes or great Ladies, or with their betters, but not at all before men, no, not before the King; but on the contrary they will hide themselves more when they imagine that men eye them.

Bracelets beanie.

Chaines.

Eare-tires.

It is obseruable, that none neither man nor woman, except the Prince or *Grand Signior* dare weare any Rings set with Stones, nor Jewels, nor Bracelets, Carkanets, or Earrings, nor Chaines of Gold without permission from the King, if they bee men, or from the Queenes, if they bee 30 women. This permission they buy, except they conferre this benefit on them, as they doe often to the women.

Gold prohibited.

None, neither Queenes nor Princesses may weare Bracelets and Rings of Gold on their Armes and Legs: but for any other ornament it is permitted them to haue Gold; but although the Rings of their Feet and Legges are of Siluer, they may not weare what quantitie they will, if they be not of great Birth and Originall, nor put Rings on their fore-fingers, except the Queenes, the Princesses and great Ladies on the middle-fingers; all other women with permission on the two other fingers, the men only on their thumbe. So euery one knowes his ranke and degree, and what ornaments he must haue aswell for himselfe as his Wife, and there is no confusion in it. If the Wife of any one which hath not accustomed to goe braue before, beginne 40 to goe more gay, or if a man weare Rings set with Jewels on his finger, although in so doing hee exceeds not that which is permitted him; yet they impose on him a greater Taxe for this: except the Officers of the King and of the Queenes, which pay no Taxes, nor the Inhabitants of the Ile of *Malé*, yet they are burthened with other charges, and pay many extraordinary expences. The Strangers and their Wines haue priuiledge to attire themselves as they wil, to weare what ornaments and costlinesse they will, without permission, euen as the great Princes, or the King himselfe. In brieft I obserued, that the Strangers haue more Priuiledges and Immunities then the Naturals. Also the *Pandjars*, the *Naybes* and *Caribes* of the Ile of *Malé*, and other Islands may dresse and array themselves as they please, without being bound to the Lawes for this thing as others. 50

Strangers priuiledged.

Womens customs.

The women are curious to tricke and trimme themselves handsomely. They haue a custome to make the nailes of their feet and hands red. This is the beautie of the Countrey: they make it with the iuice and moysture of a certayne Tree, and it endures as long as their nailes. Certainly they appeare very faire and beautifull, aswell because they attire themselves neatly, as because they are wel-fauoured, of a good proportion, and very prettie.

§. IIII.

Rites of Meate and Drinke, Bathing, Superstitious Observations : Diseases.

Education of Children. Fishing, Fashions, Lusts.

They neuer eate together, but with men of their owne Ranke and Qualitie; counting it a dishonour to eate with their inferiour: Also they feast seldome, except at their Festivals and Solemnities. If they wil at other times entertaine their friends, they prepare a Service of many Dishes, and set it on a great round Table couered with Taffeta, and send it into his House whom they will feast: which they hold a great honour. Being in their owne house they loue not the others should see them eate, and goe therefore to the furthest side of their house, letting downe all the clothes and Tapistrie which are before them, that so they may be vnseene. Before they eate, they say their Prayers. They haue no other Table then the floore of their Lodgings, which is couered with a little fine Mat, whereon they sit crosse-legged. They vse no Naperie, but for feare of wasting their Mats they vse great leaues of the Bannanes whereon they set their Dishes, and others before them instead of Trenchers: they are so neat in their feeding, that they shed nothing in the place where they eate, no not one drop of water, although they wash their mouth before and after their repast. Their dishes are of Earth, figured after the maner of the Country, and come from *Cambaya*; as good as *China* Porcelane, and so common that all vse them. But they haue no Platter of Earth or Porcelane, which is not after the fashion of a Box round, varnished and nealed, and a couer of the same matter. The poorer sort haue couered Platters in stead of these Boxes, which cost little. The reason is because of the Ants, which in great numbers fill euery place, so that it is very difficult to keepe any thing without a couer.

They are also so nice in their Diet, that they will not taste of any meate wherein hath fallen a Flye or an Emit, or any little creature, or the least filthinesse, so that they will giue it to the Birds when they come: for they haue no minde to giue it to the poore, to whom they neuer giue any thing which they would not haue, or which is not aswell dressed as for themselves. Wherefore when the poore come to their doores, they make them come in, and make them as good cheere as for themselves; saying, that they are the Seruants of God aswell as themselves. The *Grand Signiors* and rich men haue no other Vessels then other men, although they might haue them of Gold and Siluer, yet their Law forbids it. If a dish happen to be a little riuen or crackt, they eate no more in it; saying, that it is polluted. They vse no Spooones neither to eate Rice nor Honey, nor any liquid thing, but take them with their fingers, which they doe neatly and nimbly without losing any thing, for they account it the greatest inciuitie in the World to let any thing fall in eating. In the meane while also, none dare spit nor cough, but must rise and goe forth. In eating they neuer vse the left hand, because therewith they wash their Priuities. They willingly eate at the beginning of their feeding a Cocos halfe ripe, and drinke the water of it; saying, that it is healthfull, and looseth their belly. They eate all greedily and in haste, holding it mannerlinesse not to be long in eating: and in the meane while, though they be in company, they speake not a word.

Feasting.

Feeding.

Neatnesse.

Dishes.

Pismires troublesome.

Niceties.

Charitie.

No Plate. Finger-spoons.

Dexteritie.

Quicke at meate. Drinking rites.

To drinke while they are eating, is reckond clownishnesse, but after they haue eaten their fill, they drinke once. Their drinke is commonly of water, or of Wine of Cocos drawne forth the same day: they haue also other sorts of drinckes for the King and Nobles, or at their great Solemnities. They drinke in Copper Cups well wrought, with couers on them. After their repast, and when they haue washed, they present a Platter of *Betsell*, instead of sweet meates. For the most part they haue no ordinarie houre of eating, but eate at all houres when they are hungry. Their Wiues and Daughters prepare and dresse their meate, and not men. It is the greatest injurie that a man can doe to one, to call him *Cisday*, that is to say *Cooke*: and if any bee found to addict themselves to this, they are mocked and despised euery where, in such sort that they esteeme them not for men but women: and they dare not accompany with any but women, nor doe any other exercise; also they make it no difficultie to leaue them with them.

Betsell.

No man cooke

When they kill any creature for their food, they haue many Mysteries. They cut the throat turning themselves toward *Mahomets* Sepulchre, and say their Prayers, and all speedily let it goe, or goe forth, not touching it till it be thoroughly dead. If any touch it before, they cast away the flesh, and eate it not. Also they cut it not euery-where, but in a certaine place of the throat, otherwise they eat it not, and euery one vnderstands not this, but principally their Priests or *Mondius* know it: they which enterprize it must bee ancient and not yong, and such as haue had children. In all their actions they are very scrupulous and superstitious. After they haue slept, whether in the night or day, they faile not presently after they are awake, to wash their eyes and face, and rub them with Oyle, and put also a certaine blacknesse vpon their eye-lids and eye-browes: they dare not speake nor bid any good morrow till they haue done thus; they are carefull to rub their Teeth, and to wash and clense them, saying furthermore, that the Red colour

Butcher-rites.

Superstition.

- Bettell and Arecka.** of Bettell and *Arecka*, which they chawe continually takes the better: so that they haue all red Teeth, by reason of champing of Bettell, & they account this brauerie. They carrie it also alwaies about in the pleats of their Girdle, and it should be a dishonor to be found without it; it is the custome when they encounter one another by the way interchangeably each to giue the other some of his. They bathe often in the day, not only for pleasure and commoditie, but for Religion, or entrance into the *Mosche*: they wash their Extreems after they haue made vrine, or done their necessities, they wash their Priuities with the left hand, or they wash all their bodie, which they call *lunan*, according to their Feasts with diuersities of formes and ceremonies. So that when they wash in publike, as they doe, a man may know wherefore they bathe, as if they haue accompanied with their Wiues whether by night or by day, they plunge their head three times vnder the water. When they are to goe any Voyage, they desire not to meet or touch any body, and if any disastrous thing chance to them, they attribute it to him who toucht them. About all when they goe on fishing, they must not salute any, nor bid them good morrow. From the going downe of the Sunne on Thursday in the Euening, till the day following about three or foure of the clocke, they will not permit any thing to be carried out of their Houses, although their dearest Loue, or their Father would borrow any thing, they would not giue it them, neither will they render that which shall be lent for, although it bee not theirs: yet they will receive any thing, and let it enter into their houses in the meane while without any scruple. They wrangle not nor quarrell together, although there be enmitie betweene them; about all take heed of reproaching.
- Bathing.**
- Superstitions.** In sailing, if they be surprized with contrarie winds, of calmes or stormes, they make Vowes to him which commands the winds, whom they call not God, but King. There is no Ile where is not found a *Siare*, as they call it, which is a place dedicated to the winds, in a desolate corner of the Ile, where they which haue escaped danger, make Offerings daily of little Boates and ships made purposely, full of Perfumes, Gummes, Flowres, and odoriferous Woods. They burne the Perfumes, and cast the little Boats into the Sea which goe floating till they be burned, for they put fire in them; to the end, they say, that the King of the Winds may accept them. Also they set not willingly their ships and Gallies afloat, but they kill Hens and Cockes, and cast them in the Sea before the ship or Boat which they will vse. They beleue also that there is a King of the Sea, to whom in like sort they make Prayers and Ceremonies in their Nauigation, and when they goe on fishing, fearing vpon euerie error and offence, the Kings of the Winds and of the Sea. So that being on the Sea they dare not spit on the windie side, nor cast any thing ouerboard, for feare that they should be angrie with them: also they neuer looke behind them. All the Boates, Barks, and ships are deuoted to the powers of the Winds and of the Sea: and surely they respect them as if they were their Temple, keeping them neate, and neuer committing any filthy and dishonest thing in them. They haue also the Kings of the other Elements (as they call them) and especially that of Warre, but all with great Ceremonies.
- Their Soluities.** They greatly esteeme certaine Characters, which they call *Tanide*, which they weare vnder their Garments, inclosed in little Boxes, which the Rich make of Gold or Siluer. They weare them often on their armes, on their necke, or at their Girdle, or else at their foot, according to the subject of the Disease; for they weare them for all things as well offensive as defensive, that they should loue or be loued, or hate, or to heale or cure any Maladie. The Magicians and Sorcerers sell them these for monie, and tell them that it brings them good lucke, and heales their Diseases. They haue few remedies for their Maladies, but haue recourse to the Magicians and Sorcerers, who are their only Physicians. They beleue also that all their euill is caused by the Deuill to vexe them, who is the only cause of their Deaths and Diseases. Therefore they call vpon him, and offer Flowres to him, and prepare Banquets of all sorts of Viands and Beuerages, which they set in a certaine secret place, where they let them consume, if no poore people happen to take them away. For the same purpose they kill Cockes or Hennes, turning them towards the Sepulchre of *Mahomet*, after leauing them there, praying the Deuill to accept of them.
- Superstitious nearnesse.** The Feuer is common among them, but most dangerous to strangers. From ten yeeres to ten yeeres, here comes a Disease called *Curinadiri*, for which they abandon one another, as if it were the Plague. It is like the small Pockes, and kils many. The diseases of the Eyes are very common, I haue seene a great number blind, and the most part haue little Eyes. It happens also often that hauing beene long in the Sunne in the height of the day, after the Sunne is downe, they see not at all, whatsoever fire or light be put neere them, although it were a hundred Torches, yet without feeling any other euill. To heale it, they boyle the Liuer of a Cocke, and write words and Charmes, and set it toward the point of the setting of the Sunne. My Companions and I were sometimes vexed with this Maladie: but hauing learned the Receipt, wee tooke the Liuer of a Cocke, rejecting their Charmes, to see if that would serue, and wee found that it healed vs as well as them, without obseruing their Sorceries. They are much subject to the Itch, which they heale with Oyle of Cocos. Remediless Tettters terrifie them much: some haue almost their whole bodies ouer-runne with them. These euils come by reason of the quantity
- Characters.**
- See the like in Iobsons Notes of Gambia.**
- Magicians.**
- Deuill inuoked.**
- Feuers.**
- Decenniall Disease.**
- Blindnesse.**
- Tettters.**

titie of Salt-fish which they eate, and also because they seldome salt their meates, but powre Sea-water to it.

In the Winter, although the Raines are continuall, yet they goe bare-foot, they haue vnder their feet and betweene their toes, a kind of hand-worme, which breeds in the filth, it maketh Wheales and Pushes full of water, which after they increase ingender Vicers, which greatly hinders their going. They are also troubled all over the bodie with these Wormes. They haue all commonly great Spleenes, and are subject to obstructions, and endure much euill. They haue some Receits and Compositions of Herbes and Drugges for diuers Maladies, and principally for wounds, which they heale very cunningly.

10 They vse no bindings nor linnen to their Soares, but only Ointments. Cathaires and Fluxes sometimes trouble them, and aches in the bones. The *Neapolitan* disease is not very frequent: they heale it with *China* wood, without sweating or any other thing, they call it *Farangui Basfrou*, this Maladie came from *Europe*, whose Inhabitants they call it *Farangui* or *Frangui*. They are neuer troubled with the Tooth-ache; it seemes their ordinary chawing of *Bettell* is the cause hereof. As soone as their Infants are borne, they wash them in cold water sixe times a day, and after they chafe them with Oyle, and continue this washing a great while: and moreouer, when they make Vrine, or doe Natures Office, they wash their Priuities with water.

The Mothers nourish their owne Children, and dare not put them forth to nurse to others, not the Queenes, saying ordinarily that the beasts bring vp their young, but they haue Seruants to tend, carrie, and gouerne them. Besides the brest they make a kind of Pappe, of Rice or Honey, brayed and macerated, after boiled with Milke and Sugar of Cocos. The most part (especially the poorest) giue them Bananes. They neuer swaddle their Children, but let them goe free, and yet I neuer saw any deformed. Now their Couch hangs in the Aire, within little Beds of board, or little Chaires, where they shogge and rocke them. At the age of nine moneths they begin to goe.

At nine yeeres old they bring them vp in the studies and exercises of the Countrey. These studies are to learne to write and to reade, and to vnderstand their *Alcoran*, and know what they are bound to doe. Their Letters are of diuers sorts, the *Arabicke* with some Letters and Points which they haue added to expresse their Language: another whereof the Character is peculiar to the Language of the *Maldines*, and moreouer, a third which is the vulgar of *Ceylan*, and of the greatest part of the *Indies*. They write their Lessons on little Tables of wood, which are white, and when they can say their Lesson by heart, they blot it out, and white it againe. If the writing bee to abide and remaine perpetually, they write vpon Parchment which is made of the leafe of the Tree called *Macore Quean*, which is a fathome and an halfe in length, and a foot broad. To teach their Children to write, they haue Boards made of wood purposely, very smooth and plaine, whereon they spread very fine and thinne Sand, after with a Bodkin they make the Letters, and make them imitate them, blotting out the Rule which they haue written, and neuer vse herein any Paper.

They carrie as great respect and reuerence to their Tutors as to their Fathers: so that they may not contract Marriage together, as being allied in Affinitie. There are some found among them who follow their studies, who are very skilfull in the *Alcoran*, and Ceremonies of their Law; they are principally the *Modins*, *Catibes*, or *Naybes*. These two Offices are compatible, for a *Catibe* may be a *Naybe*, and a *Naybe* a *Catibe*.

The Mathematickes are there taught, and are greatly esteemed, especially Astrologie, which many studie; for they consult with the Astrologers about euery thing: They will enterprize nothing without their aduice. They will not only know their Natiuities and time of their Births, but also if they build, whether with wood or stone, they must enquire of the Astrologer, what houre will bee best to beginne, that it may bee vnder a good Constellation: or if they employ a Boate, although they doe it diuersly, taking a different day or houre for a ship of Warre, or of Merchanchize, or a fishing Barke. If they vndertake any Voyage, or any thing else, they enquire of the Astrologer what shall be the issue, and whether the day bee good or euill, if the Planet be fauourable or vnfortunate. Whatsoeuer sinister accident happens to them, they attribute the cause to the day, and take it patiently, saying, it is the will of God that hath brought it to passe.

The Ilanders are much exercised in Armes, either to serue with a Sword and Buckler, or readily to bend the Bow, or vse the Harquebuse, or mannage the Pike: they haue Schooles, the Masters whereof are greatly honoured and respected, and ordinarily the *Grand Signiors* vse this exercise. They haue no plaies but the Ball and Tennice, which they receiue and cast forth with great agilitie, although it be not but with their feet.

60 Their greatest exercise is fishing, which all in all places of the *Maldines* vse indifferently, without hauing any (as in other places) certaine persons of this vocation, or certaine places proper to it, which are not publike. This exercise they account honest and honorable, wherein also the Gentlemen exercise themselves as they doe heere in hunting. The King hath twelue persons appointed to guide and conduct his Boat when he goeth on fishing, and to prepare all things necessarie for it.

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They

Bare-foot.
Feet wormes

Spleneticke

Rheumes:

Europeans call
led Frankes.
No Tooth-
ache.
Hardnesse.Nurserie of
Infants.

Education

Letters pec-
uliar.
Learning to
write.Leafe Parch-
ment.New Kindred
of Teachers:

Astrologic.

Divinations

Armes:

Fishing

They haue an admirable quantitie of great Fish, as *Bonitos*, *Albacorres*, guilt-heads and others which are very like one another, and of the same taste, and haue no more scales then the Mac-krell. They take them in the deepe Sea, on this fashion; with a line of a fathom and a halfe of great round Cotton thred made fast to a great Cane. Their hooke, is not so much bowed as ours, but more stretched out, & is pointed in the end like a Pin, without hauing any other beard or tongue. They fasten not on their Bait, but the day before prouide a quantitie of small Fish, as great as our little Bleaks, or Roches, which they find in great number on the Banks and Sands, and keep them aliue inclosed in little pursnets (made of the Thred of Cocos) with little Mashes, and let them hang in the Sea at the Sterne of their Barkes. When they come into the deepe Sea, they sow a-bout their little Fishes, and let their Line hang downe. The great Fish seeing the little Fish, 10 which is not frequent in the deepe Sea, runne together in great shoales, and by the same meanes they fasten them to their hooke, which they white and trim ouer; so that being a rauenous and foolish Fish, it takes the whited Hook, thinking it is a white little Fish. They doe nothing but lift their Line into their Boat, and the Fish falls off presently (being not strongly fastened) and then they put it into the Sea againe; thus they take a strange quantitie, so that in three or foure houres their Boates are in a manner full; and that which is remarkable, they go alwayes with full sayle. The Fish which they take thus they generally cal in their language *Cobolly Masse*, that is to say, the *Blacke Fish*, for they are all blacke.

They haue another sort of fishing on their bankes, when the Moone is in the change, and when it is at the full, three daies each time. This they doe on Rafts made of the Wood, called 20 *Camdon*. They haue great Lines of fiftie or sixtie fathome pitched ouer. In the end they hang hooke whereon they fasten the baite as we doe, and thus take great quantitie of fish, one kinde very delicious, which they call the *King of the Sea*. They haue all sorts of Nets and Toiles made of Cotton twine, Weeles and other Instruments of fishing. Neere the Sea shoare, and where it is shallow, they passe their time, and take delight in fishing for small fish, like Pilchards with casting Nets. Twice in the Yeere at the Equinoctials, they make a generall fishing, a great number of persons assemble together in certaine indraughts of the Sea. The Sea at that time ariseth higher then all the times of the Yeere, and passeth the limits of other Tides, the Ebbe after the same proportion recoiles and retires, discovering the Rockes and Shoalds, which at other times appeare not. In these places while the Sea is going out, they obserue some fit corner, and 30 set about it great stones, one vpon another to a great height, so that it resembles a round Wall or Rauling. This inclosure hath fortie paces in circuit or compasse: but the entrance is but two or three paces large. They gather together thirtie or fortie men, and euery one carrieth fiftie or sixtie fathome of great coard of Cocos, where from fathome to fathome they tie a piece of the Barke of dried Cocos, to make it float on the water, as we vse Corke: after, they tye them together, and stretch them out in a round vpon the flats. It is strange, that all the fish which is within the coard, finding themselues taken, although there bee no other Nets nor Instruments, but the Coard which swimmeth on the water, but the fish fearing the Line and shadow of the Line; so that they dare not passe vnder to escape, but flye from the Line, thinking that it hath 40 a Net vnderneath: The men goe all driuing them to the inclosure of stone, drawing vp the coard by little and little some in Boates, and some in the water (for vpon these flats the Sea is shallow, and not aboue necke high for the most part lesse) so moderately drawing vp the Line, the fish flye from it, and are locked vp in the inclosure, so that in the end the Line being all drawne vp, all the fishes enter in: and they speedily stop the entrie with Faggots of boughes and leaues of Cocos, bound end to end, twentie or thirtie fathome, and compacted together about the greatness of a man, and so when the Sea is out, the fish remaine taken on the dry Land. They often take thus of all sorts ten and twelue thousand or more. This fishing they make but once in fixe monethes, vpon euery flat, and euery time continues fixe daies, and they change daily their diuisions, and returne not often into the same place to fish in this manner, except at another Equinoctiall.

The people are aboue measure superstitious, and addicted to their Religion: but yet extreemly 50 giuen to women, wanton and riotous. There is nothing commoner then Adulteries, Incest and Sodomie, notwithstanding the rigour of their Lawes and Penalties: As for simple Fornication, there is nothing more ordinarie: they count it not a sinne, neither their Wiues, nor Daughters which are not married, make it no great matter to yeeld themselues to their Friends, and after (which is very execrable) to euacuate their Fruit by making an abortion, or destroy their children which are not legitimate. The women are strangely impudent, and the men are not lesse vicious (but they cannot be more) and very effeminate. All their desire is to procure (if they can) some 60 Receit, that they may better content their Wiues, and be more strong to exercise their Fornications. I thinke they spend all their goods on this; hereof they continually speake, and are very dissolute in their words, and almost neuer stirre from their Wiues, of whom they haue pluralitie, to three, which is the cause that they cannot satisfie each of them: also the Aire of the Countrey is hot, and exhales part of their spirits and courage: and also their continually softening their flesh in the water, and that the most part eate *Opium*, or *Aphion*, as they call it, which tipples, in

intoxicates and dals them. The women (as I haue said) carefully hide their breasts: to speake of them, they account very lasciuious and dishonest. To kisse, they make as great a matter as to lye together, although they be dissolute in their conuersation, yet they containe themselves before their Parents, and respect their presence. But if a man happen to speake a word (such as I haue said) to a woman, before one or any of her Kindred, they will goe hide themselves, and be greatly offended against him; he must therefore make them excuses, and say that hee knew not that they were neere of kin; otherwise they will thinke that he did purposely, and therefore complaine to the Iustice, that hee may manifest which said these lasciuious words in their presence, that he holds them for good and honest people. A man dare not enter into the place where a woman bathes her selfe, or where she is retired (her Robe being off) although they neuer take off the cloth which enuirones them, and serues them for a Coat; but (as I haue said) they esteeme the breasts as shamefull parts.

Breasts not to be spoken of.

When a man and a woman is together, and another person meet with him, hee must not demand of this man if she be his Wife, or Daughter, or Sister: for if it were his Daughter, and hee should aske if it were his Wife, he should offend as if he accused him of Incest; only he must demand if she be his Kinswoman, & he tels the degree of Parentage or Affinitie. As long as the women haue their tearmes, they bathe not, and wash only their hands and mouth, they change not their Garments, nor lie with their Husbands; nor eate nor conuerse with any bodie. When the women goe a visiting in the night, they must haue a man to accompany them who goeth before, and when hee perceiues that any body comes, hee saith three times *Gas*, that is, *take heede*: the men aduertised by this, quite the side of the way where the women goes, making no semblance of seeing them, nor of knowing them, with great respect: and if they bee other women, they take each her side of the way, and salute not, except they bee very familiar. They neuer knocke at the Gate (for there is no Ring or Hammer) nor call to bee let into the house, for the great Gate of the Court is alwayes open till eleuen of the clocke in the euening: wherefore they enter into the Court, which is neere the doore of the house, which is also open and spread onely with Tapestry of Cotton cloth, or other stufte, and as they approach to this Gate, they cough once, which they hearing within, go forth and see if any one would speake with them. Also the men going in the night through the street, cough often determinately, that they may aduertise one the other, for feare of hurting, or wounding, for they carry their weapons naked: I vnderstand the Souldiers and Officers of the King in the Ile of *Male*.

Visitation.

§. V.

Their Government described. The Iudges, Officers, Gentry, Communalitie. The King his Palace, Guard, Nobilitie, Robes, Attire, Attendance, Exercises, Riches; slaine by the Bengalans.

40 **T**he government of the estate of the *Maldines* is royall and very absolute and ancient; the King is feared and reuerenced, and all depend of him. In each of the thirteene *Cantons* is one principall, whom they call *Naybe*. These *Naybes* or principalls of the Pro-
uinces are Priests and Doctors of their Law, and haue the ouersight of all that concerns Religion, and instruction of the people therein, and exercise of Iustice, and command the Priests which are vnder them. These *Atollons* are subdiuided into many Ilands, in each of which, where there is not aboue fortie and one men, is a Doctor called *Catibe*, superior in the Religion
of that Ile, who hath vnder him the particular Priests of the *Moschees*, all which haue care to nourish and instruct the people in the Law; and liue of a certaine portion of fruits which euery one is bound to giue them, and of certaine rents which the King giues them according to their degree. But particularly the *Naybes*, besides the exercise of Religion, and authoritie which
50 they haue, are instituted to execute and doe iustice, each in his government. They are the onely Iudges of the Country as well in matters ciuill as criminall, and if any one will haue iustice hee must goe finde out the *Naybe*, or attend his comming to the place. For the *Naybes* foure times in the yeere, go in circuit about the Ilands, each in his Iurisdiction, and make Visitations, as wel for the religion of the Priests, as for iustice. This is their greatest reuenue, for then their duties are paid them; moreouer they receiue store of Presents from many persons, whereof they are very greedie. In all the *Maldines* there are no Iudges but the thirteene *Naybes*; for the *Catibes* of the Ilands, and the Priests of the *Moschees* are but for a shew.

The King.

Naybe.

Catibe.

Their maintenance.

The thirteene Naybes Visitation and Circuit.

60 **O**uer these *Naybes* there is a superiour, which resides in the Ile of *Male* (and is euer neere his person) which is called *Pandire*; who is not onely chiefe of the Religion throughout all the Realme, but also soueraigne Iudge. So that after they haue pleaded before the *Naybe*, if they will not stand to his sentence, whether in matters ciuill or criminall, they may appeale to the *Pandire*: who discides all affaires that offer themselves, taking aduise of some *Naybes* which are neere him, of the *Catibes*, graue men called *Moucouris*, that is Doctors and experienced men,

The Pandire or chiefe Iudge.

<i>Moucouris</i> learned men.	which are not Officers : they giue no iudgement if they be not assisted with foure or five of these persons at the least. These <i>Moucouris</i> can say all the <i>Alcoran</i> by heart (and all the others read it onely) besides diuers other Sciences which they know. They solemnely inuite them to all their Feasts, Sermons, and Ceremonies ; and are greatly honoured and respected by all. There are not aboue fifteene of them in all the Ilands. The <i>Pandiare</i> is called <i>Cady</i> in the <i>Arabick</i> language.	
The King. Sixe Councellours of State.	Also after the iudgement of the <i>Pandiare</i> , one may complaine to the King, who commands, and makes iustice to be executed : and this is by six Signiors his principall Officers, who manage the most importune affaires of state. The <i>Pandiare</i> being assisted with two <i>Catibes</i> of the Ile of <i>Malé</i> , and by <i>Naybe</i> of the <i>Atollon</i> , besides some of those Doctors, goeth also to make his visita- 10 tion through the Ile of <i>Malé</i> , as euery <i>Naybe</i> in his <i>Atollon</i> ; and hee is attended with his Officers which carry a long whip to correct delinquents. Hee makes all (without exception) that meet him, to say their creed, and some prayers in the <i>Arabick</i> tongue, and after demands the interpretation in the <i>Maldine</i> language ; and if they are ignorant, he causeth them to be whipt and scourged in the open field by his Officers. The women dare not shew themselves when hee goeth through the street, and if hee encounter any vnuailed, hee causeth her haire to be shauen.	
Seuere Catechising.	Besides the <i>Naybes</i> , there is in euery <i>Atollon</i> a man delegated and appointed by the King to receiue and leuie his rents and reuenues. All the Iles haue each their order by Diuision and Cantons, as that of <i>Malé</i> ; there are five diuisions which they call <i>Auares</i> , and each hath a principall called <i>Mouscouly Auaire</i> : the <i>ancient of the diuision</i> , and nothing is done there for the King or 20 the people, but they come to him. Iustice (which they call in their language <i>Saconest</i>) is exercised in the house of the <i>Naybe</i> , or else in the Ile of <i>Malé</i> in the house of the <i>Pandiare</i> , and sometimes in the Kings Palace when the matter is of weight or moment. When they will begin a suit, they goe to the Iudge or <i>Naybe</i> , who sends one of the Sergeants (of whom there are a certaine number, called <i>Deuonits</i>) to make the accused partie come ; and if he bee in the same Iland, hee must haue to make him come, a letter of the <i>Naybe</i> , by the meanes whereof he must notifie the place where he is, seeing that he is in the Iurisdiction of the <i>Naybe</i> . Or else if hee be of another Iurisdiction,	
Treasurer.	the <i>Naybe</i> can doe nothing, but in this case he must haue letters of the <i>Pandiare</i> , who can make him come from any part of the Realme into the Kings Iland, where he abideth. Now they giue this letter to the <i>Calibe</i> , superior of the Ile, who in presence of them all giues it to the partie ac- 30 cused, exprelly charging him to goe thither : hereof they dare not faile, for they which disobey this iustice, cannot associate with any, nor goe to the <i>Mosche</i> , nor eate nor drinke with them, and they hold them not of their Law. If it bee so that any will not obey, or if hee be some Grande, the King sends his Souldiers to constraime him to come. But if hee will not plead before the <i>Naybe</i> , either because hee beares him ill will, or because that his partie hath too much fauour against him, then the plaintiffe or the defendant, who is accused, goeth to find out the King, who commands that hee doe Iustice by Iudges not suspected. This they execute in the Kings house, in the presenee of all the chiefe of the Iland. The parties plead their owne causes themselves. If the cause bee of fact, each bring three witnesses, and if they haue them not, the defendant is be- 40 lieued on his oath only, which they take in touching with the hand the book of their law, which the Iudge presents ; and then the plaintiffe if hee bee a little versed in affaires, markes scrupulously if the partie touched the booke really, and the place where he did it. If the difference bee in matter of right, they are iudged by the Law.	
<i>Writts.</i>		
Excommuni- cation.		
No Aduocates		
<i>Cases de facto</i> & <i>de iure.</i>		
Slaues.	The Iudges take nothing for their iudgements, for nothing is due, except that the <i>Deuonits</i> or Sergeants haue the twelfth part of that which is due or adiudged. The Slaues cannot bee witnesses, nor plead, nor make triall in iudgement ; likewise in such a cause they receiue three women for one man. The Slaues are such as make themselves so, or such as they bring from other places and sell ; for shipwrackt strangers lose not the libertie which they had ; if they were Slaues they remaine so. The Slaues which they call <i>Allo</i> , are of worst conditions. They can haue but one wife although all others haue three. Beating of a Slaue is punished with halfe that which they inflict for beating a Free-man. Debtors are constrained, if they haue nothing to pay, to yeeld 50 themselves Seruants and not Slaues, and are not vsed as such, but as naturalls of the Countrie, and serue onely their Creditors or other persons which lend them mony to discharge them, these are called <i>Pemoussere</i> , which is to say, <i>seruant by borrowing</i> , and they continue thus till they are acquitted, yea their children are Slaues perpetually if they pay it not. Yet when they are ill intreated, they may discharge them, ingaging themselves in the same sort to another, that lends it them : for all their seruice they are nourished and maintained, and when they die their Masters takes all that they had, and if there be not enough to satisfie him, the children must serue till hee bee paid. There are many which seeke (to bee these <i>Pemoussere</i>) to great persons and men of authority, to haue support and fauour : for when they belong to no body, they are troubled by one 60 or other.	
Debtors.		
Children.	The wife cannot pursue in iustice the death of her husband : but onely the children or the kindred. If the children be young, they stay till they be sixteene yeeres old, to know if they will reuenge the death of their father. While they thus stay, the Iudge commands him which is appea- ched	

ched of murther to bring vp the children of the deceased, and teach them some Trade or Mysterie. When they are come to age, they demand Iustice, or remit and pardon the Murtherer, without any after examination. In matters of iniury committed on the person of any particular, the wronged must complaine; or otherwise the crime is abolished: except the King will make iustice to be executed, without the other partie, but this is seldome.

- The ordinary punishments are banishment into the desert Ilands towards the South; cutting off a principall member; or the whip, which is the commonest punishment, but extraordinarily cruell. They are thongs of great thicke leather, a fathom in length, foure fingers in breadth, and two in thicknesse: hereof there are five or sixe tied together, in a stocke and handle of Wood. Punishments.
- 10 With this they chastise malefactors, and beat them so seuerely that they die often. This is the ordinary punishment (for the most part) of the greatest crimes, as Sodomy, Incest, and Adultery. Besides this punishment, they cut off the womens hayre that are taken in adultery. False witnesses, and periured persons are thus punished, and moreouer condemned in a pecuniary mulct, which is disposed of to the poore. A rape is punished as adultery, and (for the most part) the rauisher is condemned to endow the woman or mayd. The stealing of any thing of valew, with the cutting off the hand. If they commit any thing against the Law, they must make a kinde of publike penance. They thinke they shall neuer come in Paradise if they pay not, and accomplish that which the Law hath appointed. For the execution and chastising of malefactors, they haue no hangmen, but the *Denanits* or Sergeants doe it. For punishment with death, although their Law ordaines it for Homicide, yet the Iudges neuer condemne them to it. All the while I was in the *Maldines* I saw none condemned to death by the ordinary Iudges: they dare not doe it, except the King expressely commands it, which is seldome. They say commonly, that they must not put men to death so; and if they should execute all that merit death, it would bee a long time before the Ilands should bee inhabited. Yet the King sends his Souldiers, and condemnes and executes those as haue deserued it. For although iustice be in the power of the Doctors of the Law, yet the King is the onely arbitrator, and alone hath power of life and death. Among others the King vseth one particular punishment on those which haue offended him; hee maketh them lye on the ground vpon their belly, and their armes and legs to bee held by foure men, and after to be beaten on their backe, with a staffe or kinde of cane, called *Rotan*, which comes from *Bengala*; Terrible whips.
- 20 this pulls off the skin, and the marke or brand endures perpetually. Adultery, Rape, Theft.

They neuer put in writing their suits and differences, nor their accusations, nor depositions, nor iudgements, for they are all very readie and compendious: neither in ciuill matters, except it be about grounds of inheritance, or Cocos trees which are immoueable, and that the *Pandiar* or *Naybes* giue iudgement. For in this case, they giue their letters sealed with their seale of Inke, for I neuer saw them vse any Waxe, and this serues for a testimony to their offspring, that hereafter, neither hee which hath obtained the cause, nor his heyres may be disquieted. Few executed.

- There are foure sorts of persons: in the first is comprehended the King called *Rasquan*, and the Queene called *Reneguillagne*, with those which are of their race, and precedent Kings, Princes, called *Calans*, Princesses or *Camenaz*, and Grand Signiors. The second order is that of Dignities, Offices, and Degrees, which the King distributes, wherein likewise the rankes is very carefully obserued. The third is the Gentry. The fourth, the common People. I will begin at the third, which is the ranke which birth giues to euery one separate from the common people. There are many Noble men disperfed heere and there among the Iles. They which are not Nobles dare not sit with them, nor in their presence, although it bee at the further end, and as farre as they see a greater then they comming behind, they must attend and let him goe before. If also they haue any piece of cloath vpon their shoulder, or any thing, they put it downe. The Noble women, although they marrie with men of inferiour condition and not Noble, loose not their ranke. Yea the Children which issue from them are Noble, by reason of the Mother. Also the women of low estate marrying to Noble men, are not ennobled by their Husbands, but retayne their first ranke. Besides the Nobles by birth, the King ennobles whom hee will. Then when this happens, the King besides his Letters wherewith hee priuiledgeth him, sends one of his Officers appointed for this, who makes publication throughout all the Ile, or sounds a kinde of Bell which is of cast mettall, whereon hee strikes with a Hammer. After the King, are the Princes of the bloud, and they which are descended of other Kings his predeceffours, who although they be of diuers Houses, yet are all much honoured and respected. Degrees and sorts of men. Rites, & rights of Nobilitie.
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- 50

- Next are the great Officers of the Kingdome: that is to say, the *Quilague*, which wee may call the Kings Lieutenant generall: because next to the King and in his absence, hee is most mightie in the Gouvernement of the State, so that nothing is done without his aduise. Also if the King will haue any thing obserued or executed, hee is the first whom the King deposes, and to whom hee addresseth his commands. Next him, another called *Parenas* which is of great authoritie: An *Endequery*, whose Office is to bee alwayes neere the King, and to counsell him in all his occasions and affaires. Another hath charge of Sea matters, which wee may tearme Admirall, hee is called *Velannas*, hee lookes to the Ships which arriue, and their Merchandize; and hath care of entertaining Strangers and soliciting for them, hee vseth to come to the ships which arriue, Kings Lieutenant and other Officers.
- 60

arrive, even the smallest Barkes, although they bee of the Countrey, and takes away the rudder, and causeth it to bee carried into the Kings house, for feare they should goe away without taking leaue. He hath vnder him two Sergeants which looke to the Ships that arrive, and make him account, and obey his behests. There is a Generall ouer the Souldiers, called *Dortimenaz*, who hath also a Lieutenant, called *Acowaz*. Moreouer there is a Chancellor, called *Manpas*, who sets to all letters the Kings seale, which is nothing else but his name in *Arabick*, ingrauen in Silver, which hee dips in Inke and imprints on the paper. The Secretarie is called *Carans*, the Controller of the Exchequer *Musbandery*, and the Treasurer *Ransbandery*: with diuers other lesser Officers. All these Grandes abouenamed are often called to giue the King counsell when he pleaseth, with fixe ancient and experienced men, called *Monscoulis*. Besides the rents and reuenues of certaine Islands giuen to these Officers, the King giues them Rice for their prouision, as also to the Souldiers, with Tributes and Tolls of Barkes and Ships which come to trafficke in the *Maldines*. All the honour in this Countrey is to eate of the Kings Rice, and be of the number of his Officers: without this a man is not esteemed noble, although he be.

Souldiers and
Gentlemen.

Next to the Officers the Souldiers are most esteemed and priuiledged, and they make little account of a Gentleman if hee bee not inrolled in the Souldierie. The Souldierie consists of Souldiers of the Kings Guard which are six hundred, diuided into fixe companies, commanded by the *Monscoulis*. There are ten other great Companies gathered together, each whereof hath a Captayne of the *Grand Signiors* of the Realme. These guard not, but serue the King, when hee hath any affaires, not onely as Souldiers to march and fight, but to doe all that hee commands, as to lanch a Ship, to draw it on dry land, or to doe such great worke where there is neede of men to build his Palace, if it bee needfull, or to make any worke or edifice for him. They call them and gather them together with the sound of a certayne Bell. They diuide them into parts, for there are fixe Companies which are more honourable, wherein they admit none but Gentlemen, and other fixe Companies meaner, of all sorts of persons.

None can bee entred into the Companies, before they haue permission of the King, and moreouer it costs him for his entrance sixtie Larins, twentie to the King for his permission, and fortie to distribute to the Companie whereof hee ought to bee. The Slaues therefore cannot bee inrolled, nor they which get their living and substance from the Coco Trees, nor any mechanickall and base people, and generally those which cannot write and reade, nor those which serue others. Moreouer they buy for the most part all Offices of the King, and they are greatly sought after by rich men, because of Honour, Authoritie, and Power, which they haue ouer others; but they may not sell, leaue, nor resigne them.

One name.

Titles.

Common people.

The Kings Palace.

All the Islanders haue but one name, without any surname or name of the familie, and vse frequently these names, *Mahomet*, *Haly*, *Hussun*, *Affan*, *Ibrahim*, and such others, but to know them, they distinguish them by their qualitie, which they adde in the end of their name as they that are of Noble race adde to their name *Tacourou*, and their Wiues *Bybis*: Moreouer they put also the Ile which is theirs. Those which are not Noble, but by their Office or qualitie, call themselves *Callogues*, and their Wiues and Daughters, *Camullogues*. Not those onely which I haue named vse these, but others obtayning of the King vacant functions, to bee separated from the Plebeians. They buy this dearly of the King, because the Names and Titles are limited to a certayne number. The common people are called with their proper *Callo*, and adde also the trade and condition whereof they are, their Wiues and Daughters *Camulo*.

The Palace of the King is built of Stone, composed of many handsome mansions and well built, yet without any ornament of Architecture, and of one storie. Round about it are Yards and Gardens, where are Fountaines and Cisternes of water, enclosed with walles and paved on the bottome with great smooth stones. These places are guarded continually by men appointed for it, because the King and Queenes wash themselves there, all others being strictly prohibited from washing there. In the inclosure of the Palace (called in their Language *Gandoyre*, which is very large) are many Lodgings and Courts, which haue all in the midst a Well garnished with faire white stones. In one of these Courts, are two Magasins of the King: in one he puts his Ordnance, in the other all other sorts of Munition.

Guard.

Two Halls.

At the entrance of the Palace is a *Corps de guard*, where are many Pieces of Ordnance, and other kindes of Armes. The Portall is made like a square Tower, vpon the top whereof on Feast dayes, players of Instruments play and sing. From thence they come to the first Hall, where the Souldiers wayte: a little further is another great Hall for the *Signiors*, Gentlemen, and persons of fashion. For none neither *Signiors*, nor Plebeian, man, woman, nor childe, dare goe further, except the domesticall Officers of the King and Queenes, and their Slaues and Seruitors. The pavement of these Halls are eleuated three foot aboue the ground, and neatly boarded with wood well playned. It is thus raised vp because of the Ants. Then the floore is after all couered with a little Matte, which they make in the Isles, interlaced in various colours, with Characters and other workes very finely contriued. The walls are hanged with Tapistrie of Silke; also vpon the plat-fonds, it is couered with tapestrie of silke, from which hangs round about faire fringes as a Curtaine. The King made the great Ensigne and Banner of our ship which was blue, where the

the Armes of *France* were well made, to bee displayed in the Souldiers and Strangers hall.

In these Halls before the place where the King sits, there is another forme of Curtaines very rich, vnder which is a large place eleuated two foot, couered with a great Tapestry, hereon they sit crosse-legged, for they vse no other seats. Vpon these Mattes throughout all the hall, the Nobles which come to assemble together sit downe. In this sitting they obserue exactly the order of their Dignities: for they which are of lower degree, stay at the lower end, if the King or his *Grandes* which are there in his absence, bid them not sit. For the Gentlemen of the Ile of *Male*, and ordinarie Courtiers, which are bound to come and salute the King euerie day after noone, stay and sit in the second Hall, and may goe no further, wayting till the King come forth, or that they see some domesticke Officer, by whom they send the King word that they are come to salute him. Sometimes the King sends them while they are thus sitting, platters full of Bettell and Fruits, which they hold a great honour. The Gentry of the other Ilands come also and obserue the same customes that they doe of the Ile of *Male*: but they come not without Presents, for none is permitted to salute the King, neither Noble-man nor Merchant, without one.

The Chambers and inner Lodgings are well adorned, hanged with Tapestry of silke, enriched with flowers, boughes and branches of Gold, and of diuers colours. The people vse tapestry of Cotton, which is composed of many pieces of cloath of Cotton of all colours. Their Beds are hanged in the ayre by foure cords to a barre which is sustained with two pillers. They make the beds of the King and rich men in this sort, because they may rocke and shogge them more easily. They are accustomed when they are layd downe to make their folke touch and mooue their bodie, and chafe them easily, strike them little blowes with both their hands together, saying that is good against the Splene, and makes their grieve cease; also that it makes them sleepe soundly, and makes them forget the grieve of the member beaten and rubbed.

The ordinarie habillement of the King, is a white fine Robe of Cotton, or rather a Cassoque, descending to the girdle or a little lower, edged with white and blue, made fast before with massie buttons of Gold. With this he weares a piece of red imbroydered Taffetie, which reacheth from the girdle to the heele. This Taffetie is girded with a long large girde of Silke fringed with Gold, and a great chayne of Gold before, whereat hangs a great Jewell as big as a hand, of exquisite stones which may bee seene. Hee weares also a knife after the manner of the Countrey, but more richly wrought. Vpon his head hee hath a Bonnet of red Scarlet, which is much esteemed in this Countrey, and permitted to none but the King: this bonnet is laced with Gold, and on the top it hath a great button of massie Gold with a precious Stone; and although the *Grandes* and Souldiers weare their hayre long, yet hee hath his shaven euery weeke. Hee vseth to haue his legges alwayes bare as others, and weares only on his feet Pantoffles of gilded Copper, brought out of *Arabia* and made like sandals. Of which sort none but the Queenes and Princesses his kinswomen may weare. When the King goeth forth, hee hath a Sun-shadow or white Parosel, which is the principall Ensigne of Maiestie, carryed ouer him. This is permitted to none but Strangers who may haue what they will: alwayes there is one Page neere the King which carries a fanne, another the Kings Sword and Buckler, another a boxe full of Bettell and *Arecqua*, which hee chawes euery houre. A Doctor of the Law alwayes followes him, and neuer looeth sight of him, reading a Booke in his presence, and admonishing him of his Religion.

His exercises and ordinarie pastimes are not to goe out and fish as his predecessors vsed to doe, but to remayne for the most immured in his Palace, to court his Queenes, see his Courtiers, and many Mechanickes and Artificers worke, as Painters, Goldsmiths, Imbroiderers, Cutlers, Ioyners, Turners, Armorers, and others sorts which hee keepes in his Palace, and furnissheth them with matter to worke. Hee workes himselfe, and saith frequently that it is a sinne to bee idle. Hee hath a quicke and viue apprehension, and hath skill to worke in many Crafts and Mysteries, and is daily curious to learne: hee seekes out those which are excellent in any thing; if hee meet with any stranger that knowes that which he nor his Ilanders know not, he makes very much of him, that he may shew him his Art.

Going out of his Palace, hee is accompanied with his Souldiers, whereof hee hath a hundred euery day for his Guard. On Friday he goeth to the Mosche, in a faire order and kind of pompe, for the Souldiers goe in ranks, some before and some behinde, and so his ordinarie Officers: the Drums, Flutes, Trumpets, make good agreeable musicke. After seruice is done, hee returnes in the same order, the Souldiers going with the sound of Instruments playing among them and leaping before the King with their armes, and striking blowes with their Swords on one anothers Bucklers: shewing their agilitie, yet not all together, to auoyde confusion but two at a time onely, and so one after another without ceasing. The people of the Ile which are present goe home with him, and it should bee a shame to any one not to goe. Then the *Pandare*, *Naybes*, *Catibes* and *Moudins*, and principall *Signiors*, Gentlemen and Souldiers, which hee chooseth diuerly, dine with him, and after dinner hee imployes himselfe in doing Iustice. Moreouer, when the King goeth forth hee is alwayes on foot (for in these Ilands is neither Horse nor any Beast to ride on) except hee bee carried in a Chayre on his Slaues shoulders: but this is seldome, because he is strong and lustie & had rather go on foot. When they speake to the King, or Queenes, and their

Presents.

Chambers and
Tapestry of
Beds.

Kings Robes

His bonnet and
attire.Shaving.
Bare legges.Ensignes of
Maiestie.

His Doctor.

Exercises.

Workes.

Respect of
Arts.Guard and
pompous go-
ing abroad.No Beast to
ride on.

Chil-

- Children and Princes of their blood, or else if they speake of them to others, it is in other termes which they vse not but for this, and dare not apply them to others. As if they say of a man hee sleepeth, if it bee of the King, they say, he *slumbrath* or *takes his rest*, which they neuer say but speaking of the King.
- Complement.**
- Queenes, and their pompe.** The Queenes are attired as other women formerly described, but in more costly manner. The Ladies, Wiues and Daughters of the *Grand Signiors* of the Ile, are bound to come see them in the euening, to passe the time with them. They goe sometimes forth, but it is very rare: and then there are women and slaues which goe a great way before, to aduertise the men that they retire and appeare not in the way, but onely the women, who assemble by their quarters and diuisions, and come to meet them with Presents of Flowers and Fruits. There are foure principall women which carry ouer the Queenes head a white Curtine of Silke reaching to the ground, so that they cannot be seene. They goe often to bath in the Sea, as all other women: for it is the custome of the Country, and they hold it very healthfull; for this cause therefore they haue prepared in the Sea a little inclosure, couered round with Cotton cloth, where the Queenes and great women bath: after they come out they haue another little house also made purposely where they bath againe in Fresh-water. Within the chambers of the Queenes, Princesses, and great Ladies they neuer see day, nor haue any other light but of Lamps, which burne continually. They retyre themselves into a part of the chamber, being enclosed with foure or fve rowes of Tapistry, which they must lift vp before they come where they are: but none neither man nor woman, domestical nor others dare lift vp the hindmost, although they are not laid, nor eating, in brieft although they be idle. They must first cough, and tell who they be, and then they call them or send them whither they thinke good. Neither women nor maids pull off the cloth which goes about their middle, but only their robe: the men doe so also, and dare not doe otherwise.
- Bathing in the salt and fresh-water,**
- Perpetuall night.**
- Reuenues.** The Kings reuenues consists in his Crowne lands, which are many Ilands; and the duties which his subiects pay of the fruits which grow in the Countrie, that is to say, the fifth part of the graines which they sow, they giue the King a portion of their Cocos and Limons, they compound also throughout all the yeere for a certaine quantitie of Hony or fruit. Besides these duties the King imposeth an ordinary taxe on his subiects, according to their meanes, which consists in cords of Cocos, in shells called *Boly*, and dried Fish. For they giue him no mony for his Taxes and Rents, but onely when they buy Titles and Offices, and haue permission to weare their braueries. Also hee chargeth the Inhabitants of the Iles to make and furnish him yeerely Cotton clothes, which serueth him for his Souldiers, to whom hee giues thrice a yeere Cloth, besides their pay. The reuenew of the King consists also in merchandise: For all the Ships which arriue there, first goe to him, and declare what they haue brought, after they agree at a certaine price for that which hee will haue, which is very often the better part: after the people buy it at a dearer rate then the King; and then the King sends to distribute his merchandise throughout the Iles to the richest, at what price hee will; although they haue no vse of it, taking in exchange such merchandise, as hee hath need of, at a better price by halfe then it is worth. He sends often also Ships laden with merchandise of his Ile to other Countries. The King hath also besides these Royalties, whatsoever is found on the Sea shoare, and no man dare touch it to detain it, but is bound to take it vp and bring it him, whether it bee pieces of shipwrackt Ships, pieces of Wood, Coffers, or other things: or Amber Greece, which they call *Gomen*, hereof is the greatest quantitie in the *Indies*, and none dare keepe it on paine of hauing his hand cut off.
- Al paid in kind**
- Cotton clothes**
- Merchandise.**
- Wrackes.**
- Sea Nuts.** Also there is a certaine Nut, which the Sea sometimes casts vp, which is as great as a mans head: they call it *Tauarcarre*, and suppose that it commeth of certaine trees that are vnder the sea: the *Portugals* call them *Cocos of the Maldines*. It is a thing very medicinable & of great price. Also the fishing for Blacke Corral appertaines to the King, who hath many men to make this fishing. The mony of the Kingdome is onely Siluer, and of one kind. These are pieces of Siluer which they call *Larins*, of the valew of eight Sols or thereabouts of our mony, long as a finger, but much folded. The King coynes them in his Iland, and imprints on them his name in *Arabicke* letters. The other monyes are *Exotick* coynes, and there goe current, but they take them not but at iust value, and at equall weights, and onely the Gold or Siluer, all other sorts of coyne which are not of the Countrie they reiect. For in *India*, as there are many Realmes and Signiories, so great diuersitie of mony, of stampe and character, not onely of Gold and Siluer, but also of an other mettall called *Calin*, which is white like Tin, and very hard, pure, and beautifull, whereof they make great esteeme in the *Indies*; they haue also Iron mony. But this kind of mony goeth onely in the Dominions of the Prince that coynes it. The Gold and Siluer of whatsoever stampe and character it be, is current through all Kingdomes according to the iust valew, which is of different valew from ours, because Siluer is dearer then here, and Gold baser. The King makes no lesser coynes then the *Larin*: so that to effect their merchandise, they cut the Siluer and giue in weight according to the valew of the merchandise: which is not without losse, for in cutting of a *Larin* they loose the twelfth part. They take no piece of Siluer which they haue not weighed, and put in the fire to try the goodnesse: euery one hath weights in his house for this purpose. Also in stead of little and base mony they vse shells, whereof 12000. goe at the valew of a *Larin*.
- Coynes.**
- Buying.**

All their Gold and Silver come from forraigne places, for they haue no coine in these Iles. In all their publique markets and particuler bargainings, they vse to exchange very often one thing for another. Bartering.

The *Maldives* are very well frequented with Merchants of many Countries, as of the *Malabares*, of *Barcelor*, *Onor*, *Bacalor*, *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Tananor*, *Cochin*, *Coulam*, *Cael*: of the *Guzerattes*, of *Cambaia*, *Surate*, and *Chaule* of the *Arabs*, *Persians*, of those of *Bengale*, *Saint Thoma* and *Masulipatan*, *Ceylan* and *Sumatra*; which bring Merchandise whereof the Ilanders haue need and esteeme, and in recompence carrie away those things wherewith the Ilands abound. First of the *Cocos tree*, they make many kindes of things which the strangers seeke after, as Cordage, Merchants.
Merchandise.
Coco. commodities.

There is another sort of riches in the Ilands: These are little shells wherein there is a little creature, as great as the end of the little finger, all white, very smooth and glistering, which they fish for but twice a moneth, three dayes before, and three dayes after the new Moone, and likewise the Full, and finde them at no other season. The women gather them vpon the sands and flats of the Sea, being in the water to the girdle. They transport great quantities of them to other Countries, insomuch that I haue seene yeerely thirtie or fortie ships laden without any other commoditie. They goe all into *Bengala*: for there onely they buy them at great prices, and in great quantitie. They of *Bengala* make such esteeme of them, that they vse them as common money, although they haue Gold and Silver, and enough of other mettals: and that which is more maruellous, the Kings and Nobles build places to lay them vp in, and account them part of their Treasure. They giue twentie * measures of Rice for one fardell of Shells. For all these *Bahys* are put vp by fardells of twelue thousand together in little baskets made of the *Cocos* leafe, garnished within with cloath made of the same Tree, for feare the shells should fall out. They much esteeme in *India* Tortois shells, which they call *Cambe*. This sort of Tortois is found nowhere but there, and in the *Philippinas*: it is faire, very smooth, all blacke, with many naturall figures. They sell them best in *Cambaia* where they make (besides bracelets for women) faire Shell money.
* Coquettes.
Tortois shells.

Coffers and Cabbinets inlayed with siluer. They make heere very fine mattes of Reed of diuers colours, and enrich them with ornaments and ciphers very neatly. They haue also faire cloaths of Cotton and Silke. Exotike wares.

In counter-change of these the Merchants bring them Rice, white Cotton clothes, and cloath of Silke: Oyle which is made of an odoriferous Graine, wherewith they vse to rub their bodies when they haue bathed, Arecqua, Iron and Steele, Spices, Porcelane, and whatsoeuer they haue need of: and yet euery thing is very cheape by reason of the abundance, and ordinarie arriual of Ships. They bring also Gold and Silver, which neuer goeth forth againe: for they giue it not for any thing to Strangers, but put it among the Treasure and Jewels of their Wiues.

§. VI.

A larger discourse of their Religion, manifold Ceremonies, and absurd opinions.

The Authors departure and returne.

THeir Religion is *Mahometan*, their Temples or Moschees are builded square of hewen stone. They haue three doores, and at the entrie of each doore on the outside, there is a large Well whereinto they descend by degrees, the bottomes and sides are garnished with polished stone, in these they vse to bathe themselves. Moschees.

The Temple is eleuated nine or ten greeces; the floore of it is couered with Mattes and Tapistrie: they are very curious to keepe them neate and handsome; they dare not spit in them, nor blow their nose, but if they bring no handkerchiffe with them, if they haue any necessitie, they must goe forth. The rooffe is of wood, of excellent Carpenters worke, the wall waynscotted, whereon hang Tables of wood or stone, engrauen with letters and writings in *Arabicke*. There are separations of certaine places appointed to certaine persons, yet not to one particuler person, but for those which are of one order, estate, age, or qualitie, and none dare place himselfe in a place not appointed for his condition. Within the Temples are Lamps light continually. Euery Mosche hath a *Moudin* or Priest. Each day in the weeke, they goe at the breake of day to the Mosche, and there make a prayer according to their beliefe, that Order.
Lights and darknesse.

is to say, that the world is flat and not round, and that there is a wall of Copper about it, which hinders the world from being ouerwhelmed with the waters which inuiron it, and that the Deuill the enemy of Mankinde, seekes euery night to pierce thorow and vndermine this wall, and by day breake hee wants very little to haue made a hole thorow; for this cause all the men from fifteene yeeres old, goe at the point of day to their Moschees, to make prayers, saying that without their prayers all the world would perish. Their beliefe of the world, the Deuill and their Prayers.
They

- Five times a day praying. Women-recusants. They goe foure other times in a day to the Mosche: at mid-day, three houres after, at Sun-set, and ten a clocke in the euening, and tarie each time halfe an houre. The Women neuer enter into their Temples, but abide in their houses, and there make Prayers. Yet if they goe not to their Temples the ordinarie dayes of the weeke, they make their Prayers and Ceremonies in their houses or else-where: and although they constraîne none to doe thus; yet if they know of any that neglects it, they will neither eate nor communicate with them. Before they enter into the Temple, they wash their feete, hands, eares, mouth, and eyes, making also certaine Ceremonies, and pronouncing prayers, which are diuers according to the houres, feasts, occasions, for which they wash: If they make vrine, or doe their necessities, or touch their priuities, they wash and say their prayers destined for that: If they haue accompanied with a woman, they must bath and say their Prayers of another sort; if with their owne wife, of another sort. They wash and bath in publike and say their prayers so loude, that by the diuersitie of prayers according to the occasions, a man may know what they haue done in secret, and when they haue lyen with their wiues, or elle with others.
- Washing rites. They are all Circumcised, the males at seuen yeere old. Before an Infant is Circumcised, they say hee is an Innocent, and cannot sinne. For their Daughters, they make no feasts nor ceremonies, but for their Circumcision draw two or three drops of blood from their nature, then when they come to the age of ten yeeres old. All the yeere long they celebrate many Feasts. First euerie weeke they solemnize Friday. On Thursday in the euening, some make prayers for their health, others for the deceased: and therefore they prepare to eate and drinke, and send to their Priests or *Moudins* neere the place where their dead are interred, to pray to God for them: or else they inuite them to their houses, and there entertaine them. On Friday morning one goeth through the Ile carrying in his hand a kind of cast Bell, much resembling the couer of a Limbeck, with a hammer of wood, wherewith hee beates it: and at the end of euerie street hee staves, and admonisheth the people, that is their feast *Oncourom* or Friday. Hee is assisted with three persons which haue straight Trumpets, wherewith they often sound. The people being thus warned cease from their worke, and bathe and wash themselves, saying their Prayers. And each of them cloathes himselfe in his best attire, and all from the age of fifteene yeeres are bound to bee there. In the meane while on the portall of the Kings Palace, are players of diuers Instruments. Then the Kings foure *Moudins* all together ascend an Edifice of stone, high erected, joyning to the Mosche, putting their hands to their eares, crying thrice with all their might with a most fearefull voice all together in the *Arabicke* language, *Alas, alas Aquebar*, that is to say, *Great God*: and then they adde something of *Mahomet*.
- Diuersified deuotions. Then they goe to the Kings Palace; and the King, if hee will bee found, as hee is seldome defectiue, sends a Carpet of silke to spread in the place where he will sit: if hee doth not, it is a certaine signe hee will not bee found. When all the companie is assembled (and the King is come and hath made his prayers) the *Catibe* ascends a raised place of wood fixe or seuen steppes high. There hee holds a naked Sword in his hand, with the point downward, which hee often flourisheth this way and that way, and recites his prayers. All this time the people pray without ceasing, putting themselves in diuers postures, sitting, standing vpright, kneeling, their face grouellling to the earth, their hands lifted vp and cast downe, then crossed, turning their head and eyes hither and thither: it were very difficult to represent all the gestures and apish tricks which they doe in this time: then they put off their weapons, and their kniues, and dare haue nothing about them but their cloathes, and they also must bee very neate. The *Catibe* changeth his prayers euerie Friday to the end of the yeere, and then begins againe. Hee saith all by heart, and in the meane time one of the *Moudins* holds the Booke, and if it chanceth that hee faileth in one word, sillable, or letter, the *Moudine* reprehends him with a loud voyce and without dissembling: for they say, if hee should faile in one point, the Feast should bee nullified, and worth nothing.
- Circumcision. Females. On the dayes of their New Moone all the yeere long, they make the like Feast, and reioyce when they see the new Moone: then they make cleane their Houses, Courts, and all their streets and the wayes to the Mosches, and all the gates of their houses as well without as within, and they set on both sides Cocos shells cut in the middle, like wooden dishes, and fill them with white sand, and burning coales vpon it, scarce ceasing all the night to burne Aromaticke gummies, and odoriferous woods and perfumes: likewise within in their Houses, at the corners of their Beds and else-where, they besmeare and fashion all their doores and householdstufte at their feasts, with Sanders, and other sweet smelling odours beaten and tempered together; but about all, they solemnise foure New Moones in the yeere more then the others.
- Feasts. In the moneth of December or thereabouts at the New Moone, they obserue a feast called in *Arabicke* *Ramedan*: this begins at the new Moone, and ends at the new Moone following. This night the men and the women each by themselves visite one another, and feast, and reioyce together with banquets, dances and merriments, so that it is neere day before they retire. The day before, they bathe and make particuler ceremonies, cleanse and wash their teeth, and leaue their Bettell, and thence forward fast till night although the day be long, with such superstition, that they will not only not taste any thing, but also not wash their mouth, nor put their fingers in it, nor
- Bells. Trumpets. Holiday sute and seruice. Their Office or rites of seruice. Diuers gestures and postures. Service by heart. New Moone rites. Sweet smells. Foure principall New Moones. *Ramedan*. Severe fasting.

nor yet swallow their spittle. This causeth them often to spit, and diseaseth them much, especially at their Mesquit, where it is not lawfull for them to spit, but euer and anone they must goe forth for that purpose. The men may wash themselves * but not plunge their heads in water, lest some drop should enter their mouthes or eares: but the women dare not, lest the water should enter at their lower parts. Halfe an houre before Sunne-set, all which are fiftene yeeres old and vpwards goe to the Temple, that they may in that halfe houres space cleanse their mouthes and picke their teeth very exactly; to which purpose the *Moudins* furnish themselves all the Lent with Pick-tooths, and other instruments of neatnesse, made of the Coco wood. This done, the *Moudin* makes his crie three times, and enters the Temple; all the People are behinde him; thus they make their Prayers there, and the women in their houses; which ended, they make good cheere with their friends, and feast each other by course, hauing made prouision long before to that end; the poorest sparing before hand that they may haue to feast during the Ramedan. The King makes seuerall entertainments, one day feasting his Nobles, another his Souldiers, a third the *Pandiare*, *Moudins* and Religious persons; and all the people of the Ile in their differing rankes. The Nobles obserue the like custome for their friends and equals; for they religiously obserue this, not to eate with men of differing ranke and qualitie. Men and Boyes feast thus, the Women goe not, but send Presents and Viands one to another, and bathe themselves in the euening, at which time, men may not bee admitted to bathe. In the day-time the men neither marrie nor touch their women: and during the Ramedan they are more carefull to auoide sinne then at other times. And if any by occasion breakes any of the Fasting-dayes, hee fasteth as many after; which often happeneth by reason of their superstition, supposing their Fast defectiue, if they happe to bleed in any part. They will not in this moneth worke, be they neuer so poore, nor trauell or send out of their Ile.

The *Pandiare* (whom the *Arabs* call the *Cadi*) euery day preacheth at the Kings Palace, or at the Temple, or at his House, beginning at three after noone, and holding on two houres; and all the Inhabitants of the Ile of *Malé* assemble thither: this commonly in the vulgar Language, and sometimes in *Arabike*, which hee after interpreteth. They employ themselves the rest of the time in exercise of Armes and diuers playes, as at the Ball, in seuerall companies, with their feet: the women and daughters also haue their visitations and petie sports. The youths also and maidens court and make loue to each other more in that moneth then at other times; send each other Songs, Sonnets, and Verses written in Coco leaues (which are as white as Paper) inscribed or grauen with Bodkins; and send Garlands of the fairest and sweetest flowers to their Sweet-hearts. All deuise pastimes to entertaine that moneth. The women and maidens for their flowers sake must fast eight dayes more then the men, after the Ramedan is ended.

Three dayes before it ends, the *Coly* warneth all from the top of the Steeple to send their names to the *Pandiare* of *Malé*, as in other Ilands to the *Naybe*, to pay their offerings (halfe a *Larin* for each person) or else man and boy, woman and maide haue lost the merite of their fasting, saying it is their *Tribute to God and Mahomet*. They which haue it not may borrow, for the King and the richer sort will pay for all that aske; but if any will not indure the shame that another should pay for him, his name is recorded neuerthelesse, and he makes it his debt, to pay after the feast. Parents pay for their children till they be married and dwell from them, as also for their slaues. This money is after diuided into three parts: and foure Receiuers are appointed, one on behalfe of the King, another for the Church-men, the third for New Conuerter, the fourth for the Poore: there are eight Registers which record the offerings. It is after shared one part to the Priests, as the *Pandiare*, *Naybes*, *Catibes*, *Moudins*, *Denanits*, and others of their Church: The second to the Conuerter, the third to the Poore. On the last day of the Fast is celebrated a great feast called *Ydu*. The day is no more certaine then the beginning of the Ramedan (which is when they first see the New Moone, as in all their Moon-feasts, not at the change but at the appearance, which is therefore) sooner or later in one Iland then another, as it hath had cleerer weather or sooner sight. Their May *Ydu*, a three dayes solemnitie; and their *Poycacan* at the Full Moone about Aprill or May; and their *Dida*, or *All-Soules* feast in Iune, when they visit the Sepulchres and there set viands; and their *Candis Cacan* in August; and *Maulude* or Night-feast in October (the night that *Mahomet* died) with the seuerall ceremonies thereof, as also of their Marriages and Funerals, I dare not present you for feare of tediousnesse.

Wee will therefore returne with our Authour, and free you also from the *Maldines*. Tenne dayes before his libertie he had a dreame that hee was free and in Christendome, whereat hee much reioyced, and awaking made a vow to make a Voyage to *S. Iames of Galicia*, to giue God thanks. Two nights after the King was told of an Armada of sixteene Gallies or Gallions comming thither. The King commanded to rigge his seuen Gallies with other Ships, Barkes and Boates. This was attempted with all industrie, but could not be effected before the Enemies Fleet came in sight. Thereupon he charged that all his best goods should be embarked,

S. Augustin in diuers places mentions the Christians of those parts of Africa in his time, not washing till the Fast were ended.

Feast-fasts.

Ridiculous Fast-breaches and making amends.

Daily Sermons

Loue-moneth

Halfe a *Larin*, a generall personal offering, as halfe a shekel amongst the *Israelites*.

No New-moon feast certaine. They ascend high places purposely being ambitious euery man of her first sight.

Bengalan Fleet. In February. 1607.

so to save himselfe and his women in the Southerne Iles. He forsooke his Palace, and fled with his three Queenes, each of them carried in armes by Gentlemen, as Nurses carrie their Infants; covered with Vailes and Taffataes of diuers colours. The streets were full of cries of women and infants. He was forced to leaue great part of his goods and all his Armes and Ordnance behind for want of time; and with much lamentation set sayle for the South, to the *Atollons* of *Sonadon*. But the winde fayled, and the Enemie sent eight Gallies after him, in fight with whom the King was slaine, and his wiues and goods taken. The other eight entered on land, and the Authour yeelded to them, and being found not to be a *Portugall*, was spared. They stayd ten dayes to lade their Gallies with the goods which they found, and with fise or sixe score peeces of Ordnance great and small (a principall cause of their Voyage) and then departed, lea-
10 uing the Queenes and all the people in libertie, except the brother of the Chiefe Queene and the Kings brother in law. His arrivall in *Malicut* a small Ile, and the Iles *Dinandron* thirty leagues thence, and at last at *Chatigan* in *Bengala*, I omit. At his departure from *Bengala*, the *Mogol* had denounced warre to the chiefe King of *Bengala*, who prepared to entertaine him with aboute a million of men and ten thousand Elephants. The Kings of *Aracan* and *Chaul*, and other great Lords, *Mahumetans* and *Gentiles* were his Tributaries, and were bound to finde him a certaine number of men and horses. The successe is related by others, and other things many of many other *Indian* Regions are related by the Authour, whom wee are willing now to dismisse, hauing entertained him only for a *Maldinan* Guide and Pilot.

Mogols con-
quest of Ben-
gala. See in
Capt. Hawkins
and S. Thomas
Roe.

Moutingué.

See sup. in
Hawkins and
Fitches Voya-
ges. pagg. 207.
420.

Thomas Steuens
an English Ie-
suite which had
long continu-
ed there.

Kings Edict (in
effect) to roote
out the *Portu-
gals* from the
Indies, enioyn-
ning and not
enabling to
warre with o-
thers.

The particulars of his returne he relateth at large: first his passage from *Bengala* to *Mon-
tingué*, gouerned by a petie Prince, a *Nairo*, subiect to the *Samory* of *Calecut*. It is seated be-
twixt *Cananor* and *Calecut*, and is a Port of the *Malabar* Pirats. He was here much amazed
to see so many in Armes, borne by all from ten or twelue yeeres. There are ten other neere
Ports within ten small leagues of each other, *Chombais*, *Badara*, &c. But *Moutingué* is the best.
Thence he went to *Calicut*, and waiting eight moneths for a *Holland* ship in vaine, he was per-
swaded by *Iesuites* to goe to *Cochin*, where he was imprisoned for a Spie. At *Goa* also hee was
prisoner with those which remained of the seuentene *Englishmen* taken at the Barre of *Surrat*.
The *Iesuits* had brought one Master *Richard* and foure other *Englishmen* from the *Mogols* Court;
some *Hollanders* also were there: and they all were prisoners together. But the *Iesuits* vnder-
tooke for them, and procured their libertie; namely *Thomas Steuens* an *Englishman*, Rector of
10 *Margon* Colledge in *Salsete*, and *Nicolas Trigaut* a *Wallon*, and *Steuens Crosse* a *Frenchman* of *Roan*,
with *Gasspar Aleman* a *Spaniard*. The said *Thomas Steuens* procured the libertie of the *Eng-
lishmen* also, foure of which became *Catholike-Romanists*, and two of them died there. *Don
Loys Lorencio d'Establa* arriued at *Goa* with the title of *Vicc-roy*, to the peoples great grieve,
which more desired *Don Andre Furtado*. Ten moneths after his comming, foure great Caracks
arriued, contayning each about two thousand tunnes. Fise had departed from *Lisbon*, but they
knew not what was become of the fift, separated by tempest at the Cape. In each were em-
barqued a thousand persons, Souldiers, Mariners, *Iesuites*, and other Church-men, with Mer-
chants and Gentlemen. But when they arriued at *Goa*, there were not about three hundred in
each, by reason of sicknesse and miseries endured eight moneths at Sea, without sight of Land.
40 These brought an Edict from the King, forbidding *English*, *French*, or *Dutch* commerce, and
if there were any such there, to packe them away vpon perill of their liues. On the sixe and
twentieth of December, 1609. He returned for *Lisbon*. March the fifteenth, 1610. they arriued
at the Ile of *Diego Rodrigue*, in 20. Southerne degrees, about forty leagues East from
Saint Laurence. After a cruell storme there fise dayes together, they attained
the Cape, *Saint Helena*, *Brasill*, the *Acores*, the *Berlings*, and
hauing payed his vow to *Saint Iames* in *Galicia*,
he arriued at *Rochell*, the sixteenth
of Februarie, 1611.

The end of the ninth Booke.

PRÆ-



PRÆTERITORVM,

OR

DISCOVERIES OF THE
WORLD, SPECIALLY SVCH

AS IN THE OTHER BOOKES

ARE OMITTED.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Briefe Collections of Voyages, chiefly of Spaniards and Portugals,
taken out of ANTONIE GALVANOS Booke of
the Discoveries of the World.



N the yeere 1153. * in the time of Fredericke Barbarossa it is written, that there came to *Lubeo*, a Citie of *Germanie*, one Canoa with certaine *Indians*, like vnto a long Barge: which seemed to haue come from the coast of *Baccalaos*, which standeth in the same latitude that *Germanie* doth: The *Germanes* greatly wondered to see such a Barge, and such People, not knowing from whence they came, nor vnderstanding their speech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that Countrey, as now there is: it may be credible that though the Boate was small in respect of those huge Seas, yet the Winde and Water might bring them thither: as wee see in these our dayes, that the *Almaase*, which is but a small Boate,

commeth notwithstanding from *Quiloa*, *Mosambique*, and *Sofala*, to the Iland of *Saint Helena*, being a small spot of Land standing in the mayne Ocean off the coast of *Bona Sperança* so farre separated.

In the yeere 1300. after the coming of Christ, the great Soldan of *Cairo* commanded, that the Spiceries and Drugs, and merchandises of *India* should be carried through the *Red Sea*, as it was vsed before: at which time they unladed on the *Arabian* side, at the Hauent of *Iuda*, and carried them vnto the house at *Mecca*, and the Carriers of it were the Pilgrims. So that each Prince vsed a custome to augment the honour, and increase the profite of his countrey. And these Soldans had speciall regard to *Canro*, from whence the wares were carried vnto the Countreies of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Africa*, the Kingdomes of *Tunez*, *Tremessen*, *Fez*, *Marocco*, *Suz*: and some of it was carried beyond the Mountaines of *Atlas* vnto the Citie of *Tambuto*, and the Kingdome of the *Ialophos*: vntill afterwards that the Portugals did bring it about the Cape of *Bona Sperança* vnto the Citie of *Lisbone*, as in the place conuenient we purpose to shew more at large.

In the yeere 1344. King *Peter* the fourth of that name reigning in *Arragon*, the Chronicles of his time report, that one *Don Luis* of *Cerda*, sonne vnto the sonne of *Don Iohn* of *Cerda*, craued aide of him to goe and to conquere the Iles of the *Canaries*, standing in 28. degrees of latitude to the North, because they were giuen vnto him by Pope *Clement* the sixt, which was a French man.

Aaaaaaa 2

Whereby

* This Author writ in *Portugall* a Summarie of Discoveries in Chronologicall order from the beginning of the world: hee was translated and published in a small book in quarto, An. 1601. by Master *Hakluyt*, I haue chosen these, which follow, out of his booke: those which are here omitted, I haue more fully deliuered in other parts of this voluminous worke: *Ioannes Leo Africanus*. *Ramusius* 1. vol. fol. 373. *Tombuto*. The *Canarie* Ilands.

Whereby in those dayes there grew a knowledge of those Ilands in all *Europe*, and specially in *Spaine*: for such great Princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment without great certaintie.

The Island of
Madera disco-
vered by *Ma-
cham* an *English*
man.

About this time also the Iland of *Madera* was discovered by an *English* man, called *Macham*: who sailing out of *England* into *Spaine*, with a woman of his, was driuen out of his direct course by a tempest, and arrived in that Iland, and cast his anker in that Haven, which now is called *Machico*, after the name of *Macham*. And because his Louer was then Sea-sicke, hee there went on Land with some of his companie, and in the meane time his ship weyed and put to Sea, leaving him there: whereupon his Louer for thought died. *Macham*, which greatly loued her, built in the Iland a Chappell or Hermitage to burie her in, calling it by the name of *Iesus Chappell*: and wrote or graued vpon the stone of her Tombe his name and hers, and the occasion whereupon they arriued there. After this hee made himselfe a Boate all of a Tree, the trees being there of a great compasse about, and went to Sea in it with those men of his companie that were left with him, and fell with the coast of *Africke* without Saile or Oare, and the *Moores* among whom hee came tooke it for a miracle, and presented him vnto the King of that countrie: and that King also admiring the accident, sent him and his companie vnto the King of *Castile*.

In the yeere 1395. King *Henrie* the third of that name reigning in *Castile*, the information which *Macham* gaue of this Iland, and also the ship wherein hee went thither, moued many of *France* and of *Castile* to goe and discouer it, and the great *Canarie*: And they which went were principally the *Andaluzes*, the *Biscaines*, and the *Gnepussees*, carrying with them many people and horses. But I know not whether the charge of that voyage was theirs or the Kings. But by whomsoever it was set out, they seeme to bee the first that discouered the *Canaries*, and landed in them: where also they tooke one hundred and fiftie of the Ilanders prisoners. Concerning the time of this discouerie, there is some difference among the Writers: for some affirme this to bee done in the yeere 1405.

The first disco-
uerie of the
Canaries by the
Christians
1405.

The first be-
ginning of the
Portugall Dis-
coueries.

THe Chronicles of *Portugall* haue this record, That after the Incarnation of Christ 1415. King *Iohn* the first of that name King of *Portugall*, departed from the Citie of *Lisbone* with the Prince *Don Duarte* or *Edward*, and *Don Peter*, and *Don Henrie* his sonnes, with other Lords, and Nobles of his Realme, and sailed into *Africa*, where he tooke the great Citie of *Centa*, standing on the North side thereof betwene 35. and 36. degrees in latitude: which was one of the principall causes of the enlarging of the Dominions of *Portugall*.

When they were come from thence, *Henrie*, the Kings third sonne, desirous to enlarge the Kingdome, and to discover strange and unknowne Countries, being then in *Algarbe*, gaue direction for the discoverie of the coast of *Mauritania*. For in those dayes none of the *Portugals* had euer passed the *Cape de Non*, standing in 29. degrees of latitude. And for the better accomplishing of this discoverie, the aforesaid *Don Henrie* prepared a fleete, and gaue commandement to the chiefe Captaines to proceede in discoverie from the aforesaid Cape forward : Which they did. But when they came to another Cape named *Bgiador*, there was not one of them that durst goe farther or beyond it : at which fearfull and cowardly faintnesse of theirs, the Prince was exceedingly displeased.

In the yeere 1417. King *John* the second reigning in *Castile*, and his mother Lady *Katharine* then vsing the gouernment, one Monsieur *Ruben* of *Bracamonte*, which was then Admirall of *France*, craued the conquest of the Ilands of the *Canaries*, with the title to be King of them, for a kinsman of his, called Monsieur *John Betancourt*: which being granted him by the *Queene*, and farther also partly furnished out, he departed from *Seuil* with a good armie: But the chiefe or principall cause that moued him to enter into this action, was to discover and perfectly to take a view of the Iland of *Madera*, whereof *Macham* before had giuen so much information. But for all that he went vnto the *Canaries*, and carried with him a Friar, called *Mendo*, to bee as Bishop thereof, admitted by Pope *Martin* the fift. When they were landed, they wonne *Lancerota*, *Fortentura*, *Gomera*, and *Ferno*: from whence they sent into *Spaine* many Slaues, Hony, Waxe, so Comfora or Camfire, Hides, Orchall, Figs, *Sanguis Draconis*, and other merchandises, whereof they made good profit: And this Armie also, as they report, discovered *Porto Santo*. The Iland that they inhabited was *Lancerota*, where they buile in it a Castle of stone for their better defence and securitie.

In the yeere 1418. one *Iohn Gonzales Zarco*, and *Tristram Vaz Teixeira*, household Gentlemen vnto *Don Henrie* the Kings third sonne, perceiving the desire that their Master had to discover new Countries, and willing in that course to doe him some seruice, craued of him a Barke, and licence to vndertake the action: which they obtayned, and sailed to the coast of *Africa*: where they were overtaken with a terrible tempest; but they were succoured, by falling with the Land, and entring into an Hauen called *Santo*, where they landed, and remayned two yeeres, and

In the yeere 1420. they discovered the Iland of *Madera*, where they found the Chappell and the Stone and Tombe, whereupon the foresaid *Macham* had grauen his name. There are others that write, that a certaine *Castilian*, perceiving the desire and fauour to Navigation, which *Don*

John de Barros
Asia, Decad. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 2.
Cape de Non.

Cape Bolador

The *Canarie*
Ilands con-
quered.

Porto Santo.

John de Barro.
Decad. I. l. I. c.

Barros Decad.
lib. I. cap. 3.

The Chappel
built by *Ma-*
cham found
Madera.

Henrie had, told him that they had found the Iland of *Porto Santo*; which being but a small thing they made no reckoning of it. *Don Henrie* sent *Bartholomew Perestrelo*, *Iohn Conzales Zarco*, *Tristram Vaz Teixeira*, and by the signes and likelihoods that they had received, they went to *Porto Santo*, and there remayned two yeeres: and after that, namely, in the yeere 1420. they sailed also to the Iland of *Madera*, where they found the memoriall and moniment of the afore-said *Macham* the English man.

Porto Santo.

As for *Monfieur Betancourt*, who entred into the Conquest of the *Canaries*, as is above mentioned, he was slaine in the middest of the action, and left behinde him for his heire a kinsman of his, called *Monfieur Menante*, who after that sold the said Ilands of the *Canaries* vnto one *Peter Barba of Sinil*. There are other which speake otherwise, and say, that *Monfieur Iohn Betancourt* went into *France* to prepare a new Armie about this Conquest, and left there a Nephew of his; who because he heard no more of his Vncle, and saw that hee could not maintaine the warres any longer, he sold the *Canaries* to *Don Henrie* the King of *Portugals* third sonne, for a certaine thing that he gaue him in the Iland of *Madera*.

The Canarie Ilands sold o-uer to a Spaniard.

In the yeere 1424. they write that the said *Don Henrie* prepared a Nauie and Armie to conquer these Ilands, wherein there went as Captaine Generall, one *Don Fernando de Castro*; and by reason of the valiantnesse and warlike behaviour of the people, they had the repulse: whereupon *Don Ferdinando*, considering the great charge, and little or no good successe, hee gaue ouer the action, and returned back againe. After this *Don Henrie* resigned ouer these Ilands to the Crowne of *Castile*, in consideration of the aides which *Betancourt* had received. But the *Castilians* agree not vnto this report. For they say, that neither the Kings of *Portugall*, nor *Don Henrie* would render the Ilands, till they came in question before Pope *Eugenius* the fourth; who fully vnderstanding the matter, gaue the Conquest of the Ilands by order of iudgement vnto the King of *Castile* in the yeere 1431. whereupon this contention ceased touching the Title of the *Canaries*, betweene the Kings of *Portugall* and of *Castile*.

Barros Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 12.

The Canaries came to the Crowne of Spaine in the yeere 1431. Description of the Canaries.

These Ilands being in number seuen, were called by the name of *Fortunate*, standing in 28. degrees to the North: where the longest day is but thirteene houres, and the longest night as much, lying distant from *Spaine* two hundred leagues, and from the Coast of *Africa* eightene leagues. The people were Idolaters, and did eate their flesh raw for want of fire: they had no Iron, and sowed without any toole: they tilled and raised the ground with Oxe hornes, and Goats hornes.

The ancient manners of Canarians.

Euery Iland did speake a seuerall language. They tooke many wiues, and knew them not carnally vntill they had deliuered them to the Superiours. They had diuers other Paganish customs: but now the Christian faith is planted among them. The commodities of these Ilands are Wheat, Barly, Sugar, Wine, and certaine birds, called *Canarie* birds, much esteemed in *Spaine* and other places.

The commodities of the Canaries.

In the Iland of *Ferro* they haue none other water, but that which proceedeth in the night from a Tree, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, seruing the whole Iland both Men and Cattell, a thing notorious and knowne to very many.

A Tree yeelding abundance of water in *Ferro*.

In the yeere 1428. it is written that *Don Peter*, the King of *Portugals* eldest sonne, was a great traoueller. He went into *England*, *France*, *Almaine*, and from thence into the Holy Land, and to other places; and came home by *Italie*, taking *Rome* and *Venice* in his way: from whence hee brought a Map of the World, which had all the parts of the World and Earth described. The Streight of *Magelan* was called in it, *The Dragons taile*: The Cape of *Bona Sperança*, *The forefront of Afrike*, and so forth of other places: by which Map, *Don Henrie* the Kings third sonne, was much helped and furthered in his Discoveries.

See *Tom. 2. l. 7. c. 5.* *M. Iacksons* report from his owne eyes. A most rare & excellent Map of the world. A great helpe to *Don Henrie* in his Discoveries.

It was told mee by *Francis de Sosa Tauares*, that in the yeere 1528. *Don Fernando* the Kings sonne and heire did shew him a Map, which was found in the studie of *Alcobaza*, which had beene made one hundred and twentie yeetes before, which Map did set forth all the Nauigation of the *East Indies*, with the Cape of *Bona Sperança*, according as our later Maps haue described it. Whereby it appeareth, that in ancient time there was as much or more discovered, then now there is. Notwithstanding all the traouaile, paines, and expences in this action of *Don Henrie*, yet he was neuer wearie of his purposed Discoveries. At length, there was a seruant of his, called *Gilianes*, that first passed the Cape *Boiador*, a place before terrible to all men: and hee brought word that it was not so dangerous, as it was reported: for on the other side of it he went on land, and in manner of taking possession, set in the ground a Crosse of wood, to bee as a marke and token afterwards of his discoverie so farre. In the yeere 1433. in the moneth of August, *Don Iohn* died, and his sonne *Don Duarte* or *Edward* succeeded him in his Kingdome.

As much discovered in ancient time as now is.

Barros Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 4. Cape *Boiador* first passed. Anno 1432. The death of *Don Iohn* the first of *Portugall*.

In the yeere 1434. *Don Henrie* set out one *Alfonso Gonzaes Baldaia*, and *Gilianes* afore-said, and they went to another Cape, which was beyond the former, and going on land perceiued the Countrie to be inhabited: and because they were desirous to satisfie *Don Henrie*, with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voyage, and went forward, till they came to a certaine point of Land, from whence they turned backe againe. In the yeere 1438. King *Edward*, whom the *Portugals* call *Don Duarte*, died, and *Don Alphonso* the Prince being young, *Don Peter* his Vncle, gouerned the Kingdome.

Barros Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 5. The death of *Don Duarte* King of *Portugall*.

Barros Decad. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 7.

Cape Blanco.

Indulgences
granted to en-
courage to this
enterprise.

Rio de Oro, why
so called.

The Ilands of
Arguin.

The Ilands of
Garze.

Angra de Gon-
saluo de Syntra.

The Riuer of
Sanaga.

Cape Verde.

Rio Grande.

A strange re-
port, if true.
The Iland of
seuen Cities.

Don Alfonso
King of Portu-
gall come to
age.
The Azores first
inhabited.

Alcazer taken.
The Castle of
Arguin build-
ed.
The Iles of
Cape Verde dis-
covered by
three Genowais

The death of
Don Henrie
1463.
Sierra Leona.

In the yeere 1441. *Don Henrie* sent out two ships, and the Captaines were in the one *Tristan*, and *Antonie Gonsales* in the other. Being put to Sea they tooke a prize vpon the Coast; and sailed on to *Cape Blanco*, that is, the *White Cape*, standing in 20. degrees, and informed *Don Henrie* of the state of that Countrie by the *Moores*, which they brought from thence. Whereupon hee sent one *Fernan Lopez de Sauado*, to giue knowledge thereof to Pope *Martin*, trusting to make these things commodious to Holy Church. Vpon which knowledge the Pope granted Indulgences and euerlasting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, vnto those which should die in this enterprise. After this, in the yeere 1443. *Don Henrie* commanded *Antonie Gonsales* to carry backe the slaues which he had brought, and to ransom them in their Countrie: Which he did, and the *Moores* gaue them in trucke for them againe blacke *Moores* with curled haire, 10 and some gold; so that now that place is called *Rio de Oro*, that is, the *Golden Riuer*; whereby the desire of the Discouerie might be the more increased.

Not long after he sent out another, named *Nunnez Tristan*, who came vnto the Ilands of *Arguin*, where he tooke more slaues, and brought them to *Portugall* in the yeere 1444. Hereupon also one *Lansarote*, a Groom of *Don Gilians* chamber, with others associated with him, armed out certaine ships, which went coasting till they came to the Ilands of *Garze*, where they tooke two hundred slaues: which were the first that were brought from thence to *Portugall*.

In the yeere 1445. there went as Captaine of a Barke one *Gonsalo de Syntra*, an Esquire belonging to *Don Henrie* into those parts; and he went on Land, where he was taken with fixe or seuen more of his companie, which place was therefore called after his name, *Angra de Gonsaluo de* 20 *Syntra*. This was the first losse, which the *Portugals* receiued in their Discoueries.

In the yeere following, *Don Henrie* sent out three Carauels, wherein went as Captaines *Antonie Gonsales*, *Diego Aloizio*, and *Gomes Perez*, who had their direction, not to enter into *Rio de Oro*, nor to beare themselves disorderly, but to trauaile in peace, and to conuert as many Infidels as they could to Christianitie. But none of these things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act. In the same yeere 1446. another Esquire belonging to the King of *Portugall*, called *Denis Fernandes*, of the Citie of *Lisbone*, entred into these Discoueries, more to win fame then to reape commoditie by them. And he being in his voyage came to the Riuer of *Sanaga*, standing betweene 15. and 16. degrees of latitude towards the North, where he tooke certaine *Negroes*; and not contented therewith, hee went forward and discou- 30 red *Cape Verde*, standing in 14. degrees on the same side; and there hee set vp vpon the Land a Crosse of wood, and then returned with great contentation.

In the yeere 1447. one *Nunnez Tristan* went forth to discouer in a Carauell, and he passed the aforesaid *Cape Verde*, and *Rio Grande*, and went past it vnto another, standing beyond it in 11. degrees, where he was also taken with eightene *Portugals* more: but the ship came home againe in safetie, conducted by foure or fise which escaped the hands of the *Negroes*.

In this yeere also 1447. it hapned that there came a *Portugall* ship through the Streight of *Gibraltar*; and being taken with a great tempest, was forced to run Westwards more then willingly the men would, and at last they fell vpon an Iland which had seuen Cities, and the people spake the *Portugall* tongue, and they demanded if the *Moores* did yet trouble *Spaine*, whence they had 40 fled for the losse which they receiued by the death of the King of *Spaine*, *Don Roderigo*. The Boatswaine of the ship brought home a little of the Sand, and sold it vnto a Gold-smith of *Lisbon*, out of the which hee had a good quantitie of gold. *Don Pedro* vnderstanding this, being then Gouvernour of the Realme, caused all the things thus brought home, and made knowne, to be recorded in the house of Iustice. There be some that thinke, that those Ilands whereunto the *Portugals* were thus driuen, were the *Antiles*, or *New Spaine*, alleaging good reasons for their opinion, which here I omit, because they serue not to my purpose. But all their reasons seeme to agree, that they should be that Countrie, which is called *Nona Spagna*.

In the yeere 1449. the King *Don Alfonso* gaue licence vnto his Vncle *Don Henrie*, to inhabit the Ilands of the *Azores*, which were long before discovered. And in the yeere 1458. this King 50 went into *Africa*, and there hee tooke the Towne, called *Alcazer*. And in the yeere 1461. hee commanded Signior *Mendez*, a Gentleman of his House, to build the Castle of *Arguin*, whereof he gaue vnto him the government, as to his Lieutenant.

In the yeere 1462. there came into the Realme of *Portugall* three *Genowais* of good parentage, the chiefe of whom vvas called *Antonie de Noli*, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew, and each of these had his seuerall ship, crauing libertie of *Don Henrie* to discouer the Ilands of *Cape Verde*, which was granted them. Others say, that the places which they discovered, were those vvhich Antiquitie called the *Gorgades*, *Hesperides*, and *Dorcadés*: but they named them *Mayo*, *Saint Iago*, and *Saint Philip*, because they discovered them on those Saints dayes: but they are also called by some, the Ilands of 60 *Antonio*.

In the yeere following 1463. this good noble man *Don Henrie* died, leauing from *Cape De Non*, discovered vnto the mountaine called *Sierra Leona*, standing on this side the Line in eight degrees of latitude, where no man had beene before that time.

In the yeere 1469. the King of Portugall did let out for yeerely Rent the trade of Guiney vnto one called *Fernan Gomez*, which Countrey afterwards was called *The Mine*. He let it out for five yeeres, for two hundred thousand Reyes by the yeere (which is of our *English* money, one hundred thirty eight pounds seuentene shillings nine pence halspeny) and added vnto his lease this condition, that euery yeere he should discover an hundred leagues. In the yeere following, which was 1470. this King went into *Africa*, with his sonne Prince *Iohn*, where they tooke the Towne of *Arzila*, and the people of the Citie of *Tanger* fled out for feare, and that he took also. It seemeth that good fortune followeth a couragious attempt.

Barros' decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 2.
The Countrey of Guiney let out to farme.
Ibidem.
Arzila taken.
Tanger taken.

In the yeere 1471. *Fernan Gomes* gaue commandement that the Coast should be discovered as it lay. Which was vndertaken by *Iohn de S. Aren*, and *Iohn de Seomar*; and they went and found the *Mine* in 5. degrees of latitude. And the next yeere, which was 1472. one *Fernando de Poo* discovered the Iland now called after his name. Also about this time the Ilands of *Saint Thomas*, and *Del Principe* were discovered, standing vnder the Line, with the firme Land also, wherein is the Kingdome of *Benin*, reaching to the Cape *De Santa Katarina*, standing on the South side of the Line in 3. degrees. The man that made this Discoverie was a seruant of the Kings, and his name was *Sequeira*. Many suppose, that then also there were those places, Countries and Ilands discovered, which before were neuer knowne to vs since the Flood.

Ibidem.
La Mina.
Ibidem.
The Ile de *Fernan de Poo.*
Saint Thome.
Rha del Principe.

In the yeere 1480. the valiant King *Don Alfonso* died, and left many things worthie of memorie behind him; and his sonne *Don Iohn* the Second succeeded him. Who in the yeere 1481. gaue direction for the building of the Castle *De Mina* to one *Diego d'Azambuxa*; who did so, and was made Captaine of it.

Benin.
Cape de *Santa Katarina.*
Don Iohn the Second.
Barros' decad. 1. l. 3. c. 2.
Castle de *Mina* built.
Rio de Congo.

In the yeere 1484. the foresaid King *Iohn* sent out one *Diego Caon* a Knight of his Court to discover: and he went to the Riuer of *Congo*, standing on the South side in 7. or 8. degrees of latitude; where he erected a Pillar of stone with the Royall Armes and Letters of Portugall, wherein he wrote the commandement that he had receiued from the King, with the time and day of his being there. From thence he went vnto a Riuer neere the Tropike of *Caprerne*, setting still vp Pillars of stone where he thought it conuenient, and so came backe againe vnto *Congo*, and to the King of that Countrey: who thereupon sent an Ambassador and men of credit into Portugall.

Discoverie neere vnto the Tropike of *Caprerne.*

In the next yeere or the second following, one *Iohn Alonso d'Aueiro* came from the Kingdome of *Benin*, and brought home Pepper with a taile: which was the first of that kind seene in Portugall.

Pepper of *Benin.*

In the yeere 1487. King *Iohn* sent to discover *India* ouer Land. In which Iourney went one *Pedro de Couillan* a seruant of the Kings, and *Alfonso de Payua*, because they could speake the *Arabian* tongue. They went out in the moneth of May, and the same yeere they tooke shipping at *Naples*, and arriued in the Ile of *Rhodes*, and lodged in the house that was prouided for the Portugall Knights of that order: from thence they went to *Alexandria*, and so to *Cairo*, and thence to the Hauen of *Toro* in the companie of the Carauans or Carriers which were *Moors*. There they tooke shipping, and being on the *Red Sea* they arriued at the Citie of *Aden*, and there they separated themselues: for *Alfonso de Payua* went towards *Ethiopia*, and *Pedro de Couillan* into *India*. Who came into the Cities of *Cananor* and *Calicut*, and came backe vnto *Goa*: where he tooke shipping vnto *Sofala*, being on the Coast of *Africa* in the Southerne latitude of 20. degrees, to see the Mines that were of so great name. From *Sofala* he turned backe to *Mosambique*, and vnto the Cities of *Quiloa*, *Mombaza*, and *Melinde*, till he came backe againe vnto the Citie of *Aden*: where he and *Alfonso de Payua* diuided themselues: and thence hee sayled againe through the *Red Sea* vnto the Citie of *Cayro*, where he thought to haue met with his companion: but there hee heard that he was dead by the Letters that he receiued from King *Iohn* his Master; in which Letters he was farther commanded to trauell into the Countrey and Dominions of *Presbyter Iohn*. Vpon this commandement he prouided for his farther Iourney, and from *Cayro* went backe againe to the Hauen of *Toro*, and from thence to *Aden*, where hee had bene twice before: and there hearing of the fame of the Citie of *Ormuz*, he determined to goe thither; and therefore went along the Coast of *Arabia* vnto the Cape *Razalgate* standing vnder the Tropike of *Cancer*, and from thence he went to *Ormuz*, standing in 27. degrees on that side. There he learned and vnderstood of the Straight of *Persia*, and of that Countrey: and entred there into the *Red Sea*, and passed ouer to the Realme of the *Abassini*, which commonly is called *Presbyter Iohns* Countrey or *Ethiopia*: and there he was detained till the yeere 1520. when there came thither the Ambassador *Don Roderigo de Lima*: This *Pedro de Couillan* was the first Portugall that euer knew and saw the *Indias* and those Seas, and other places adjoyning thereunto.

Barros' decad. 1. l. 3. c. 5.
Pedro de Couillan and *Alfonso de Payua* sent to discover *India.*
Alexandria.
Cairo.
Toro.
Aden.
Cananor.
Calicut.
Goa.
Sofala.
Mosambique.
Quiloa.
Mombaza.
Melinde.

The Voyage of *Pedro de Couillan* vnto the Countrey of *Prete Ianni.*
Cape *Razalgate.*
Ormuz.

Abassini.
Pedro de Couillan the first Portugall that came into the East *India* and *Ethiopia* by the *Red Sea.*
Barros' decad. 1. lib. 3. c. 9.

In the yeere 1490. the King sent vnto *Congo* one *Gonzalo de Sosa* a Gentleman with three ships, and in them sent home the Ambassador of *Congo*, which was sent into Portugall, whom *Diego Caon* had brought from thence: who at his being in Portugall was baptised both himselfe and others of his companie. The foresaid *Gonzalo de Sosa* died in that Iourney by

the

A great part of
the Kingdome
of Congo bap-
tized.

the way, and in his roome they chose his Nephew *Ruy de Sosa* for their Captaine; and so be-
ing come vnto *Congo*, the King was very glad of their comming, and yeelded himselfe, and
the greater part of his Realme to be baptized: whereof the *Portugals* had good cause to re-
ioyce, seeing by them so many Infidels were conuerted from Gentilisme and Paganisme to
Christianitie.

In the yeere 1492. in the time of *Don Ferdinando* King of *Castile*, he being at the siege of
Granada, dispatched one *Christopher Columbus* a *Genoway* with three ships to goe and discover
Noua Spagna: who first had offered his seruice for a Westerne discoverie vnto King *Iohn* of
Portugall; but he would not entertaine him.

The first that
in sayling are
thought to
haue obserued
latitudes. See
of this Voyage
sup. l. 2. pag. 11.

Hee being sufficiently furnished for this enterprise departed from the Towne of *Palos* the 10
third day of August, hauing with him as Captaines and Pilots *Martin Alfonso Pinzon*, *Francis
Martinez Pinzon*, *Vincent Yannes Pinzon*, and *Bartholomew Columbus* his brother, with an hun-
dred and twenty persons more in his companie: and some affirme that they were the first that
sayled by latitudes.

Contention
betweene the
Kings of *Spaine*
and *Portugall*.

Hereupon there grew such a common desire of trauell among the *Spaniards*, that they were
ready to leape into the Sea to swimme, if it had beene possible, into those new-found parts.
The aforesaid companie of *Columbus*, at their comming home, tooke in their way the *Iles* of
the *Azores*, and the fourth day of March in the yeere 1493. the entred into the barre of *Lisbon*:
which discoverie pleased not the King of *Portugall*. Whereupon rose a contention betweene
those two Kings.

The Bull of
donation.

Christopher Columbus being arriued, went presently into *Castile* with the newes of all things,
and acquainted the King *Fernando* with the discontentednesse of the King of *Portugall*: where-
upon he and the Queene *Isabella* his wife sent streight word thereof vnto Pope *Alexander* the
Sixt, whereat he and the *Italians* were in great admiration, maruelling that there was any more
Land besides that which was vnder the *Romanes*. But the end of this matter was this: *Alexander*
the Pope gaue these Countries by his Iudgement vnto the Kingdomes of *Leon* and
Castile; with this condition, That they should labour to extirpate Idolatrie, and plant the holy
Faith in those Countries.

Gomara histo-
rie generall. l. 1.
cap. 17.
Columbus se-
cond Voyage.

Fernando the King hauing receiued this answer, was glad of it, and sent *Christopher Colum-
bus* againe on the former Voyage, hauing made him Admirall, and giuen him other honours, 30
with particular Armes, and a Poëse written about his Armes to this effect. For *Castile* and for
Leon, A new world found out Colon.

Descada disco-
uered.

In the yeere 1493. the five and twentieth of the moneth of October *Christopher Columbus*
went back vnto the *Antiles*, and from *Cadiz* he tooke his course, hauing in his companie seuen-
teene ships, and fiftene hundred men in them, with his brethren *Bartholomew Columbus*, and
Diego Columbus, with other Knights, Gentlemen, men of Law, and Religious men, with Cha-
lices, Crosses, rich ornaments, and with great power and dignitie from Pope *Alexander*; and
the tenth day after their setting forth, they arriued at the *Canaries*; and from thence in five and
twenty or thirty dayes they sayled vnto the *Antiles*; and the first Iland that they saw standeth
in 14. degrees towards the North, due West from Cape *Verde* on the coast of *Africa*. They say 40
that the distance from thence to the *Canaries* is eight hundred leagues. The name they gaue it
was *Descada*, that is, the Desired or wished Iland, for the great desire which the companie had
to come to sight of Land. After that they discovered many more which they named the *Vir-
gines*, which the Naturals of the Countrie call the *Caribas*, for that the men of that Countrie are
good warriors, and shoot well in Bowes. they poison their Arrowes with an herbe, whereof
he that is hurt dieth, biting himselfe like as a mad Dog doth.

Caribas.

Boriquen or
S. Iohn de Porto
ricco.

From these Ilands and others they went vnto the principall Iland there, which they of the
Countrie doe call *Boriquen*, and the *Spaniards* call it *Saint Iohn*, and thence to *Hispaniola* or *Isa-
bella*, where they found all the men dead which there they had left. Here the Admirall left the
most part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to bee *Gouernours* there: and 50
so tooke two ships, and went to discover the other side of the Iland of *Cuba*, and from thence
to *Iamaica*. All these Ilands stand from 16. vnto 20. degrees of Northerly latitude. In the
meane time that the Admirall sayled about, his brethren and they that were left with them
were much troubled, because the *Sauages* did rise against them. So that *Christopher Colon* went
backe againe into *Spaine*, to tell the King and Queene of his adventures.

See sup. l. 2. c. 1.
§. 7.

In the yeere 1494. and in the moneth of January there was an agreement made of the dif-
ferences which were betweene the two Kings of *Spaine* and *Portugall*. For the which agree-
ment there were sent out of *Portugall* *Ruy de Sosa*, and *Don Iohn* his sonne, and the Doctor
Ayres de Almada: and for the King of *Spaine* there were *Don Henry Henriques*, *Don Iohn de
Cardenas*, and the Doctor *Maldonado*. All these met in the Towne of *Tordesillas*, and they diui- 60
ded the World from the North to the South by a Meridian which standeth West from the I-
lands of Cape *Verde* 300. leagues: so that the one halfe which lay to the East should belong vnto
Portugall, and that which lay to the West to the King of *Spaine*, whereby notwithstanding liber-
tie to trauell was left equall vnto both. In the yeere following 1495. *Iohn* King of *Portugall*
died, and *Emmanuel* his Cousin began to raigine.

The first line
of partition.
The death of
Don Iohn the
Second.

In the yeere 1496. there was a *Venetian* in England, called *John Cabota*, who hauing knowledge of such a new Discoverie as this was, and perceiuing by the Globe, that the Ilands before spoken of stood almost in the same Latitude with his Countrey, and much neerer to England then to *Portugall*, or to *Castile*, hee acquainted King *Henrie* the seuenth then King of England with the same, wherewith the said King was greatly pleased, and furnished him out with two Ships and three hundred men: which departed and set sayle in the Spring of the yeere, and they sayled Westward till they came in sight of land in 45. degrees of Latitude towards the North, and then went straight Northwards till they came into 60. degrees of Latitude, where the day is eightene houres long, and the night is very cleere and bright. There they found the ayre cold, and great Ilands of ice, but no ground in an hundred fathoms sounding: and so from thence finding the land to turne Eastwards, they trended along by it discovering all the Bay and Riuer named *Descada*, to see if it passed on the other side: Then they sayled backe againe till they came to 38. degrees toward the Equinoctiall line, and from thence returned into England. There be others which say, that hee went as farre as the Cape of *Florida*, which standeth in 25. degrees.

In the yeere 1497. the King of Spaine *Don Fernando* sent out *Christopher Columbus* with sixe ships, and hee himselfe prouided two ships at his owne cost, and sending his brother before, he made sayle from the Bay of *Cadiz*, carrying with him his Son *Don Diego Colon*. It was then reported that he went to take the Iland of *Madera*, because he mistrusted the *French* men, & therefore sent thither three ships: others say it was to the *Canaries*. But howsoeuer it was, this is true, that he and three more went vnto the Ilands of *Cape Verde*, and ranne along by the line finding great calmes and raine, and the first land which they came vnto of the *Antiles* was an Iland standing in 9. degrees of Latitude towards the North joyning fast vnto the maine land, which they called *La Trinidada*; and so he entred into the Gulfe of *Paria*, and came out of the mouth which they name *Bocca de Dragone*, or the *Dragons mouth*: and they tooke their course hard by the Coast, where they found three small Ilands, which they named *Los Testigos*, that is to say, *The Witnesses*, beyond which standeth the Iland of *Cubagua*, where is great fishing of muske Pearles: where also, as they say, there springeth a Well of oyle: and beyond that Iland they came to the Iles of *Frailes*, *Roques*, *Aruba*, and *Curacao*, with other small ones all along the Bay: and they came to the point of *Cabo de Vela*, and discovered along the Coast almost two hundred leagues, from whence they crossed ouer to *Hispaniola*, hauing had also sight of the Iland called *Beata*.

In this same yeere 1497. on the twentieth day of the moneth of Iune, one *Vasques de Gama*, sayled from *Lisbon* by the King *Emmanuel*s commandement to *India* with three ships, wherein there went for Captaines *Vasques de Gama*, *Paulus de Gama* his brother, and *Nicolas Coello* with one hundred and twentie men; with whom also there went one ship laden onely with victuals, and in fourteene dayes they came vnto *Cape Verde*, vnto the Iland of *Saint Iago*, where they refreshed themselves, and from thence they went along the coast beyond the Cape of *Bona Speranza*, whereupon they erected certayne Pillers of stone, and so came vnto *Mosambique*, standing in 15. degrees to the South of the line, where they stayed not long, but went from thence to *Mombaza*, and vnto *Melinde*: where the King of that place gaue them Pilots, which conducted them into *India*, in which discoverie they found out *Los Baxos do Padua*, that is to say, the flats of *Padua*.

In the yeere 1498. in the moneth of May, they came to an anker before the Citie of *Calicut*, and *Panana*, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of September they set sayle towards the North, discovering the Coast all along till they came to the Iland of *Angedina*, which standeth on that side in 15. degrees of latitude, where they came to an anker in the beginning of October, and so they departed from *Angedina* in Februarie, in the yeere 1499. and came in sight of the coast of *Africa* about *Melinde* towards the North 3. or 4. degrees, and from thence they sayled vnto the said Citie, and so vnto *Mosambique* againe, and to the Cape of *Bona Speranza*, sayling along by the Coast, and then they came to the Ilands of *Cape Verde*, and last of all to the Citie of *Lisbon* in the moneth of September, hauing beene in the voyage six and twentie moneths.

In the yeere 1499. on the thirteenth day of the moneth of Nouember, there departed from *Palos* one *Vincent Yannex Pinson* and his nephew *Aries Pinson*, with foure ships well appointed at their owne cost and charges, to discover the new world vnder the licence of the King of *Castile*, and with commandement not to touch there, where the Admirall *Columbus* had beene. And so they went to the Ilands of *Cape Verde*, and passed the line to the Southward, and discovered the Cape of *Saint Augustine*, standing on that side in 8. degrees of latitude, and there they wrote on the rindes of Pine trees the names of the King and Queene, also the yeere and day when they arriued there. They fought with the people of *Brasil*, but got nothing, they tooke their course all along the coast towards the West vnto the Riuer *Maria Tambal*, and at that time they had taken thirtie and odde Prisoners. The chiefe places where they touched were the Cape of *S. Augustine*, and the angle or point of *S. Luke*, and *Tierra de los Humos*, the Rivers

The great discovery of *John Cabota* and the English. His sonne *Sebastian* was the chiefe Discoverer of the American Continent on the Easterne shores that euer hath liued, as in the next tome will often appeare. The Countrey now called *New Scotland* discovered by *Cabota* about a yeere before *Columbus* had seen the Continent.

Columbus third Voyage. *Gomara* histor. general. lib. 1. cap. 21. *Trinidada*. *Testigos*. *Cubagua*. Well of Oyle. *Frailes*, *Roques*, *Aruba*, *Curacao* &c. *Cabo de Vela*. *Beata*.

Barros decad. 1. l. 4. c. 2. and to the end of the 11. Chap. See sup. l. 2. c. 1. ff. 7.

The Cape of *Bona Speranza*. *Mosambique*. *Mombaza*. *Melinde*. *Los Baxos de Padua*.

Calicut.

Angedina.

Gomara histor. general. lib.

Brasil discovered.

The Cape of *S. Augustine*.

Rio de Maria Tambal. *Angla de San Lucas*.

The riuers of
Marannon, A-
mazones, and
Rio Dolce.

Barros decad. 1.
lib. 5. cap. 2.

Puerto Seguro
in Brasil.

Sofala.

Cortereals Dis-
couerie of the
North of Ame-
rica, diuers
yeeres after
Cabots and the
English.

Many entran-
ces of Riuer
in the North-
west.

Barros decad. 1.
lib. 5. cap. 10.

Isla de Ascension

The Ile of San-
ta Helena

Bezequiche.

Brasil discou-
red to 32. deg.

Gomara hist. ge-
neral. lib. 2.

Vraba.

Although this
Tome doe not
properly con-
taine occur-
rents of Ame-
rica: yet be-
cause in this
Chronologie
of Discoveries
partly Portu-
gal to the East,
partly Spanish
to the West,
we could not
but follow our
Author; It may
also serue as a
Preface or
Prologue to
the following
American rela-
tions.

Riuers of *Marannon*, and of the *Amazones*, and *Rio dulce*, or the Sweet Riuer, and other places along the Coast: and they came to 10. degrees of latitude on the North side, where they lost two ships and their companie, and remained in that Voyage of discouerie ten moneths and fiftene dayes.

In the yeere 1500. and in the moneth of March, one *Pedro Aluarez Cabral* sayled out of *Lisbon* with thirteene ships, with commandement not to come neere the coast of *Africa* to shorten his way; and he losing the sight of one of his ships, went to seeke her, and in seeking of her lost his course, and sayled till he came within sight of the land. The Generall was so long in seeking his ship, that the companie were wearie of it, and entreated him to leaue his enterprife. The next day they fell in sight of the Coast of *Brasil*: whereupon the Generall commanded a Barke to goe to land and seeke a hauen: which they did, and found a good and safe hauen, and they named it *Puerto Seguro*, that is to say, *The safe Hauen*, standing on the South side in 17. degrees of latitude. From thence they sayled towards the Cape of *Bona Speranca*, and *Melinde*, and crossed ouer to the Riuer of *Cochin*, which before was not knowne, where they laded themselves with Pepper, and at their returne *Sancho de Thonar* discovered the Citie of *Sofala* vpon the coast of *Africa*. 10

In this same yeere 1500. it is reported that *Gaspard Cortereal* craued a generall licence of the King *Emmanuel* to discover the *New found land*. Hee went from the Iland *Tercera* with two ships well appointed at his owne cost, and hee sayled vnto that climate which standeth vnder the North in 50. degrees of latitude, which is a land now called after his name; and hee came home in safetie vnto the Citie of *Lisbon*: And making another time this voyage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came backe into *Portugall*. Wherefore his brother *Michael Cortereal* went to seeke him with three ships well appointed at his owne cost; and when they came vnto that Coast, and found so many entrances of Riuer and Hauens, euery ship went into her seuerall Riuer, with this rule and order, that they all three should meet againe the twentieth day of August. The two other ships did so, and they seeing that *Michael Cortereal* was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certaine time, returned backe into the realme of *Portugall*, and neuer heard any more newes of him, nor yet any other memorie. But that Countrey is called, *The land of Cortereall* vnto this day. 20

In this yeere 1501. in the moneth of March, *Iohn de Noua* departed from the Citie of *Lisbon* with foure ships, and passed the line on the South side into 8. degrees of latitude, and hee discovered an Iland, which he called the *Ile de Ascension*: and hee went vnto *Mosambique*, and to *Melinde*, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto the other side, where they tooke lading, and so came backe and doubled the Cape, and found an Iland called *Santa Helena*, being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof. 30

In this same yeere 1501. and in the moneth of May, there departed out of *Lisbon*, three ships vpon the commandement of *Emmanuel* the King to discover the coast of *Brasil*: and they sayled in the sight of the *Canaries*, and from thence to Cape *Verde*, where they refreshed themselves in the Towne of *Bezequiche*, and passed from thence beyond the line Southward, and fell with the land of *Brasil* in 5. degrees of latitude, and so went forward till they came in 32. degrees little more or lesse, according as they accounted it, and from thence they came backe in the moneth of Aprill, because it was there at that time cold and tempestuous. They were in that voyage fiftene moneths, and came to *Lisbon* againe in the beginning of September, 1502. 40

In the yeere 1502. one *Alonso Hoseda* went to discover *Terra firma*, and followed his course till he came to the Prouince of *Vraba*.

The next yeere following, also one *Roderigo Bastidas* of *Sinill* went out with two Carauels at his owne cost, and the first land of the *Antiles* that hee saw was an Iland which he named *Isla Verde*, that is, the *Greene Iland*, standing fast by the Iland of *Guadalupe*, towards the land: and from thence they tooke their course towards the West to *Santa Martha*, and Cape *De la Vela*, and to *Rio Grande*, or the Great riuer, and they discovered the Hauen of *Zamba*, the *Coradas*, *Carthagenas*, and the Ilands of *Saint Barnard*, of *Baru*, and *Islas de Arenas*, and went forward vnto *Isla fuerte*, and to the point of *Caribana*, standing at the end of the Gulfe of *Vraba*, where they had sight of the *Farrallones* standing on the other side hard by the Riuer of *Darien*, and from Cape *De la Vela* vnto this place are two hundred leagues: and it standeth in 9. degrees and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed ouer vnto the Iland of *Jamaica*, where they refreshed themselves. In *Hispaniola* they graued their ships because of the holes which certaine wormes of the water had eaten into the planks. In that Countrey they got foure hundred markes of Gold, although the people there be more warlike then in *Noua Spania*: for they poison their arrowes which they shoote. 50

In this same yeere 1502. *Christopher Columbus* entred the fourth time into his discouerie with foure ships, at the commandement of *Don Fernando* to seeke the Straight, which as they said did diuide the land from the other side, and he carried with him *Ferdinando* his sonne. They went first to the Iland of *Hispaniola*, to *Jamaica*, to the Riuer *Azua*, to the Cape of *Higuera*, and vnto the Ilands *Gamares*, and to the Cape of *Henduras*, that is to say, the Cape of the *Depthes*: from 60

from thence they sayled towards the East vnto the Cape *Gracias a Dios* and discovered the Province and Riuer of *Veragua*, and *Rio Grande*, and others which the *Indians* call *Hienra*. And from thence he went to the Riuer of *Crocodiles*, which now is called *Rio de Chagres*, which hath his Springs neere the South Sea, within foure leagues of *Panania*, and runneth into the North Sea: and so he went vnto the Iland which hee called *Isla de Bastimentos*, that is the Ile of *Viuals*, and then to *Puerto Bello*, that is, the Faire Hauen, and so vnto *Numbre de Dios*, and to *Rio Francisco*, and so to the Hauen of *Retrete*, and then to the Gulfe of *Cabeza Castiua*, and to the Ilands of *Caperosa*, and lastly to the Cape of *Marble*, which is two hundred leagues vpon the Coast: from whence they began to turne againe vnto the Iland of *Cuba*, and from thence to *La-*

10 *maica*, where he grounded his ships being much spoyled and eaten with Wormes.

In this yeere also 1502. *Don Vasques de Gama* being now Admirall, went againe into *India* with nineteene or twentie Caruels. Hee departed from *Lisbon* the tenth day of Februarie, and by the last day of that moneth he came to an anker at Cape *Verde*, and from thence he went vnto *Mosambique*, and was the first that crost from that Iland into *India*: and hee discovered another in 4. degrees of Latitude, which he called the Iland of the Admirall, and there he tooke his landing of Pepper and Drugs, and left there one *Vincent Sodre* to keepe the Coast of *India* with five ships. These were the first *Portugals* that with an Armie did runne along the Coast of *Arabia Felix*. It is there so barren, that their Cartell and Camels are onely maintayned with drie Fish brought from the sea; whereof there is such plentie and abundance, that the Cats of the

20 Country doe vie to take them.

In the yeere following, as it is reported, one *Antonie de Saldania*, discovered the Iland which in old time was called *Coradis*, and now *Socotora*, and the Cape of *Guardafu*, which adioyneth vnto that Country.

In the yeere 1504. *Roderigo de Bastidas* obtayned licence of King *Ferdinando*, and by the meanes of *Iohn de Ledesma*, and others of *Seuill*, armed and furnished out two ships, hauing for his Pilot one *Iohn de Cosa* of *Saint Marie Port*, and he went to discover that part of *Tierra firma*, where now standeth *Carthagera*, being in 10. degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude. And it is said that they found the Captaine *Luis de la Guerra*; and they together tooke land in the Ile of *Codego*, where they tooke fixe hundred persons of the Sauages: And going farther along the

30 Coast they entred into the Gulfe of *Vraba*, where they found Sand mingled with Gold, being the first that was brought to the King *Don Ferdinando*: from thence they returned to the Citie of *Santo Domingo* laden with Slaues without victuals, because they of the Country would not bargain with them, which grew to their great trouble and griefe. In the latter end of this yeere dyed Ladie *Isabella* Queene of *Castile*: Which Queene while she liued would not suffer any man of *Arragon*, *Catalunia*, *Valencia*, nor any borne in the Country of *Don Fernando* her husband to enter into these discoveries, saue those which were there Seruants, or by speciall commandement, but onely the *Castillians*, *Biscaines*, and those which were of her owne Signories, by whom all the lands aforesaid were discovered.

In the yeere 1505. vpon our Lady day in March, *Francisco de Almeida* Viceroy of *India*, tooke 40 his course with two and twentie sayles towards *India* as now is accustomed. He came vnto the Citie of *Quiloa*, where he built a Fort, appointing one *Peter Ferreira* to bee Captayne thereof: and beyond *Melinde* hee trauersed to the Iland of *Angedina*, where he placed as Captayne one *Emmannell Passania*. In *Cananor* also he built another Fort, giuing the Captainship of it to *Laurence de Brito*. In *Cochin* he did the like, where *Don Alfonso de Noronia* was made Captayne. This yeere one *Peter de Anbaya* did build the Fortresse of *Sofala*, whereof also himselfe was made Captayne. In the latter end of this yeere, the Viceroy commanded his Sonne, whose name was *Don Laurenzo* to make some entrie vpon the Ilands of *Maldina*, and with contrarie weather he arriued at the Ilands, which of ancient time were called *Tragana*, but the Moores called them *Ysterubenero*, and wee call them *Ceilan*: where he went on land, and made peace with the peo-

50 ple there, and afterward came backe vnto *Cochin*, sayling along the Coast and fully discovering it. In the middest of this Iland, there stands a Rocke of stone very high hauing the signe of the foot of a man vpon the top of it, which they say to be the footstep of *Adam*, when he went vp into the Heauens, and the *Indians* haue it in great reuerence.

In the yeere 1506. after the death of the Queene of *Spaine*, King *Philip* and Queene *Ioan* his wife, came into *Spaine* to take possession thereof, and King *Don Fernando* went into *Arragon* being his owne Patrimonic. In this same yeere the said King *Philip* dyed, and then *Fernando* came againe to gouerne *Spaine*, and hee gaue licence vnto all *Spaniards* to goe vnto the New Land, & to the *Antiles*, but not to the *Portugals*. In this yeere & in the month of May *Christopher Columbus* dyed, and his Son *Don Diego Columbus* succeeded in his roome (Admirall of the West

60 *Indies*. In the yeere 1506. in the moneth of March *Tristan de Acunna* and *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went into *India* with 14. ships in their company, & sayled til they came to an anker at the Town of *Bezequiche*, where they refreshed themselves: and before they came to the Cape of *Bona Speranca* in 37. degrees they found certaine Ilands, which now are named the *Isles of Tristan de Acunna*, where they had such a tempest that therewithall the Fleet was disperced. *Tristan de A-*

Cabo Gracias a
Dios.

Veragua.

Rio de Chagres.

Isla de Basti-
mentos.

Puerto Bello.

Numbre de Dios

The Cape of

Marble.

Barros decad. 8.

lib. 6. cap. 2.

The Iland of

Mosambique.

Cartell and

Camels fed

with dried fish.

Socotora.

Cape de Guar-

dafu.

Carthagera.

Codego.

Golden sand.

Vraba.

The death of

Queene Isabella

1504.

Barros decad. 1.

lib. 8. cap. 3.

A Fort built in

Quiloa.

Angedina pos-

sessed.

Forts builded

in Cananor and

in Cochin.

A Fort builded

in Sofala.

Ilands of Mal-

dine.

Ceilan.

Adams footstep

The death of

Philip the first

King of Spaine.

1506.

The death of

Christopher Co-

lumbus.

Bezequiche is

by Cape Verde

The Isles of

Tristan de A.

cunna in 37.

degrees.

cunna,

Samatra disco-
uered.

The Island of
S. Laurence dis-
couered.

Braua, a Fortresse
built in So-

cotora.

Barros decad. 2.
lib. 2. cap. 1.

The Cape of
Rosalgate.

Barros decad. 2.
lib. 4. cap. 1.

The Ile of S.
Laurence.

The Islands of
Nicubar.

Samatra.

The Ile of A.
Puluoreira.

The flats of
Capacia.

Malacca.

Rarities in
Samatra.

In Samatra

Buffes, Kine, &
Hens, haue

flesh as blacke
as inke.

People hauing
tailes like

sheepe.

Riuer of Oyle.

Strange Tree.

Gold coyned
in Samatra.

Gomara. hist.
gen. lib. 3. c. 7.

Castilia del Oro

The booke of
the Bachelier

Anciso of these
discoueries.

Boata is a Pro-
uince in the

west part of
Hispaniola.

Nombre de Dios

Gomara. gen. hist.
lib. 3. cap. 6.

Nuestra Senno-
ra de la Antigua

built.

Pizarro the
Conqueror of

Paru.

Many Gentle-
women went

to dwell in Hi-
spaniola.

Cuba peopled.

cunna and *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went vnto *Mosambique*, and *Aluaro Telex* ranne so faste that he came to the Island of *Samatra*, and so backe againe vnto the Cape of *Guardafu*; hauing disco- uered many Islands, Sea, and Lands neuer scene before that time of any *Portugall*. *Emmanuel Te- laz de Menezes* was also driuen without the great Island of *S. Laurence*, and he ran along the coast thereof, and arriued at last at *Mosambique*, and there met with *Tristan de Acunna*, who was the first Captaine that wintred there; and by them it was told, that in this Island was much Ginger, Cloues and Siluer: whereupon he went and discovered much of it within the land; but finding nothing he came backe againe vnto *Mosambique*; from whence he sayled vnto *Melinde*, and ran along that coast and entred into *Braua*, and from thence they crost quer to the Island of *Socotora*, where they built a Fortresse, and made one *Don Antonio de Noronia* Captaine thereof.

In the yeere 1507. in the moneth of August, *Tristan de Acunna* tooke shipping for *India*, and *Alfonso de Albuquerque* remained there with five or sixe ships to keepe the coast and entrie of the Straight; but being not therewith satisfied hee tooke his course ouer vnto *Arabia*, and running along that coast he doubled the Cape of *Rosalgate*, standing vnder the Tropike of *Cancer*.

In the yeere 1509. one *Diego Lopez de Sequera* went out of *Lisbon* with foure sayle vnto the I- land of *S. Laurence*, and continued in his voyage almost a yeere, and in the moneth of May the same yeere he arriued in *Cochin*, where the Viceroy gaue him one ship more: and in the begin- ning of the moneth of September, he tooke his course vnto *Malacca* passing between the Islands of *Nicubar*, and many others: He went also to the land of *Samatra* to the Cities of *Pedir* and *Pa- cem*, and all along by all that Coast vnto the Island of *A Puluoreira*, and the flats of *Capacia*: and from thence hee went ouer vnto *Malacca*, standing in 2. degrees of latitude toward the North: but in that Citie the people killed & tooke Prisoners some of his men: and thereupon he turned backe againe into *India*, hauing discovered in this voyage 500. leagues. This Island of *Samatra* is the first land wherein wee knew Mans flesh to bee eaten by certaine people which liue in the Mountaines called *Bacas*, who vse to gild their teeth. They hold opinion that the flesh of the black people is sweeter then the flesh of the white. The Buffes, Kine and Hens which are in that Countrey are in their flesh as blacke as any inke. They say that there are certaine people there called *Daraqus Dara*, which haue tailes like vnto sheepe; and some of their Wells yeeld Oyle.

The King of *Pedir* is reported to haue a Riuer in his land running with Oyle: which is a thing not to be marvelled at, seeing it is found written, that in *Bactria* there is also a Well of Oyle: it is farther said, that there groweth here a Tree, the ioyce whereof is strong poyson, and if it touch the blood of a man, he dyeth immediately: but if a man doe drinke of it, it is a soueraigne reme- die against poyson, so seruug both for life and death. Here also they doe coyne pieces of Gold which they call *Drachmas*, brought into the land as they say by the *Romans*: which seemeth to haue some resemblance of truth: because that from that place forward there is no coyned gold: but that which is thus coyned doth run currant in the buying of Merchandise and other things.

In the yeere 1508. one *Alfonso de Hoida* with the fauour of *Don Fernando* purposed to goe vn- to *Tierra firma* to conquer the Prouince of *Darien*. He went forth at his owne charges, and dis- couered *The firme Land*, where it is called *Vraba*, which he named *Castilia del Oro*, that is *Golden Castilia*, because of the Gold which they found among the sand along the Coast: And they were the first Spaniards that did this. *Alfonso de Hoida* went first from the Island of *Hispaniola* and the Citie of *San Domingo* with foure Ships and three hundred Souldiers, leauing behind him the Bachelier *Anciso*, who afterwards compiled a Booke of these Discoveries. And after him there went also one ship with victuals, munition, and 150. Spaniards. He went on land at *Caribagena*: but there the people of the Countrey tooke, flew and eate seuentie of his Souldiers, whereupon he grew very weake. In this yeere 1508. one *Diego de Niquesa*, prepared seuen ships in the Port of *Beata* to goe vnto *Veragua*, and carried in them almost 800. men. When he came to *Carthage- na*, he found there *Alfonso de Hoida* sore spoyled with his former losse: but then they both ioy- ned together, and went on land and auenged themselues of the people. And in this voyage *Die- go de Niquesa* went and discovered the Coast called *Nombre de Dios*, and went vnto the sound of *Darien*, and called it *Puerto de Misas*, which is vpon the Riuer of *Pito*. When they were come vn- to *Veragua*, he went on shore with his Armie, his Souldiers being out of hope to returne to *Hi- spaniola*. *Alfonso de Hoida* began a Fortresse in *Caribana* against the *Caribes*; which was the first Towne that the Spaniards built in the Firme land: and in *Nombre de Dios* they built another, and called it *Nuestra Sennora de la Antigua*. They builded also the Towne of *Vraba*. And there they left for their Captaine and Lieutenant one *Francis Pizarro*, who was there much troubled. They builded other Townes also, whose names I here omit. But these Captaines had not that good successe which they hoped for.

In the yeere 1509. the second Admirall *Don Diego Columbus* went into the Island of *Hispanio- la* with his wife and household: And she being a Gentlewoman carried with her many other wo- men of good Families, which were there married, and so the Spaniards & Castilians began to peo- ple the Countrey: for *Don Fernando* the King had giuen them licence to discover and people the Townes of *Hispaniola*; so that the same place grew to bee famous and much frequented. The foresaid Admirall also gaue order to people the Island of *Cuba*, which is very great and large and,

and placed there as his Lieutenant one *Diego Velasques*, who went with his father in the second voyage.

In the yeere 1511. in the moneth of Aprill *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went from the Citie of *Cochin* vnto *Malacca*. In which yeere and moneth the *Chineans* went from *Malacca* into their owne countrey, and *Alfonso* sent with them for Master a *Portugall* called *Duarte Fernandes*, with letters also and order vnto the King of the *Mantias*, which now is called *Sian* standing in the South. They passed through the Streight of *Cincapura*, and sailed towards the North, went along the coast of *Patane* vnto the Citie of *Cuy*, and from thence to *Odia*, which is the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, standing in 14. degrees of Northerly latitude. The King greatly honoured and welcomed *Duarte Fernandes* being the first *Portugall* that hee had seene, and with him hee sent backe Ambassadors to *Albuquerque*. They passed ouer land towards the west vnto the Citie of *Tanazerim* standing vpon the sea on the other side in 12. degrees, where they imbarcked themselues in two ships, and sailed along the coast vnto the Citie of *Malacca*, leauing it all discovered.

The people of this countrey of *Sian* are people that eat of all kinde of beasts, or vermine. They haue a delight to carrie round bels within the skin of their priuie members: which is forbidden to the King and the religious people. It is said that of all other people of those parts they be most vertuous and honest. They commend themselues much for their chastitie and povertie. They bring no hennens nor doves vp in their houses. This Kingdome hath in length two hundred and fiftie leagues, and in breadth eightie. Of this only Kingdome the King may bring forth into the field thirtie thousand Elephants, when hee goeth to warre, besides those which remaine in the Cities for the garde of them. The King much esteemeth a white Elephant and a red one also, that hath his eyes like vnto flaming fire.

There is in this countrey a certaine small vermine, which vseth to cleaue fast to the trunke of the Elephant, and draweth the blood of the Elephant, and so he dieth thereof. The skull of this vermine is so hard, that the shot of an handgun cannot enter it: they haue in their liuers the figures of men and women, which they call *Toketa*, and are much like vnto a Man-drake. And they affirme, that hee which hath one of them about him cannot die with the stroke of any iron. They haue also wilde Kine in this countrey, in the heads of whom they finde stones, which are of vertue to bring good hap and fortune to Merchants.

After that *Duarte Fernandes* had beene with the *Mantales* or people of *Sian*, *Alfonso de Albuquerque* sent thither a Knight called *Ruy Nunnez de Acunna* with letters and Ambassage vnto the King of the *Seguies*, which we call *Pegu*. He went in a Iunco of the countrey in sight of the Cape *Rachado*, and from thence went vnto the Citie of *Pera* which standeth fast by the Riner *Salano*, and many other Villages standing all along this Riuier, where *Duarte Fernandes* had beene before, vnto the Cities of *Tanazerim* and of *Martanan*, standing in 15. degrees toward the North, and the Citie of *Pegu* standeth in 17. This was the first *Portugall*, which trauielled in that Kingdome: and hee gaue good information of that Countrey, and of the people which vse to weare bels in their priuities euen as the *Mantales* doe.

In the end of this yeere 1511. *Alfonso de Albuquerque* sent three ships to the Ilands of *Banda*, and *Maluco*. And there went as Generall of them one *Antonio de Bren*, and with him also went one *Francis Serrano*: and in these ships there were 120. persons. They passed through the Streight of *Saban*, and along the Iland of *Samatra*, and others, leauing them on the left hand, towards the east: and they called them the *Salites*. They went also to the Ilands of *Palumbam* and *La Paparam*; from whence they sailed by the noble Iland of *Iaua*, and they ranne their course East, sailing betweene it and the Iland *Madura*. The people of this are very warlike and strong, and doe little regard their liues. The women also are there hired for the wars and they fall out often together, and kill one another, as the *Mocos* doe, delighting onely in shedding of blood.

Beyond the Iland of *Iaua* they sailed along by another called *Bali*: and then came also vnto others called *Aniane*, *Zambaba*, *Solor*, *Galaa*, *Mallua*, *Vitara*, *Rosalanguin*, and *Arus*, from whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their feathers: they came also to other Ilands lying in the same parallell on the South side in 7. or 8. degrees of Latitude. And they be so neere the one to the other, that they seeme at the first to bee one entire and maine land. The course by these Ilands is aboue fise hundred leagues. The Ancient Cosmographers call all these Ilands by the name *Iauos*: but late experience hath found their names to bee verie diuers, as you see. Beyond these there are other Ilands toward the North, which are inhabited with whiter people going arraied in shirts, doublets and flocs like vnto the *Portugals*, hauing also money of siluer. The Gouvernours among them doe carrie in their hands red staues, whereby they seeme to haue some affinitie with the people of *China*. There are other Ilands and people about this place, which are redde, and it is reported that they are of the people of *China*.

Antonie de Bren and those that went him, tooke their course toward the North, where is a small Iland called *Gumnape* or *Ternate*, from the highest place whereof there fall continually

B b b b b b b

into

Barros decad. 2. lib. 5. cap. 10. & lib. 6. cap. 2. Barros decad. 2. lib. 6. cap. 5. The Streight of Cincapura. Oda the chiefe Citie of Sian.

Tanazerim.

Master Ralph Fitch which had beene in this countrey brought diuers of these bels into England. * Note that those Kingdomes haue often alterations, as any can ouertop his neighbours so that in one age the King is a mightie Potentate, and in another the King of the same state is a meane vassall: as betwixt *Siam*, *Pegu*, & the *Bramas* hath beene scene.

The Liuer of a little beast good against any wound of iron.

Pegu.

Pera.

Master Ralph Fitch saw this in *Pegu*: also

Cap. Saris, &c.

Bar. decad. 2. lib. 6. cap. 7.

The Iles of

Banda and

Malucco:

The *Salites.*

Iaua.

Madura.

Women war-

riors.

Bali.

* Or *Guliam.*

Or *Aru.*

Polo, &c.

The people of

the Iles of *Ma-*

luco weare

such apparell.

Gouvernors

carrying red

staues like

those of *China.*

Ternate.

Burro.
Amboino.
Guliguli.

Cloues, nut-
megs, and
mace in 8.de.
toward the
South.

Mindanao.
Maluco.

Molucco rari-
ties obserued
by the Author.
Galvano the
author of this
discourse.
Heat and cold
in extremitie.
Monstrous
men.

Batochina.
Strange hens.
Horned hogs.
Hot Riuer.
Strong crabs.
Strong poison.
Huge oysters.
Growing
stones.

Flos Noctis.
The flowers of
Xistus and Ar-
bor tristis are
such.

Pregnant fruit
Sunne-herb.

Barros decad. 2.
lib. 7. cap. 1.
The Iles of
Maldina.

John de Solis:

Rio de Plata.

Pet. Martyr.
decad. 3. c. 10.

Pet Martyr.
decad. 2. c. 10.
Gomara. hist.
gen. lib. 2. c. 10.
Bimini Ilands.

into the Sea flakes or streames like vnto fire; which is a wonderfull thing to behold. From thence they went to the Ilands of *Burro* and *Amboino*, and came to an anchor in an haue of it called *Guliguli*, where they went on land and tooke a Village standing by the Riuer, where they found dead men hanging in the houses; for the people there are eaters of mans flesh. Here the *Portugals* burnt the ship wherein *Francis Serrano* was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side standing in 8. degrees toward the South, where they laded cloues, nutmegs, and mace in a Iunco or Barke which *Francis Serrano* brought here. They say that not farre from the Ilands of *Banda* there is an Iland, where there breedeth nothing else but Snakes, and the most are in one caue in the midst of the land. This is a thing not much to be wondred at; for as much as in the Leuant Sea hard by the Iles of *Maio* and *Minorca* there is 10 another Iland of old named *Ophiusa*, and now *Fornientera*, wherein there is great abundance of these vermine: and in the rest of the Ilands lying by it there are none.

In the yeere 1512. they departed from *Banda* toward *Malacca*, and on the *Baxos* or flats of *Luzapinho*, *Francis Serrano* perished in his Iunke or Barke, from whence escaped vnto the Ile of *Mindanao* nine or ten *Portugals* which were with him, and the Kings of *Maluco* sent for them. These were the first *Portugals* that came to the Ilands of Cloues, which stand from the Equinoctiall line towards the North in one degree, where they liued seuen or eight yeeres.

The Iland of *Gumnape* now called *Ternate* is much to be admired, for that it casteth out fire. There were some Princes of the *Mores* and couragious *Portugals* which determined to go neere to the fire place to see what it was; but they could neuer come neere it. But *Antonie Galuano* 20 hearing of it, vndertooke to goe vp to it, and did so, and found a riuer so extreame cold that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water into his mouth: And yet this place standeth vnder the line, where the sunne continually burneth. In these Ilands of *Maluco* there is a kinde of men that haue spurs on their ankles like vnto Cocks. And it was told me by the King of *Tydore*, that in the Ilands of *Batochina* there were people that had tayles, and had a thing like vnto a dug betweene their cods, out of the which there came milke. There are small hennes also which lay their egges vnder the ground aboue a fathome and a halfe, and the egges are bigger then ducks egges, and many of these hennes are blacke in their flesh. There are hogs also with hornes, and parats which prattle much, which they call *Noris*. There is also a riuer of water so hot, that whatsoever liuing creature commeth into it, their skins will come off, and 30 yet fish breede in it. There are crabs which be verie sweete, and so strong in their clawes, that they will breake the iron of a Pikeaxe. There bee others also in the sea little and hairie, but whosoever eateth of them dieth immediately. There be likewise certaine oysters, which they doe call *Bras*, the shels whereof haue so large a compasse, that they doe Christen in them. In the Sea also there are liuely stones, which doe grow and increase like vnto fish, whereof verie good lime is made: and if they let it lye when it is taken out of the water, it loseth the strength and it neuer burneth after. There is also a certaine tree, which beareth flowers at the sun set, which fall downe as soone as they be growne. There is a fruit also, as they say, whereof if a woman that is conceaued of child eateth, the child by and by mooueth. There is further a kind of herbe there growing, which followeth the Sunne, and remooueth after it, which is a verie 40 strange and maruailous thing.

In the yeete 1512. In the moneth of Ianuarie *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went backe from *Malaca* vnto *Goa*, and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his companie. *Simon de Andrada*, and a few *Portugals* were driuen vnto the Ilands of *Maldina*, being many and full of palme trees: and they stand lowe by the water: which stayed there til they knew what was become of their Gouvernour. These were the first *Portugals* that had seene those Ilands, wherein there growe Cocos, which are verie good against all kind of poyson.

In this yeere 1512. there went out of *Castile* one *John de Solis* borne in *Lisbon*, and chiefe Pilot vnto *Don Fernando*. And he hauing licence went to discover the coast of *Brasil*. Hee tooke the like course that the *Pinsons* had done: hee went also to the Cape of Saint *Augustine*, and 50 went forwards to the South, coasting the shoare and land, and he came vnto the Port *De Lagoa*: and in 35 degrees of southerly latitude he found a riuer which they of *Brasil* call *Parana-guazu*, that is, *The great Water*. He saw there signes of siluer, and therefore called it *Rio de Plata*, that is, *The Riuer of siluer*. And it is said that at that time he went farther because he liked the countrey well: but he returned backe againe into *Spaine*, and made account of all things to *Don Fernando*, demaunding of the King the government thereof, which the King granted him. Whereupon he provided three ships and with them in the yeere 1515. he went againe into that Kingdome; but he was there slaine. These *Solisses* were great discoverers in those parts, and spent therein their liues and goods.

In the same yeere 1512. *John Ponce* of *Leon*, which had beene gouvernour of the Ile of Saint 60 *John* armed two ships and went to seeke the Ile of *Boyuca*, where the naturals of the countrey reported to be a Wel, which maketh olde men young. Whereupon he laboured to finde it out, and was in searching of it the space of fixe moneths, but could finde no such thing. Hee entered into the Ile of *Bimini*; and discovered a point of the firme land, standing in 29. degrees towards the

the North vpon Easter-day, and therefore he named it *Florida*. And because the Land seemed to yeeld Gold and Siluer and great riches, hee begged it of the King *Don Fernando*, but hee died in the Discouerie of it, as many more haue done.

In the yeere 1513. *Vasco Nunnes de Valboa* hearing speech and newes of the South Sea, determined to goe thither, although his companie dissuaded him from that action. But being a man of good valour with those Souldiers that he had, being two hundred and ninetie, hee resolved to put himselfe into that ieopardie. Hee went therefore from *Dariene* the first day of September, carying some Indians of the Countrey with him to be his Guides, and he Marched overthwart the Land sometimes quietly, sometimes in Warre: and in a certaine place called *Caraca* he found Negroes Captiues with Curled haire. This *Valboa* came to the sight of the South Sea on the 25. day of the said Moneth, and on Saint *Michaels* day came vnto it: where hee Imbarked himselfe against the will of *Chiapes*, who was the Lord of that Coast, who wished him not to do so because it was verie dangerous for him. But he desirous to haue it knowne, that he had bene vpon those Seas, went forwards, and came backe againe to Land insafetie, and with great contentment, bringing with him good store of Gold, Siluer, and Pearles, which there they tooke. For which good seruice of his *Don Ferdinando* the King greatly fauoured and honoured him.

This yeere 1513. in the Moneth of Februarie, *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went from the Citie of *Goa* towards the Streight of *Mecha* with twentie Ships. They arriued at the Citie of *Aden* and battered it, and passed forward and entred into the Streight. They say that they saw a Crosse in the Element and worshipped it. They Wintered in the Iland of *Camaran*. This was the first Portugall Captain that gaue information of those Seas, and of that of *Persia*, being things in the World of great accompt.

In the yeere 1514. and in the Moneth of May, there went out of Saint *Lucar*, one *Pedro Arias de Auila* at the commandement of *Don Ferdinando*. He was the fourth Gouvernour of *Castilla del Oro* or Golden *Castile*: for so they named the Countreies of *Dariene*, *Carthagena*, and *Fraba*, and that Countrey which was newly Conquered. Hee caried with him his Wife the Ladie *Elizabet*, and one thousand five hundred men in seuen Ships; and the King appointed, *Vasco Nunnez de Valboa* Gouvernour of the South Sea and of that Coast.

In the beginning of the yeere 1515. the Gouvernour *Pedro Arias de Auila*, sent one *Gaspar Morales* with one hundred and fiftie men vnto the Gulfe of Saint *Michael*, to Discover the Ilands of *Tararequi*, *Chiapes*, and *Tumacous*. There was a *Casique Valboas* friend, which gaue him many Canoas or Boates made of one Tree to Rowe in, wherein they passed vnto the Iland of Pearles: the Lord whereof relisted them at their comming on Land. But *Chiapes* and *Tumacous* did pacifie him in such order, that the Captaine of the Isle had them home vnto his House, and made much of them, and receiued Baptisme at their hands, naming him *Pedro Arias* after the Gouvernours name, and hee gaue vnto them for this a Basket full of Pearles, waying one hundred and tennie pounds, whereof some were as bigge as Hasell-nuts, of twentie, twentie five, twentie sixe, or thirtie one Carats: and euerie Carat is foure Graines. There was giuen for one of them, one thousand and two hundred Duckets. This Iland of *Tararequi* standeth in five Degrees of Latitude towards the North.

In this verie yeere 1515. in the Moneth of May, *Alfonso de Albuquerque* Gouvernour of India, sent from the Citie of *Ormuz* one *Fernando Gomes de Lemos* as Ambassadour vnto *Xec* or *Shaugh Ismael* King of *Persia*: and it is reported that they trauielled in it three hundred Leagues, and that it is a pleasant Countrey like vnto France. This *Xec* or *Shaugh Ismael* went on Hunting and fishing for Troutes, whereof there are many. And there be the fairest Women in all the world. And so *Alexander* the Great affirmed, when hee called them The Women with Golden eyes. And this yeere this worthie Vice-roy, *Alfonso de Albuquerque* died.

In the yeere 1516. and one hundred yeeres after the taking of *Centa* in *Barbarie*, *Lopez Suarez* being Gouvernour of India, there was a dispatch made by the commandement of the Kings Highnesse, vnto one *Fernando Perez de Andrada* to passe to the great Countrey and Kingdome of *China*. He went from the Citie of *Cochin* in the Moneth of Aprill. They receiued Pepper, being the principall Marchandise to be sold in all *China* of any value: And hee was farther commanded by the King *Don Emmanuel* to goe also to *Bengala* with his Letter and dispatch to a Knight called *John Coelo*. This was the first Portugall as farre as I know, which drunke of the water of the River *Ganges*. This yeere 1516. died *Don Fernando* King of *Spaine*.

In the yeere 1517. this *Fernando Perez* went vnto the Citie of *Malacha*, and in the Moneth of Iune he departed from thence towards *China* with eight Sailes, foure Portugals, and the others *Malayans*. He arriued in *China*: And because hee could not come on Land without an Ambassage, there was one *Thomas Perez*, which had order for it: and he went from the Citie of *Canton*, wherethey came to an Anker: They went by Land foure hundred Leagues, and came vnto the Citie of *Pekin*, where the King was for this Province and Countrey is the biggest that is in the World. It beginneth at *Sailana* in twentie Degrees of Latitude towards the North, and it endeth almost in fiftie Degrees. Which must be five hundred Leagues in length: and they say that it containeth three hundred Leagues in bredth, *Fernando Perez* was fourtene Moneths in the Isle

Florida discovered.

The Spaniards call Easter

Pascha Florida.

Pet. Mar. decad. 3. cap. 1.

The South Sea

discovered.

Barros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 7.

The Straight of *Mecha* or of the Red-sea discovered.

The Ile of *Camaran*.

Barros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 7.

The Straight of *Mecha* or of the Red-sea discovered.

The Ile of *Camaran*.

The Ile of *Camaran*.

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The Ile of *Camaran*.

Illa da Veniaga
or *Tama* according
to *Oforius*

Foquiem.

The coming
of *Charles* the
fift into *Spaine*.
Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 3. c. 2.
Lucatan.

Castagneda l. 4.
c. 36. & 37.
Oforius l. 11.
fol. 315. pag. 2.
Chatigam in
Bengala.

Pet. Martyr.
decad. 4. cap. 3.
Gomar. hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 14. & c. 17.
** Or Acuzamil.*
The Ile of *Ascension*.
The Bay of
Hunduraz.
Rio de Grisalu.

Pannuco.

Of *Cortes* his
Acts see *To. 2.*
l. 5. c. 8. & 9.

Indian Map.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 2. c. 48.
Pamphilus de
Naruaez.

Magal. his
voyage see sup.
l. 2. c. 2.
Gomar. lib. 4.
cap. 17.

Da Veniaga, learning as much as he could of the Countrey, according as the King his Master had commanded him. And although one *Raphael Perestrello* had beene there in a lünke or Barke of certaine Marchants of *Malaca*, yet vnto *Fernando Perez* there ought to be giuen the praise of this Discoverie: as wel for that he had commandement from the King, as in discovering so much with *Thomas Perez* by Land, and *George Mascarenhas* by Sea, and for coasting vnto the Citie of *Foquiem* standing in twentie foure Degrees of Latitude.

In the same yeere 1517. *Charles*, which afterward was Emperour, came into *Spaine* and tooke possession thereof. And in the same yeere *Francis Fernandes de Gordona*, *Christopher Morantes*, and *Lopez Ochoa* armed three Ships at their owne proper charges from the Iland of *Cuba*. They had also with them a Barke of *Diego Velasques*, who then was Gouvernour: They came on Land in *Lucatan* standing in twentie Degrees of Latitude, at a Point which they called *Puntade las Duenas*; that is to say, *The point of Ladies*, which was the first place wherein they had seene Temples and Buildings of Lime & Stone. The people here goe better Apparellled then in any other place.

In the yeere 1518. *Lopez Suares* commanded *Don Iohn de Silueira* to goe to the Ilands of *Maldina*: and he made peace with them: and from thence hee went to the Citie of *Chatigam*, situated on the mouth of the Riuer *Ganges*, vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. For this Riuer, and the Riuer *Indus*, which standeth an hundred Leagues beyond the Citie of *Diu*, and that of *Canton* in *China*, doe all fall into the Sea vnder one Paralell or Latitude. And although before that time *Fernando Perez* had beene commanded to goe to *Bengala*, yet notwithstanding *Iohn de Silueira* ought to beare away the commendation of this Discoverie: because he went as Captaine General, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the Countrey, and maners of the people.

In the said yeere 1518. the first day of May, *Diego Velasques* Gouvernour of the Iland of *Cuba*, sent his Nephew *Iohn de Grisalu*, with foure Ships and two hundred Souldiers to discover the Land of *Lucatan*. And they found in their way the Iland of *Cosumel*, standing towards the North in nineteene Degrees, and named it *Santa Cruz*, because they came to it the third of May. They coasted the Land lying on the left hand of the Gulfe, and came to an Iland called *Ascension*, because they came vnto it vpon *Ascension* day: They went vnto the end of it standing in sixteene Degrees of Latitude: from whence they came backe because they could finde no place to goe out at: and from hence they went round about it to another Riuer, which they called *The Riuer of Grisalu*, standing in seuentene Degrees of Latitude: the People thereabout troubled them sore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some Gold, Siluer, and Feathers, being there in great estimation, and so they turned backe againe to the Iland of *Cuba*.

In the same yeere 1518. one *Francis Garay* armed three Ships in the Ile of *Jamaica* at his owne charges, and went towards the Point of *Florida*, standing in twentie five Degrees towards the North, seeming to them to be an Iland most pleasant, thinking it better to people Ilands then the firme Land, because they could best Conquer them and keepe them. They went there on Land, but the people of *Florida* killed many of them, so that they durst not Inhabit it. So they Sayled along the Coast, and came vnto the Riuer of *Pannuco*, standing five hundred Leagues from the point of *Florida* in Sayling along the Coast; but the People resisted them in euerie place. Many of them also were killed in *Chila*, whom the Sauages Flayed and eate, hanging vp their Skinnies in their Temples, in memoriall of their valiantnesse. Notwithstanding all this, *Francis de Garay* went thither the next yeere and begged the Government of that Countrey of the Emperour, because he saw in it some shew of Gold and Siluer.

In the yeere 1519. in the Moneth of Februarie, *Fernando Cortes* went from the Iland of *Cuba*, to the Land which is called *Noua Spania* with eleuen ships and five hundred and fiftie Spaniards in them.

The Countrey of *Tenich* and vp the Riuer were not subiect to *Mutezuma*, but had Warre with him, and would not suffer the *Mexicans* to enter into their Territorie. They sent Ambassadors vnto *Cortes* with presents, offering him their estate, and amitie; whereof *Mutezuma* was nothing glad. They which went to *Tututepec* standing neere the South Sea, did also bring with them examples of Gold, and praised the pleasantnesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of good Harbours vpon that Coast, shewing to *Cortes* a Cloth of Cotten Wooll, all Wouen with goodly workes, wherein all the Coast with the Hauens and Creekes were set foorth. But this thing then could not be prosecuted, by reason of the coming of *Pamphilus de Naruaez* into the Countrey, who set all the Kingdome of *Mexico* in an vprore.

In this yeere 1519. the tenth day of August, one *Fernande de Magallanes*, departed from *Siuil* with five Ships toward the Ilands of *Maluco*.

About this time Pope *Leo* the tenth, sent one *Paulis Centurio* as Ambassador to the great Duke of *Mosconie*, to wish him to send into *India* an Armie alongst the Coast of *Tartarie*. And by the reasons of this Ambassadour, the said Duke was almost perswaded vnto that action, if other inconueniencies had not letted him.

In this same yeere 1520. in Februarie *Diego Lopes de Sequeir*, Gouvernour of *India*, went towards the Streight of *Mecha*, and carried with him the Ambassadour of *Presbyter Iohn*, and

Roderigo

Roderigo de Lima who also went as Ambassador to him. They came vnto the Iland of *Maçua* standing in the Red Sea on the side of *Africa* in 17. degrees towards the North: where he set the Ambassadors on land, with the *Portugals* that should goe with them. *Peter de Couillan* had beene there before, being sent thither by King *John* the Second of *Portugall*: but yet *Francis Aluarez* gaue principall light and knowledge of that Countrie.

Maçua.
Ramusius 1. vol.
fol. 190.

In the yeere 1520. the Licenciante *Lucas Vasques de Aillon* and other Inhabitants of *Saint Domingo* furnished two ships, and sent them to the Iles of *Lucayos* to get slaues, and finding none they passed along by the firme land beyond *Florida* vnto certaine Countries called *Chicora* and *Gualdape*, vnto the Riuer *Iordan* and the Cape of *Saint Helena* standing in 32. degrees toward the North. They of the Countrie came downe to the Sea side to see the ships, as ha-
10 uing neuer before scene the like: The *Spaniards* went on land, where they receiued good entertainment, and had giuen vnto them such things as they lacked. But they brought many of them into their ships, and then set sayle and brought them away for slaues: but in the way one of their ships sunke, and the other was also in great hazard. By this newes the Licenciante *Aillon* knowing the wealth of the Countrie, begged the gouernment thereof of the Emperour, and it was giuen him: whither he went to get money to pay his debt.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 2. c. 7.

Chicora.
Gualdape.

In the yeere 1521. in December *Emmanuel* King of *Portugall* died, and after him his sonne King *John* the Third reigned.

Emmanuel's
death.
Ofor. lib. 12.
fol. 366.
Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 6. cap. 4.

In the yeere 1522. in Ianuarie one *Gilgonzales* armed foure ships in the Iland of *Tararequi* standing in the South Sea, with intent to discouer the Coast of *Nicaragua*, and especially a
20 Straight or Passage from the South Sea into the North Sea. And sayling along the Coast hee came vnto an Hauens called *Saint Vincent*, and there landed with an hundred *Spaniards* and certaine horsemen, and went within the Land two hundred leagues, and he brought with him two hundred pesoës of gold, and so came backe againe to *Saint Vincent*: where he found his Pilot *Andrew Nigno*, who was as farre as *Tecoantepec*, in 16. degrees to the North, and had sailed three hundred leagues: from whence they returned to *Panama*, and so ouer land to *Hispaniola*.

In the same yeere 1522. in the moneth of Aprill the other ship of *Magallanes* called *The Trinitie* went from the Iland of *Tidore*, wherein was Captaine *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, shaping their course toward *Noua Spania*: and because the winde was scant, they steered toward the
30 North-east into 16. degrees, where they found two Ilands, and named them the Iles of *Saint John*, and in that course they came to another Iland in 20. degrees, which they named *La Griega*, where the simple people came into their ships, of whom they kept some to shew them in *Noua Spania*: They were in this course foure moneths, vntill they came into 42. degrees of Northerly latitude, where they did see Sea-fishes called *Seales* and *Tunies*. And the climate seemed vnto them comming newly out of the heate, to be so cold and vntemperate, that they could not well abide it, and therefore they turned backe againe to *Tidore*, being thereunto enforced also by contrary windes. These were the first *Spaniards* which had beene in so high a latitude toward the North. And there they found one *Antonie de Britto* building a Fortresse, which tooke from them their goods, and sent eight and forty of them prisoners to *Malaca*.

Tecoantepec.
Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 6. c. 12.
Castagneda Hist.
floria delle Indie Orientali
lib. 6. c. 41.
Two Ilands in
16. degrees of
Northerly latitude.
42. degrees of
Northerly latitude.

In this yeere 1522. *Cortes* desirous to haue some Hauens on the South Sea, and to discouer the Coast of *Noua Spania* on that side, whereof he had knowledge in *Muteçuma* his time, (because he thought by that way to bring the drugs from *Maluco* and *Banda*, and the spicery from
40 *Iana*, with lesse trauell and danger) he sent foure *Spaniards* with their Guides to *Tecoantepec*, *Quabutemallan*, and other Hauens: where they were well receiued, and brought some of the people with them to *Mexico*: And *Cortes* made much of them; and afterwards sent ten Pilots thither to search the Seas thereabout. They went seuentie leagues in the Sea but found no Hauens. One *Casique* or Lord called *Cuchataquir* vsed them well, and sent with them to *Cortes* two hundred of his men with a Present of gold and siluer, and other things of the Countrie: and they of *Tecoantepec* did the like: and not long after, this *Casique* sent for aide to *Cortes* against
50 his neighbours which did warre against him.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 6. c. 12.
The South Sea
first searched
by *Cortes* his
Pilots.
Tecoantepec.

In the yeere 1523. *Cortes* sent vnto him for his aide *Peter de Aluaredo*, with two hundred Souldiers footmen, and fortie horsemen, and the *Casiques* of *Tecoantepec* and *Quabutemallan* asked them for the Monsters of the Sea which came thither the yeere past, meaning the ships of
60 *Gil Gonzales de Auila*, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and wondring much more when they heard, that *Cortes* had bigger then those: and they painted vnto them a mightie Carrake with fixe Masts, and Sayles and Shroudes, and men armed on horsebacke. This *Aluaredo* went through the Countrie and builded there a Citie of *Saint Iago* or *Saint Iames*, and a Towne which he called *Segura*, leauing certaine of his people in it.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 6. c. 12.
A witty stratagem.

Sant Iago built.
Castagneda hist.
delle Indie Orientali
lib. 6. c. 42
Manada.
Panguensara.
The Ilands of
S. Michael.
Borneo.
Pedra branca.

In the same yeere 1523. in the moneth of May *Antonie de Britto* being Captaine of the Iles
of *Maluco* sent his Cousin *Simon de Breu* to learne the way by the Ile of *Borneo* to *Malaca*: They came in sight of the Ilands of *Manada* and *Panguensara*: They went through the Straight of *Treminao* and *Tagui*; and to the Ilands of *Saint Michael* standing in 7. degrees, and from thence discovered the Ilands of *Borneo*, and had sight of *Pedra branca* or the White Stone, and passed through the Straight of *Cincapura*, and so to the Citie of *Malaca*.

Gomara hist.
gen. l. 2. c. 61.

Santo Stephano
del puerto.

Gomara hist.
gen. l. 2. c. 61. &
en la Conquista
de Mexico.

Rio de las Pal-
mas.

Rio Montalto.

Chila.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 226.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 242
San Gil de bu-
na Vista in the
Bay of Hondu-
ras.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 229
& in sequentib.

Allume Hills.
Oile distilling
out of Hills.
Ibid. fol. 230.
Sant Iago de
Quahutemallan

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 233.
Villa del Espi-
ritu santo.
Chamolla.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 234.
Gomara hist. gen.
lib. 3. c. 21.

In this same yeere 1523. Cortes went with three hundred footmen, and an hundred and fifty horsemen, and forty thousand *Mexicans*, to *Panuco*, both to discover it better, and also to inhabit it, and withall to bee reuenged vpon them which had killed and eaten the Souldiers of *Francis Garay*. They of *Panuco* resisted him, but *Cortes* in the end ouerthrew them, and conquered the Countrey: And hard by *Chila* vpon the Riuer he built a Towne, and named it *Santo Stephano del puerto*, leauing in it an hundred footmen, and thirty horsemen, and one *Peter de Valleio* for Lieutenant. This Iourney cost him seuentie fixe thousand *Castillians*, besides the *Spaniards*, *Horses*, and *Mexicans* which died there.

In this yeere 1523. *Francis de Garay* made nine Ships and two Brigandines to goe to *Panuco*, and to *Rio de las Palmas*, to be there as *Gouernour*: for that the Emperour had granted vnto him from the Coast of *Florida* vnto *Panuco*, in regard of the charges which hee had beene at in that Discoverie. He carried with him eight hundred and fifty Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Horses, and some Men out of the Iland of *Iamaica*, where he furnished his Fleet with munition for the warre: and he went vnto *Xagua* an Hauen in the Iland of *Cuba*, where he vnderstood that *Cortes* had peopled the coast of *Panuco*: & that it might not happen vnto him as it did to *Pamphilus de Naruacz*, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the Doctor *Zuazo* to goe to *Mexico* and procure some agreement betwene *Cortes* and him. And they departed from *Xagua* each one about his businesse. *Zuazo* came in great ieopardie, and *Garay* went not cleere without. *Garay* arriued in *Rio de las Palmas* on Saint *Iames* his day, and then he sent vp the Riuer one *Gonsaluo de Ocampo*, who at his returne declared that it was an euill and desart Countrey: but notwithstanding *Garay* went there on land with foure hundred footmen and some horsemen; and he commanded one *Iohn de Grijalua* to search the Coast, and he himselfe marched by land towards *Panuco*, and passed a Riuer which hee named *Rio Montalto*; he entred into a great Towne where they found many Hennes, wherewith they refreshed themselves, and he tooke some of the people of *Chila* which he vsed for messengers to certaine places: And after great trauell comming to *Panuco* they found no victuals there by reason of the warres of *Cortes*, and the spoile of the Souldiers. *Garay* then sent one *Gonzalo de Ocampo* to *Sant Isteuan del puerto* to knowe whether they would receiue him or no. They had a good answer. But *Cortes* his men priuily by an ambushment tooke forty of *Garayes* horsemen, alleaging that they came to vsurpe the gouernment of another: and besides this misfortune he lost foure of his ships: whereupon he left off to proceed any farther.

While *Cortes* was preparing to set forward to *Panuco*: *Francis de las Casas*, and *Roderigo de la Paz* arriued at *Mexico* with Letters Patents, wherein the Emperour gaue the gouernment of *Nueva Spagna* and all the Countrey which *Cortes* had conquered to *Cortes*, and namely *Panuco*. Whereupon he stayed his Iourney. But hee sent *Diego de Ocampo* with the said Letters Patents, and *Pedro de Aluarado* with store of footmen and horsemen. *Garay* knowing this thought it best to yeeld himselfe vnto *Cortes* his hands, and to goe to *Mexico*; which thing he did hauing discovered a great tract of Land.

In this yeere 1523. *Gil Gonzales de Anila* made a Discoverie, and peopled a Towne called *San Gil de buena vista*, standing in 14. degrees toward the North, and almost in the bottome of the Bay called the *Ascension* or the *Honduras*. He began to conquer it because he best knew the secrets thereof, and that it was a very rich Countrey.

In this yeere 1523. the sixt day of December *Peter de Aluarado* went from the Citie of *Mexico* by *Cortes* his commandement to discover and conquer *Qualiutemallan*, *Vilatlan*, *Chiap*, *Xochmuxco*, and other Townes toward the South Sea. He had with him three hundred Souldiers, an hundred and seuentie Horsemen, foure Field-pieces, and some Noblemen of *Mexico*, with people of the Countrey to aide him as well it the warre, as by the way being long. Hee went by *Tecoantepec* to *Xochmuxco*, and other places abovesaid with great trauell and losse of his men: but he discovered and subdued all the Countrey. There are in those parts certaine Hills that haue Alume in them, and out of which distillerh a certaine liquor like vnto Oyle, and Sulphur or Brimstone, whereof the *Spaniards* made excellent Gun-powder. He trauelled foure hundred leagues in this Voyage, and passed certaine Riuers which were so hot, that they could not well endure to wade thorow them. Hee builded a Citie calling it *Sant Iago de Quahutemallan*. *Peter de Aluarado* begged the gouernment of this Countrey, and the report is that it was giuen him.

In the yeere 1523. the eight day of December *Cortes* sent *Diego de Godoy* with an hundred Footmen and thirty Horsemen, two Field-pieces, and many of his friends *Indians* vnto the Towne *Del Espiritu santo*: He ioyned himselfe with the Captaine of that Towne, and they went to *Chamolla* the head Citie of that Prouince, and that being taken all the Countrey grew quiet.

In the yeere 1524. in Februarie *Cortes* sent one *Roderigo Rangel* with an hundred and fifty *Spaniards* & many of the *Tlaxcallans* and *Mexicans* against the *Zapotecas* and *Nixtians*, and vnto other Prouinces and Countries not so well discovered: they were resisted at the first, but quickly put the people to the worst, and kept them for euer after in subiection. In this same yeere 1524. one *Roderigo de Bastidas* was sent to discover, people, and gouerne the Countrey of *Santa*

Martha:

Martha; where he lost his life because hee would not suffer the Souldiers to take the spoile of a certaine Towne. They ioyned with *Peter Villa-forte*, and he being sometimes his entire friend did helpe to kill him with Daggers lying in his Bed. Afterward *Don Pedro de Lugo*, and *Don Alfonso* his sonne were Gouvernours of that place, which vsed themselues like couerous Tyrants; whereof grew much trouble.

In this same yeere also 1524. after that the Licenciado *Lucas Vasques de Aillon* had obtained of the Emperour the gouernment of *Chicora*, he armed for that purpose certaine Ships from the Citie of *Santo Domingo*, and went to discover the Countrey, and to inhabite it: but he was lost with all his companie, leauing nothing done worthie of memorie. And I cannot tell how it cometh to passe, except it bee by the iust iudgement of God, that of so much Gold and Precious stones as haue beene gotten in the *Antiles* by so many Spaniards; little or none remaineth, but the most part is spent and consumed, and no good thing done.

In this yeere 1524. Cortes sent one *Christopher de Olid* with a Fleet to the Iland of *Cuba*, to receiue the victuals and munition which *Alonso de Contreras* had prepared, and to discover and people the Countrey about Cape *De Higueras*, and the *Honduras*; and to send *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* by sea, to search the Coast from thence euen to *Darien*, to finde out the Straight which was thought to runne into the South sea, as the Emperour had commanded. He sent also two ships from *Panuco* to search along the coast vnto *Florida*. Hee commanded also certaine Brigandines to search the coast from *Zacatullan* vnto *Panama*. This *Christopher de Olid* came to the Iland of *Cuba*, and made a league with *Diego Velaquez* against Cortes, and to set sayle and went on land hard by *Puerto de Canillos* standing in 10. degrees to the North, and built a Towne which he called *Triumpho de la Cruz*. Hee tooke *Gil Fonzaes de Auila* prisoner, and killed his nephew and the Spaniards that were with him, all sauing one Childe, and shewed himselfe an enemy to Cortes, who had spent in that expedition thirtie thousand *Castellans* of gold to doe him pleasure withall. Cortes vnderstanding hereof the same yeere 1524. in the moneth of October he went out of the Citie of *Mexico*, to seeke *Christopher de Olid* to bee reuenged of him, and also to discover, carrying with him three hundred Spanish footmen and horsemen, and *Quahutimoc* King of *Mexico*, and other great Lords of the same Citie. And coming to the Towne called *La villa del Espiritu santo*, he required guides of the Lords of *Tauasco* and *Xicalanco*: and they sent him ten of their principall men for guides: who gaue him also a Map of Cotton-wooll, wherein was painted the situation of the whole Countrey from *Xicalanco* vnto *Naco*, and *Nito*, and euen as farre as *Nicaragua*, with their Mountaines, Hills, Fields, Meadows, Vallies, Rivers, Cities, and Townes. And Cortes in the meane time sent for three ships which were at the Hauen of *Medellin* to follow him along the coast.

In this yeere 1524. they came to the Citie of *Izacauanac*, where hee vnderstood that the King *Quahutimoc* and the *Mexicans* that were in his company were conspired against him and the Spaniards: for the which he hanged the King and two others of the chiefe: and so came to the Citie of *Mazatlan*, and after that to *Tiaca*, the head Citie of a Prouince so called standing in the middest of a Lake: and heere about they began to finde the traine of the Spaniards, which they went to seeke, and so they went to *Zuzullin*, and at length came to the Towne of *Nito*: from *Nito* Cortes with his owne companie and all the Spaniards that hee found there, departed to the shore or strand called *La Basa de Sant Andres*, and finding there a good hauen hee builded a Towne in that place and called it *Natiuidad de nuestra Senora*. From hence Cortes went to the Towne of *Truxillo* standing in the hauen of the *Honduras*, where the Spaniards dwelling there did entertaine him well: and while hee was there, there arriued a ship which brought newes of the stirre in *Mexico* in Cortes his absence: whereupon hee sent word to *Gonsola de Sandomal* to march with his companie from *Naco* to *Mexico* by land toward the South sea vnto *Quahutimoc*, because that is the vsuall plaine and safest way, and hee left as Captaine in *Truxillo* *Fernando de Saavedra* his Cousen: and he himselfe went by sea along the Coast of *Iucatan*, to *Chalchicoeca*, now called *Sant Iuan de Ulhua*, and so to *Medellin*, and from thence to *Mexico*, where hee was well receiued, hauing beene from thence eightene moneths, and had gone fife hundred leagues traouelling often out of his way, and enduring much hardnesse.

In the yeere 1525. *Francis Pizarro* and *Diego de Almagro*, went from *Panama* to discover *Peru* standing beyond the line toward the South, which they called *Nuena Castilla*. The Gouvernour *Pedro Arias* would not entermiddle with this expedition, because of the euill newes which his Captayne *Francis Vezerra* had brought.

In the same yeere 1525. there was sent out of Spaine a Fleet of seuen ships, whereof was Captayne generall *Don Garcia de Loaisa* to the Ilands of *Maluco*. They went from the Citie of the Groine and passed by the Ilands of the *Canaries*, and went to *Brasil*, where they found an Iland in two degrees, and named it *Saint Mathew*: and it seemed to be inhabited, because they found in it Orenge trees, Hogs, and Hens in caues, and vpon the rindes of most of the trees there were grauen Portugall letters, shewing that the Portugals had beene there seuen teene yeeres before that time. A Patach or Pinnefle of theirs passed the straight of *Magellane*, hauing in her one *Iohn de Resaga*, and ranne all along the coast of *Peru* and *Noua Spagna*: They declared all they

Gomara hist. general. lib. 2. c. 7

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 65. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 243.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 66. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 251.

An excellent large Map of Cotton wooll.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 67. & 68 & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 257.

Mazatlan.

Tiaca.

Zuzullin.

Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 268

Natiuidad de Nuestra Senora.

Truxillo.

Honduras.

Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 270 & 273.

See Pizarros acts Tom. 2. l. 7. Cbr. 11. 12. 15. 16. 17.

Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. cap. 9.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 12.

The Ile of S. Mathew.

Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico p. 281.

they declared all their successe vnto Cortes, and told him, that Frier *Garfia de Loaifa* was passed to the Ilands of *Cloues*. But of this fleet the Admirall onely came thither, wherein was Captayne one *Martin Mingues de Carcbona*: for *Loaifa* and the other Captaines dyed by the way. All the Moores of *Maluco* were found well affectioned to the Spaniards.

In the same yeere 1525. the Pilot *Stephen Gomes*, went from the Port of the *Groine* toward the North to discover the straight vnto the *Malucos* by the North, to whom they would giue no charge in the fleet of Frier *Garfia de Loaifa*. But yet the Earle *Don Fernando de Andrada*, and the Doctor *Belram*, and the Merchant *Christopher de Sarre* furnished a Gallion for him, and hee went from the *Groine* in *Galicia* to the Iland of *Cuba*, and to the point of *Florida*, sayling by day because he knew not the land. He passed the bay *Angra*, and the riuer *Enseada*, and so went over to the other side. It is also reported that he came to Cape *Razo* in 46. degrees to the North: from whence he came backe againe to the *Groine* laden with *Slaves*. The newes hereof ranne by and by through Spaine, that hee was come home laden with *Cloues* as mistaking the word: and it was carried to the Court of Spaine: but when the truth was knowne it turned to a pleasant jest. In this voyage *Gomes* was ten moneths.

In this yeere 1525. *Don George de Meneses* Captayne of *Maluco*, and with him *Don Garcia Henriques*, sent a foyft to discover land towards the North, wherein went as Captaine one *Diego de Rocha*, and *Gomes de Sequeira* for Pilot. In 9. or 10. degrees they found certaine Ilands standing close together, and they called them the Ilands of *Gomes de Sequeira*, hee being the first Pilot that discovered them. and they came backe againe by the Iland of *Batochina*.

In the yeere 1526. there went out of *Sinill* one *Sebastian Cabota* a Venetian by his father, but borne at *Bristol* in England, being chiefe Pilot to the Emperour, with foure ships toward *Maluco*. They came to *Pernambuco*, and stayed there three moneths for a winde to double the Cape of Saint *Augustine*. In the Bay of *Patos* or of Ducks, the Admirall ship perished; & being without hope to get to the Iles of *Maluco*, they there made a Pinnesse to enter vp the Riuer of *Plate*, and to search it. They ranne 60. leagues vp before they came to the barre: where they left their great ships, and with their small Pinnesses passed vp the Riuer *Parana*, which the Inhabitants count to bee the principall Riuer. Having rowed vp one hundred and twentie leagues, they made a Fortresse and stayed there about a yeere: and then rowed further till they came to the mouth of another Riuer called *Paragion*, and perceiuing that the Countrey yeelded Gold and Silver they kept on their course, and sent a Brigandine before; but those of the Countrey tooke it: and *Cabote* vnderstanding of it thought it best to turne backe vnto their Fort, and there tooke in his men which he had left there, and so went downe the Riuer where his ships did ride, and from thence he sailed home to *Sinill* in the yeere 1530. leauing discovered about two hundred leagues within this Riuer, reporting it to bee very Nauigable, and that it springeth out of a Lake named *Bombo*. It standeth in the firme land of the Kingdome of *Peru*, running through the Vallies of *Xauxa*, and meeteth with the Riuers *Parso*, *Bulcasban*, *Cay*, *Parima*, *Hincax*, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this Lake runneth the Riuer called *Rio de San Francisco*; and by this meane the Riuers come to bee so great. For the Riuers that come out of Lakes are bigger then those which proceed from a Spring.

In the yeere 1527. one *Pamphilus de Naruaez* went out of Saint *Lucar de Barameda*, to bee Generall of the coast and land of *Florida*, as farre as *Rio de las Palmas*, and had with him five Ships, fixe hundred Souldiers, one hundred Horses, besides a great summe and quantitie of Victuals, Armour, Clothing and other things. Hee could not goe on land where his desire was but went on land somewhat neere to *Florida* with three hundred of his companie, some Horses, and some victuals, commanding the ships to goe to *Rio de las Palmas*; in which voyage they were almost all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thirst.

This yeere 1527. when Cortes vnderstood by the Pinnesse aforesaid, that *Don Garcia de Loaifa* was passed by the Straight of *Magelan*, toward the Ilands of *Cloues*, hee provided three ships to goe seeke him, and to discover by that way of *New Spaine* as farre as the Iles of *Maluco*. There went as Gouvernour in those ships one *Aluaro de Saavedra Ceron*, cousen vnto Cortes, a man fit for that purpose. Hee made sayle from *Cinatlaneio*, now named Saint *Christopher* standing in twentie degrees toward the North on *All Saints* day. They arrived at the Ilands which *Magelan* named *The Pleasures*: and from thence sayled to the Ilands, which *Gomes de Sequeira* had discovered, and not knowing thereof, they named them *Islas de los Reyes*, that is to say, *The Iles of the Kings*, because they came vnto them on *Twelke* day. In the way *Saavedra* lost two ships of his company, of which they neuer after heard newes. But from Iland to Iland hee still sayled and came to the Iland of *Candiga*, where he bought two Spaniards for seuentie Ducats, which had beene of the companie of Frier *Loaifa*, who was lost thereabout. In the yeere 1528. in March, *Saavedra* arrived at the Ilands of *Maluco*, and came to an anker before the Ile of *Gilolo*: hee found the sea calme and winde at will, without any tempests: and he tooke the distance from thence to *Noua Spagna* to bee two thousand and fiftie leagues. At this time *Martin Ynniguez de Carquigano* dyed, and *Fernando de la Torre* was chosen their Generall, who then was in the Citie of *Tidore*, who had there erected a Gallowes and had fierce warre with *Don George de Meneses*.

Gomes his Northern discoverie. Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. p. 601. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 1. c. 5.

One inquiring at their return what they had brought: they said *Esfclauos*: he mistaking, rode to the Court to tell that they had brought *Clauos* and occasioned at first much ioy, after turned into laughter.

The Ile of *Batochina* by *Gilolo*.

S. Cabota born at *Bristol*.

In the Map in the Priuie Galerie, to his picture is added *Seb. Cab. Angl.*

Rio Parana.

Rio Paragion.

The fountaine of the Riuer of *Plata*.

Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 310.

See inf. tom. 2. l. 8. c. 1. & 2.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 72. and in the Conquest of *Mexico* fol. 281.

Islas de los Reyes.

Candiga.

Warre betwixt the Span. and Portug. in the friend-foe Indies.

Meneses Captaine of the *Portugals*: and in a fight which they had the fourth day of May, *Saavedra* tooke from him a Galiot and slew the Captaine thereof called *Fernando de Baldaya*, and in Iune hee returned towards *New Spaine*, hauing with him one *Simon de Brito Patalin*, and other *Portugals*, and hauing bene certayne moneths at Sea, he was forced backe vnto *Tidore*, where *Patalin* was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

In this yeere 1528. *Cortes* sent two hundred Footmen and 60. Horsmen, and many *Mexicans* to discouer and plant the Countrey of the *Chichimecas*, for that it was reported to be rich of Gold. This being done he shipped himselfe, and came into *Castile* with great pompe, and brought with him 250000. markes of Gold and Siluer: and being come to *Toledo* where the Emperour then lay, hee was entertayned according to his deserts, and the Emperour made him *Marquesse Del Valle*, and married him to the Lady *Iane de Zuniga*, Daughter vnto the Earle *De Aguilar*, and sent him backe againe to be Generall of *New Spaine*.

In the yeere 1529. in May, *Saavedra* returned backe againe towards *New Spaine*, and hee had sight of a land toward the South in two degrees, and he ranne East along by it aboue fūe hundred leagues till the end of August. The Coast was cleane and of good ankerage, but the people blacke and of curled hayre; from the girdle downward, they did weare a certayne thing plaited to couer their lower parts. The people of *Maluco* call them *Papuas*, because they bee blacke and frizeled in their hayre: and so also doe the *Portugals* call them. *Saavedra* hauing sayled 4. or 5. degrees to the South of the line, returned vnto it, and passed the Equinoctiall towards the North, and discouered an Iland which hee called *Isla de los Pintados*, that is to say, The Ile of painted people: for the people thereof bee white, and all of them marked with an Iron: and by the signes which they gaue hee conceaued that they were of *China*. There came vnto them from the shore a kinde of Boate full of these men, making tokens of threatnings to the *Spaniards*; who seeing that the *Spaniards* would not obey them, they began to skirmish with flinging of Stones, but *Saavedra* would suffer no shot to bee shot at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harme. A little beyond this Iland in 10. or 12. degrees, they found many small low Ilands full of Palme trees and grasse, which they called *Los Iardines*, and they came to an anker in the middest of them, where they tarried certayne dayes. The people seemed to descend from them of *China*, but by reason of their long continuance there they are become so brutish, that they haue neither Law, nor yet giue themselues to any honest labour. They weare white cloth which they make of Grasse. They stand in maruelous feare of fire, because they neuer saw any. They eate *Cocōs* in stead of Bread, breaking them before they bee ripe, and putting them vnder the sand, and then after certayne dayes they take them out and lay them in the Sunne, and then they will open. They eate Fish which they take in a kinde of boat called a *Parao*, which they make of Pine wood, which is driuen thither at certayne times of the yeere, they know not how, nor from whence, and the tooles wherewith they make their boates are of shells.

Saavedra perceiuing that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made sayle towards the firme land and Citie of *Panama*, where hee might vnlade the Cloues and merchandise which he had, that so in *Cartes* it might bee carried foure leagues to the Riuer of *Chagre*, which they say is Nauigable running out into the North sea, not farre from *Nombra de Dios*, where the ships ride, which come out of *Spaine*: by which way all kinde of goods might be brought vnto them in shorter time, and with lesse danger, then to sayle about the Cape of *Bona Speranza*. For from *Maluco* vnto *Panama* they sayle continually betweene the Tropikes and the line: but they neuer found winde to serue that course, and therefore they came backe againe to *Maluco* very sad, because *Saavedra* dyed by the way: who if hee had liued meant to haue opened the land of *Castilla del Oro* and *New Spaine* from sea to sea. Which might haue bene done in foure places: namely from the Gulfe of *S. Michael* to *Vraba*, which is fūe and twentie leagues, or from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios* being seuentene leagues distance: or through *Xaquator*, a Riuer of *Nicaragua*, which springeth out of a Lake three or foure leagues from the South sea, and falleth into the North sea; whereupon doe sayle great Barks and Crayers. The other place is from *Tecoatepec* through a Riuer to *Verdadera Cruz*, in the Bay of the *Honduras*, which also might be opened in a straight. Which if it were done, then they might sayle from the *Canaries* vnto the *Malucos* vnder the climate of the Zodiacke in lesse time and with much lesse danger, then to sayle about the Cape of *Bona Speranza*, or by the straight of *Magelan*, or by the North-west. And yet if there might bee found a straight there to sayle into the sea of *Ghina*, as it hath bene sought, it would doe much good.

In this yeere 1529. one *Damian de Goes* a *Portugall* being in *Flanders*, after that he had traueled ouer all *Spaine*, was yet desirous to see more Countries and fashions, and diuersities of people; and therefore went ouer into *England* and *Scotland*, and was in the Courts of the Kings of those parts: and after that came againe into *Flanders*, and then traueled through *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Luxenburgh*, *Switzerland*, and so through the Cities of *Colen*, *Spyres*, *Argentine*, *Basill*, and other parts of *Almaine*, and then came backe againe into *Flunders*: and from thence hee went into *France* through *Picardie*, *Normandie*, *Champaine*, *Burgundie*, the *Dukedome of Borbon*,

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 2. cap. 73.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 2. c. 72.
Terra Australis
Noua Guinea.

Os Papuas are
blacke people
with frizled
hayre.
Isla de los Pin-
tados.

Los Iardines.

Fire vnkowne.

Flote wood.

Foure narrow
passages from
sea to sea in
the West In-
dies.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 4. c. 14.

The North-
west passage
very benefici-
all.

Dam. à Goes
his Trauels.

Borbon, Gascoigne, Languedoc, Dauphinie, the Dukedome of Savoy, and passed into Italie into the Dukedome of Millaine, Ferrara, Lombardie, and so to Venice, and turned backe againe to the territorie of Genoa, and the Dukedome of Florence through all Tuscane: and hee was in the Citie of Rome, and in the Kingdome of Naples from the one side to the other. From thence hee went into Germanie to Vlmes, and other places of the Empire, to the Dukedome of Suenia, and of Banier, and the Archdukedome of Austrich, the Kingdome of Boeme, the Dukedome of Moravia, and the Kingdome of Hungarie, and so to the Confines of Grecia. From thence hee went to the Kingdome of Poland, Prussia, and the Dukedome of Lithuania, and so came into the great Dukedome of Mosconia. From whence hee came backe into high Almaine, and through the Countries of the Lantzgrau, the Dukedome of Saxonie, the Countries of Denmarke, Gotland, and Norway, travelling so farre, that hee found himselfe in 70. degrees of latitude toward the North. He did see, speake and was conuersant with all the Kings, Princes, Nobles, and chiefe Cities of all Christendome, in the space of two and twentie yeeres: So that by reason of the greatnesse of his trauell, I thought him a man worthie to be heere remembred.

Trauels from
the Persian
Gulfevp and
ouer land.

Continbos Tra-
uels.

In the yeere 1529. or 1530. one Melchior de Sosa Tanarez. went from the Citie of Ormuz vnto Balsera and the Ilands of Giffara with certaine ships of warre, and passed vp as farre as the place where the Riuer Tygris and Euphrates meete one with the other. And although other Portugals had discovered and sailed thorow that Strait, yet neuer any of them sailed so farre vpon the fresh water till that time, when hee discovered that Riuer from the one side to the other, wherein he saw many things which the Portugals knew not. Not long after this, one Ferdinando Continbo a Portugall came vnto Ormuz, and being desirous to see the world, he determined to goe into Portugall, from thence ouer land to see Asia and Europe: And to doe this the better, he went into Arabia, Persia, and vpwards the Riuer Euphrates the space of a moneth, and saw many Kingdomes and Countries, which in our time had not beneene scene by the Portugals: He was taken prisoner in Damasco, and afterward crost ouer the Prouince of Syria, and came vnto the Citie of Alepo. He had beneene at the holy Sepulchre in Ierusalem, and in the Citie of Cayro, and at Constantinople with the Great Turke; and hauing scene his Court he passed ouer vnto Venice, and from thence into Italie, France, Spaine, and so came againe to Lisbon. So that he and Damian de Goes were in our time the most noble Portugals, that had discovered and seen most Countries and Realmes of their owne affections.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 3. c. 37.

The famous
Riuer Ma-
ragnon.
John de Barros
Factor of the
House of India
Incense trees.
Great Eme-
rald.

See to. 2. l. 8. c. 3
Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 6. cap. 16.

Nueva Galicia.

Compostella.

Guadalaiara.

Santo Espirito.

De la Conce-
pcion.

San Miguel.

Gomar. hist. gen.

lib. 2. c. 74.

Gomar. hist. gen.

l. 5. c. 6. 7. & 8.

Cruell snowe

vnder the line.

Gomar. hist. gen.

lib. 5. c. 19.

In the yeere 1531. there went one Diego de Ordaz to be Gouvernour in the Riuer of Maragnon, with three ships, fixe hundred Souldiers, and thirty five Horses. He died by the way, so that the intention came to none effect. After that, in the yeere 1534. there was sent thither one Hierome Arsal with an hundred and thirty Souldiers, yet he came not to the Riuer, but peopled Saint Michael de Neueri, and other places in Paria. Also there went vnto this Riuer Maragnon a Portugall Gentleman named Aries Dacugna, and hee had with him ten ships, nine hundred Portugals, and an hundred and thirty horses. Hee spent much, but hee that lost most was one John de Barros. This Riuer standeth in 3. degrees toward the South, hauing at the entrance of it fiftene leagues of bredth and many Ilands inhabited, wherein growe trees that beare Incence of a greater bignesse then in Arabia, gold, rich stones, and one Emerald was found there as bigge as the palme of a mans hand. The people of the Countrie make their Drinke of a kind of Dates, which are as big as Quinces.

In the same yeere 1531. one Nunnez de Gusman went from the Citie of Mexico towards the North-west to discover and conquer the Countries of Xalisco, Ceintiliquipac, Ciametlan, Tonallala, Cnixco, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places. And to doe this he carried with him two hundred and fifty Horses, and five hundred Souldiers. He went thorow the Countrie of Mechuacan, where he had much Gold, ten thousand Markes of Silver, and fixe thousand Indians to carrie burdens. He conquered many Countries, called that of Xalisco Nueva Galicia, because it is a ragged Countrie, and the People strong. He builded a Citie which he called Compostella, and another named Guadalaiara, because hee was borne in the Citie of Guadalaiara in Spaine. Hee likewise builded the Townes De Santo Espirito, De la Concepcion, and De San Miguel standing in 24. degrees of Northerly latitude.

In the yeere 1532. Ferdinando Cortes sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendoza vnto Acapulco seuentie leagues from Mexico, where he had prepared a small Fleet to discover the Coast of the South Sea as he had promised the Emperour. And finding two ships ready, he went into them, and sailed to the Hauen of Xalisco, where he would haue taken in Water and Wood: but Nunnez de Gusman caused him to be resisted, and so he went forward: but some of his men mutined against him, and hee put them all into one of the shippes, and sent them backe into New Spaine. They wanted water, and going to take some in the Bay of the Vanders, the Indians killed them. But Diego Hurtado sailed two hundred leagues along the Coast, yet did nothing worth the writing.

In the yeere 1533. Francis Pizarro went from the Citie of Tumbes to Caxamalca, where he rooke the King Atabalipa. Peter Aluorado found Mountaines full of Snowe, and so cold, that seuentie of his men were frozen to death. When he came vnto Quito, he began to inhabite it, and named it S. Francis.

In the yeere 1534. a Briton called *Iaques Cartier*, with three ships went to the land of *Corte-realis*, and the Bay of Saint *Laurence*, otherwise called *Golfo Quadrato*, and fell in 48. degrees and an halfe towards the North, and so he sailed till he came vnto 51. degrees hoping to haue passed that way to *China*, and to bring thence drugs and other merchandise into *France*. The next yeere after he made another Voyage into those parts, and found the Countrie abounding with Viſtualls, Houses, and good Habitations, with many and great Riuer. He sailed in one Riuer toward the South-west three hundred leagues, and named the Countrie thereabout *Noua Francia*: at length finding the water fresh, he perceiued he could not passe thorow to the South Sea, and hauing wintered in those parts, the next yeere following he returned into *France*.

The Bay of
S. Laurence
discouered.

- 10 In the yeere 1535. or in the beginning of the yeere 1536. *Don Antonie de Mendoza* came vnto the Citie of *Mexico*, as Vice-roy of *New Spaine*. In the meane while *Cortes* was gone for more men to continue his Discoverie, which immediatly he set in hand sending forth two ships from *Tecoantepec* which hee had made ready. There went as Captaines in them *Fernando de Grijalua*, and *Diego Bezerra de Mendoza*, and for Pilots there went a Portugall named *Acosta*, and the other *Fortunio Ximenez* a *Biscaine*. The first night they diuided themselves. *Fortunio Ximenez* killed his Captaine *Bezerra*, and hurt many of his confederacy: and then he went on land to take Water and Wood in the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, but the *Indians* there slue him, and about twenty of his companie. Two Mariners which were in the Boat escaped, and went vnto *Xalisco*, and told *Nunnes de Gusman* that they had found tokens of Pearles: hee went into the ship, and so went to seeke the Pearles, hee discouered along the Coast about an hundred and fifty leagues. They said that *Ferdinando de Grijalua* sailed three hundred leagues from *Tecoantepec* without seeing any land, but onely one Iland which he named The Ile of Saint *Thomas*, because he came vnto it on that Saints day: it standeth in 20. degrees of latitude.

Gomar. hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 74. & l. 2.
c. 98.

Plaine de Santa
Cruz.

The Ile of
S. Thomas.

The Fortresse
of Diu.

Badu King of
Cambaia.

- 20 In this same yeere 1535. *Nunnez Dacunna* being Gouvernour of *India*, while he was making a Fortresse at the Citie of *Diu*, he sent a Fleet to the Riuer of *Indus*, being from thence ninety or an hundred leagues towards the North vnder the Tropike of *Cancer*. The Captaines name was *Vasques Perez de San Paio*: also he sent another Armie against *Badu* the King of *Cambaia*, the Captaine whereof was *Coscosar* a Renegado. They came to the barre of that mighty Riuer in the moneth of December, of the water whereof they found such triall as *Quintus Curtius* writeth of it, when *Alexander* came thither.

- 30 In this yeere 1535. one *Simon de Alcazaua* went from *Smill* with two ships and two hundred and forty Spaniards in them. Some say they went to *New Spaine*, others that they went to *Maluco*, but others also say to *China*, where they had beene with *Ferdinando Perez de Andrada*. Howsoeuer it was, they went first vnto the *Canaries*, and from thence to the Straight of *Magelan*, without touching at the Land of *Brasill*, or any part at all of that Coast. They entred into the Straight in the moneth of December with contrary windes and cold weather. The Souldiers would haue had him turne backe againe, but he would not. Hee went into an Hauen on the South side in 53. degrees: There the Captaine *Simon de Alcazaua* commanded *Roderigo de Isla* with sixty Spaniards to goe and discouer Land: but they rose vp against him and killed him, and appointed such Captaines and Officers as pleased them, and returned. Comming thwart of *Brasill* they lost one of their ships vpon the Coast, and the Spaniards that escaped drowning were eaten by the *Sauages*. The other ship went to Saint *Iago* in *Hispaniola*, and from thence to *Smill*, in *Spaine*.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 4. c. 13.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 3. c. 39.

See tom. 2. l. 7.
c. 4. & 11.

The Riuer of
Plata runneth
vp to Potosi.

- 40 In this same yeere 1535. *Don Pedro de Mendoza* went from *Cadiz* towards the Riuer of *Plate* with twelue ships, and had with him two thousand men: which was the greatest number of ships and men, that euer any Captaine carried into the *Indies*. Hee died by the way returning homewards. The most part of his men remained in that Riuer, and builded a great Towne contayning now two thousand houses, wherein great store of *Indians* dwell with the Spaniards. They discouered and conquered the Countrie till they came to the Mines of *Potosi*, and to the Towne *La Plata*, which is five hundred leagues distant from them.

Gomar. hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 74. & 98.

- 50 In the yeere 1536. *Cortes* vnderstanding that his ship wherein *Fortunio Ximenez* was Pilot was seized on by *Nunnez de Gusman*, hee sent forth three ships to the place where *Gusman* was, and he himselfe went by Land well accompanied, and found the ship which he sought all spoiled and rifled. When his three other ships were come about, hee went aboard himselfe with the most part of his Men and Horses, leauing for Captaine of those which remained on land one *Andrew de Tapia*. So he set sayle, and comming to a Point the first day of May he called it *S. Philip*, and an Iland that lieth fast by it he called *Sant Iago*. Within three dayes after he came into the Bay where the Pilot *Fortunio Ximenez* was killed, which hee called *La plata de Santa Cruz*, where he went on land, and commanded *Andrew de Tapia* to discouer. *Cortes* tooke shipping again, and came to the Riuer now called *Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo*, where by a tempest the ships were separated, one was driuen to the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, another to the Riuer of *Guaianal*, & the third was driuen on shore hard by *Xalisco*, and the men thereof went by land to *Mexico*. *Cortes* long expected his two ships that he wanted: but they not coming he hoised saile and entred into the Gulfe now called *Mar de Cortes*, *Mar Vermeio*, or the Gulfe of *California*, and

Saint Iago Ile.

La plata de
Santa Cruz.

Rio de S. Pedro
y San Paulo.

Guaianal Rio.
Mar Vermeio
or the Gulfe
of California.

Gomara in the
Conquest of
Mexico fol. 290.
291. 292.

and shot himselfe fiftie leagues within it: where he espied a ship at anker, and sayling towards her hee had beene lost if that ship had not succoured him. But hauing graued his ship, hee departed with both the ships from thence. He bought victuals at a deare rate at Saint Michael of Culhuacan; and from thence he went to the Hauen of Santa Cruz, where hee heard that Don Antonio de Mendoza, was come out of Spaine to be Viceroy. He therefore left to be Captayne of his men one Francis de Ulloa, to send him certaine ships to discouer that Coast.

While he was at Acapulco, messengers came vnto him from Don Antonio de Mendoza the Viceroy, to certifie him of his arriual: and also hee sent him the copie of a Letter, wherein Francis Pizarro wrote, that Mango Ynga was risen against him, and was come to the Citie of Cusco with an hundred thousand fighting men, and that they had killed his brother Iohn Pizarro, and aboute foure hundred Spaniards, and two hundred Horses, and hee himselfe was in danger so that hee demanded succour and ayde. Cortes being informed of the state of Pizarro, and of the arriual of Don Antonio de Mendoza, because he would not as yet bee at obedience; First he determined to send to Maluco to discouer that way along vnder the Equinoctiall line, because the Ilands of Clones stand vnder that paralell: And for that purpose hee prepared two ships with prouision, victuals and men, besides all other thinges necessarie. Hee gaue the charge of one of these ships to Ferdinando de Grijalua, and of the other vnto one Aluaredo a Gentleman. They went first to Saint Michael de Tangarara in Peru to succour Francis Pizarro, and from thence to Malucco all along neere the line as they were commanded. And it is declared that they sayled aboute a thousand leagues without fight of land, on the one side, nor yet on the other of the Equinoctiall. And in 2. degrees toward the North they discouered one Iland named Asca, which seemeth to be one of the Ilands of Clones: five hundred leagues little more or lesse as they sayled, they came to the sight of another which they named Isla de los Pescadores. Going still in this course they saw another Iland called Hayme towards the South, and another named Apia: and then they came to the sight of Seri: turning towards the North one degree, they came to anker at another Iland named Coroa, and from thence they came to another vnder the line named Meosum, and from thence vnto Busu, standing in the same course. The people of all these Ilands are blacke, and haue their haire frizled, whom the people of Maluco doe call Papuas. The most of them eate mans flesh, and are Witches, so giuen to diuelishnesse, that the Diuels walke among them as companions. If these wicked spirits doe finde one alone, they kill him with cruell blowes or smother him. Therefore they vse not to goe, but when two or three may bee in a companie.

Asca Iland.

Isla de los Pescadores.

Hayme Iland.

Apia Iland.

Seri.

Coroa.

Meosum.

Busu.

Os Papuas.

These seeme
to be the Eme,
of which there
is one at St.
James.

Guelles Ilands.
Terenate.

Moro.
Molucca.

Antonie Galua-
no the Author
of this booke.
The case now
is much alte-
red.

Pedro de Cieca
parte primera
de la Chronica
del Peru cap. 9.
cap. 107.
Laplata.
The Moun-
taines of Abibe

There is heere a Bird as bigge as a Crane: hee flyeth not, nor hath any winges wherewith to flie, he runneth on the ground like a Deere: of their small feathers they doe make haire for their Idols. There is also an Herbe, which being washed in warme water, if the leafe thereof be laid on any member and licked with the tongue, it will draw out all the blood of a mans body: and with this leafe they vse to let themselues blood. From these Ilands they came vnto others named the Guelles standing one degree towards the North-east, and West from the Ile Terenate, wherein the Portugals haue a Fortresse: these men are haired like the people of the Malucos. These Ilands stand one hundred and foure and twentie leagues from the Iland named Moro; and from Terenate betweene fortie and fiftie. From whence they went to the Ile of Moro, and the Ilands of Clones, going from the one vnto the other. But the people of the Countrey would not suffer them to come on land, saying vnto them: Goe vnto the Fortresse where the Captayne Antonie Galuano is, and we will receiue you with a good will: for they would not suffer them to come on land without his licence: for hee was Factor of the Countrey, as they named him. A thing worthie to be noted, that those of the Countrey were so affectioned to the Portugals, that they would venter for them their liues, wiues, children and goods.

In the yeere 1537. the Licenciado Iohn de Vadillo Gouvernour of Cartagena, went out with a good Armie from a port of V-raba called Saint Sebastian de buena Vista, being in the Gulfe of V-raba, and from thence to Rio verde, and from thence by land without knowing any way, nor yet hauing any Carriages, they went to the end of the Countrey of Peru, and to the Towne La plata, by the space of one thousand two hundred leagues: a thing worthie of memorie. For from this Riuer to the Mountaines of Abibe the Countrey is full of Hills, thicke Forests of trees, and many Riuers: and for lacke of a beaten way, they had pierced sides. The Mountaines of Abibe as it is recorded haue twentie leagues in bredth. They must be passed ouer in Ianuarie, Februarie, March, and Aprill. And from that time forward it raineth much, and the Riuers will be so greatly increased, that you cannot passe for them. There are in those Mountaines many heards of Swine, many Dantes, Lions, Tygres, Beares, Ounses, and great Cats, and Monkeys, and mightie Snakes, and other such vermine. Also there bee in these Mountaines abundance of Partridges, Quails, Turtle doves, Pigeons, and other Birds and Fowles of sundrie sorts. Likewise in the Riuers is such plentie of Fish, that they did kill of them with their staves: and carrying Canes and Nets, they affirme that a greut armie might bee sustained that way without being distressed for want of victuals. Moreouer they declared the diuersities of the people, tongues, and apparell that they obserued in the Countries, Kingdomes, and Prouinces which they

they went through, and the great trauels and dangers that they were in till they came to the towne called *Villa de la Plata*, and vnto the sea thereunto adioyning. This was the greatest discoverie that hath beene heard of by land, and in so short a time. And if it had not beene done in our dayes, the credit thereof would haue beene doubtfull.

In the yeere 1538. there went out of *Mexico* certaine Friers of the order of *Saint Francis* towards the North to preach to the *Indians* the Catholike Faith. He that went farthest was one Frier *Marke de Nizaa*, who passed through *Culhuacan*, and came to the Prouince of *Sibola*, where he found seuen Cities.

In the same yeere 1538. *Antonie Galuano* being chiefe captaine in the Iles of *Maluco* sent a ship towards the North, whereof one *Francis de Castro* was captaine, hauing commandement to conuert as many as he could to the Faith. He himselfe christened many, as the Lords of the *Celebes*, *Macasares*, *Amboynes*, *Moros*, *Moratax*, and diuers other places. When *Francis de Castro* arriued at the Iland of *Mindanao*, fixe Kings receiued the water of Baptisme, with their wiues, children and Subiects: and the most of them *Antonie Galuano* gaue commandement to be called by the name of *Iohn*, in remembrance that King *Iohn* the third raigned then in *Portugall*.

The *Portugals* and *Spaniards* which haue beene in these Ilands affirme, that there be certaine hogs in them, which besides the teeth which they haue in their mouthes, haue other two growing out of their snouts, and as manie behinde their eares of a large span and an halfe in length. Likewise they say there is a tree, the one halfe whereof, which standeth towards the east is a good medecine against all poyson, and the other side of the tree which standeth toward the West is very poyson; and the fruit on that side is like a bigge pease; and there is made of it the strongest poyson that is in all the World. Also they report that there is there another tree, the fruit whereof whosoever doth eate, shall bee twelue houres besides himselfe, and when he cometh againe vnto himselfe, he shall not remember what hee did in the time of his madnesse. Moteouer there are certaine crabs of the land, whereof whosoever doth eate shall be a certaine space out of his wits. Likewise the countrey people declare that there is a stone in these Ilands whereon whosoever sitteth shall be broken in his bodie. It is farther to be noted, that the people of these Ilands doe gild their teeth.

In the yeere 1539. *Cortes* sent three ships with *Francis Villon* to discover the coast of *Culhuacan* Northward. They went from *Acapulco*, and touched at *Saint Iago de buena speranza*, and entred in the gulf that *Cortes* had discovered, and sailed till they came in 32. degrees, which is almost the farthest end of that gulf, which place they named *Ancon de Sant Andres*, because they came thither on that Saints day: Then they came out a long the coast on the other side, and doubled the point of *California* and entred in betweene certaine Ilands and the point, and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32. degrees, from whence they returned to *New Spaine*, enforced thereunto by contrary windes and want of victualls; hauing been out about a yeere. *Cortes* according to his account, spent two hundred thousand ducats in these discoveries.

From *Cabo del Enganno* to another Cape called *Cabo de Liampo* in *China* there are one thousand or twelue hundred leagues sayling. *Cortes* and his Captaines discovered new *Spaine*, from 12. degrees to 32, from the South to the North, being seuen hundred leagues, finding it more warme then cold, although Snow doe lie ypon certaine mountaines most part of the yeere. In *New Spaine* there be many trees, flowers and fruits of diuers sorts and profitable for many things. The principall tree is named *Metl*. It groweth not very high nor thicke. They plant and dresse it as we doe our vines. They say it hath fortie kinde of leaues like wouen clothes, which serue for many vses. When they be tender they make conserues of them, paper, and a thing like vnto flaxe: they make of it mantles, mats, shooes, girdles, and cordage. These trees haue certaine prickles so strong and sharpe, that they sewe with them. The roots make fire and ashes, which ashes make excellent good lie. They open the earth from the root and scrape it, and the iuyce which commeth out is like sirupe. If you doe seeth it, it will become honie; if if you purifie it, it will be sugar. Also you may make wine and vineger thereof. It beareth the *Coco*. The rinde roasted and crushed vpon soares and hurts healeth and cureth. The iuyce of the tops and roots mingled with incense are good against poyson, and the biting of a *Viper*. For these manifold benefits it is the most profitable tree knowne to grow in those parts. Also there be there certain small birds named *Vismalim*, their bil is smal & long. They liue of the dew, and the iuyce of flowers and roses. Their feathers bee verie small and of diuers colours. They be greatly esteemed to worke gold with. They die or sleepe euery yeere in the moneth of October, sitting vpon a little bough in a warme and close place: they reuiue or wake againe in the moneth of Aprill after that the flowers bee sprung, and therefore they call them the reuiued birdes.

Likewise there be Snakes in these parts, which sound as though they had bells when they creepe. There be other which engender at the mouth, euen as they report of the *Viper*. There bee hogges which haue a nauell on the ridge of their backes, which assoone as they bee killed and cut out, will by and by corrupt and stinke. Besides these there be certain fishes which make a noyse like vnto hogs, and will snort, for which cause they bee named *Snorters*.

Ccccccc

Villa de la Plata

Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 356.

See tom. 2. lib. 8. cap. 3.

Frier *Marke de Nizaa*. *Sibola*.

Gomar hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 34.

Antonie Galuano chiefe Cap- of *Maluco*

author of this worke.

Strange Hogs.

Stranger trees and Crabs.

Strangest Stone.

Gomar hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. &

Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 339.

The bottome of the gulf of *California* discovered.

California doubled.

Cabo del Enganno.

The distance betweene

America and *China* in 32.

degrees is 1000. leagues

Gomar hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 17.

Metl an excellent tree for many vses.

Ouedo calls them *Tominos*

The reuiued Bird.

In

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 5. cap. 35.
Chili.

A relation
scarcely pro-
bable.
This might be
the Temple in
the Lake of
Titicaca.
Cieza cap. 103.

Earth of
diuers colours
good to dye
withall.
Strange root

An hearbe na-
med Coca
which satisfi-
eth hunger
and thirst.

Fowle of Peru

Xacos a kind of
great sheepe
that men ride
vpon.

Salt rockes co-
uered with eggs
Strangewaters

Ramusius 3. vol
fol. 363.

In the yeere 1538. and 1539. after that *Diego de Almagro* was beheaded, the *Marquesse Francis Pizarro* was not idle. For he sent straight one *Peter de Baldinia* with a good companie of men to discouer and conquer the countrey of *Chili*. He was well receiued of those of the coun-
trei, but afterwards they rose against him and would haue killed him by treason. Yet for all
the waire that hee had with them, he discouered much Land, and the coast of the Sea toward
the South-east, till he came into 40. degrees and more in Latitude. While he was in these dis-
coueries he heard newes of a King called *Leucengolina*, which commonly brought to the field
two hundred thousand fighting men against another King his neighbour, and that this *Leucen-
golina* had an Iland, and a Temple therein with two thousand Priests: and that beyond them
were the *Amazones*, whose Queene was called *Guanomilla*, that is to say, *The golden beauen*. But
as yet there are none of these things discouered. About this time *Gomez de Aluarnado* went to
conquer the Prouince of *Guanuco*: and *Francis de Chanex* went to subdue the *Conchincos*, which
troubled the towne of *Truxillo*, and the countreys adioyning. *Peter de Vergara* went to the *Bra-
camores*, a people dwelling toward the North from *Quito*. *Iohn Perez de Vergera* went against
the *Ciaciapoians*: *Alfonso de Mercadiglio* went vnto *Mulubamba*. *Ferdinando* and *Gonzaluo Pi-
zarros* went to subdue *Collao*, a countrey very rich in golde. *Peter de Candia* went to the lower
part of *Collao*. *Peranzures* also went to conquer the said countrey. And thus the *Spaniards* dis-
persed themselues, and conquered aboue seuen hundred leagues of countrey in a very short
space, though not without great trauailes and losse of men.

The countreyes of *Brasil* and *Peru* stand East and West almost eight hundred leagues di-
stant. The neereft is from the Cape of *Saint Augustine* vnto the haue of *Truxillo*: for they stand
both almost in one parallell and Latitude.

In some places of the *Andes* and Countries the earth is of diuers colours, as blacke, white,
red, greene, blew, yellow, and violet, wherewith they die colours without any other mixture.
There grow on these mountaines many turneps, rapes, and other such like rootes and herbes.
One there is like vnto *Aipo* or *Rue* which beareth a yellow flower, and healeth all kinde of rot-
ten sores, and if you apply it vnto whole and cleane flesh it will eate it vnto the bone: so that
it is good for the vsound and naught for the whole.

Those which liue on the tops of these mountaines of *Andes* betweene the cold and the heat
for the most part be blinde of one eye, and some altogether blinde, and scarce you shall finde
two men of them together, but one of them is halfe blinde. Also there groweth in these fieldes,
notwithstanding the great heate of the sand good Maiz, and Potatoes, and an herbe which they
name *Coca*, which they carrie continually in their mouthes (as in the East *India* they vse ano-
ther herbe named *Betele*) which also (they say) satisfieth both hunger and thirst. Also they sow
much cotton wooll, which of nature is white, red, blacke, greene, yellow, orange tawne, and
of diuers other colours.

Likewise they affirme, that from *Tumbex* Sou hward it doth neither raine, thunder, nor
lighten, for the space of fife hundred leagues of land: but at some times there falleth some little
shower. Also it is reported, that from *Tumbex* to *Chili* there breede no Peacocks, Hens, Cocks
nor Eagles, Falcons, Haukes, Kites, nor any other kinde of rauening Fowles, and yet there are
of thm in all other regions and countreyes: but there are many Ducks, Geese, Herons, Pigeons
Partridges, *Quailes*, and many other kinds of birdes. There are also a certaine kinde of foule,
like vnto a duck which hath no wings to flie withall, but it hath fine thinne feathers which co-
uer all the bodie. Likewise there are Bitters that make warre with the scale or Sea-wolfe: for
finding them out of the water they will labour to picke out their eyes, that they may not see to
get to the water againe, and then they doe kill them. They say it is a pleasant sight to behold
the fight betweene the said Bitters and Scales. With the beards of these Scales men make clean
their teeth, because they bee whol some for the tooth-ache. There are certaine beasts which
those of the countrey call *Xacos*, and the *Spaniards* sheepe, because they beare wooll like vnto a
sheepe, but are made much like vnto a Deere, hauing a saddle backe like vnto a Camell. They
will carrie the burthen of an hundred weight. The *Spaniards* ride vpon them, and when they
be wearie they will turne their heads backward, and voide out of their mouthes a wonderfull
stinking water.

From the Riuer of *Plata* and *Lima* Southward there breede no Crocodiles nor Lizards, nor
Snakes, nor any kinde of venemous vermine, but great store of good fishes breede in those Ri-
uers. On the coast of *Saint Michael* in the South Sea there are many rockes of salt couered with
egges. On the point of *Saint Helena* are certaine Well springs which cast forth a liquor, that
serueth in stead of pitch and tarre. They say that in *Chili* there is a fountaine, the water where-
of will conuert wood into stone. In the haue of *Truxillo* there is a Lake of fresh water, and the
bottome thereof is of good hard sale. In the *Andes* beyond *Xauxa* there is a riuer of fresh wa-
ter, in the bottome whereof there lieth white salt.

In the yeere 1540. the Captaine *Ferdinando Alorchon* went by the commandement of the
Vice-roy *Don Antonio de Mendoza* with two ships to discouer the bottome of the gulf of *Ca-
lifornia*, and diuers other countries.

In this yeere 1540. *Gonsalvo Pizarro* went out of the Citie of *Quito*, to Discover the Countie of *Canell* or *Cinamome*, a thing of great fame in that Countie. Hee had with him two hundred *Spaniards*, Horse-men and Foote-men, and three hundred *Indians* to carie burthens. Hee went forward till he came to *Guixos*, which is the farthest place gouerned by the *Ingas*: where there hapned a great Earthquake with Raine and Lightning, which sunke seuentie Houses. They passed ouer cold and Snowie hils, where they found many *Indians* Frozen to death, maruelling much of the great Snow that they found vnder the Equinoctiall line. From hence they went to a Prouince called *Cumaco*, where they taried two Moneths, because it Rained continually. And beyond they saw the *Cinamome*-trees, which be very great, the Leaues thereof resembling Bay-leaues, both Leaues, Branches, Rootes, and all tastig of *Cinamome*: The Rootes haue the whole taste of *Cinamome*. But the best are certaine knops like vnto *Alcornogues* or *Acornes*, which are good merchandise. It appeareth to be wild *Cinamome*, and there is much of it in the *East Indies*, and in the Ilands of *Iaoa* or *Ianaï*. From hence they went to the Prouince and Citie of *Coca*, where they rested fiftie dayes. From the place forwards they travelled along by a Riuer side being sixtie Leagues long, without finding of any Bridge, nor yet any Foorte to passe ouer to the other side. They found one place of this Riuer, where it had a fall of two hundred fathoms deepe, where the Water made such a noyse, that it would make a man almost deafe to stand by it. And not farre beneath this fall, they say they found a Channell of stone verie smooth, of two hundred foote broad, and the Riuer runneth by: and there they made a Bridge to passe ouer on the other side, where they went to a Countie called *Guema*, which was so poore, that they could get nothing to eate, but onely Fruites and Herbes. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certaine Clothing made of Cotton-wooll, where they made a Brigandine, and there they found also certaine Canoas, wherein they put their Sicke men, and their Treasure and best Apparell, giuing the charge of them to one *Francis de Orellana*: and *Gonsalvo Pizarro* went by Land with the rest of the Companie along by the Riuer side, and at night went into the Boates, and they travelled in this order two hundred Leagues as it appeareth. When *Pizarro* came to the place where he thought to finde the Brigandine and Canoas, and could haue no sight of them nor yet heare of them, he thought himselfe out of all hope, because hee was in a strange Countie without Viſuals, Clothing, or any thing else: wherefore they were faine to care their Horses, yea and Dogs also, because the Countie was poore and barren, and the Iourney long to goe to *Quito*. Yet notwithstanding, taking a good heart to themselves they went on forward in their Iourney, travelling continually eightene Moneths, and it is reported, that they went almost five hundred Leagues, wherein they did neither see Sunne, nor any thing else, whereby they might be comforted, wherefore of two hundred men which went forth at the first, there returned not backe past ten vnto *Quito*, and these so weake, ragged and disfigured, that they knew them not. *Orellana* went five hundred or sixe hundred Leagues downe the Riuer, seeing diuers Counties and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to bee *Amazones*. He came into *Castile*, excusing himselfe, that the water and streames draue him downe perforce. This Riuer is named the Riuer of *Orellana*, and other name it the Riuer of the *Amazones*, because there be Women there which liue like vnto them.

In the yeere 1540. *Cortes* went with his Wife into *Spain*, where hee died of a Disease seuen yeeres after.

In the yeere 1541, it is recorded that *Don Stephan de Gama* Gouverneur of *India*, Sayled toward the Streight of *Mecca*.

In the same yeere 1541. *Don Diego de Almagro* killed the Marques *Francis Pizarro*, and his brother *Francis Martinez* of *Alcantara* in the Citie of *los Reyes*, otherwise called *Lima*, and made himselfe Gouverneur of that Countie.

In the yeere 1540. the Vice-roy *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, sent one *Francis Vasquez de Coronado* by Land vnto the Prouince of *Sibola*, with an Armie of *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

In the yeere of our Lord 1542. one *Diego de Freitas*, being in the Realme of *Siam*, and in the Citie of *Dedra* as Captaine of a Ship, there fled from him three *Portugals* in a *Iunco* (which is a kind of Ship) towards *China*. Their names were *Antonie de Mota*, *Francis Zeimoro*, and *Antonie Pexoto*, directing their course to the Citie of *Liampo*, standing in thirtie and odde Degrees of Latitude. There fell vpon their Sterne such a storme, that it set them off the Land, and in fewe dayes they saw an Iland towards the East standing in thirtie two Degrees, which they doe name *Iapan*, which seemeth to be the Ile of *Zipangri*, whereof *Paulus Venetus* maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this Iland of *Iapan* hath Gold, Siluer, and other riches.

In this yeere 1542. *Don Antonio de Mendoza* Vice-roy of *Nueva Spagna*, sent his Captaines and Pilots to Discover the Coast of *Cape del Engaño*, where a Fleete of *Cortes* had heene before. They Sailed till they came to a place called *Sierras Nenadas*, or The Snowie mount aines, standing in fortie Degrees toward the North, where they saw Ships and Merchandises, which carried on their Stems the Images of certaine Birds called *Alcatraz*, and had the Yards of their Sailes gilded, and their Prowes laide ouer with siluer. They seemed to be of the Iles of *Iapan*, or of *China*; for they said that it was not about thirtie dayes sayling into their Countie.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 36.
Earthquake.
Cold hills vnder the Line.
Cumaco Raine.
Cinamon trees.

Wild *Cinamon* in the Ilands of *Iaua*.
Coca.
El pongo, a mighty fall of a Riuer.
The *Incas* vsed to make such Channels.
Guema.

*Pizarro*es hard Iourney.

See *Orellana* voyage. to. 2. lib. 7. c. 11.
Rio de Orellana

Cortes his death.
See this voyage sup. l. 7. c. 6.

See tom. 2. l. 8. cap. 3. §. 2.
Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 7.
Sibola.

Iapan discovered by chance.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 18.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 4. cap. 13.
Ramusius 1. vol.
fol. 375. pag. 2.

Saint Thomas.
La Nublada.
Roca Partida.
Baxos.
Los Reyes.

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in the
of the

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of the
of the
of the
of the

The Iles of
Matelotes.
Mindanao.

Sarangani.

of the
of the

The relation
of Iohn Gaietan
in the first vol.
of Ramusius fol.
The Philippi-
nas. 11. 11. 11.
Malabrigos.
Las dos Her-
manas.

Los Volcanes.
La Farfana.

of the
of the

Six or seven
Ilands more.
An Archipela-
gus of Ilands.

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In the same yeere 1542. Don Anthonie de Mendoça, sent vnto the Ilands of Mindanao a Fleete of sixe Ships with foure hundred Souldiers, and as many Indians of the Countrie, the Generall whereof was one Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, being his Brother in law and a man in great estimation. They set Sayle from the Hauen of Natiuidad standing in twentie Degrees towards the North, vpon All-Saints Ecue, and shaped their course towards the West. They had sight of the Iland of Saint Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalua had Discouered, and beyond in seuentene Degrees they had sight of another Iland which they named La Nublada, that is, The Cloudie Iland. From thence they went to another Iland named Roca partida, that is, The Clouen Rocke. The third of December they found certaine Baxos or Flats of sixe or seuen Fathoms deepe. The fifteene of the same Moneth they had sight of the Ilands, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and 10 Aluaro de Saanedra had Discouered, and named them Los Reyes, because they came vnto them on Twelfe-day. And beyond them they found other Ilands in ten Degrees all standing round, and in the midst of thew they came to an Anker, where they tooke fresh water and wood.

In the yeere 1543. in Ianuarie they departed from the foresaid Ilands with all the Fleete, and had sight of certaine Ilands, out of which there came vnto them men in a certaine kind of Boates, and they brought in their hands Crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish tongue, saying, Buenas dias, Matelotes, that is to say, Good morrow companions; whereat the Spaniards much marueiled, being then so farre out of Spaine, to see the men of that Countrie with Crosses, and to bee saluted by them in the Spanish tongue, and they seemed in their behauiour to encline somewhat to our Catholicke Faith. The Spaniards not knowing, that many thereabout had bene Christ- 10 nized by Francis de Castro, at the commandement of Anthonie Galuano, some of them named these Ilands, Islas de las Cruzes, and others named them Islas de los Matelotes. In the same yeere 1543. the first of Februarie Rui Lopez, had sight of that noble Iland Mindanao standing in nine Degrees: they could not double it nor yet come to an Ancre as they would, because the Christened Kings and people resisted them, hauing giuen their obedience to Anthonie Galuano, whom they had in great estimation, and there were five or sixe Kings that had receiued Baptisme, who by no meanes would incurre his displeasure. Rui Lopez perceiving this, and hauing a contrarie wind, Sayled along the Coast to find some ayde: and in foure or five Degrees, hee found a small Iland which they of the Countrie call Sarangani, which they tooke perforce, and in memorie of the Vice-roy who had sent them thither, they named it Antonia, where they remained a whole yeere. 30

In the same yeere 1543. and in the moneth of August, the Generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomeu de la torre in a small Ship into new Spaine, to acquaint the Vice-roy Don Antonio de Mendoça with all things. They went to the Ilands of Siria, Gaonara, Balaia, and many others, standing in eleuen and twelue Degrees towards the North, where Magellan had bene, and Francis de Castro also, who there Baptized many, and the Spaniards called them the Philippines in memorie of the Prince of Spaine. Here they tooke victuals and wood, and hoysed Sayles, they Sayled for certaine dayes with afore-wind, till it came vpon the skanting, and came right vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. The twentie five of September they had sight of certaine Ilands, which they named Malabrigos, that is to say, The euill Roades. Beyond them they Discouered Las dos Hermanas, That is, The two Sisters. And beyond them also they saw foure Ilands more, which they called los Volcanes. The second of October they had sight of Farfana, beyond which there standeth an high pointed Rocke, which casteth out Fire at five places. So Sayling in sixtene Degrees of Northerly Latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth wanting Wind, they arrived againe at the Ilands of the Philippines. They had sight of sixe or seuen Ilands more, but they Ankered not at them. They found also an Archipelagus of Ilands, well inhabited with people, lying in fifteene or sixtene Degrees: the people be White, and the Women well proportioned, and more beautifull and better Arraied then in any other place of those parts, hauing many Jewels of Gold, which was a token, that there was some of that Metall in the same Countrie. Heere were also Barkes of fortie three Cubits in length, and two Fathoms and a halfe in breadth, and the Plankes five Inches thicke, which Barkes were rowed with Oares. They told the Spaniards, 50 that they vsed to Saile in them to China, and that if they would goe thither they should haue Pilots to conduct them, the Countrie not being above five or sixe dayes Sayling from thence. There came vnto them also certaine Barkes or Boates handsomely decked, wherein the Master and principall men sat on high, and ynderneath were very Black-moores with Frilled haire: and being demanded where they had these Black-moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine Ilands standing fast by Sebur, where there were many of them, a thing that the Spaniards much maruailed at, because from thence it was above three hundred Leagues to the places where the Blacke people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally borne in that Climate, but that they be in certaine places scattered ouer the whole circuit of the World. For euen so they be in the Ilands of Nicobar and Andaman, which stand in the Gulfe of Bengala, and from thence by the space of five hundred Leagues, we doe not know of any Blacke people. Also Vasco Nunez de Vaisboa declareth, that as he went to Discouer the South Sea, in a certaine Land named Quareca, he found Blacke people with Frilled haire, whereas there were neuer any other found either in Nona Spagna, or in Castilia del Oro, or in Peru.

In the yeere 1544. Don Gutierre de Vargas Bishop of Placenza sent a Fleet from the Citie of Sinill vnto the Straits of Magellan : which is reported to haue beene done by the counsell of the Vice-roy Don Antonie de Mendoza his Cousin. Some suspected, that they went to Maluco, others to China, others, that they went onely to discouer the Land betwixt the Strait and the Land of Peru on the other side of Chili, because it was reported to bee very rich in Gold and Siluer. But this Fleet by reason of contrary windes could not passe the Strait, yet one small Barke passed the same, and sayled along the coast, and discouered all the Land, till he came vnto Chirimai, and Arequipa.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 4. c. 14.
See tom. 2. l. 7.
c. 11.

10 In the yeere 1545. and in the moneth of Ianuary Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, and Giraldo with the Castilians came to the Iland of Moro, and the Citie of Camaso, where they were well receiued of the Kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the Countrie (because Antonie Gualuano was gone) and put the Captaine Don George de Castro to great trouble, as appeared by those things which passed betweene him and the Portugals, and the great expences whereunto he put the Fortresse.

The Ile of
Moro.
Antonie Galua-
no gone out of
the Maluccu.

20 In the same yeere 1545. Rui Lopez de villa Lobos sent from the Iland of Tidore another ship towards New Spaine by the South side of the Line, wherein was Captaine one Inigo Ortez de Rotha, and for Pilot one Iaspar Rico. They sailed to the Coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same, and because they knew not that Saanedra had been there before, they chalenged the honour and fame of that Discouerie. And because the people there were blacke and had frilled haire, they named it Nuova Guinea. For the memory of Saanedra as then was almost lost, as all things else doe fall into obliuion, which are not recorded, and illustrated by writing.

Os Papuas.

Nueva Guinea
discouered be-
fore.

30 In this yeere 1545. and in the moneth of Iune, there went a Iunke from the Citie of Borneo, wherein went a Portugall called Peter Fidalgo, and by contrary winds he was driuen towards the North; where he found an Iland standing in 9. or 10. degrees, that stretched it selfe to 22. degrees of latitude, which is called The Ile of the Lucones, because the Inhabitants thereof were so named. It may haue some other name and harbours which, which as yet we know not, it runneth from the North vnto the Southwest, and standeth betweene Mindanao and China. They say they sayled along by it 250. leagues, where the Land was fruitfull and well couered, and they affirme, that there they will giue two Pezos of gold for one of siluer.

The Ile of Lu-
cones.

False reports,
though
true.

CHAP. II.

The summe of a Letter of NICOLAS TRIGAVTIUS a Iesuite, touching his Voyage to India, and of the State of Christianitie in China and Iapan. A Letter also of Capt. R. COCKE, and Relations of Master ROBERTS wracke on the Coast of China in the Vnicorne.

40 **W**EE set sayle from Lisbon, the sixteenth of Aprill, 1618. being three ships: foure and thirty of the society were distributed into two ships: one of them called Saint Mauro carried twelue destined for Iapon, of which was the Reuerend Lord, L. Iames Valent Bishop of Iapon of our societie. Father Gabriel Matos was Superiour of the other ten. In the other ship two and twenty of vs were carried for China, ten Portugals, three Italians, foure Germans, and besides my selfe, foure Belgians. Wee sayled prosperously, sauing that all Ours were Sea-sicke till wee came to the Canaries. There I know not how the ships parted companie. Wee sayled to the Torrid Zone pleasantly appointing set and distinct houres for taking care of the sicke, for Sermons, the Masse (almost daily) Cases of Conscience, Mathematicall disciplines, exercise of the China Language, &c. About the Line we were infested with Feuers; all saue one, and fise died; lastly, I and my brother Philip were sicke, and kept our beds fifty dayes, insomuch as I receiued Vnction likely
50 in few houres to die. Wee passed the Cape on Saint Iames his Day, and a few dayes after (hauing hitherto had no tempest) were three nights together horribly tossed. The Captaine of our ship also died, and scarcely could another succeed in peace.

Bish. of Iapon;
22. Iesuites for
China.
They passe the
Cape of Good
Goa.
The Portugals
giue the Eng-
lish 8000. Ri-
als of eight ra-
ther then they
will fight.
China procee-
dings or rece-
dings in Chris-
tianitie.

60 After fise moneths and a halfe sayling, wee came to Goa. The Saint Mauro came thither a moneth after vs, one of our Societie (an Italian) being dead. The Admirall a fortnight after that, arriued with disgrace, for that hauing fallen in companie with sixe English ships, hee chose rather with eighty thousand pieces of money which they call Patacas, to redeeme the fight, then to fight it out with victorie or death. For which cause the Admirall and some other Officers are deprived and sent backe to the King in bonds to be punished, or to render accounts of their fact. A few dayes after, my brother falls sicke and dieth. The rest follow their studies at Goa, till affaires of China and Iapon bee more quieted. For howsoeuer I had left the China businesse quiet, and imagined still the same, yet they which aspire now to their helpe must propound crosses and martyrdome to themselves.

At Nankin Christianitie thrived well and in other our houses. Thence arose the beginning of euill. A chiefe Iudge in the third Tribunall named Xin, a great Idolater, sought to chafe

Persecution
and martyr-
dome.

Christianitie out of the Kingdome, and therefore opposed Ours by putting vp many Petitions fraught with calumnies, which he sent secretly to the King. But after often petitioning obtaining no rescript, he employeth others & useth bribes, getting to his party the chief President of the Third Tribunal, to which Court belongs the knowledge of forren affaires, and of Religion. He also petitions the King, but with such effect, that the King makes no answer (which with the *Chinois* is a denyall) and at last he writes to the King, that according to his Office he will send them out of the Kingdome, such excepted as remained in the Royall Citie. This he did, but the Magistrates of those Cities where Ours resided dissembled the matter, except that *Nanquin* aduersarie, which apprehended two Priests and a Brother, their Pupils, Seruants, and some new Conuerts, but durst not send them away before the Kings answer. Meane while he exercised them all in diuers Courts about nine moneths space, and some were often whipped after their cruell manner; one or two died in prison by force of the torments. Many of the *Ethnikes* fauoured Ours; but the *Christian* Magistrates *Paulus*, *Michael*, *Leo* did maruellously bestirre themselves. Nor did any Conuert apostatise, but beyond the *China* pusillanimities were both constant and cheerfull in their sufferings.

Iesuites dismis-
sed from Pe-
quin.

At last our *Nanquin* aduersarie bribing the Eunuchs with ten thousand pieces of Gold extorted from the King that Ours should be sent backe to their owne, but not (which he sought) their death. Ours therefore honorably dismissed from *Pequin*, came to *Canton*. Those of *Nanquin* were sent away with shame, and two were carried in Cages to *Canton*. In other residences they were more gently vsed, and all continued in the Kingdome but two of *Pequin* and two of *Nanquin*. After this the *Pequin* Magistrate was deprived and sent home with dishonour: he of *Nanquin* also fell sicke, and lost his onely daughter, which the *Chinois* esteeme a great euill; for which cause in great rage he burned a certaine Idoll to which hee had commended that his daughter. Ours adorned a new seat or residence in *Xanfi*. Father *Felicianus à Sylua* a *Portugall*, his carkasse hauing lien foure yeeres in the Coffin, kept at home after the *China* fashion, was opened and found entire with his garments. The skie suddenly ouercast was calmed on the shutting of the Coffin; a horrible thing to the *Chinois*, which are very scrupulous to open Graues. His body was buried in the fields, and is reported to worke miracles, and to be frequented of the New Conuerts. I am called by my Superiours with all speed, and there is hope that all things will bee amended.

Idolatrous
rage.

Tares amongst
Wheat.

Iapon affaires.
Daifus death.

Now for the *Iaponian* Church. *Daifu*, after that noble victorie which he obtained against *Fideiori* and *Zaca*, is dead: in the glorie whereof his sonne obtained the Empire without tumult. The Church had quiet a yeere and halfe; but by the indiscreet zeale of some Religious at *Nangasacke*, the sore brake out againe. Foure men, a *Dominican*, *Austinian*, *Franciscan*, and *Iesuite*, haue beene martyred, other two continued in prison. Twenty in all *Iapon* haue died for the Faith, others haue beene exiled and punished, the story whereof is not vnlike to those which I left in *Europe* comprehended in foure Bookes of *Iaponian* triumphs, which I hope ere this haue seene the light. I looke for other intelligence within these two moneths, which I will leaue in *Latine* before I goe for the next ships.

Two Comets.

In *India* things remayne in the wonted state. At *Bazain* was an vnwonted tempest, whereupon Processions were made in all *India*. Two Comets were seene at the same time, one foureene dayes after the other: the later directed his course to the North, and still is seene whiles I write these things the twentieth of December, beginning to appeare the eleuenth of November, 1618.

Lib. 1.

L. 4. c. 16.
Fiden, or Finde
or Fideyori, &c.

Ozaca.
Surunga.
See sup. l. 4. c. 1.
* *Sbongasama*.

Extracts out of *TRIGAVTIVS* his Martyrologe, or Fine Bookes of Christian Triumphs among the Iaponians, before mentioned.

THE *Iaponian* State being oppressed, He is Emperour which possesseth the Imperiall Provinces called *Tenca* (or *Tensa*) a name receiued of the *Chinois*, of whom the *Iaponian* Islands are a Colonie (by the *Chinois* called *Iepuen*, the beginning of the Sunne, by themselves *Gupon* or *Nitpon*) and that which the *Chinois* call *Thienhia*, that is, Whatsoeuer is under Heauen, the *Iaponians* terme *Tenca*, expressed with the same characters, howsoeuer differing in pronunciation. *Taicosama* died An. 1598. and left for his Heire a childe called *Fideyori*. *Daifusama* King of *Quanto* with others were appointed his Tutors or Protectors, which quarrelling for themselves, A. 1600. *Daifusama* getting the better, entituled himselfe *Xogun* or *Cubosama*. He left *Fideyori* in the most famous Fort of *Iapon*, with a tolerable reuenue. This continued till the yeere 1614. He remoued the Imperiall seat from *Miaco* to *Surunga* the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome of *Fuchu*, and built there a Castle to keepe his treasure: his Sonne*, destined to the Inheritance, he placed at *Tendo* (or *Edoo*) and married him to the Neece of *Nabunanga*, which was next Emperour before *Taicosama*, and Aunt to *Fideyori*, being Sister to his Mother. This *Fideyori* being now growne in yeeres at his Castle of *Ozaca*, *Daifusama* fearing that he might interuert the Inheritance from his Sonne, deuised trickes first, which being eluded brake forth into open warre.

He had set *Fideyori* on worke to build a sumptuous Temple in the Suburbs of *Miaco*, in which *Daibut* (that is, a great Idoll or Colosse of gilded Brasse, his thumbe a spanne compasse and the rest proportionable,) should be worshipped. His Father *Taicofama* had before built at great expence this Temple, but the fire had consumed it, and the Sonne was incited to renew it by him, which sought by that meanes to exhaust his Treasures, the sinewes of warre. This Temple at the eighth Moone (which is our September) was to be dedicated by three thousand Priests thither assembled with great pompe, the Emperour meane while intending to seize on *Ozaca*. To this end hee had sent for *Ichinocam* the Gouvernour of the Citie and wonne him to his part. But at his returne vpon suspition he was forced to quit the Towne, and the Emperours
10 intents made knowne, and that Dedication deferred. The Emperour came before *Ozaca* with a great Armie of two hundred thousand, of which he lost thirtie thousand in the Siege, and was forced to depart with dissembled Conditions of Peace, in Ianuarie 1615. This lasted but few moneths, and hee returned with another Armie as great as the former. *Fideyori* is also reported to haue two hundred thousand in his armie. *Sacay* was burned, and in two Battels *Fideyori* had the better. In the third the Emperour was so out of hope that hee thought there to haue ended his dayes, and spake to some to dispatch him, if they saw no meanes for him to escape his Enemies hands. But *Samandonus* the Generall seeing the Victorie sure, sent for *Fideyori* that hee should come to haue the honour thereof, who in youthfull hast neglecting his old Captaines, they enraged at this seeming contempt, and perhaps corrupted by *Cubosamas* money, set fire on
20 the Castle. This forced *Fideyori* backe to saue his Mother, Wife, and what he could from the flames, preferring safetie before honour. But hee lost both, with himselfe together, no man yet knowing what became of him. *Ozaca* was quite destroyed in Iuly 1615. and the Emperour returned Victorious to *Surunga*, and magnified his Idols which had done him this Honour for his zealous persecution of *Christians*. But in March 1616. this Tryumph was turned to his Funerall. Hee was buried in his Castle *Cuno*, where his Treasure was kept. One of his Sonnes hee would not see, his other sonne succeeded, who is thought not likely to containe the mutable *Iaponian* spirits in order: Two other sonnes he left, of which hee gaue order, that if they would not otherwise bee ordered they should lose their Heads. Some hopes by his death befell the *Christians* of more libertie, and they haue since performed their holies, but secretly, least they
30 should seeme to insult on the Dead. For in pretence of wrongs by *Portugall* Merchants, and Contempts of his Imperiall Edicts, and of Death, and the reports of worshipping some executed *Christian* Malefactors (at whose death some kneeling had commended them to *Christ*, which was thus *Paganly* misconstrued) hee had exiled many, and done many to diuers kindes both of tortures and death: which our Author handles at large in fise * Bookes, where they which please may both read and see in Pictures their diuersified passions: which also from Captaine *Saris*, Captaine *Cocke* and others, wee haue in part before deliuered, with another Cause inciting the Emperour thereto, namely *Iesuiticall* hypocrisie, who vnder pretence of Conuerting soules, had become Factors and Agents for the *Portugall* Merchants. But we shall giue you further and later *Iaponian* intelligence from our owne Countrymen.

See sup. l. 4. c. 2. the Iaponian Letters.

Trecherie.

Ozaca destroyed.

Exiles, with Maiming, Heading, Cutting a sunder, Crucifying, burning, &c.

* A fifth is added since to the foure mentioned.

A Letter concerning later Occurrents in Iapon from Master R. COCKE to Captaine SARIS, written at FIRANDO in Iapon, the 31. of December. 1622.

Captayne SARIS:

I Haue written you two former Letters to one effect, the one dated the Fourteenth *ultimo*, sent by a *Scotchman* called *John Portis*, in the Ship *Moone*. And the other kept till the Twentieth
50 ditto, and sent per Master *John Munden*, in the Ship *Bull*. In both which Letters, I wrote you at large as time then offered, vnto the which I referre me, not doubting, but one of them will come to your hands, if not both.

Since which time I am informed of the greatest Conspiracie that euer was heard of in *Iapon*, pretended against the person of *Shouga Samma*, the Emperour of *Iapon* now raigning, the Factors being such great personages, that it is thought the Emperour dare not meddle with them, but winke at it and make Peace with them. Nine of them being named as followeth, viz.

Cangano Egen Dono, the Emperours kinsman, and of the greatest reuenues in *Iapon*, per Annum 200. *Mangocas*. (Which Master G. Saris calculated at 1875000. pounds sterling money: and so of the rest proportionably.)

60 *Shimaszu Dono*, King of *Xaxica* and *Liqueas*, most feared of any Prince in *Iapon*, for the strength of his Countries and valiantnesse of his Souldiers, his reuenues more then per annum 100. *Mangocas*,

Micanano Camy Dono, Sonne to this Emperours eldest Brother, called by the same name, a valiant man, but disinherited by *Ogosho Samma* his Father, because hee had lost his Nose by too much

much Venerie, and *Shougosama* his brother (now Emperour) Constituted in his place: this mans reuenues rated at 70. Mangocas.

Massamonedas Dono, King of *Osheu*, per annum 70. Mangocas.

Mengamy Dono, King of , per annum 35. Mangocas.

Yechew Dono, King of *Cocora*, per annum 34. Mangocas.

Catto Samma Dono, King of *I. O.* per annum 30. Mangocas.

Nancobo Dono, High Priest or Bonse of *Edo*, and second to the Daire in Church matters, and Tutor to this Emperour *Shonga Samma*, per annum 001. Mangoco.

Codgsque Dono, Secretarie to *Ogosho Samma* when you were in *Iapon*, then had 3. Mangocas, but aduanced per *Shougo Samma*, per annum 10015. Mangocas.

Rule to summe
the Reuenues
aforesaid.
* Viz. of
Firando.
Osaca.

Euery Mangoca is 10000. Gocas, and each Gaca is 100. Gantas of Rice, and each Ganta may be some three Ale pintes in *England*, for it is aboute three Wine pintes as I haue scene it proued per an English wine pinte in *Iapon*. And this King * (or *Tono*) of *Firando*, hath but six Mangocas, as I thinke you doe remember, yet is esteemed as much as the greatest Earledome in *England*, hee being stinted at foure thousand Souldiers or men at Armes, two thousand to keepe his owne Countrey, and two thousand to serue the Emperour at demand, but is able to set out many thousands more if need require.

And it is now some fixe or seuen yeere past, that *Calsa Samma* this Emperours second Brother, (who is married to *Massamonedas* Daughter) was vpon suspition disinherited by his Brother, and shauen a *Pagan* Bonse or Monke, and Confined into a *Pagan* Monasterie, with gaurds set about him. Attending euer since when the Emperour his brother would command him to cut his belly, but yet living.

Thus much I thought good to aduise you of the present state of *Iapon*, much altered from that it was at your being heere; and for the rest, I hope to tell you by word of mouth at my returne into *England*, which I hope to doe the next yeere, God sparing me life and libertie.

Master *Edmond Sayer* departed from hence towards *Edo*, the tenth day of this moneth of December; as the *Hollanders* did the like, to carry Presents to the Emperour: and wee haue newes that they arriued at *Osaca* tenne dayes past. And now this Ship the *Elizabeth* being ready to depart towards *Bantam*, and so I thinke from thence for *England*, I thought it good to write you these few lines of Aduise; and so end with my heartie Commendations to your selfe, not forgetting all the rest of our friends and acquaintance.

A Note of the Vnicornes Companie in China.

Although wee haue referred *China* relations to another Tome, yet because in Captayne *Prings* former relations, mention is made of the *Vnicorne* wracked by foule weather on the dangerous shores of *China*; I thought good to mention thus much heere. I spake with Master *Roberts* the Master of the Ship, also with Master *Pickering* another of the companie: which both told me, that their Ship being lost, the Companie saued themselves and with part of the goods went ashore. The rude *Chinois* would haue assaulted and rifled them, but they stood to their defence, till an Officer or Magistrate came and relieued them from the vulgar: after which they found both just dealing and kind vsage. They were permitted to buy for their money two Vessels with all necessarie prouisions for their departure, and one part of the Companie went to *Iapon*, the other (as I remember) to *Malacca*. If thou hast no compleater storie (of those, the onely English-men which I know to haue been on land in *China*) I must excuse my selfe by their promises of perfecter Relations, which whiles I expected, I was lesse inquisitiue then otherwise I would haue beene. They fayled me, and as I heare, are returned to the *Indies*: and I, if I seeme to fayle heere, shall in the next Tome repay thee with vse.

CHAP. III.

A Letter touching *Iapon* with the Government, Affaires and later Occurrents there, written to me by Master ARTHUR HATCH Minister, lately returned thence.

Salutem in authore salutis.

Worthy SIR:



Auing promised to impart vnto you some obseruations of those Countries where I haue trauelled, especially of *Iapon*, I was loath either to breake my promise, or in the least respect frustrate your expectation. Late performance is better then none; but the multiplicite of my businesse hath beene the occasion of my late writing vnto you, which I hope you will excuse; and being now called into the Countrey, and so barred from conference with you, I know not how or in what

what manner fully to accomplish your desire; and therefore I intend at this time to make relation vnto you of some particular passages onely, vntill I heare farther from you, but if I may stand you in any stead for the furtherance of your intended purpose, I would intreat you to acquaint me with your request, and you shall finde me most ready and willing to the vtermost of my slender power to accomplish it.

The Countrey of *Japon* is very large and spacious, consisting of seuerall Ilands and pettie Provinces; it is Mountainous and craggie, full of Rockes and stonie places, so that the third part of this Empire is nor inhabited or manured; neither indeed doth it afford that accommodation for Inhabitants which is needfull, or that farnessse and conueniencie for the growth of Corne, Fruit, and small grayne as is requisite; which causeth the people to select the choyest and plainest parts and places of the land both to till and dwell in. The Climate is temperate and healthie not much pestred with infectious or obnoxious ayres, but very subiect to fierce windes, tempestuous stormes, and terrible Earthquakes, insomuch that both Ships, in the harbour haue beene ouer-set, and driven a shore by the furie of the one, and Houses on the land disioynted and shaken to pieces by the fearefull trembling of the other.

It is gouerned by an Emperour who hath threescore and fise Kings vnder his command; they haue but small and pettie Kingdomes, yet all of them challenge and assume to themselves that Royall state and dignitie, which may well become the persons of farre more famous Princes. There are but fise of the Emperours priuie Councell, who commonly are such, that for Wisdome, Policie, and carefull vigilancie in managing the State affaires, in preventing of Treasons and Rebellions, in executing of Iustice and continuing of peace and quietnesse may bee compared with many, nay most in Christendome. No man may make knowne any cause vnto the Emperour himselfe, either by word of mouth or petition, but euery one must acquaint the Councell with his cause, and if they approue it, the Emperour shall know of it, if not, you must be content to haue it drowned in obliuion. The Emperour liues in great Royaltie and seldome goes abroad either to Hawke or Hunt without a thousand followers at least to attend him: he hath but one Wife, and it is generally reported that hee keepes companie with no other, but her onely; and if it bee true as it is thought, hee may in that respect be termed the Phoenix of all those parts of the world: as for those within his owne Dominions they are so faine either from imitating or following him, that one is scarcely contented with a hundred women, and they are so shamelesse in that kinde, that they will boast of it, and account it a glory vnto them to make relation of the multitude of women which they haue had the vse of. *Consuetudo peccandi tollit sensum peccati.* This Emperour hath abundance of Siluer and Gold, and not onely his Coffers but whole Store-houses are cramm'd with coyne; hee hath some balls of Gold which were brought to his Court from *Ozechya* Castle of that waight and magnitude, that fiftene or sixtene men are scarcely able to beare one of them.

All Riuers doe in a kinde of thankfull renumeration returne their waters to the Sea, because they tooke them from thence, but the Princes of *Japon* doe cleane contrarie, for they receiue nothing from the Emperour, and yet they giue all to the Emperour, for they doe euen impoverish themselves, by enriching him by presents; nay, they strue and contend who may giue the greatest and chiefeest Present. And each of those seuerall Princes must alwayes bee either himselfe in person, or his Brother, eldest Sonne, or the chiefe Nobleman within his Realme at the Emperours Court; the reason of it is not well knowne, but it is pretended, that it is done to keepe the seuerall Kingdomes in quiet, and free from tumults, treasons and rebellions. The Emperour doth ordinarily requite his Princes presents after this manner: hee giues them a Feather for a Goose, some few Kerrimoones or Coates, for Gold, Siluer or other precious and rare commodities; and that they may not grow rich, and of sufficient abilitie to make head against him, he suffers not their Fleeces to grow, but sheares them off, by raising Taxes on them for the building of Castles, and the repairing of Fortifications, and yet they are not suffered to repaire their owne, or any way to fortifie themselves.

Ozechya is the most famous Castle that the Emperour hath, or that is within the Empire; it is of an extraordinarie bignesse and compassed round with three seuerall walls; the Castle of *Edo* is likewise walled and moated, hauing some few Ordnance on it; at *Crates* and *Falkata* there are likewise Castles both walled and moated, the Circumference of each of them is neere about two mile. The chiefe Noble-men of those Kingdomes haue Houses within the Castle walls to come and liue there, either at the Kings or their owne pleasures, within each of those Castles there is a Storehouse kept ordinarily full of Rice, which may serue for their prouision at all occasions and needs. At *Falkata* there is a Wood of Pine trees neere about three mile square, which is all the Summer time swept and kept so cleane, that you shall hardly see any small twig bough, or leafe vnder the Trees, and the trees stand so close together, that you may solace and recreate your selfe there at all houres of the day without any hurt or heat of the Sunne. In the midst of it there is a great Pagod or Church very richly adorned with gilded Images, and all sorts of curious carued workes.

The people are generally Courteous, affable and full of Compliments, they are very punctu-

Description of Japon.

Soyle.

Climate: Stormes. Earthquakes;

Emperour and Gouernment: 65. Vassals.

Councell.

Magnificence;

Chastitie.

Riches

Presents;

Lealousie;

Policie to impoverish Subjects.

Ozaca or *Ozechya*. *Edo* and other Castles.

Falkata neere *Edo* neesse & Temple.

Customes of the people.

all in the entertayning of Strangers, and they will assoone lose a limbe as omit one Ceremonie in welcomming their friend; they vse to giue and receiue the emptie Cup at one the others hands, and before the Master of the house begins to drinke, hee will proffer the Cup to every one of his Guests, making shew to haue them to begin though it bee farre from his intention; they feed not much vpon varietie; for Fish, Rootes and Rice are their common junkates, and if they chance to kill a Hen, Ducke or Pigge, which is but seldome, they will not like Charles eat it alone, but their friends shall be surely partakers of it. Their ordinary drinke is Water, and that is made most times hot, in the same pot where they seeth their Rice, that so it may receiue some thicknesse and substance from the Rice. They haue strong Wine and Rack distill'd of Rice, of which they will sometimes drinke largely, especially at their Feasts and meetings, and being moued to anger or wrath in the heate of their Drinke, you may assoone periwade Tygres to patience and quietnesse as them, so obstinate and wilfull they are in the furie of their impatience. Their Lawes are very strict and full of seueritie, affording no other kinde of punishment but either Death or Banishment: Murther, Theft, Treason, or the violation of any of the Emperours Proclamations or Edicts, are punished with death; so is Adulterie also if it bee knowne and the parties pursued, but the Deuill their master in those actions hath taught them such cleanly conueyances, that seldome or neuer are they apprehended; they proceed both in Controuersies and criminall causes according to the verdict of the produced witnesses, and the Sentence being once past, they will not reuoake or mitigate the seueritie of it, but if the parties attached haue deserued death they shall surely haue it, and for the manner, they are either Beheaded or Crucified; hee kneeles downe on his knees and then comes the Executioner behind him and cuts off his head with a Catan or their Countrey-sword, and his head being off, the young Caualleers trie their weapons on his limbes, and proue whether they can cut off an Arme or Leg at a blow; the other haue their armes and legges spread abroad on a Crosse, which done, they set the Crosse vpright in the ground, and then comes one either with a Lance or Speare and runnes the partie through the bodie, where hee hangs vntill he rots off, no man being suffered to take him downe.

Euery one may change his Name three times, when he is a childe, when he is a young-man, and when he is old; some change their names more often, euery one as hee pleaseth may make choise of his owne name, and they are commonly named either by the King, or else by some Noble or Great man with whom they are chiefly in fauour.

They haue the vse of Writing and Printing, and haue had the space of many yeeres, no man knowes certainly how long. They haue seuen sorts of Letters, each single letter seruing for a word, and many of them in their placing serue for fixe or seuen; and each Alphabet hath eight and fortie Letters, and yet with all these letters they are not able to write our Christian names; they haue not the true pronounciation of H. B. T. and some other letters, and a Chinesse if his life lay on it, cannot truly pronounce D.

They obserue no Sabbath, but certaine Feast dayes according to the Moone, as the first of the Moone, the 15. or 28.; on these dayes they goe to the Church, visit the Sepulchers of the dead, and vse many foolish and apish Ceremonies, which time will not permit me now to relate.

The ninth day of the Moone throughout the yeere they hold for accursed, and therefore in that day they will not begin or vndertake any worke of consequence and importance.

They strictly obserue a Fast on that day of the moneth, in which their Father or Mother dyed, which they doe so precisely keepe, that they will not touch or eate any thing that hath blood.

Kind Sir, if I haue not in this satisfied you according to your expectation, yet I will assure you it is according as the time and my wayward affaires will now permit me; I would intreat to heare from you, and God willing as I haue leasure I will more fully declare vnto you my particular obseruations of *Iapon*, in the meane time I will pray for your health and good successe in all your affaires and godly enterprises.

From Wingham in Kent the

25. of Nouember. 1623.

Resting yours to vse in what bee may:

ARTHUR HATCH.

CHAP. III.

Extracts of Master CESAR FREDERIKE his eightene yeeres Indian Obseruations.



In the yeere of our Lord God 1563, I Cesar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the World, tooke my journey to Aleppo, and there I acquainted my selfe with Merchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were merchants, and consoorted to goe with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Aleppo, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, we came to a Citie called *Br.* (Thence to Babylon or Bagdet, and so to Basora and Ormus.)

The Authors going from Venice to Cyprus & Tripoly. Touching the way from Aleppo to Bagdet. See Sup. 19. & c. 3.

Ormus

Ormus hath a *Moore* King of the race of the *Persians*, who is created and made King by the Captaine of the Castle, in the name of the King of *Portugall*. At the creation of this King I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they vse in it, which are as followeth. The old King being dead, the Captaine of the *Portugals* chuseth another of the bloud Royall, and maketh this election in the Castle with great Ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of *Portugall*, as his Lord and Gouvernour, and then he giueth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting and pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall Palace in the Citie. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient reuenues to maintayne himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the Castle doth maintayne and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a King, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the consent of the Captaine first had: it behooueth them to doe this, and it is necessarie, because of the great trade that is in this Citie: their proper language is the *Persian* tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for *Goa*, a Citie in the *Indies*, in which passage the first Citie that you come to in the *Indies*, is called *Diu*, and is situate in a little Iland in the Kingdome of *Cambaia*, which is the greatest strength that the *Portugals* haue in all the *Indies*, yet a small Citie, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of *Mecca* and *Ormus* with marchandise, and these ships belong to the *Moores* and *Christians*, but the *Moores* cannot trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Vice-roy of the King of *Portugall*, otherwise they are taken and made good prizes. The merchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth from *Cambaietta* a Port in the Kingdome of *Cambaia*, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholdes are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call *Macareo*, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, vnlesse it be in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, where there is another *Macareo*, where the waters run out with more force then these doe. *Cambaietta* is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire Citie. The time that I was there, the Citie was in great calamitie and scarcenesse, so that I haue seene the men of the country that were *Gentiles* take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and haue desired the *Portugals* to buy them, and I haue seene them solde for eighr or ten *Larins* a piece, which may bee of our money ten shillings or thirteene shillings foure pence. For all this, if I had not seene it, I could not haue beleueed that there should bee such a trade at *Cambaietta* as there is: for in the time of euery new Moone and euery full Moone, the small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barks be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of *China*, with *Sandols*, with Elephants teeth, Veluets of *Vercini*, great quantitie of *Pannina*, which commeth from *Mecca*, *Chickinos* which be pieces of gold worth seuen shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with diuers sorts of other merchandise. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantitie of cloth made of Bumbast of all sortes, as white stamped and painted, with great quantitie of *Indico*, dried ginger and conserued, Myrabolans drie and condite, *Boraso* in paste, great store of Sugar, great quantitie of Cotton, abundance of *Opium*, *Assa Fetida*, *Puchio*, with many other sorts of drugges, Turbants made in *Diu*, great Stones like to *Corneolæ*, *Granats*, *Agats*, *Diaspry*, *Calcidonij*, *Hematists* and some kinde of naturall *Diamonds*.

During the time I dwelt in *Cambaietta*, I saw very maruellous things: there were an infinite number of Artificers that made Bracelets called *Mannij*, or bracelets of Elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the *Gentiles*, which haue their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent euery yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoever of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they goe and buy new againe, because that they had rather bee without their meat then without their bracelets.

There come euery yeere to *Chaul* from *Cochin*, & from *Cananor* ten or fifteen great ships laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called *Giagra*: the tree whereon these Nuts doe grow is called the *Palmer tree*, and thorow out all the *Indies*, and especially from this place to *Goa*, there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the *Date tree*. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they doe of this, there is not any part of it but serueth for some vse, and none of it is worthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make Ships without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make *Sayles*, and with the fruit thereof, which bee a kinde of Nuts, they make Wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and *Placetto*, which Wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquor like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell vnder euery tree, and euery eue ing and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquor: and then they

The election of the King of Ormus.

Diu.

Cambaietta.

Macareo, great Tides.

A maruellous fond delight in women.

Coco tree and profits thereof They are most plentiful in the Iles of the *Maldines*.

put it into Buts, with a quantity of *Zibibbo*, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect Wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of Oyle: of the tree they make great quantitie of boords and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make Cables, Ropes, and other furniture for ships, and, as they say, these Ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the Bowes, Bedsteds, after the *Indies* fashion, and *Scuasches* for merchandise. The leaues they cut very small, and weaue them, and so make Sayles of them, for all manner of shipping, or else very fine Mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke ships, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make Spooones and other vessels for meate, in such wise that there is no part thereof throwne away, or cast to the fire. When these Mats be Greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man bee thirsty, with the liquor of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell.

In the yeere of our Lord 1567. I went from *Goa* to *Bezeneger* the chiefe Citie of the Kingdom of *Narsinga* eight dayes iourney from *Goa*, within the Land, in the companie of two other Merchants which carried with them three hundred *Arabian* Horses to that King: because the Horses of that Countrie are of a small stature: and at the going out of *Goa* the Horses pay custome, two and forty Pagodies for euery Horse, which Pagody may be of sterling money fixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of gold of that value. So that the *Arabian* Horses are of great value in those Countries, as 300. 400. 500. and to 1000. Duckets a Horse.

A very good
sale for horses.

Bezeneger. *Idal-*
can. *Xamaluc-*
co. &c.

A most unkind
and wicked
treason against
their Prince:
this they haue
for giuing cre-
dite to stran-
gers, rather
then to their
owne native
people.

The Citie of *Bezeneger* was sacked in the yeere 1565. by foure Kings of the *Moors*, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure Kings were these following the first was called *Dialcan* *, the second *Zamaluc*, the third *Cotamaluc*, and the fourth *Viridy*: and yet these foure Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of *Bezeneger*, but by treason. This King of *Bezeneger* was a *Gentile*, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were *Moors*: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two Captaines being of one Religion with the foure Kings which were *Moors*, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of *Bezeneger* esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were ioyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefe of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King, and made such disorder in his Armie, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this Kingdome gouerned by three brethren which were Tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull King in prison, it was their vse euery yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three Captaines belonging to the father of the King they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they tooke the gouernment to themselves. The chiefe of these three was called *Ramaragio*, and sate in the Royall Throne, and was called the King: the second was called *Temiragio*, and he tooke the gouernment on him: the third was called *Benagatre*, and he was Captaine generall of the Armie. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefe of the last were neuer heard of quicke nor dead. Onely *Temiragio* fled in the battell, hauing lost one of his eyes. When the newes came to the Citie of the overthrow in the battell, the wiues and children of these three Tyrants, with their lawfull King (kept prisoner) fled away, spoyled as they were, and the foure Kings of the *Moors* entred the Citie *Bezeneger* with great triumph, and there they remained fixe moneths, searching vnder houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne Kingdomes, because they were not able to maintayne such a Kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie.

The sacking of
the Citie.

Policy to en-
trap men.

When the Kings were departed from *Bezeneger*, this *Temiragio* returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to *Goa* to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to *Bezeneger*. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would giue as much for them as they would: and beside he gaue generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither vnto him, he gaue the Merchants faire words, vntill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giuing them any thing for their Horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

I rested in *Bezeneger* seuen moneths, although in one moneth I might haue discharged all my businesse, for it was necessarie to rest there vntill the wayes were cleere of Theeues, which at that time ranged vp and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds

deeds done by the *Gentiles*. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies : and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe aliue, for the loue of her husband, and with the body of her husband : so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a moneths leaue, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herselfe in, and that day being come, wherein she ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very early, either on Horsebacke or on an Elephant, or else is borne by eight men on a small stage : in one of these orders shee goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the Citie, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with Jewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the partie, and they goe with as great ioy as Brides doe in *Venice* to their Nuptials : she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth through the Citie as she passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spouse and husband. Shee is accompanied with her kindred and friends vntill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the Citie, and going along the Riuer side called *Nigondin*, which runneth vnder the walls of the Citie, vntill they come vnto a place where they vse to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or fife steps vp : the foresaid Caue is full of dryed wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall bee burned eateth with as great ioy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day : and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Caue where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaueth the feast, and taketh the neereft kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresaid Riuer, where she putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giueth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and couering herselfe with a cloth, because shee will not bee seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the Riuer, saying : *O wretches, wash away your sinnes*. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foureteene braces long : and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they goe both together vp to the pinnacle of the square Caue wherein the fire is made. When shee is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending vnto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they vse to set a Mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affraid of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it ouer her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the caue great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I haue seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning : and when there dyeth any Great man, his Wife with all his Slaues with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselues together with him. Also in this Kingdome I haue seene amongst the base sort of people this vse and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were vpright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, vntill such time as the Masons haue made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behind the woman and stranglet her : then when shee is dead, the workmen finish the wall ouer their heads, and so they lie buried both together.

In the yere of our Lord God 1567. for the ill successe that the people of *Bezeneger* had, in that their Citie was sacked by the foure Kings, the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes iourney vp in the land from *Bezeneger*, called *Penegonde*. Also sixe dayes iourney from *Bezeneger*, is the place where they get Diamants : I was not there, but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a *squadron*, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine size and bigger then that size are all for the King, it is many yeres agoe, since they got any there, for the troubles that haue beene in that Kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this *Temeragio* had put to death the lawfull King which hee had in Prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that Kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many Kings, and great diuision in that Kingdome, and the Citie of *Bezeneger* is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts. The circuit of this Citie is foure and twentie miles about, and within the walls

Wiues burned with their husbands described.

A description of the burning place.

Feasting and dancing when they should mourne.

Dissolute resolutione,

Mourning which they should reioyce.

Another fashion for poorer wiues to die with their husbands.

Penegonde.

Bezeneger 24 miles about.

D d d d d d d

are

are certaine Mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all sauing the three Palaces of the three tyrane Brethren, and the *Pagodes* which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Marble. I haue seene many Kings Courts, and yet haue I seene none in greatnesse like to this of *Bezeneger*, I say, for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports. First when you go into the place where the King did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the first Gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that kepeth watch & ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser Gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the *Gentiles* is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The Cittie is very safe from Theeues, for the *Portugall* Merchants sleepe in the streets, or vnder Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for *Goa* in the company of two other *Portugall* Merchants, which were making ready to depart, with two Palanchines or little Litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight *Falchines* which are men hired to carry the Palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we vse to carry Barrowes. And I bought me two Bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and prouision, for in that Countrey men ride on bullocks with pannels, as wee terme them, girths and bridles, and they haue a very good commodious pace. From *Bezeneger* to *Goa* in Summer it is eight daies journey, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the month of Iuly, and were fiftene daies comming to *Ancola* on the Sea coast, so in eight daies I had lost my two Bullocks: for he that carried my victuals was weake and could not goe, the other, when I came vnto a Riuer where was a little bridge to passe ouer, I put my Bullocke to swimming, and in the midst of the Riuer there was a little Island, vnto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there hee remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leaue him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to goe seuen daies a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with *Falchines* by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our iourney, for that euery day we were taken Prisoners, by reason of the great dissention in that Kingdome: and euery morning at our departure we must paye rescate foure or five *Pagies* a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when we came into a new *Gouernours* Countrey, as euery day we did, although they were all tributarie to the King of *Bezeneger*, yet euery one of them stamped a seuerall coyne of Copper, so that the money that wee tooke this day would not serue the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to *Ancola*, which is a Countrey of the Queen of *Garga*, tributarie to the King of *Bezeneger*. The Merchandize that went euery yeere from *Goa* to *Bezeneger* were Arabian Horses, Veluets, Damasques, and Sattens, Armes fine of *Portugall*, and pieces of *China*, Saffron and Seablacks: and from *Bezeneger* they had in *Turkie* for their commodities, Jewels, and *Pagodies* which be Ducats of gold: the apparell that they vse in *Bezeneger* is Veluet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called *Colas*, made of Veluet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girdling themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they haue breeches after the order of the *Turkes*: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them *Asperghs*, and at their eares they haue hanging great plentie of Gold.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in *Ancola*, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to *Goa*, whither they goe in foure daies, the other *Portugall* not being disposed to goe, carried in *Ancola* for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the *Indies* beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth vnto the end of October: and as we were in *Ancola*, there came another Merchant of Horses in a Palanchine, and two *Portugall* Souldiers which came from *Zeilan*, and two carriers of Letters, which were *Christians* borne in the *Indies*: all these consorted to goe to *Goa* together, and I determined to go with them, and caused a palanchine to be made for me very poorly of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid priuily all the Jewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight *Falchines* to carie me: and one day about eleuen of the clocke we set forwards on our iourney, and about two of the clocke in the afternoon, as we passed a Mountaine, which diuiderh the territorie of *Ancola* and *Dialcan*, I being a little behind my company, was assaulted by eight theeues, foure of them had swords and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the *Falchines* that carried me vnderstood the noise of the assault, they let the Palanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeues were on my necke and rifling me, they stripped me stark naked, and I sained my selfe sicke, because I would not leaue the Palanchine, and I had made me a little bed of my clothes: the theeues sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two Purfes that I had, well bound vp together, wherein I had put

beene burned
and with their
hands below
the

A description
of the burning
place

Feeling and
aching when
they should
mount

Men ride on
Bullockes, and
trauell with
them on the
way.

Difficultie
of the
iourney

The Merchant
dise that come
in and out to
Bezeneger euery
yeere.

The apparell
of those peo-
ple

Another
order of no
thing to
be done
with their
hands

Their Winter
is our Summer

The
policy of
the

The
policy of
the

put my Copper money which I had changed for foure Pagodies in *Ancola*. The theeuers thin-
king it had beene so many Ducats of gold, searched no further: then they threw all my elother
in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would haue it, at there departure there fell from them
an hankercher, and when I saw it, I rose from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it vp, and
wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then these my *Falchines* were of so good conditi-
on, that they returned to seeke me, whereas I thought I should not haue found so much good-
nesse in them: because they were payed their money aforehand, as is the vse, I had thought to
haue seene them no more. Before there comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein
my Jewels were hidden, out of my couch, and to haue made me a walking staffe to carry in my
hand to *Goa*, thinking that I should haue gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulness of my *Fal-*
chines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to *Goa*, in which time I
made hard fare, for the theeuers left me neither money, gold, nor silver, and that which I did eate
was giuen me of my men for Gods sake: and after at my comming to *Goa* I payed them for ene-
ry thing royally that I had of them. From *Goa* I departed for *Cochin*, which is a voyage of three
hundred miles, and betweene these two Cities are many holds of the *Portugals*, as *Onor*, *Man-*
galor, *Barzelor*, and *Cananor*. The Hold or Fort that you shall haue from *Goa* and *Cochin* that
belongeth to the *Portugals*, is called *Onor*, which is in the Kingdom of the Queen of *Bartadella*,
which is tributarie to the King of *Bezeneger*: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with
the Captaine and companie hee keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to ano-
ther small Castle of the *Portugals* called *Mangalor*, and there is very small trade but onely for a
little Rice: and from thence you goe to a little Fort called *Barzelor*, there they haue good store
of Rice which is carried to *Goa*: and from thence you shall goe to a Citie called *Cananor*, which
is a Harquebush shot distant from the chiefest Citie that the King of *Cananor* hath in his King-
dome being a King of the *Gentiles*: and hee and his are very naughtie and malicious people, al-
wayes hauing delight to bee in warres with the *Portugals*, and when they are in peace, it is for
their interest to let their Merchandise passe: there goeth out of this Kingdom of *Cananor*, all the
Cardamomum, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie
of *Archa*, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmeg, which fruit they eate in all those parts of
the *Indies*, and beyond the *Indies*, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call *Bettell*, the which is
like vnto our Iule leafe, but a little lesser and thinner: they eate it made in plaisters with the lime
made of Oistershells, and thow the *Indies* they spend great quantitie of money in this compo-
sition, and it is vsed daily, which thing I would not haue beleued, if I had not seene it. The cu-
stomers get great profit by these Herbes, for that they haue custome for them. When this peo-
ple eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to be red like vnto blood, and
they say, that it maketh a man to haue a very good stomacke and a very sweet breath, but sure
in my iudgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthy lusts, and of a knauerie, for this Herbe
is moist and hore, and maketh a verie strong expulsion. From *Cananor* you goe to *Cranganor*,
which is another small Fort of the *Portugals* in the land of the King of *Cranganor*, which is ano-
ther King of the *Gentiles*, and a Countrey of small importance, and of an hundred and twentie
miles, full of Theeuers, being vnder the King of *Calicut*, a King also of the *Gentiles*, and a great e-
nemie to the *Portugals*, which when he is alwaies in warres, he and his Countrey is the nest and
resting for stranger Theeuers, and those be called *Moors* of *Carpasa*, because they weare on their
heads long red Hats, and these Theeuers part the spoiles that they take on the Sea with the King
of *Calicut*, for he giueth leaue vnto all that will goe a roving, liberally to goe, in such wise, that
all along that Coast there is such a number of Theeuers, that there is no sailing in those Seas but
with great ships and very well armed, or else they must goe in companie with the armie of the
Portugals. From *Cranganor* to *Cochin* is fiftene miles.

Cochin is next vnto *Goa*, the chiefest place that the *Portugals* haue in the *Indies*, and there
is great trade of Spices, Drugges, and all other sorts of Merchandize for the King-
dome of *Portugall*, and there within the land is the Kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the
Portugals lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in Sackes: the Pepper that goeth for *Portu-*
gall is not so good as that which goeth for *Mecca*, because that in times past the Officers of the
King of *Portugall* made a contract with the King of *Cochin*, in the name of the King of *Portu-*
gall, for the prices of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement between them at that time made,
the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a verie low and base price, and for this cause the vil-
laines bring it to the *Portugals*, greene and full of filth. *Cochin* is two Cities, one of the *Portu-*
gals, and another of the King of *Cochin*: that of the *Portugals* is situate neere the Sea, and that of the King of *Cochin*, is a mile and a halfe vp higher in the land, but they are
both set on the bankes of one River which is verie great and of a good depth of water, which
River cometh out of the Mountaines of the King of the Pepper, which is a King of the *Gen-*
tiles, in whose Kingdome are many *Christians* of Saint Thomas order: the King of *Cochin* is also
a King of the *Gentiles*, and a great faithfull friend to the King of *Portugall*, and to those *Portugals*
which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie of *Cochin* of the *Portugals*. And by this name

Foure small
Forts of the
Portugals.

Bettell is a very
profitable
Herbe in that
Countrey.

Enemies to
the King of
Portugall.

Within *Cochin*
is the Kingdom
of Pepper.
The Pepper
that the *Portu-*
gals bring, is
not so good as
that which goe
eth for *Mecca*.
The *Moors* buy
the best by
stealth.

Great Priu-
ledges that the
Citizens of
Cochin haue.

of Portugals throughout all the *Indies*, they call all the *Christians* that come out of the West, whether they bee *Italians*, *Frenchmen*, or *Almaines*, and all they that marrie in *Cochin* doe get an Office according to the Trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuiledges which the Citizens haue of that Citie, because there are two principall commodities that they deale withall in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from *China*, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from *Bengala*: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay foure per cento custome to the King of *Cochin*, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and Strangers, pay in *Cochin* to the King of Portugall eight per cento of all manner of Merchandise.

Amochi and
Nairi.

This King of *Cochin* is of a small power in respect of the other Kings of the *Indies*, for he can make but seuentie thousand men of Armes in his Campe: he hath a great number of Gentlemen which he calleth *Amochi*, and some are called *Nairi*: these two sorts of men esteeme not their liues any thing, so that it may bee for the honour of their King, they will thrust themselves forward in euery danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle vpwards, with a cloth rolled about their thighs, going bare-footed, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the top of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their Swords naked, these *Nairi* haue their wiues common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaueh his Sword and Target at the doore, and the time that he is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The Kings children shall not inherite the Kingdome after their Father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the King their Father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their King, one of the sonnes of the Kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood Royall, for that they bee sure they are of the blood Royall.

Huge huge
Eares.

The *Nairi* and their Wiues vse for a brauerie to make great holes in their Eares, and so big and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more Noble they esteeme themselves. I had leaue of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be little, for then they open the eare, and hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, and within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they haue for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great.

Note the de-
parting of the
ships from
Cochin.
Coulam.

The ships every yeere depart from *Cochin* to goe for Portugall, on the fifth day of December, or the fifth day of January. Now to follow my voyage for the *Indies*: From *Cochin* I went to *Coulam*, distant from *Cochin* seuentie and two miles, which *Coulam* is a small Fort of the King of Portugals, situate in the Kingdome of *Coulam*, which is a King of the *Gentiles*, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to *Cochin* to take in the rest, and from thence to *Cape Comori* is seuentie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the *Indies*: and alongst this Coast, neere to the water side, and also to *Cape Comori*, downe to the low land of *Chilao*, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the *Christian* Faith: there are also Churches of the Friers of *Saint Pauls* order, which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in conuerting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

Christians.

The order how
they fish for
Pearles.

The Sea that lyeth betweene the Coast which descendeth from *Cape Comori*, to the low land of *Chilao*, and the Iland *Zeilan*, they call *The fishing of Pearles*, which fishing they make euery yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fish euery yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same Sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Diuers, that goe to discouer where the greatest heapes of Oysters bee vnder water, and right against that place where greatest store of Oysters be, there they make or plant a Village with houses and a *Bazaro*, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and now and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fish. The Fishermen are all *Christians* of the Countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the King of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of *Saint Paul*, which are in that Coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fusts armed to defend the Fishermen from Routers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the order that they vsed in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barks that make consort together, which are like to our little Pilot boates, an a little lesse, there goe seuen or eight men in a Boar: and I haue seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eightene fathom of water, which is the ordinarie depth of all that Coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the end of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is ready a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annointed with Oyle, and a basket about

Iesuites are cal-
led F. of Saint
Paul in the In-
dies, by reason
of their Col-
ledge of that
name in Goa.

about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can he filleth the basket, and when it is full, hee shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him vp with the Basket: and in such wise they goe one by one vntill they haue laden their Barke with Oysters, and at euening they come to the Village, and then euery companie maketh their mount or heape of Oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long row of mounts or heapes of Oysters, and they are not touched vntill such time as the fishing be ended, and at the end of the fishing euery companie sitteth round about their mount or heape of Oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easily doe because they be dead, drie and brittle: and if euery oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a bad: there are certaine expert in the Pearles, whom they call *Chitini*, which set and make the price of Pearles according to their caracts, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sorts of them. The first sort be the round Pearles, and they be called *Aia of Portugall*, because the *Portugals* doe buy them. The second sort which are not round, are called *Aia of Bengala*. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call *Aia of Canara*, that is to say, The Kingdome of *Bezenegar*. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called *Aia of Cambaia*. Thus the price being set, there are Merchants of euery Countrey which are readie with their money in their hands, so that in few dayes all is bought vp at the prises set according to the goodnesse and caracts of the Pearles.

These Pearles are prised according to the Caracts which they weigh, euery caract is 4. Graines, and these men that prise them haue an Instrument of Copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to sort the Pearles withall.

Manar.

In the Island of Manar, they haue a small hold of the Portugals being situate ouer against Zeilan: and betweene these two Islands there is a Channell, but not very bigge, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great Ship passe that way, but small Ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change, or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must vnlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the Channell, and after lade them into their ships to goe for the *Indies*, and this doe all small ships that passe that way, but those ships that goe for the *Indies* Eastwards, passe by the Coast of *Coromandel*, on the other side by the land of *Chilao*, which is betweene the firme land and the Island *Manar*: From *Cape Comori* to the Island *Zeilan* is one hundred and twentie miles ouerthwart.

Zeilan.

In the Island of Zeilan, they haue a small hold of the Portugals being situate ouer against Zeilan: and betweene these two Islands there is a Channell, but not very bigge, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great Ship passe that way, but small Ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change, or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must vnlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the Channell, and after lade them into their ships to goe for the *Indies*, and this doe all small ships that passe that way, but those ships that goe for the *Indies* Eastwards, passe by the Coast of *Coromandel*, on the other side by the land of *Chilao*, which is betweene the firme land and the Island *Manar*: From *Cape Comori* to the Island *Zeilan* is one hundred and twentie miles ouerthwart.

Zeilan is an Island, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then *Cyprus*: on that side towards the *Indies* lying Westward is the Citie called *Columbo*, which is a hold of the *Portugals*, but without walls or enemies. It hath towards the Sea a free Port, the lawfull King of that Island is in *Columbo*, and is turned *Christian* and maintained by the King of *Portugall*, being deprived of his Kingdome. The King of the *Gentiles*, to whom this Kingdome did belong, was called *Madoni*, which had two sonnes, the first named *Barbinas* the Prince; and the second *Ragine*. This King by the policie of his younger Sonne, was deprived of his Kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the Armie and Souldiers, in despite of his Father and Brother being Prince, vsurped the Kingdome, and became a great Warriour. First, this Island had three Kings; the King of *Cotta* with his conquered Prisoners: the King of *Candia*, which is a part of that Island, and is so called by the name of *Candia*, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the *Portugals*, which said that hee liued secretly a *Christian*; the third was the King of *Gianisampatan*. In thirteene yeeres that this *Ragine* gouerned this Island, he became a great Tyrant.

Cairo is a stuffe that they make Ropes with, the which is the barke of a Tree.

A rate thing.

The cutting and gathering of Sinamom.

A rate thing.

In this Island there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuts and *A-rochoe*: there they make great store of *Cairo* to make Cordage: it bringeth forth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or *Ochi de Gati*, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I haue sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from *Pegu*. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the *Portugals* were in Armes, and in the field, with the King of the Countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with me and went into a Wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamom trees growing together among other wild trees; and this Sinamom tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaues like to our Bay-tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth vp to the top of the Tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke off the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from ioynt to ioynt, aboue and below, and then easily with their hands they take it away, laying it in in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the Tree dyeth not, but against the next yeere it will haue a new barke, and that which is gathered euery yeere is the best Sinamom: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

Negapatan.

From the Iland of *Zeilan* men vse to goe with small ships to *Negapatan*, within the firme land, and seuentie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of *Portugals* and *Christians* of the Countrey, and part *Gentiles*: it is a Countrey of small trade.

Saint Thomas
or San Tome.
S. Thomas his
Sepulcher.

From *Negapatan* following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the House of blessed Saint *Thomas*, which is a Church of great deuotion, and greatly regarded of the *Gentiles*, for the great Miracles they haue heard to haue beene done by that blessed Apostle: neere vnto this Church the *Portugals* haue builded them a Citie in the Countrey subiect to the King of *Bizeneger*, which Citie although it bee not very great, yet in my iudgement it is the fairest in all that part of the *Indies*. It is a maruellous thing to them which haue not seene the lading and vnlading of men and merchandize in *Saint Tome* as they doe: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee serued with small Barks, neither can they doe their businesse with the Boates of the ships, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine Barks (of purpose) high, which they call *Masadies*, they be made of little boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the Boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haft all that they are able to row out against the huge waues of the Sea that are on that shore, vntill that they carrie them to the ships: and in like manner they lade these *Masadies* at the ships with merchandize and men. When they come neere the shore, the Bark-men leape out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that shee cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading drie on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are overthrowen, but there can bee no great losse, because they lade but a little at a time. All the Merchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can haue no great harme.

Dangerous
surge and
shores.

In the Iland of
Banda they
lade Nutmegs,
for there they
grow.

In the Ilands
of *Andemaon*,
they eate one
another.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord 1566. I went from *Goa* vnto *Malacca*, in a ship or Gallion of the King of *Portugall*, which went vnto *Banda* for to lade Nutmegs and *Maces*: from *Goa* to *Malacca* are one thousand eight hundred miles, wee passed without the Iland *Zeilan*, and went through the Channell of *Nicubar*, or else through the channell of *Sombrero*, which is by the middle of the Iland of *Sumatra*, called in old time *Taprobana*: and from *Nicubar* to *Pegu*, is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wild people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of *Andemaon*, and they call their people *Sauage* or wilde, because they eate one another: also these Ilands haue warre one with another, for they haue small Barks, and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by euill chance any Ship bee lost on those Ilands, as many haue beene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth vneaten or vnslaine. These people haue not any acquaintance with any other people, neither haue they trade with any, but liue onely of such Fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any Ship come neere vnto that place or Coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it hapned as I came from *Malacca* through the channell of *Sombrero*, there came two of their Barks neere vnto our Ship laden with Fruit, as with *Monces* which we call *Adams Apples*, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruit called *Inani*, which fruit is like to our Turneps, but is very sweet and good to eate: they would not come into the ship for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their Fruit: but they would trucke for olde Shirts or pieces of old Linnen breeches: These ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke vnto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee worth, so much fruit they would make fast to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall haue for an old Shirt a good piece of Amber.

Sion or Siam.

A Prince of a
maruellous
strength and
power.

Sion was the Imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God 1567. it was straken by the King of *Pegu*, which King made a voyage or came by land foure moneths journey with an Armie of men through his land, and the number of his Armie was a million and foure hundred thousand men of Warre: when he came to the Citie, hee gaue assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie moneths before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in *Pegu* sixe moneths after his departure, and saw when that his Officers that were in *Pegu*, sent five hundred thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene Treason against the Citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the Gates set open, through the which with great trouble the King gate into the Citie, and became Gouvernour of *Sion*: and when the Emperour saw that hee was betrayed, and that his Enemie was in the Citie, he poisoned himselfe: and his Wiues and Children, Friends and Noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the Citie, were all carried Captiues into *Pegu*, where I was at the comming home of the King with his tryumphs and victorie, which comming home and returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square,

square, laden with Gold, Siluer, Jewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken Prisoners in that Citie.

Now to returne to my Voyage: I departed from *Malacca* in a great Ship which went for *Saint Tome*, being a Citie situate on the Coast of *Coromandell*: and because the Captaine of the Castles of *Malacca* had vnderstanding by aduise that the King of *Affa* would come with a great Armie and power of men against them, therefore vpon this hee would not giue licence that any Ships should depart: Wherefore in this Ship we departed from thence in the night, without making any prouision of our water: and we were in that Ship foure hundredth and odde men: wee departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the winds were so contrarie that they would not suffer vs to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the Sea as it were lost, and we were driuen too and fro, so that that the first Land that wee Discouered, was beyond *Saint Tome*, more then fve hundred miles which were the Mountaines of *Zerzerline*, neere vnto the Kingdome of *Orisa*, and so we came to *Orisa* with many Sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were Sicke in foure dayes died: and I for the space of a yeere after had my Throate so sore and hoarse, that I could neuer satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I iudge the reason of my hoarsenesse to be with Sops that I wet in Vineger and Oyle, wherewith I susteined my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of Bread nor of Wine: but the Wines of that Countrie are so hot that being drunke without Water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we began to want water, I saw certaine *Moores* that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a Duckat, after this I saw one that would haue giuen a barre of Pepper, which is two quintals and a halfe, for a little measure of water, and he could not haue it. Truly I belecue that I had died with my slaue, whom then I had to serue mee, which cost me very deare: but to prouide for the danger at hand, I solde my Slaue for halfe that he was worth, because that I would saue his drinke that he drunke, to serue my owne purpose, and to saue my life.

Orisa was a faire Kingdome and trusty, through the which a man might haue gone with gold in his hand without any danger at all, as long as the lawfull King reigned which was a Gentle, who continued in the Citie called *Catecha*, which was within the Land sixe dayes iourney. This King loued strangers marueilous well, especially merchants which had trafficke in and out of his Kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no Custome of them, neither any other grieuous thing. Onely the Ship that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and euery yeere in the Port of *Orisa* were laden fve and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with Rice and diuers sorts of fine white bumbast cloth, oyle of *Zerzerline* which they make of a seede, and it is very good to eate and to frye fish withall, great store of Butter, Lacca, long Pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans drie and condite, great store of cloth of Herbes, which is a kind of lilke which groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growne round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this King with his Kingdome were destroyed by the King of *Patane*, which was also King of the greatest part of *Bengala*, and when he had got the Kingdome, he set custome there twentie *pro cento*, as Merchants payde in his Kingdome: but this Tyrant enioyed his Kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another Tyrant, which was the great *Mogol* King of *Agra*, *Delly*, and of all *Cambaia*, without any resistance. I departed from *Orisa* to *Bengala*, to the harbour *Piqueno*, which is distant from *Orisa* towards the East an hundred and seuentie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the riuer *Ganges*: from the mouth of this Riuer, to a City called *Satagan*, where the Merchants gather themselves together with their trade, are an hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increase of the water: in which riuer it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thames, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barks be light and armed with Oares, like to Foisttes, yet the cannot preuaile against that Streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the Riuer vntill the next flowing water, and they call these Barks *Bazarus* and *Patuas*: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as euer I haue seene any. A good Tides rowing before you come to *Satagan*, you shall haue a place which is called *Buttor*, and from thence vpwards the Sips doe not goe, because that vpwards the Riuer is very Shallow, and little water. Euery yeere at *Buttor* they make and vnmake a Village, with Houses and Shops made of Straw, and with all things necessarie to their vses, and this Village standeth as long as the Ships ride there, and till they depart for the *Indies*, and when they depart, euerie man goeth to his plot of Houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to maruaile. For as I passed vp to *Satagan*, I saw this Village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of Ships and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last Ship, for whom I tarried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, and nothing left but the signe of the burnt Houses. The small Ships goe to *Satagan*, and there they lade.

* Or Achem.

Want of water

The mount-
taines of *Zer-*
zerline.

Hot Wines.
Deere water.

Of the King-
dome of *Orisa*,
and the Riuer
Ganges.

The commo-
dities that go
out of *Orisa*.
This cloth wee
call Nettle
cloth.

Strong Tides.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 5. cap. 35.
Chili.

A relation
scarcely pro-
bable.

This might be
the Temple in
the Lake of
Titicaca.

Cieza cap. 103.

Earth of
diuers colours
good to dye
withall.
Strange root

An hearbe na-
med Coca
which satisfi-
eth hunger
and thirst.

Fowle of Peru

Xacos a kind of
great sheepe
that men ride
vpon.

Salt rockes co-
uered with eggs
Strangewaters

Ramusius 3. vol
fol. 363.

In the yeere 1538. and 1539. after that *Diego de Almagro* was beheaded, the Marquesse *Francis Pizarro* was not idle. For he sent straight one *Peter de Baldinia* with a good companie of men to discouer and conquer the countrey of *Chili*. He was well receiued of those of the coun-
trei, but afterwards they rose against him and would haue killed him by treason. Yet for all
the waire that hee had with them, he discovered much Land, and the coast of the Sea toward
the South-east, till he came into 40. degrees and more in Latitude. While he was in these dis-
coueries he heard newes of a King called *Leucengolina*, which commonly brought to the field
two hundred thousand fighting men against another King his neighbour, and that this *Leucen-
golina* had an Island, and a Temple therein with two thousand Priests: and that beyond them
were the *Amazones*, whose Queene was called *Guanomilla*, that is to say, *The golden beauen*. But
as yet there are none of these things discovered. About this time *Gomez de Alvarado* went to
conquer the Prouince of *Guanuco*: and *Francis de Chaner* went to subdue the *Conchincos*, which
troubled the towne of *Truxillo*, and the countreys adioyning. *Peter de Vergara* went to the *Bra-
camores*, a people dwelling toward the North from *Quito*. *Iohn Perez de Vergera* went against
the *Ciaciapians*: *Alfonso de Mercadiglio* went vnto *Mulubamba*. *Ferdinando* and *Gonzaluo Pi-
sarros* went to subdue *Collao*, a countrey very rich in golde. *Peter de Candia* went to the lower
part of *Collao*. *Peranzures* also went to conquer the said countrey. And thus the *Spaniards* dis-
persed themselues, and conquered aboue seuen hundred leagues of countrey in a very short
space, though not without great trauailes and losse of men.

The countreyes of *Brasil* and *Peru* stand East and West almost eight hundred leagues di-
stant. The neereft is from the Cape of *Saint Augustine* vnto the hauen of *Truxillo*: for they stand
both almost in one parallell and Latitude.

In some places of the *Andes* and Countries the earth is of diuers colours, as blacke, white,
red, Greene, blew, yellow, and violet, wherewith they die colours without any other mixture.
There grow on these mountaines many turneps, rapes, and other such like rootes and herbes.
One there is like vnto *Aipo* or *Rue* which beareth a yellow flower, and healeth all kinde of rot-
ten sores, and if you apply it vnto whole and cleane flesh it will cate it vnto the bone: so that
it is good for the vnfound and naught for the whole.

Those which liue on the tops of these mountaines of *Andes* betweene the cold and the heat
for the most part be blinde of one eye, and some altogether blinde, and scarce you shall finde
two men of them together, but one of them is halfe blinde. Also there groweth in these fieldes,
notwithstanding the great heate of the sand good Maiz, and Potatoes, and an herbe which they
name *Coca*, which they carrie continually in their mouthes (as in the East *India* they vse ano-
ther herbe named *Betele*) which also (they say) satisfieth both hunger and thirst. Also they sow
much cotton wooll, which of nature is white, red, blacke, Greene, yellow, orange tawnie, and
of diuers other colours.

Likewise they affirme, that from *Tumbez* Sou hward it doth neither raine, thunder, nor
lighten, for the space of fife hundred leagues of land: but at some times there falleth some little
shower. Also it is reported, that from *Tumbez* to *Chili* there breede no Peacocks, Hens, Cocks
nor Eagles, Falcons, Haukes, Kites, nor any other kinde of rauening Fowles, and yet there are
of thm in all other regions and countreyes: but there are many Ducks, Geese, Herons, Pigeons
Partridges, Quails, and many other kinds of birdes. There are also a certaine kinde of foule,
like vnto a duck which hath no wings to flie withall, but it hath fine thinne feathers which co-
uer all the bodie. Likewise there are Bitters that make warre with the scale or Sea-wolfe: for
finding them out of the water they will labour to picke out their eyes, that they may not see to
get to the water againe, and then they doe kill them. They say it is a pleasant sight to behold
the fight betweene the said Bitters and Seales. With the beards of these Seales men make clean
their teeth, because they bee whole some for the tooth-ache. There are certaine beafts which
those of the countrey call *Xacos*, and the *Spaniards* sheepe, because they beare wooll like vnto a
sheepe, but are made much like vnto a Deere, hauing a saddle backe like vnto a Camell. They
will carrie the burthen of an hundred weight. The *Spaniards* ride vpon them, and when they
be wearie they will turne their heads backward, and voide out of their mouthes a wonderfull
stinking water.

From the Riuer of *Plata* and *Lima* Southward there breede no Crocodiles nor Lizards, nor
Snakes, nor any kinde of venemous vermine, but great store of good fishes breede in those Ri-
uers. On the coast of *Saint Michael* in the South Sea there are many rockes of salt couered with
egges. On the point of *Saint Helena* are certaine Well springs which cast forth a liquor, that
serueth in stead of pitch and tarre. They say that in *Chili* there is a fountaine, the water where-
of will conuert wood into stone. In the hauen of *Truxillo* there is a Lake of fresh water, and the
bottome thereof is of good hard salt. In the *Andes* beyond *Xauxa* there is a riuer of fresh wa-
ter, in the bottome whereof there lieth white salt.

In the yeere 1540. the Captaine *Ferdinando Alorchon* went by the commandement of the
Vice-roy Don *Antonio de Mendoza* with two ships to discouer the bottome of the gulf of *Ca-
lifornia*, and diuers other countries.

In this yeere 1540. *Gonsalvo Pizarro* went out of the Citie of *Quito*, to Discover the Countrie of *Canell* or *Cinamome*, a thing of great fame in that Countrie. Hee had with him two hundred *Spaniards*, Horse-men and Foote-men, and three hundred *Indians* to carie burthens. Hee went forward till he came to *Guixos*, which is the farthest place gouerned by the *Incas*: where there hapned a great Earthquake with Raine and Lightning, which sunke seuentie Houses. They passed ouer cold and Snowie hils, where they found many *Indians* Frozen to death, maruelling much of the great Snow that they found vnder the Equinoctiall line. From hence they went to a Prouince called *Cumaco*, where they taried two Moneths, because it Rained continually. And beyond they saw the *Cinamome*-trees, which be very great, the Leaues thereof resembling Bay-leaues, both Leaues, Branches, Rootes, and all tastig of *Cinamome*. The Rootes haue the whole taste of *Cinamome*. But the best are certaine knops like vnto *Alcornogues* or *Acornes*, which are good merchandise. It appeareth to be wild *Cinamome*, and there is much of it in the *East Indies*, and in the Ilands of *Iaoa* or *Ianai*. From hence they went to the Prouince and Citie of *Coca*, where they rested fiftie dayes. From the place forwards they trauelled along by a Riuer side being sixtie Leagues long, without finding of any Bridge, nor yet any Foorde to passe ouer to the other side. They found one place of this Riuer, where it had a fall of two hundred fathoms deepe, where the Water made such a noyse, that it would make a man almost deafe to stand by it. And not farre beneath this fall, they say they found a Channell of stone verie smooth, of two hundred foote broad, and the Riuer runneth by: and there they made a Bridge to passe ouer on the other side, where they went to a Countrie called *Guema*, which was so poore, that they could get nothing to eate, but onely Fruites and Herbes. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certaine Clothing made of Cotton-wooll, where they made a Brigandine, and there they found also certaine Canoas, wherein they put their Sicke men, and their Treasure and best Apparell, giuing the charge of them to one *Francis de Orellana*: and *Gonsalvo Pizarro* went by Land with the rest of the Companie along by the Riuer side, and at night went into the Boates, and they trauelled in this order two hundred Leagues as it appeareth. When *Pizarro* came to the place where he thought to finde the Brigandine and Canoas, and could haue no sight of them nor yet heare of them, he thought himselfe out of all hope, because hee was in a strange Countrie without Viſuals, Clothing, or any thing else: wherefore they were faine to care their Horses, yea and Dogs also, because the Countrie was poore and barren, and the Iourney long to goe to *Quito*. Yet notwithstanding, taking a good heart to themselues they went on forward in their Iourney, traueilling continually eightene Moneths; and it is reported, that they went almost fye hundred Leagues, wherein they did neither see Sunne, nor any thing else, whereby they might be comforted, wherefore of two hundred men which went forth at the first, there returned not backe past ten vnto *Quito*, and these so weake, ragged and disfigured, that they knew them not. *Orellana* went fye hundred or sixe hundred Leagues downe the Riuer, seeing diuers Countries and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to bee *Amazonas*. He came into *Castile*, excusing himselfe, that the water and streames draue him downe perforce. This Riuer is named the Riuer of *Orellana*, and other name it the Riuer of the *Amazones*, because there be Women there which liue like vnto them.

In the yeere 1540. *Cortes* went with his Wife into *Spaine*, where hee died of a Disease seuen yeeres after.

In the yeere 1541, it is recorded that *Don Stephan de Gama* Gouvernour of *India*, Sayled toward the Streitt of *Mecca*.

In the same yeere 1541. *Don Diego de Almagro* killed the Marques *Francis Pizarro*, and his brother *Francis Martinez* of *Alcantara* in the Citie de *los Reyes*, otherwise called *Lima*, and made himselfe Gouvernour of that Countrie.

In the yeere 1540. the Vice-roy *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, sent one *Francis Vasquez de Coronado* by Land vnto the Prouince of *Sibola*, with an Armie of *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

In the yeere of our Lord 1542. one *Diego de Freitas*, being in the Realme of *Siam*, and in the Citie of *Deana* as Captaine of a Ship, there fled from him three *Portugals* in a *Iunco* (which is a kind of Ship) towards *China*. Their names were *Antonio de Mota*, *Francis Zeimoro*, and *Anthony Pexato*, directing their courle to the Citie of *Liampo*, standing in thirtie and odde Degrees of Latitude. There fell vpon their Sterne such a storme, that it set them off the Land, and in fewe dayes they saw an Iland towards the East standing in thirtie two Degrees, which they doe name *Iapan*, which seemeth to be the Ile of *Zipangri*, whereof *Paulus Vencius* maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this Iland of *Iapan* hath Gold, Siluer, and other riches.

In this yeere 1542. *Don Antonio de Mendoza* Vice-roy of *Nueva Spagna*, sent his Captaines and Pilots to Discover the Coast of *Cape del Engaño*, where a Fleete of *Cortes* had heene before. They Sailed till they came to a place called *Sierras Nevadas*, or The Snowie mount aines, standing in fortie Degrees toward the North, where they saw Ships and Merchandises, which carried on their Stems the Images of certaine Birds called *Alcatarzi*, and had the Yards of their Sailes gilded, and their Prowes laide ouer with siluer. They seemed to be of the Iles of *Iapan*, or of *China*; for they said that it was not about thirtie dayes sayling into their Countrie.

CCCCCCC 2

In

Gomar.hist.gen.
lib.5.cap.36.
Earthquake.
Cold hills vnder the Line.
Cumaco Raines
Cinamon trees.

Wild Cinnamon in the Ilands of Iana.
Coca.
El pongo, a mighty fall of a Riuer.
The Incas vsed to make such Chanels.
Guema.

To sell of T
revelat
coush

Pizarres hard journey.

See Orellanas voyage.to.2.
lib.7.c.11.
Rio de Orellana

Cortes his death.
See this voyage sup.1.7.c.6.

See tom.2.l.8.
cap.3.5.2.
Gomar.hist.gen.
lib.6.cap.7.
Sibola.

Iapan discovered by chance.

Gomar.hist.gen.
lib.6.cap.18.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 4 cap. 13.
Ramusias 1. vol.
fol. 375. pag. 2.

Saint Thomas.
La Nublada.
Roca Partida.
Banos.
Los Reyes.

The Iles of
Matelotes.
Mindanao.

Sarangam.

The relation
of Iohn Gaietan
in the first vol.
of Ramusius fol.
The Philippi.
nas. II. 10. 11.
Matubrigos.
Las dos Her-
manas.

Los Volcanes.
La Farsana.

Sixe or seuen
Ilands more.
An *Archipela-*
gus of Ilands.

Pilots for
China.

In the same yeere 1542. *Don Anthonie de Mendoça*, sent vnto the Ilands of *Mindanao* a Fleete of sixe Ships with foure hundred Souldiers, and as many Indians of the Countrey, the Generall whereof was one *Rui Lopez de villa Lobos*, being his Brother in law and a man in great estimation. They set Sayle from the Hauen of *Natiuidad* standing in twentie Degrees towards the North, vpon *All Saints Ecue*, and shaped their course towards the West. They had sight of the Iland of *Saint Thomas*, which *Hernando de Grijalua* had Discouered, and beyond in seuentene Degrees they had sight of another Iland which they named *La Nublada*, that is, *The Clondie Iland*. From thence they went to another Iland named *Roca partida*, that is; *The Clouen Rocke*. The third of December they found certaine *Baxos* or Flats of sixe or seuen Fathoms deepe. The fifteene of the same Moneth they had sight of the Ilands, which *Diego de Roca*, and *Gomez de Sequeira*, and *Aluaro de Saanedra* had Discouered, and named them *Los Reyes*, because they came vnto them on *Twelue-day*. And beyond them they found other Ilands in ten Degrees all standing round, and in the midst of thew they came to an Anker, where they tooke fresh water and wood.

In the yeere 1543. in Ianuarie they departed from the foresaid Ilands with all the Fleete, and had sight of certaine Ilands, out of which there came vnto them men in a certaine kind of Boates, and they brought in their hands Crosses, and salured the Spaniards in the Spanish tongue, saying, *Buenas dias, Matelotes*, that is to say, *Good morrow companions*; whereat the Spaniards much mar-ueiled, being then so farre out of *Spaine*, to see the men of that Countrie with Crosses, and to bee saluted by them in the Spanish tongue, and they seemed in their behauiour to encline somewhat to our Catholicke Faith. The Spaniards not knowing, that many thereabout had bene Christened by *Francis de Castro*, at the commandement of *Antonie Galuano*, some of them named these Ilands, *Islas de las Cruzes*, and others named them *Islas de los Matelotes*. In the same yeere 1543. the first of Februarie *Rui Lopez*, had sight of that noble Iland *Mindanao* standing in nine Degrees: they could not double it nor yet come to an Ancre as they would, because the Christened Kings and people resisted them, hauing giuen their obedience to *Antonie Galuano*, whom they had in great estimation, and there were hie or sixe Kings that had receiued Baptisme, who by no meanes would incurre his displeasure. *Rui Lopez* perceiuing this, and hauing a contrarie wind, Sayled along the Coast to find some ayde: and in foure or fise Degrees, hee found a small Iland which they of the Countrie call *Sarangani*, which they tooke perforce, and in memorie of the Vice-roy who had sent them thither, they named it *Antonia*, where they remained a whole yeere.

Vice-roy who had sent them thither, they named it *Antonia*, where they found
In the same yeere 1543. and in the moneth of August, the Generall *Rui Lopez* sent one *Bartho-
lomeu de la torre* in a small Ship into new *Spaine*, to acquaint the Vice-roy *Don Antonio de Men-
doça* with all things. They went to the Ilands of *Siria*, *Gaonara*, *Bilaia*, and many others, stan-
ding in eleuen and twelue Degrees towards the North, where *Magellan* had beene, and *Francis-
de Castro* also, who there Baptized many, and the Spaniards called them the *Philippinas* in memo-
rie of the Prince of *Spaine*. Here they tooke victuals and wood, and hoysed Sayles, they Sayled
for certaine dayes with afore-wind, till it came vpon the skanting, and came right vnder the Tro-
picke of *Cancer*. The twentie five of September they had sight of certaine Ilands, which they na-
med *Malabrigos*, that is to say, *The euill Roades*. Beyond them they Discouered *Las des Herma-
nas*, That is, *The two Sisters*. And beyond them also they saw foure Ilands more, which they cal-
led *los Volcanes*. The second of October they had sight of *Farfana*, beyond which there standeth
an high pointed Rocke, which casteth out Fire at five places. So Sayling in sixteene Degrees of
Northerly Latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth wanting Wind, they arrived a-
gaine at the Ilands of the *Philippinas*. They had sight of sixe or seuen Ilands more, but they An-
kered not at them. They found also an Archipelagus of Ilands, well Inhabited with people, ly-
ing in fiftene or sixteene Degrees: the people be White, and the Women well proportioned,
and more beautifull and better Arraied then in any other place of those parts, hauing many Jew-
els of Gold, which was a token, that there was some of that Metall in the same Countrie. Heere
were also Barkes of fortie three Cubits in length, and two Fathoms and a halfe in breadth, and
the Plankes five Inches thicke, which Barkes were rowed with Oares. They told the Spaniards,
that they vsed to Saile in them to *China*, and that if they would goe thither they should haue Pi-
lots to conduct them, the Countrie not being aboue five or sixe dayes Sayling from thence. There
came vnto them also certaine Barkes or Boates handsomely decked, wherein the Master and prin-
cipall men sat on high, and vnderneath were very Black-moores with Frilled haire: and being
demanded where they had these Black-moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine
Ilands standing fast by *Sebut*, where there were many of them, a thing that the Spaniards much
maruailed at, because from thence it was aboue three hundred Leagues to the places where the
Blacke people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally borne in that Climate,
but that they be in certaine places scattered ouer the whole circuit of the World. For euen so
they be in the Ilands of *Nicobar* and *Andaman*, which stand in the Gulfe of *Bengala*, and from
thence by the space of five hundred Leagues, we doe not know of any Blacke people. Also *Vasco
Nunez de Vaiboa* declareth, that as he went to Discouer the South Sea, in a certaine Land named
Quareca, he found Blacke people with Frilled haire, whereas there were neuer any other found
either in *Noua Spagna*, or in *Castilia del Oro*, or in *Pern*.

CHAP. 2. New Guinea. Philippinas. Portugals compound. Iesuite Bishop. 1693

In the yeere 1544. Don Gutierre de Vargas Bishop of Placenza sent a Fleet from the Citie of Sinill vnto the Straits of Magellan : which is reported to haue beene done by the counsell of the Vice-roy Don Antonie de Mendoca his Cousin. Some suspected, that they went to Maluco, others to China, others, that they went onely to discover the Land betwixt the Strait and the Land of Peru on the other side of Chili, because it was reported to bee very rich in Gold and Siluer. But this Fleet by reason of contrary windes could not passe the Strait, yet one small Barke passed the same, and sayled along the coast, and discovered all the Land, till he came vnto Chirimai, and Arequipa.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 4. c. 14.
See toin. 2. l. 7.
c. 11.

10 In the yeere 1545. and in the moneth of January Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, and Giraldo with the Castilians came to the Iland of Moro, and the Citie of Camaso, where they were well receiued of the Kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the Countrie (because Antonie Gualuano was gone) and put the Captaine Don George de Castro to great trouble, as appeared by those things which passed betwene him and the Portugals, and the great expences whereunto he put the Fortresse.

The Ile of Moro.
Antonie Galua-
no gone out of
the Malucas.

20 In the same yeere 1545. Rui Lopez de villa Lobos sent from the Iland of Tidore another ship towards New Spaine by the South side of the Line, wherein was Captaine one Inigo Ortiz de Rotha, and for Pilot one Iaspar Rico. They sailed to the Coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same, and because they knew not that Saavedra had been there before, they chalenged the honour and fame of that Discoverie. And because the people there were blacke and had frilled haire, they named it Nuova Guinea. For the memory of Saavedra as then was almost lost, as all things else doe fall into obliuion, which are not recorded, and illustrated by writing.

Os Papuas.

Nuua Guinea
discouered be-
fore.

30 In this yeere 1545. and in the moneth of Iune, there went a Iunke from the Citie of Borneo, wherein went a Portugall called Peter Fidalgo, and by contrary winds he was driuen towards the North; where he found an Iland standing in 9. or 10. degrees, that stretched it selfe to 22. degrees of latitude, which is called The Ile of the Lucones, because the Inhabitants thereof were so named. It may haue some other name and harbours which, which as yet we know not, it runneth from the North vnto the Southwest, and standeth betwene Mindanab and China. They say they sayled along by it 250. leagues, where the Land was fruitfull and well couered, and they affirme, that there they will giue two Pezos of gold for one of siluer.

The Ile of Lu-
cones.

False reports,
though they
were true.

CHAP. II.

The summe of a Letter of NICOLAS TRIGAVIUS, a Iesuite, touching his Voyage to India, and of the State of Christianitie in China and Iapan. A Letter also of Capt. R. COCKE, and Relations of Master ROBERTS wracke on the Coast of China in the Unicorn.

40 **W**EE set sayle from Lisbon, the sixteenth of Aprill, 1618. being three ships: foure and thirty of the society were distributed into two ships: one of them called Saint Mauro carried twelue destined for Iapon, of which was the Reuerend Lord, L. James Valent Bishop of Iapon of our societie. Father Gabriel Matos was Superiour of the other ten. In the other ship two and twenty of vs were carried for China, ten Portugals, three Italians, foure Germans, and besides my selfe, foure Belgians. Wee sayled prosperously, sauing that all Ours were Sea-sicke till wee came to the Canaries. There I know not how the ships parted companie. Wee sayled to the Torrid Zone pleasantly appointing set and distinct houres for taking care of the sicke, for Sermons, the Masse (almost daily) Cases of Conscience, Mathematicall disciplines, exercise of the China Language, &c. About the Line we were infested with Feuers, all saue one, and five died; lastly, I and my brother Philip were sicke, and kept our beds fifty dayes, insomuch as I receiued Vnction likely 50 in few houres to die. Wee passed the Cape on Saint James his Day, and a few dayes after (hauing hitherto had no tempest) were three nights together horribly tossed. The Captaine of our ship also died, and scarcely could another succeed in peace.

Bish. of Iapon.
22. Iesuites for
China.
They passe the
Cape of Good
Goa.
The Portugals
giue the Eng-
lish 80000. Ri-
als of eight ra-
ther then they
will fight.
China procee-
dings or rece-
dings in Chris-
tianitie.

60 After five moneths and a halfe sayling, wee came to Goa. The Saint Mauro came thither a moneth after vs, one of our Societie (an Italian) being dead. The Admirall a fortnight after that, arriued with disgrace, for that hauing fallen in companie with sixe English ships, hee chose rather with eighty thousand pieces of money which they call Patacas, to redeeme the fight, then to fight it out with victorie or death. For which cause the Admirall and some other Officers are deprived and sent backe to the King in bonds to be punished, or to render accounts of their fact. A few dayes after, my brother falls sicke and dieth. The rest follow their studies at Goa, till affaires of China and Iapon bee more quieted. For howsoeuer I had left the China businesse quiet, and imagined still the same, yet they which aspire now to their helpe must propound crosses and martyrdom to themselves.

At Nankin Christianitie thrived well and in other our houses. Thence arose the beginning of euill. A chiefe Iudge in the third Tribunall named Xin, a great Idolater, fought to chase

Persecution
and martyr-
dome.

Jesuites dismis-
sed from Pe-
quin.

Idolatrous
rage.

Tares amongst
Wheat.

Iapon affaires.
Daifus death.

Two Comets.

Lib. 1.

L. 4. c. 16.
Fiden, or Finde
or Fideyori, &c.

Ozaca.
Surunga.
See sup. l. 4. c. 1.
Sbongasama.

Christianitie out of the Kingdome, and therefore opposed Ours by putting vp many Petitions fraught with calumnies, which he sent secretly to the King. But after often petitioning obtrayning no rescript, he employeth others & useth bribes, getting to his party the chief President of the Third Tribunal, to which Court belongs the knowledge of forren affaires, and of Religion. He also petitions the King, but with such effect, that the King makes no answer (which with the *Chinois* is a denyall) and at last he writes to the King, that according to his Office he will send them out of the Kingdome, such excepted as remained in the Royall Citie. This he did, but the Magistrates of those Cities where Ours resided dissembled the matter, except that *Nanquin* aduersarie, which apprehended two Priests and a Brother, their Pupils, Seruants, and some new Conuerts, but durst not send them away before the Kings answer. Meane while he exercised them all in diuers Courts about nine moneths space, and some were often whipped after their cruell manner; one or two died in prison by force of the torments. Many of the *Ethnikes* fauoured Ours; but the *Christian* Magistrates *Paulus*, *Michael*, *Leo* did maruellously bestirre themselues. Nor did any Conuert apostatise, but beyond the *China* pusillanimities were both constant and cheerfull in their sufferings.

At last our *Nanquin* aduersarie bribing the Eunuchs with ten thousand pieces of Gold extorted from the King that Ours should be sent backe to their owne, but not (which he sought) their death. Ours therefore honorably dismissed from *Pequin*, came to *Canton*. Those of *Nanquin* were sent away with shame, and two were carried in Cages to *Canton*. In other residences they were more gently vsed, and all continued in the Kingdome but two of *Pequin* and two of *Nanquin*. After this the *Pequin* Magistrate was depriued and sent home with dishonour: he of *Nanquin* also fell sicke, and lost his onely daughter, which the *Chinois* esteeme a great euill; for which cause in great rage he burned a certaine Idoll to which hee had commended that his daughter. Ours adorned a new seat or residence in *Xansi*. Father *Felicianus à Sylua* a *Portugall*, his carkasse hauing lien foure yeeres in the Coffin, kept at home after the *China* fashion, was opened and found entire with his garments. The skie suddenly ouercast was calmed on the shutting of the Coffin; a horrible thing to the *Chinois*, which are very scrupulous to open Graues. His body was buried in the fields, and is reported to worke miracles, and to be frequented of the New Conuerts. I am called by my Superiours with all speed, and there is hope that all things will bee amended.

Now for the *Iaponian* Church. *Daifu*, after that noble victorie which he obtained against *Fideiori* and *Zaca*, is dead; in the glorie whereof his sonne obtained the Empire without tumult. The Church had quiet a yeere and halfe; but by the indiscreet zeale of some Religious at *Nangasacke*, the sore brake out againe. Foure men, a *Dominican*, *Austinian*, *Franciscan*, and *Jesuite*, haue beene martyred, other two continued in prison. Twenty in all *Iapon* haue died for the Faith, others haue beene exiled and punished, the story whereof is not vnlike to those which I left in *Europe* comprehended in foure Bookes of *Iaponian* triumphs, which I hope ere this haue seene the light. I looke for other intelligence within these two moneths, which I will leaue in *Latine* before I goe for the next ships.

In *India* things remayne in the wonted state. At *Bazain* was an vnwonted tempest, whereupon Processions were made in all *India*. Two Comets were seene at the same time, one foureene dayes after the other: the later directed his course to the North, and still is seene whiles I write these things the twentieth of December, beginning to appeare the eleuenth of November, 1618.

Extracts out of *TRIGAVTIVS* his Martyrologe, or Fine Bookes of Christian Triumphs among the *Iaponians*, before mentioned.

THE *Iaponian* State being oppressed, He is Emperour which possesseth the Imperiall Provinces called *Tenca* (or *Tensa*) a name receiued of the *Chinois*, of whom the *Iaponian* Islands are a Colonie (by the *Chinois* called *Iepuen*, the beginning of the Sunne, by themselves *Gupon* or *Nitpon*) and that which the *Chinois* call *Thienhia*, that is, Whatsoeuer is vnder Heauen, the *Iaponians* terme *Tenca*, expressed with the same characters, howsoeuer differing in pronunciation. *Taicosama* died An. 1598. and left for his Heire a childe called *Fideyori*. *Daifusama* King of *Quanto* with others were appointed his Tutors or Protectors, which quarrelling for themselues, A. 1600. *Daifusama* getting the better, entituled himselfe *Xogun* or *Cubosama*. He left *Fideyori* in the most famous Fort of *Iapon*, with a tolerable reuenue. This continued till the yeere 1614. He removed the Imperiall seat from *Miaco* to *Surunga* the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome of *Fuchu*, and built there a Castle to keepe his treasure: his Sonne*, destined to the Inheritance, he placed at *Tendo* (or *Edoo*) and married him to the Neece of *Nabunanga*, which was next Emperour before *Taicosama*, and Aunt to *Fideyori*, being Sister to his Mother. This *Fideyori* being now growne in yeeres at his Castle of *Ozaca*, *Daifusama* fearing that he might interuert the Inheritance from his Sonne, deuised trickes first, which being eluded brake forth into open warre.

He had set *Fideyori* on worke to build a sumptuous Temple in the Suburbs of *Miaco*, in which *Daibut* (that is, a great Idoll or Colosse of gilded Brasse, his thumbe a spanne compasse and the rest proportionable,) should be worshipped. His Father *Taicosama* had before built at great expence this Temple, but the fire had consumed it, and the Sonne was incited to renew it by him, which sought by that meanes to exhaust his Treasures, the sinewes of warre. This Temple at the eighth Moone (which is our September) was to be dedicated by three thousand Priests thither assembled with great pompe, the Emperour meane while intending to seize on *Ozaca*. To this end hee had sent for *Ichinocam* the Gouvernour of the Citie and wonne him to his part. But at his returne vpon suspicion he was forced to quit the Towne, and the Emperours intents made knowne, and that Dedication deferred. The Emperour came before *Ozaca* with a great Armie of two hundred thousand, of which he lost thirtie thousand in the Siege, and was forced to depart with dissembled Conditions of Peace, in Ianuarie 1615. This lasted but few moneths, and hee returned with another Armie as great as the former. *Fideyori* is also reported to haue two hundred thousand in his armie. *Sacay* was burned, and in two Battels *Fideyori* had the better. In the third the Emperour was so out of hope that hee thought there to haue ended his dayes, and spake to some to dispatch him, if they saw no meanes for him to escape his Enemies hands. But *Samandonus* the Generall seeing the Victorie sure, sent for *Fideyori* that hee should come to haue the honour thereof, who in youthfull hast neglecting his old Captaines, they enraged at this seeming contempt, and perhaps corrupted by *Cubosamas* money, set fire on the Castle. This forced *Fideyori* backe to saue his Mother, Wife, and what he could from the flames, preferring safetie before honour. But hee lost both, with himselfe together, no man yet knowing what became of him. *Ozaca* was quite destroyed in Iuly 1615. and the Emperour returned Victorious to *Surunga*, and magnified his Idols which had done him this Honour for his zealous persecution of *Christians*. But in March 1616. this Tryumph was turned to his Funerall. Hee was buried in his Castle *Cuno*, where his Treasure was kept. One of his Sonnes hee would not see, his other sonne succeeded, who is thought not likely to containe the mutable Iaponian spirits in order: Two other sonnes he left, of which hee gaue order, that if they would not otherwise bee ordered they should lose their Heads. Some hopes by his death befell the *Christians* of more libertie, and they haue since performed their holies, but secretly, least they should seeme to insult on the Dead. For in pretence of wrongs by *Portugall* Merchants, and Contempts of his Imperiall Edicts, and of Death, and the reports of worshipping some executed *Christian* Malefactors (at whose death some kneeling had commended them to *Christ*, which was thus *Paganly* misconstrued) hee had exiled many, and done many to diuers kindes both of tortures and death; which our Author handles at large in fise * Bookes, where they which please may both read and see in Pictures their diuersified passions: which also from Captaine *Saris*, Captaine *Cocke* and others, wee haue in part before deliuered, with another Cause inciting the Emperour thereto, namely *Iesuiticall* hypocrisie, who vnder pretence of Conuerting soules, had become Factors and Agents for the *Portugall* Merchants. But we shall giue you further and later Iaponian intelligence from our owne Countrymen.

See sup. l. 4. c. 2.
the Iaponian
Letters.

Trecherie.

Ozaca destroy-
ed.

Exiles, with
Maiming, Hea-
ding, Cutting
a sunder, Cru-
cifying, bur-
ning, &c.

* A fifth is ad-
ded since to
the foure
mentioned.

A Letter concerning later Occurrents in Iapon from Master R. COCKE to
Captaine SARIS, written at FIRANDO in Iapon, the
31. of December. 1622.

Captayne SARIS:

I Haue written you two former Letters to one effect, the one dated the Fourteenth ultimo, sent by a Scotchman called *Iohn Portis*, in the Ship *Moone*. And the other kept till the Twentieth ditto, and sent per Master *Iohn Munden*, in the ship *Bull*. In both which Letters, I wrote you at large as time then offered, vnto the which I referre me, not doubting, but one of them will come to your hands, if not both.

Since which time I am informed of the greatest Conspiracie that euer was heard of in Iapon, pretended against the person of *Shonga Samma*, the Emperour of Iapon now raigning, the Factors being such great personages, that it is thought the Emperour dare not meddle with them, but winke at it and make Peace with them. Nine of them being named as followeth, viz.

Cangano Egen Dono, the Emperours kinsman, and of the greatest reuenues in Iapon, per Annum 200. Mangocas. (Which Master G. Saris calculated at 1875000. pounds sterling money: and so of the rest proportionably.)

Shimaszu Dono, King of *Xaxica* and *Liqueas*, most feared of any Prince in Iapon, for the strength of his Countries and valiantnesse of his Souldiers, his reuenues more then per annum 100. Mangocas,

Micanano Camy Dono, Sonne to this Emperours eldest Brother, called by the same name, a valiant man, but disinherited by *Ogosho Samma* his Father, because hee had lost his Nose by too much

much Venerie, and *Shougofama* his brother (now Emperour) Constituted in his place: this mans reuenues rated at 70. Mangocas.

Massamonedas Dono, King of *Osheu*, per annum 70. Mangocas.

Mengamy Dono, King of , per annum 35. Mangocas.

Yechew Dono, King of *Cocora*, per annum 34. Mangocas.

Catto Samma Dono, King of *I. O.* per annum 30. Mangocas.

Nancobo Dono, High Priest or Bonse of *Edo*, and second to the Daire in Church matters, and Tutor to this Emperour *Shonga Samma*, per annum 001. Mangoco.

Codgsque Dono, Secretarie to *Ogosho Samma* when you were in *Iapon*, then had 3. Mangocas, but aduanced per *Shougo Samma*, per annum to 015. Mangocas.

Rule to summe
the Reuenues
aforesaid.
* Viz. of
Firando.
Osaca.

Euery Mangoca is 10000. Gocas, and each Gaca is 100. Gantas of Rice, and each Ganta may be some three Ale pintes in *England*, for it is aboute three Wine pintes as I haue scene it proued per an English wine pinte in *Iapon*. And this King * (or *Tono*) of *Firando*, hath but six Mangocas, as I thinke you doe remember, yet is esteemed as much as the greatest Earledome in *England*, hee being stinted at foure thousand Souldiers or men at Armes, two thousand to keepe his owne Countrey, and two thousand to serue the Emperour at demand, but is able to set out many thousands more if need require.

And it is now some fixe or seuen yeere past, that *Calsa Samma* this Emperours second Brother, (who is married to *Massamonedas* Daughter) was vpon suspition disinherited by his Brother, and shauen a *Pagan* Bonse or Monke, and Confined into a *Pagan* Monasterie, with gaurds set about him. Attending euer since when the Emperour his brother would command him to cut his belly, but yet liuing.

Thus much I thought good to aduise you of the present state of *Iapon*, much altered from that it was at your being heere; and for the rest, I hope to tell you by word of mouth at my returne into *England*, which I hope to doe the next yeere, God sparing me life and libertie.

Master *Edmond Sayer* departed from hence towards *Edo*, the tenth day of this moneth of December; as the *Hollanders* did the like, to carry Presents to the Emperour: and wee haue newes that they arriued at *Osaca* tenne dayes past. And now this Ship the *Elizabeth* being ready to depart towards *Bantam*, and so I thinke from thence for *England*, I thought it good to write you these few lines of Aduise; and so end with my heartie Commendations to your selfe, not forgetting all the rest of our friends and acquaintance.

A Note of the Vnicornes Companie in China.

Although wee haue referred *China* relations to another Tome, yet because in Captayne *Prings* former relations, mention is made of the *Vnicorne* wracked by foule weather on the dangerous shores of *China*; I thought good to mention thus much heere. I spake with Master *Roberts* the Master of the Ship, also with Master *Pickering* another of the companie: which both told me, that their Ship being lost, the Companie saued themselves and with part of the goods went a shore. The rude *Chinois* would haue assaulted and rifled them, but they stood to their defence, till an Officer or Magistrate came and relieued them from the vulgar: after which they found both just dealing and kind vsage. They were permitted to buy for their money two Vessels with all necessarie prouisions for their departure, and one part of the Companie went to *Iapon*, the other (as I remember) to *Malacca*. If thou hast no compleater storie (of those, the onely English-men which I know to haue been on land in *China*) I must excuse my selfe by their promises of perfecter Relations, which whiles I expected, I was lesse inquisitiue then otherwise I would haue beene. They sayled me, and as I heare, are returned to the *Indies*: and I, if I seeme to sayle heere, shall in the next Tome repay thee with vse.

CHAP. III.

A Letter touching *Iapon* with the Gouvernement, Affaires and later Occurrents there, written to me by Master ARTHUR HATCH Minister, lately returned thence.

Salutem in authore salutis.

Worthy SIR:



Aving promised to impart vnto you some obseruations of those Countries where I haue trauelled, especially of *Iapon*, I was loath either to breake my promise, or in the least respect frustrate your expectation. Late performance is better then none; but the multiplicite of my businesse hath beene the occasion of my late writing vnto you, which I hope you will excuse; and being now called into the Countrey, and so barred from conference with you, I know not how or in what

what manner fully to accomplish your desire; and therefore I intend at this time to make relation vnto you of some particular passages onely, vntill I heare farther from you, but if I may stand you in any stead for the furtherance of your intended purpose, I would intreat you to acquaint me with your request, and you shall finde me most ready and willing to the vtermost of my slender power to accomplish it.

The Countrey of *Japon* is very large and spacious, consisting of seuerall Ilands and pettie Provinces; it is Mountainous and craggie, full of Rockes and stonie places, so that the third part of this Empire is not inhabited or manured; neither indeed doth it afford that accommodation for Inhabitants which is needfull, or that farness and conueniencie for the growth of Corne, Fruit, and small grayne as is requisite; which causeth the people to select the choyest and plainest parts and places of the land both to till and dwell in. The Climate is temperate and healthie not much pestred with infectious or obnoxious ayres, but very subiect to fierce windes, tempestuous stormes, and terrible Earthquakes, insomuch that both Ships, in the harbour haue beene ouer-set, and driuen a shore by the furie of the one, and Houses on the land disioynted and shaken to pieces by the fearefull trembling of the other.

It is gouerned by an Emperour who hath threescore and fise Kings vnder his command; they haue but small and pettie Kingdomes, yet all of them challenge and assume to themselves that Royall state and dignitie, which may well become the persons of farre more famous Princes. There are but fise of the Emperours priuie Councell, who commonly are such, that for Wisdome, Policie, and carefull vigilancie in managing the State affaires, in preventing of Treasons and Rebellions, in executing of Iustice and continuing of peace and quietnesse may bee compared with many, nay most in Christendome. No man may make knowne any cause vnto the Emperour himselfe, either by word of mouth or petition, but euery one must acquaint the Councell with his cause, and if they approue it, the Emperour shall know of it, if not, you must be content to haue it drowned in obliuion. The Emperour liues in great Royaltie and seldome goes abroad either to Hawke or Hunt without a thousand followers at least to attend him: he hath but one Wife, and it is generally reported that hee keepes companie with no other, but her onely; and if it bee true as it is thought, hee may in that respect be tearmed the Phoenix of all those parts of the world: as for those within his owne Dominions they are so farre either from imitating or following him, that one is scarcely contented with a hundred women, and they are so shamelesse in that kinde, that they will boast of it, and account it a glory vnto them to make relation of the multitude of women which they haue had the vse of. *Consuetudo peccandi tollit sensum peccati.* This Emperour hath abundance of Silver and Gold, and not onely his Coffers but whole Store-houses are cramm'd with coyne; hee hath some balls of Gold which were brought to his Court from *Ozechya* Castle of that waight and magnitude, that fiftene or sixtene men are scarcely able to beare one of them.

All Riuers doe in a kinde of thankfull remuneration returne their waters to the Sea, because they tooke them from thence, but the Princes of *Japon* doe cleane contrarie, for they receiue nothing from the Emperour, and yet they giue all to the Emperour, for they doe even impoverish themselves, by enriching him by presents; nay, they strue and contend who may giue the greatest and chiefeest Present. And each of those seuerall Princes must alwayes bee either himselfe in person, or his Brother, eldest Sonne, or the chiefe Nobleman within his Realme at the Emperours Court; the reason of it is not well knowne, but it is pretended, that it is done to keepe the seuerall Kingdomes in quiet, and free from tumults, treasons and rebellions. The Emperour doth ordinarily requite his Princes presents after this manner: hee giues them a Feather for a Goose, some few Kerrimoones or Coates, for Gold, Silver or other precious and rare commodities; and that they may not grow rich, and of sufficient abilitie to make head against him, he suffers not their Fleeces to grow, but sheares them off, by raising Taxes on them for the building of Castles, and the repairing of Fortifications, and yet they are not suffered to repair their owne, or any way to fortifie themselves.

Ozechya is the most famous Castle that the Emperour hath, or that is within the Empire; it is of an extraordinarie bignesse and compassed round with three seuerall walls; the Castle of *Edo* is likewise walled and moated, hauing some few Ordnance on it; at *Crates* and *Falkata* there are likewise Castles both walled and moated, the circumference of each of them is neere about two mile. The chiefe Noble-men of those Kingdomes haue Houses within the Castle walls to come and liue there, either at the Kings or their owne pleasures, within each of those Castles there is a Storehouse kept ordinarily full of Rice, which may serue for their prouision at all occasions and needs. At *Falkata* there is a Wood of Pine trees neere about three mile square, which is all the Summer time swept and kept so cleane, that you shall hardly see any small twig bough, or leafe vnder the Trees, and the trees stand so close together, that you may solace and recreate your selfe there at all houres of the day without any hurt or heat of the Sunne. In the midst of it there is a great Pagod or Church very richly adorned with gilded Images, and all sorts of curious carued workes.

The people are generally Courteous, affable and full of Compliments, they are very punctu-

Description of Japon.

Soyle.

Climate: Stormes. Earthquakes;

Emperour and Gouernment: 65. Vassals.

Councell.

Magnificence;

Chastitie.

Riches

Presents

Lealousie;

Policie to impoverish Subjects.

Ozaca or Ozechia. Edo and other Castles.

Falkata neere Tnesse & Temple.

Customes of the people.

all in the entertayning of Strangers, and they will assoone lose a limbe as omit one Ceremonie in welcomming their friend; they vse to giue and receiue the emptie Cup at one the others hands, and before the Master of the house begins to drinke, hee will proffer the Cup to euery one of his Guests, making shew to haue them to begin though it bee farre from his intention; they feed not much vpon varietie; for Fish, Rootes and Rice are their common junkates, and if they chance to kill a Hen, Ducke or Pigge, which is but seldome, they will not like Charles eate it alone, but their friends shall be surely partakers of it. Their ordinary drinke is Water, and that is made most times hot, in the same pot where they seeth their Rice, that so it may receiue some thicknesse and substance from the Rice. They haue strong Wine and Rack distill'd of Rice, of which they will sometimes drinke largely, especially at their Feasts and meetings, and being moued to anger or wrath in the heate of their Drinke, you may assoone periwade Tygres to patience and quietnesse as them, so obstinate and wilfull they are in the furie of their impatience. Their Lawes are very strict and full of seueritie, affeording no other kinde of punishment but either Death or Banishment: Murther, Theft, Treason, or the violation of any of the Emperours Proclamations or Edicts, are punished with death; so is Adulterie also if it bee knowne and the parties pursued, but the Deuill their master in those actions hath taught them such cleanly conueyances, that seldome or neuer are they apprehended; they proceed both in Controuerfies and criminall causes according to the verdict of the produced witnesses, and the Sentence being once past, they will not reuoake or mitigate the seueritie of it, but if the parties attached haue deserued death they shall surely haue it, and for the manner, they are either Beheaded or Crucified; hee kneeles downe on his knees and then comes the Executioner behind him and cuts off his head with a Catan or their Countreie-sword, and his head being off, the young Caualleers trie their weapons on his limbes, and proue whether they can cut off an Arme or Leg at a blow; the other haue their armes and legges spread abroad on a Crosse, which done, they set the Crosse vpright in the ground, and then comes one either with a Lance or Speare and runnes the partie through the bodie, where hee hangs vntill he rots off, no man being suffered to take him downe.

Euery one may change his Name three times, when he is a childe, when he is a young-man, and when he is old; some change their names more often, euery one as hee pleaseth may make choise of his owne name, and they are commonly named either by the King, or else by some Noble or Great man with whom they are chiefly in fauour.

They haue the vse of Writing and Printing, and haue had the space of many yeeres, no man knowes certainly how long. They haue seuen sorts of Letters, each single letter seruing for a word, and many of them in their placing serue for fixe or seuen; and each Alphabet hath eight and fortie Letters, and yet with all these letters they are not able to write our Christian names; they haue not the true pronounciation of *H. B. T.* and some other letter, and a *Chinesse* if his life lay on it, cannot truly pronounce *D.*

They obserue no Sabbath, but certaine Feast dayes according to the Moone, as the first of the Moone, the 15. or 28.; on these dayes they goe to the Church, visit the Sepulchers of the dead, and vse many foolish and apish Ceremonies, which time will not permit me now to relate.

The ninth day of the Moone throughout the yeere they hold for accursed, and therefore in that day they will not begin or vndertake any worke of consequence and importance.

They strictly obserue a Fast on that day of the moneth, in which their Father or Mother dyed, which they doe so precisely keepe, that they will not touch or eate any thing that hath blood.

Kind Sir, if I haue not in this satisfied you according to your expectation, yet I will assure you it is according as the time and my wayward affaires will now permit me; I would intreat to heare from you, and Godwilling as I haue leasure I will more fully declare vnto you my particular obseruations of *Iapon*, in the meane time I will pray for your health and good successe in all your affaires and godly enterprises.

From Wingham in Kent the

25. of Nouember, 1623.

Resting yours to vse in what hee may:

ARTHUR HATCH. 50

CHAP. III.

Extracts of Master *CASAR FREDERIKE* his eightene yeeres
Indian Obseruations.



N the yeere of our Lord God 1563, I *Cesar Fredericke* being in *Venice*, and very desirous to see the East parts of the World, tooke my journey to *Alepo*, and there I acquainted my selfe with Merchants of *Armenia*, and *Moares*, that were merchants, and consoorted to goe with them to *Ormus*, and wee departed from *Alepo*, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, we came to a Citie called *Br.* (Thence to *Babylon* or *Bagdet*, and so to *Sasera* and *Ormus*.)

The Authors
going from
Venice to Cy-
prus & Tripoly.
Touching the
way from A-
leppo to Bagdet,
See sup. p. 16. & 17.
p. 3.

Ormus

Ormus hath a *Moore* King of the race of the *Persians*, who is created and made King by the Captaine of the Castle, in the name of the King of *Portugall*. At the creation of this King I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they vse in it, which are as followeth. The old King being dead, the Captaine of the *Portugals* chuseth another of the bloud Royall, and maketh this election in the Castle with great Ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of *Portugall*, as his Lord and Gouvernour, and then he giueth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting and pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall Palace in the Citie. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient reuenues to maintayne himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the Castle doth maintayne and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a King, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the consent of the Captaine first had: it behooueth them to doe this, and it is necessarie, because of the great trade that is in this Citie: their proper language is the *Persian* tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for *Goa*, a Citie in the *Indies*, in which passage the first Citie that you come to in the *Indies*, is called *Diu*, and is situate in a little Iland in the Kingdome of *Cambaia*, which is the greatest strength that the *Portugals* haue in all the *Indies*, yet a small Citie, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of *Mecca* and *Ormuz* with marchandise, and these ships belong to the *Moores* and *Christians*, but the *Moores* cannot trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Vice-roy of the King of *Portugall*, otherwise they are taken and made good prizes. The merchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth from *Cambaietta* a Port in the Kingdome of *Cambaia*, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholdes are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call *Macareo*, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, vnlesse it be in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, where there is another *Macareo*, where the waters run out with more force then these doe. *Cambaietta* is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire Citie. The time that I was there, the Citie was in great calamitie and scarcenesse, so that I haue seene the men of the country that were *Gentiles* take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and haue desired the *Portugals* to buy them, and I haue seene them solde for eight or ten *Larins* a piece, which may bee of our money ten shillings or thirteene shillings foure pence. For all this, if I had not seene it, I could not haue beleueed that there should bee such a trade at *Cambaietta* as there is: for in the time of euery new Moone and euery full Moone, the small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barks be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of *China*, with *Sandols*, with Elephants teeth, Veluets of *Vercini*, great quantitie of *Pannina*, which commeth from *Mecca*, *Chickinos* which be pieces of gold worth seuen shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with diuers sorts of other merchandise. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantitie of cloth made of Bumbast of all sortes, as white stamped and painted, with great quantitie of *Indico*, dried ginger and conserued, *Myrabolans* drie and condite, *Boras* in paste, great store of Sugar, great quantitie of Cotton, abundance of *Opium*, *Assa Fetida*, *Puchio*, with many other sorts of drugges, *Turbants* made in *Diu*, great stones like to *Corneolacs*, *Granats*, *Agats*, *Diaspry*, *Calcidonij*, *Hematists* and some kinde of naturall *Diamonds*.

During the time I dwelt in *Cambaietta*, I saw very maruellous things: there were an infinite number of Artificers that made Bracelets called *Mannij*, or bracelets of Elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the *Gentiles*, which haue their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent euery yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoever of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they goe and buy new againe, because that they had rather bee without their meat then without their bracelets.

There come euery yeere to *Chaul* from *Cochin*, & from *Cananor* ten or fifteen great ships laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called *Giagra*: the tree whereon these Nuts doe grow is called the *Palmer tree*, and thorow out all the *Indies*, and especially from this place to *Goa*, there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the *Date tree*. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they doe of this, there is not any part of it but serueth for some vse, and none of it is worthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make Ships without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make Sayles, and with the fruit thereof, which bee a kinde of Nuts, they make Wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and *Placetto*, which Wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquor like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell vnder euery tree, and euery eue ing and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquor: and then they

The election of the King of Ormus.

Diu.

born vnto A
ashed to elst

Cambaietta.

born vnto A
ashed to elst
Macareo, great
Tides

born vnto A
ashed to elst
born vnto A
ashed to elst

A maruellous
fond delight
in women.

Coco tree and
profits thereof
They are most
plentifull in
the Iles of the
Maldines.

put

put it into Buts, with a quantity of *Zibibo*, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect Wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of Oyle: of the tree they make great quantitie of boords and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make Cables, Ropes, and other furniture for ships, and, as they say, these Ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the Bowes, Bedsteds, after the *Indies* fashion, and *Scauasches* for merchandise. The leaues they cut very small, and weaue them, and so make Sayles of them, for all manner of shipping, or else very fine Mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke ships, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make Spooones and other vessels for meate, in such wise that there is no part thereof throwne away, or cast to the fire. When these Mats be Greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man bee thirsty, with the liquor of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell.

In the yeere of our Lord 1567. I went from *Goa* to *Bezeneger* the chiefe Citie of the Kingdom of *Narsinga* eight dayes iourney from *Goa*, within the Land, in the companie of two other Merchants which carried with them three hundred *Arabian* Horses to that King: because the Horses of that Countrie are of a small stature: and at the going out of *Goa* the Horses pay custome, two and forty Pagodies for euery Horse, which Pagody may be of sterling money fixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of gold of that value. So that the *Arabian* Horses are of great value in those Countries, as 300. 400. 500. and to 1000. Duckets a Horse.

A very good sale for horses.

Bezeneger. *Idalcan*. *Xamaluc*. &c.

A most vnkind and wicked treason against their Prince: this they haue for giuing credite to strangers, rather then to their owne native people.

The Citie of *Bezeneger* was sacked in the yeere 1565. by foure Kings of the *Moors*, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure Kings were these following the first was called *Dialcan**, the second *Zamaluc*, the third *Cotamaluc*, and the fourth *Viridy*: and yet these foure Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of *Bezeneger*, but by treason. This King of *Bezeneger* was a *Gentile*, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were *Moors*: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two Captaines being of one Religion with the foure Kings which were *Moors*, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of *Bezeneger* esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were ioyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefe of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King, and made such disorder in his Armie, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this Kingdome gouerned by three brethren which were Tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull King in prison, it was their vse euery yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three Captaines belonging to the father of the King they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they tooke the gouernment to themselves. The chiefe of these three was called *Ramaragio*, and sate in the Royall Throne, and was called the King: the second was called *Temiragio*, and he tooke the gouernment on him: the third was called *Bengatre*, and he was Captaine generall of the Armie. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefe of the last were neuer heard of quicke nor dead. Onely *Temiragio* fled in the battell, hauing lost one of his eyes. When the newes came to the Citie of the overthrow in the battell, the wiues and children of these three Tyrants, with their lawfull King (kept prisoner) fled away, spoyled as they were, and the foure Kings of the *Moors* entred the Citie *Bezeneger* with great triumph, and there they remained fixe moneths, searching vnder houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne Kingdomes, because they were not able to maintayne such a Kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie.

The sacking of the Citie.

Policy to entrap men.

When the Kings were departed from *Bezeneger*, this *Temiragio* returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to *Goa* to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to *Bezeneger*. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would giue as much for them as they would: and beside he gaue generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither vnto him, he gaue the Merchants faire words, vntill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giuing them any thing for their Horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and grieve.

I rested in *Bezeneger* seuen moneths, although in one moneth I might haue discharged all my businesse, for it was necessarie to rest there vntill the wayes were cleere of Theeues, which at that time ranged vp and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds

deeds done by the *Gentiles*. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies : and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe aliue, for the loue of her husband, and with the body of her husband : so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a moneths leaue, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herselfe in, and that day being come, wherein she ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very early, either on Horsebacke or on an Elephant, or else is borne by eight men on a small stage : in one of these orders shee goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the Citie, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with Iewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the partie, and they goe with as great ioy as Brides doe in *Venice* to their Nuptials : she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth through the Citie as she passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spouse and husband. Shee is accompanied with her kindred and friends vntill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the Citie, and going along the Riuer side called *Nigondin*, which runneth vnder the walls of the Citie, vntill they come vnto a place where they vse to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or fise steps vp : the foresaid Caue is full of dryed wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall bee burned eateth with as great ioy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day : and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Caue where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaueth the feast, and taketh the neereft kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresaid Riuer, where she putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giueth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and couering herselfe with a cloth, because shee will not bee seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the Riuer, saying : *O wretches, wash away your sinnes*. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foureene braces long : and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they goe both together vp to the pinnacle of the square Caue wherein the fire is made. When shee is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending vnto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they vse to set a Mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affraid of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it ouer her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the caue great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I haue seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning : and when there dyeth any Great man, his Wife with all his Slaues with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselues together with him. Also in this Kingdome I haue seene amongst the base sort of people this vse and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were vpright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, vntill such time as the Masons haue made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behind the woman and strangleth her : then when shee is dead, the workmen finish the wall ouer their heads, and so they lie buried both together.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567. for the ill successe that the people of *Bezeneger* had, in that their Citie was sacked by the foure Kings, the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes iourney vp in the land from *Bezeneger*, called *Penegonde*. Also sixe dayes iourney from *Bezeneger*, is the place where they get Diamants : I was not there, but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a *squadron*, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine size and bigger then that size are all for the King, it is many yeeres agoe, since they got any there, for the troubles that haue beene in that Kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this *Temeragio* had put to death the lawfull King which hee had in Prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that Kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many Kings, and great diuision in that Kingdome, and the Citie of *Bezeneger* is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts. The circuit of this Citie is foure and twentie miles about, and within the walls

Wiues burned with their husbands described.

A description of the burning place.

Feasting and dancing where they should mourne.

Dissolute resolutione.

Mourning where they should reioyce.

Another fashion for poorer wiues to die with their husbands.

Penegonde.

Bezeneger 24 miles about.

are certaine Mountainer. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all sauing the three Palaces of the three tyrane Brethren, and the *Pagades* which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Maible. I haue seene many Kings Courts, and yet haue I seene none in greatnesse like to this of *Bezeneger*, I say, for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports. First when you go into the place where the King did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the first Gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that keepeth watch & ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser Gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the *Gentiles* is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The Cittie is very safe from Theeues, for the *Portugall* Merchants sleepe in the streets, or vnder Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for *Goa* in the company of two other *Portugall* Merchants, which were making ready to depart, with two Palanchines or little Litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight *Falchines* which are men hired to carry the Palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we vse to carry Barrowes. And I bought me two Bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and prouision, for in that Countrey men ride on bullocks with pannels, as wee terme them, girths and bridles, and they haue a very good commodious pace. From *Bezeneger* to *Goa* in Summer it is eight daies iourney, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the month of Iuly, and were fiftene dayes comming to *Ancola* on the Sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two Bullocks: for he that carried my victuals was weake and could not goe, the other, when I came vnto a Riuer where was a little bridge to passe ouer, I put my Bullocke to swimming, and in the midst of the Riuer there was a little Island, vnto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there hee remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leaue him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to goe seven dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with *Falchines* by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our iourney, for that euery day we were taken Prisoners, by reason of the great dissention in that Kingdome: and euery morning at our departure we must pay reseat foure or five *Pagies* a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as we came into a new *Gouernours* Country, as euery day we did, although they were all tributarie to the King of *Bezeneger*, yet euery one of them stamped a seuerall coyne of Copper, so that the money that wee tooke this day would not serue the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to *Ancola*, which is a Countrey of the Queen of *Gargopam*, tributarie to the King of *Bezeneger*. The Merchandize that went euery yeere from *Goa* to *Bezeneger* were *Arabian* Horses, Veluets, Damasques, and Sattens, Armes fine of *Portugall*, and pieces of *China*, Saffron and Bearters: and from *Bezeneger* they had in *Turkie* for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducats of gold: the apparell that they vse in *Bezeneger* is Veluet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called *Colae*, made of Veluet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they haue breeches after the order of the *Turkes*: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them *Aspergh*, and at their eares they haue hanging great plentie of Gold.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in *Ancola*, one of my companions that had nothing to lole, tooke a guide, and went to *Goa*, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other *Portugall* not being disposed to goe, carried in *Ancola* for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the *Indies* beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth vnto the end of October: and as we were in *Ancola*, there came another Merchant of Horses in a Palanchine, and two *Portugall* Souldiers which came from *Zellan*, and two carriers of Letters, which were *Christians* borne in the *Indies*: all these consoorted to goe to *Goa* together, and I determined to go with them, and caused a palanchine to be made for me very poorly of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid priuily all the Jewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight *Falchines* to carie me: and one day about eleuen of the clocke we set forwards on our iourney, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we passed a Mountaine, which diuideth the territorie of *Ancola* and *Dialcan*, I being a little behind my company, was assaulted by eight theeues, foure of them had swords and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the *Falchines* that carried me understood the cause of the assault, they let the Palanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeues were on my necke and rifling me, they stripped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leaue the Palanchine, and I had made me a little bed of my clothes: the theeues sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two Purses that I had, well bound vp together, wherein I had

Went to the
place where
the King
did lodge

A description
of the
place

Feeling
that the
palanchine
was too
small

Men ride on
Bullockes, and
trauell with
them on the
way.

Difficultie
of the
iourney

The Merchant
dise that come
in and out to
Bezeneger euery
yeere.

The apparell
of those people

Another
description
of the
place

Their Winter
is our Summer

The
palanchine

The
palanchine

put my Copper money which I had changed for foure Pagodies in *Ancola*. The theeues thin-
king it had beene so many Ducats of gold, searched no further: then they threw all my clothes
in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would haue it, at there departure there fell from them
an hankercher, and when I saw it, I rose from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it vp, and
wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then these my *Falchines* were of so good conditi-
on, that they returned to seeke me, whereas I thought I should not haue found so much good-
nesse in them: because they were payed their money aforehand, as is the vse, I had thought to
haue seene them no more. Before there comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein
my Jewels were hidden, out of my couch, and to haue made me a walking staffe to carry in my
10 hand to *Goa*, thinking that I should haue gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulness of my *Fal-
chines*, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to *Goa*, in which time I
made hard fare, for the theeues left me neither money, gold, nor siluer, and that which I did eate
was giuen me of my men for Gods sake: and after at my comming to *Goa* I payed them for eue-
ry thing royally that I had of them. From *Goa* I departed for *Cochin*, which is a voyage of three
hundred miles, and betweene these two Cities are many holds of the *Portugals*, as *Onor*, *Man-
galar*, *Barzelor*, and *Cananor*. The Hold or Fort that you shall haue from *Goa* and *Cochin* that
belongeth to the *Portugals*, is called *Onor*, which is in the Kingdom of the Queen of *Bartocella*,
which is tributarie to the King of *Bezeneger*: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with
the Captaine and companie hee keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to ano-
20 ther small Castle of the *Portugals* called *Mangalar*, and there is very small trade but onely for a
little Rice: and from thence you goe to a little Fort called *Barzelor*, there they haue good store
of Rice which is carried to *Goa*: and from thence you shall goe to a Citty called *Cananor*, which
is a Harquebush shot distant from the chiefest Citty that the King of *Cananor* hath in his King-
dome being a King of the *Gentiles*: and hee and his are very naughtie and malicious people, al-
wayes hauing delight to bee in warres with the *Portugals*, and when they are in peace, it is for
their interest to let their Merchandise passe: there goeth out of this Kingdom of *Cananor*, all the
Cardamomum, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie
of *Archa*, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruit they eate in all those parts of
the *Indies*, and beyond the *Indies*, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call *Bettell*, the which is
30 like vnto our Iule leafe, but a little lesser and thinner: they eate it made in plaisters with the lime
made of Oistershells, and throw the *Indies* they spend great quantitie of money in this compo-
sition, and it is vsed daily, which thing I would not haue beleued, if I had not seene it. The cus-
tomers get great profit by these Herbes, for that they haue custome for them. When this peo-
ple eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to be red like vnto blood, and
they say, that it maketh a man to haue a very good stomacke and a very sweet breath, but sure
in my iudgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthy lusts, and of a knauerie, for this Herbe
is moist and hore, and maketh a verie strong expulsion. From *Cananor* you goe to *Cranganor*,
which is another small Fort of the *Portugals* in the land of the King of *Cranganor*, which is ano-
40 ther King of the *Gentiles*, and a Countrey of small importance, and of an hundred and twentie
miles, full of Theeues, being vnder the King of *Calicut*, a King also of the *Gentiles*, and a great e-
nemie to the *Portugals*, which when he is alwaies in warres, he and his Countrey is the nest and
resting for stranger Theeues, and those be called *Moores of Carposa*, because they weare on their
heads long red Hats, and these Theeues part the spoiles that they take on the Sea with the King
of *Calicut*, for he giueth leaue vnto all that will goe a roving, liberally to goe, in such wise, that
all along that Coast there is such a number of Theeues, that there is no sailing in those Seas but
with great ships and very well armed, or else they must goe in companie with the armie of the
Portugals. From *Cranganor* to *Cochin* is fiftene miles.

Cochin is next vnto *Goa*, the chiefest place that the *Portugals* haue in the *Indies*, and there
50 is great trade of Spices, Drugges, and all other sorts of Merchandize for the King-
dome of *Portugall*, and there within the land is the Kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the
Portugals lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in Sackes: the Pepper that goeth for *Portu-
gall* is not so good as that which goeth for *Mecca*, because that in times past the Officers of the
King of *Portugall* made a contract with the King of *Cochin*, in the name of the King of *Portu-
gall*, for the prices of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement between them at that time made,
the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a verie low and base price, and for this cause the *Me-
laines* bring it to the *Portugals*, greene and full of filth. *Cochin* is two Cities, one of the *Portu-
gals*, and another of the King of *Cochin*: that of the *Portugals* is situate neerest vnto the
Sea, and that of the King of *Cochin*, is a mile and a halfe vp higher in the land, but they are
60 both set on the bankes of one Riuer which is verie great and of a good depth of water, which
Riuer commeth out of the Mountaines of the King of the Pepper, which is a King of the *Gen-
tiles*, in whose Kingdome are many *Christians* of Saint Thomas order: the King of *Cochin* is also
a King of the *Gentiles*, and a great faithfull friend to the King of *Portugall*, and to those *Portugals*
which are married, and are Citizens in the Citty of *Cochin* of the *Portugals*. And by this name

in the
the
of
the

Foure small
Forts of the
Portugals.

Bettell is a very
profitable
Herbe in that
Countrey.

Enemies to
the King of
Portugall.

Within *Cochin*
is the Kingdom
of Pepper.
The Pepper
that the *Portu-
gals* bring, is
not so good as
that which goe-
th for *Mecca*.
The *Moores*
buy the best
by stealth, and

Great Priu-
ledges that the
Citizens of
Cochin haue.

of Portugals throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee *Italians*, *Frenchmen*, or *Almaines*, and all they that marrie in *Cochin* doe get an Office according to the Trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuiledges which the Citizens haue of that Citie, because there are two principall commodities that they deale withall in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from *China*, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from *Bengala*: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay foure per cento custome to the King of *Cochin*, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and Strangers, pay in *Cochin* to the King of *Portugall* eight per cento of all manner of Merchandise.

Amochi and
Nairi.

This King of *Cochin* is of a small power in respect of the other Kings of the Indies, for he can make but seuentie thousand men of Armes in his Campe: he hath a great number of Gentlemen which he calleth *Amochi*, and some are called *Nairi*: these two sorts of men esteeme not their liues any thing, so that it may bee for the honour of their King, they will thrust themselves forward in euery danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle vpwards, with a cloth rolled about their thighes, going bare-footed, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the top of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their Swords naked, these *Nairi* haue their wiues common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaueeth his Sword and Target at the doore, and the time that he is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The Kings children shall not inherite the Kingdome after their Father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the King their Father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their King, one of the sonnes of the Kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood Royall, for that they bee sure they are of the blood Royall.

Huge huge
Eares.

The *Nairi* and their Wiues vse for a brauerie to make great holes in their Eares, and so big and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more Noble they esteeme themselves. I had leaue of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be little, for then they open the eare, and hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, and within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they haue for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great.

Note the de-
parting of the
ships from
Cochin.
Coulam.

The ships euery yeere depart from *Cochin* to goe for *Portugall*, on the fifth day of December, or the fifth day of Ianuary. Now to follow my voyage for the Indies: From *Cochin* I went to *Coulam*, distant from *Cochin* seuentie and two miles, which *Coulam* is a small Fort of the King of *Portugals*, situate in the Kingdome of *Coulam*, which is a King of the *Gentiles*, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to *Cochin* to take in the rest, and from thence to *Cape Comori* is seuentie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and alongst this Coast, neere to the water side, and also to *Cape Comori*, downe to the low land of *Chilao*, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian Faith: there are also Churches of the Friers of *Saint Pauls* order, which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in conuerting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

Christians.

The order how
they fish for
Pearles.

The Sea that lyeth betweene the Coast which descendeth from *Cape Comori*, to the low land of *Chilao*, and the Iland *Zeilan*, they call *The fishing of Pearles*, which fishing they make euery yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fish euery yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same Sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Diuers, that goe to discouer where the greatest heapes of Oysters bee vnder water, and right against that place where greatest store of Oysters be, there they make or plant a Village with houses and a *Bazaro*, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and now and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fish. The Fishermen are all Christians of the Countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the King of *Portugall*, and to the Churches of the Friers of *Saint Paul*, which are in that Coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fusts armed to defend the Fishermen from Routers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the order that they vsed in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barks that make consort together, which are like to our little Pilot boates, an a little lesse, there goe seven or eight men in a Boat: and I haue seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fiftene or eightene fathom of water, which is the ordinarie depth of all that Coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the end of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is ready a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annointed with Oyle, and a basket about

Iesuites are cal-
led F. of *Saint*
Paul in the In-
dies, by reason
of their Col-
ledge of that
name in Goa.

about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can he filleth the basket, and when it is full, hee shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him vp with the Basket: and in such wise they goe one by one vntill they haue laden their Barke with Oysters, and at euening they come to the Village, and then euery companie maketh their mount or heape of Oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long row of mounts or heapes of Oysters, and they are not touched vntill such time as the fishing be ended, and at the end of the fishing euery companie sitteth round about their mount or heape of Oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easily doe because they be dead, drie and brittle: and if euery oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a bad: there are certaine expert in the Pearles, whom they call *Chitini*, which set and make the price of Pearles according to their caracks, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sorts of them. The first sort be the round Pearles, and they be called *Aia of Portugall*, because the *Portugals* doe buy them. The second sort which are not round, are called *Aia of Bengala*. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call *Aia of Canara*, that is to say, The Kingdome of *Bezeneger*. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called *Aia of Cambaia*. Thus the price being set, there are Merchants of euery Countrey which are readie with their money in their hands, so that in few dayes all is bought vp at the prises set according to the goodnesse and caracks of the Pearles.

In this Sea of the fishing of Pearles, is an Iland called *Manar*, which is inhabited by *Christians* of the Countrey which first were *Gentiles*, and haue a small hold of the *Portugals* being situate ouer against *Zeilan*: and betweene these two Ilands there is a Channell, but not very bigge, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great Ship passe that way, but small Ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change, or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must vnlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the Channell, and after lade them into their ships to goe for the *Indies*, and this doe all small ships that passe that way, but those ships that goe for the *Indies* Eastwards, passe by the Coast of *Coromandel*, on the other side by the land of *Chilao*, which is betweene the firme land and the Iland *Manar*: From *Cape Comori* to the Iland *Zeilan* is one hundred and twentie miles ouerthwart.

Zeilan is an Iland, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then *Cyprus*: on that side towards the *Indies* lying Westward is the Citie called *Columbo*, which is a hold of the *Portugals*, but without walls or enemies. It hath towards the Sea a free Port, the lawfull King of that Iland is in *Columbo*, and is turned *Christian* and maintained by the King of *Portugall*, being depriued of his Kingdome. The King of the *Gentiles*, to whom this Kingdome did belong, was called *Madoni*, which had two sonnes, the first named *Barbinas* the Prince; and the second *Ragine*. This King by the policie of his younger Sonne, was depriued of his Kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the Armie and Souldiers, in despight of his Father and Brother being Prince, vsurped the Kingdome, and became a great Warriour. First, this Iland had three Kings; the King of *Cotta* with his conquered Prisoners; the King of *Candia*, which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of *Candia*, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the *Portugals*, which said that hee liued secretly a *Christian*; the third was the King of *Gianisampatan*. In thirteene yeeres that this *Ragine* gouerned this Iland, he became a great Tyrant.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuts and *A-rochoe*: there they make great store of *Cairo* to make Cordage: it bringeth forth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or *Ochi de Gati*, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I haue sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from *Pegu*. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the *Portugals* were in Armes, and in the field, with the King of the Countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with me and went into a Wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamom trees growing together among other wild trees; and this Sinamom tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaues like to our Bay-tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth vp to the top of the Tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke off the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from ioynt to ioynt, aboue and below, and then easily with their hands they take it away, laying it in in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the Tree dyeth not, but against the next yeere it will haue a new barke, and that which is gathered euery yeere is the best Sinamom: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

These Pearles are prised according to the Caracks which they weigh, euery carack is 4. Graines, and these men that prise them haue an Instrument of Copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to sort the Pearles withall.

Manar.

Zeilan.

Cairo is a stuffe that they make Ropes with, the which is the barke of a Tree.

The cutting and gathering of Sinamom.

A rare thing.

Negapatan.

From the Iland of *Zeilan* men vse to goe with small ships to *Negapatan*, within the firme land, and seuentie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of *Portugals* and *Christians* of the Countrey, and part *Gentiles*: it is a Countrey of small trade.

Saint Thomas
or San Tome.
S. Thomas his
Sepulcher.

From *Negapatan* following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the House of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great deuotion, and greatly regarded of the *Gentiles*, for the great Miracles they haue heard to haue beene done by that blessed Apostle: neere vnto this Church the *Portugals* haue builded them a Citie in the Countrey subiect to the King of *Bexeneger*, which Citie although it bee not very great, yet in my iudgement it is the fairest in all that part of the *Indies*. It is a maruellous thing to them which haue not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in Saint Tome as they doe: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee serued with small Barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the Boates of the ships, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine Barkes (of purpose) high, which they call *Masades*, they be made of little boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the Boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make hast all that they are able to row out against the huge waues of the Sea that are on that shore, vntill that they carrie them to the ships: and in like manner they lade these *Masadies* at the ships with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Bark-men leape out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that shce cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading drie on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are ouerthrowen, but there can bee no great losse, because they lade but a little at a time. All the Merchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can haue no great harme.

In the Iland of
Banda they
lade Nutmegs,
for there they
grow.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord 1566. I went from *Goa* vnto *Malacca*, in a ship or Gallion of the King of *Portugall*, which went vnto *Banda* for to lade Nutmegs and *Maces*: from *Goa* to *Malacca* are one thousand eight hundred miles, wee passed without the Iland *Zeilan*, and went through the Channell of *Nicubar*, or else through the channell of *Sombrero*, which is by the middle of the Iland of *Sumatra*, called in old time *Taprobana*: and from *Nicubar* to *Pegu*, is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wild people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of *Andemaon*, and they call their people *Sauage* or wilde, because they eat one another: also these Ilands haue warre one with another, for they haue small Barkes, and with them they take one another, and so eat one another: and if by euill chance any Ship bee lost on those Ilands, as many haue beene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth vneaten or vnslaine. These people haue not any acquaintance with any other people, neither haue they trade with any, but liue onely of such Fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any Ship come neere vnto that place or Coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it hapned as I came from *Malacca* through the channell of *Sombrero*, there came two of their Barkes neere vnto our Ship laden with Fruit, as with *Monces* which we call *Adams Apples*, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruit called *Inani*, which fruit is like to our Turneps, but is very sweet and good to eat: they would not come into the ship for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their Fruit: but they would trucke for olde Shirts or pieces of old Linnen breeches: These ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke vnto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee worth, so much fruit they would make fast to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall haue for an old Shirt a good piece of Amber.

Sion or Siam.

Sion was the Imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God 1567. it was staken by the King of *Pegu*, which King made a voyage or came by land foure moneths iourney with an Armie of men through his land, and the number of his Armie was a million and foure hundred thousand men of Warre: when he came to the Citie, hee gaue assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie moneths before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in *Pegu* fixe moneths after his departure, and saw when that his Officers that were in *Pegu*, sent fixe hundred thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene Treason against the Citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the Gates set open, through the which with great trouble the King gate into the Citie, and became Gouvernour of *Sion*: and when the Emperour saw that hee was betrayed, and that his Enemie was in the Citie, he poisoned himselfe: and his Wiues and Children, Friends and Noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the Citie, were all carried Captiues into *Pegu*, where I was at the comming home of the King with his tryumphs and victorie, which comming home and returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square,

A Prince of a
maruellous
strength and
power.

square, laden with Gold; Siluer, Jewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken Prisoners in that Citie.

Now to returne to my Voyage: I departed from *Malacca* in a great Ship which went for *Saint Tome*, being a Citie situate on the Coast of *Ceromandell*: and because the Captaine of the Castles of *Malacca* had vnderstanding by aduise that the King of *Assi* would come with a great Armie and power of men against them, therefore vpon this hee would not giue licence that any Ships should depart: Wherefore in this Ship we departed from thence in the night, without making any prouision of our water: and we were in that Ship foure hundred and odde men: wee departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the winds were so contrarie that they would not suffer vs to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the Sea as it were lost, and we were driuen too and fro, so that that the first Land that wee Discouered, was beyond *Saint Tome*, more then fve hundred miles which were the Mountaines of *Zerzeline*, neere vnto the Kingdome of *Orisa*, and so we came to *Orisa* with many Sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were Sicke in foure dayes died: and I for the space of a yeere after had my Throate so sore and hoarse, that I could neuer satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I iudge the reason of my hoarsenesse to be with Sops that I wet in Vineger and Oyle, wherewith I sustained my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of Bread nor of Wine: but the Wines of that Countrie are so hot that being drunke without Water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we began to want water, I saw certaine *Moore*s that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a Duckat, after this I saw one that would haue giuen a barre of Pepper, which is two quintals and a halfe, for a little measure of water, and he could not haue it. Truly I belceue that I had died with my slaue, whom then I had to serue mee, which cost me very deare: but to prouide for the danger at hand, I solde my Slaue for halfe that he was worth, because that I would saue his drinke that he drunke, to serue my owne purpose, and to saue my life.

Orisa was a faire Kingdome and trusty, through the which a man might haue gone with gold in his hand without any danger at all, as long as the lawfull King reigned which was a *Gentile*, who continued in the Citie called *Catecha*, which was within the Land sixe dayes iourney. This King loued strangers marueilous well, especially merchants which had trafficke in and out of his Kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no Custome of them, neither any other grieuous thing. Onely the Ship that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and euery yeere in the Port of *Orisa* were laden fve and twentie or thirtie Ships great and small, with Rice and diuers sorts of fine white bumbast cloth, oyle of *Zerzeline* which they make of a seede, and it is very good to eate and to frye fish withall, great store of Butter, *Lacca*, long Pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans drie and condite, great store of cloth of Herbes, which is a kind of like which groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growne round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this King with his Kingdome were destroyed by the King of *Patane*, which was also King of the greatest part of *Bengala*, and when he had got the Kingdome, he set custome there twentie *pro cento*, as Merchants paide in his Kingdome: but this Tyrant enioyed his Kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another Tyrant, which was the great *Mogol* King of *Agra*, *Delly*, and of all *Cambaja*, without any resistance. I departed from *Orisa* to *Bengala*, to the harbour *Piqueno*, which is distant from *Orisa* towards the East an hundred and seuentie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the riuer *Ganges*: from the mouth of this Riuer, to a City called *Satagan*, where the Merchants gather themselves together with their trade, are an hundred miles, which they rowe in eightene houres with the increase of the water: in which riuer it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the *Thames*, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barks be light and armed with Oares, like to Foisties, yet the cannot preuaile against that Streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the Riuer vntill the next flowing water, and they call these Barks *Bazaras* and *Patnas*: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as euer I haue seene any. A good Tides rowing before you come to *Satagan*, you shall haue a place which is called *Buttor*, and from thence vpwards the Sips doe not goe, because that vpwards the Riuer is very Shallow, and little water. Euery yeere at *Buttor* they make and vnmake a Village, with Houses and Shops made of Straw, and with all things necessarie to their vses, and this Village standeth as long as the Ships ride there, and till they depart for the *Indies*, and when they depart, euerie man goeth to his plot of Houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to maruaile. For as I passed vp to *Satagan*, I saw this Village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of Ships and Bazars, and at my returne coming downe with my Captaine of the last Ship, for whom I carried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, and nothing left but the signe of the burnt Houses. The small Ships goe to *Satagan*, and there they lade.

* Or Achem.

Want of water

The mount-
taines of *Zer-*
zeline.

Hot Wines.
Deere water.

Of the King-
dome of *Orisa*,
and the Riuer
Ganges.

The commo-
dities that go
out of *Orisa*.
This cloth wee
call Nettle
cloth.

Strong Tides.

The commodities that are laden in Satagan.

Bengala is now in great part subiect to the Mogoll.

Ganges rites. A ceremonie of the Gentiles when they are dead

Port Tiqueno.

Tanasary.

Marchandise coming from Sion.

Nyper wine good to cure the French disease.

Ill voyage.

Hunger in great extremitie.

IN the Port of *Satagan* euery yeere they lade thirtie or fure and thirtie ships great and small, with Rice, Cloth of Bombast of diuers sorts, Lacca, great abundance of Sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long Pepper, Oyle of *Zerzeline*, and many other sorts of merchandise. The Citie of *Satagan* is a reasonable faire Citie for a Citie of the *Moore*s, abounding with all things, and was gouerned by the King of *Patane*, and now is subiect to the Great *Mogol*. I was in this Kingdome foure moneths, whereas many Merchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefits, and with these Barkes they goe vp and downe the Riuer of *Ganges* to *Faires*, buying their commodities with a great aduantage, because that euery day in the weeke they haue a Faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a Barke and went vp and downe the Riuer and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The Kingdome of *Bengala* in times past hath beene as it were in the power of *Moore*s, neuertheless there is great store of *Gentiles* among them: alwaies whereas I haue spoken of *Gentiles*, is to be vnderstood *Idolaters*, and whereas I speake of *Moore*s I meane *Mahomet*s Sect. Those people especially that be within the Land doe greatly worship the Riuer of *Ganges*: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the Countrey to the banke of the Riuer, and there they make him a small Cottage of strawe, and euery day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone vntill it be halfe roasted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie Jarre fast about his necke, and so throw him into the Riuer. These things euery night as I passed vp and downe the Riuer I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the *Fayres* to buy my commodities with the Merchants. And this is the cause that the *Portugals* will not drinke of the water of the Riuer *Ganges*, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of *Nilus* is. From the Port *Piqueno* I went to *Cochin*, and from *Cochin* to *Malacca*, from whence I departed for *Pegu* being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is wont to bee made in fure and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the end of three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot tolde vs that wee were by his Altitude not farre from a Citie called *Tanasary*, in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, and these his words were not true, but wee were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many vninhabited rockes, and there were also some *Portugals* that affirmed that they knew the Land, and knew also where the Citie of *Tanasary* was.

This Citie of right belongeth to the Kingdome of *Sion*, which is situate on a great Riuer side, which commeth out of the Kingdome of *Sion*: and where this Riuer runneth into the Sea, there is a Village called *Mirgim*, in whose Harbour euery yeere there lade some ships with *Verzina*, *Nypa*, and *Benjamin*, a few Cloues, Nutmegs and Maces which come from the coast of *Sion*, but the greatest marchandise there is *Verzin* and *Nypa*, which is an excellent Wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called *Nyper*. Whose liquor they distill, and so make an excellent drink cleare as Christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomacke, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the French poxe, drinking good store of this, hee shall bee whole againe, and I haue seene it proued, because that when I was in *Cochin*, there was a friend of mine, whose nose began to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the Doctors of Physick that he should goe to *Tanasary* at the time of the new Wines, and that hee should drinke of the *Nyper* wine, night and day, as much as hee could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I haue seene him after with a good colour and sound. This Wine is very much esteemed in the *Indies*, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in *Pegu* ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is euery yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rockes, and farre from the Land which is ouer against *Tanasary*, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying of the Pilot and two *Portugals*, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforesayde harbour, wee determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the ship should stay for vs in a place assigned. Wee were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelue of the clocke wee went from the ship, assuring our selues to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid Port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good land, and this came to passe through the euil counsell of the two *Portugals* that were with vs.

For wee had ouershot the harbour and left it behinde vs, in such wise that wee had lost the land inhabited, together with the ship, and wee eight and twentie men had no manner of victuall with vs in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a little Rice with him in the boat to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would haue eaten it at a meale: I tooke the gouernment of this Rice, promising that by the helpe of God that Rice should be nourishment for vs vntill it pleased God to send vs to some place that was inhabited: and when I slept I put the Rice into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine dayes rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but Countries vninhabited, and desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would haue seemed

Sugar

Sugar vnto vs, but we could not finde any; yet we found a few leaues of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chew them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as we rowed, we could go but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water we made fast our Boar to the banke of one of those Ilands, and in those Ilands, and in these nine dayes that wee rowed, wee found a Caue or Nest of Tortoise eggs, wherein were 144. eggs, the which was a great helpe vnto vs: these eggs are as big as a Hens egge, and haue no shell about them but a tender skin, euery day we sod a Kettle full of those Eggs, with a handfull of Rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the end of nine dayes we discovered certaine Fisher-men fishing with small Barkes, and we rowed towards them, with a good cheere, for I thinke there were neuer men more glad then we were, for wee were so sore afflicted with penurie, that wee could scarce stand on our legges. Yet according to the order that wee set for our Rice, when wee saw those Fisher-men, there was left sufficient for foure daies. The first Village that wee came to was in the Gulfe of *Tauay*, vnder the King of *Pegu*, whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arriual there, we would eate but little meate any of vs, and yet for all this, wee were at the point of death the most part of vs. From *Tauay* to *Martauan* in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, are seuentie two miles. We laded our Boat with victuals which were abundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence wee departed for the Port and Citie of *Martauan*, where in short time we arriued, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and need of water, being at an anchor with a contrary winde, which came very ill to passe, because that shee wanted her Boat a moneth, which should haue made her prouision of wood and water, the ship also by the grace of God arriued safely in the foresaid Port of *Martauan*.

WEe found in the Citie of *Martauan* ninety *Portugals* of Merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Rector or Gouvernour of the Citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabonds of the *Portugals* had slaine five *Falchines* of the King of *Pegu*, which chanced about a moneth after the King of *Pegu* was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquere the Kingdome of *Siam*. They haue for custome in this Countrie and Kingdome, the King being wherefoeuer his pleasure is to be out of this Kingdom, that euery fifteene dayes there goeth from *Pegu* a Carauan of *Falchines*, with euery one a basket on his head full of some Fruits or other delicacies of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chanced that this Carauan passing by *Martauan*, and resting themselues there a night, there happened betweene the *Portugals* and them words of despight, and from words to blowes, and because it was thought that the *Portugals* had the worse, the night following, when the *Falchines* were a sleepe with their companie, the *Portugals* went and cut off five of their heads. Now there is a law in *Pegu*, that whosoever killeth a man, he shall buy the shed blood with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these *Falchines* being the seruants of the King, the Rectors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the King, because it was necessary that the King should knowe of such a matter. When the King had knowledge thereof, he gaue commandement that the malefactors should be kept vntill his comming home, and then he would duely minister iustice, but the Captaine of the *Portugals* would not deliuer those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in Armes, and went euery day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and Ensignes displayed. For at that time the Citie was empty of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres and in businesse of the King: in the midst of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the *Portugals* vse such insolency in another mans Citie.

From *Martauan* I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, which is also called after the name of the Kingdome, which Voyage is made by Sea in three or foure dayes; they may goe also by Land, but it is better for him that hath merchandise to goe by Sea, and lesser charge. And in this Voyage you shall haue a *Macareo*, which is one of the most marvellous things in the world that Nature hath wrought, and I neuer saw any thing so hard to bee beleueed as this, to wit, the great encreasing and diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible Earth-quake and great noise that the *Macareo* maketh where it commeth. Wee departed from *Martauan* in Barkes, which are like to our Pilot-Boats, with the encrease of the water, and they goe as swift as an Arrowe out of a Bowe, so long as the Tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they draw themselues out of the channell towards some banke, and there they come to anchor, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on drie land: and when the Barkes rest drie, they are as high from the bottome of the channell, as as any house top is high from the ground. They let their Barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any ship rest or ride in the channell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would ouerthrowe Ship or Barke: yet for all this, that the Barkes be so farre out of the channel, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it comes so high, yet they make fast their Prow to the streame, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anchor did not hold her Prow vp by strength, shee would be ouer throwne and lost with men and goods.

Tortoise Eggs.

Tauay vnder the King of *Pegu*.

Martauan a Citie vnder the King *Pegu*.

A custome that these people haue when the King is in the warres.

A law in *Pegu* for killing of men.

Great pride of the *Portugals*. The punishment whereof the Author relateth at large, here omitted. *Pegu*.

Admirable Tides.

This tide is like to the tides in our Riuer of *Seuerne*: but it seemeth greater.

These Tides
make their iust
course as ours
doe.

This *Macareo*
is a Tide or a
Current.
Houses made
of canes, and
couered with
leaves of trees.
Godon is a
place or house
for Merchants
to lay their
goods in.
The forme of
the building of
the new Citie
of Pegu.

A
rich
Palace.

Foure white
Elephants.

This money
called *Tansa* is
halfe a Duckert
which may be
three shillings
and foure
pence.

A warlike poli-
cy.

An excellent
deuise to hunt
and take wilde
Elephants.

goods. When the water beginneth to encrease, it maketh such a noise, and so great, that you would thinke it an Earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waues. So that the first washeth ouer the Barke, from stemme to sterne, the second is not so furious as the first, and the third raiseth the anchor, and then for the space of fixe houres while the water encrease, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did flie: in these tides there must be lost no iot of time, for if you arrive not at the stagions before the Tide bee spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place but at these stagions, and there is more danger at one of these places then at another, as they bee higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martawan, they goe but halfe the Tide at a time, because they will lay their Barks vp aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesaid. I could neuer gather any reason of the noise that this water maketh in the encrease of the Tide, and in diminishing of the water. There is another *Macareo* in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this.

By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two Cities, the old and the new, in the old Citie are the Merchant strangers, and Merchants of the Countie, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This Citie is not very great, but it hath very great Suburbs. Their houses be made with canes, and couered with leaves, or with straw, but the Merchants haue all one house or Magason, which house they call *Godon*, which is made of bricke, and there they put all their goods of any value, to saue them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stufte. In the new Citie is the Palace of the King, and his abiding place with all his Barons and Nobles, and other Gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new Citie: it is a great Citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about, and with Ditches that compasse the Walls about with water, in which Diches are many Crocodiles. It hath no Draw-bridges, yet it hath twenty Gates, five for euery square on the Walls, there are many places made for Centinels to watch, made of Wood and couered or gilt with Gold, the Streets thereof are the fairest that I haue seene, they are as straight as a line from one Gate to another, and standing at the one Gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as ten or twelue men may ride a-breast in them: and those Streets that be thwart are faire and large, these Streets, both on the one side and the other, are planted at the doores of the Houses with Nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadow, the Houses be made of wood, and couered with a kind of tiles in forme of Cups, very necessary for their vse: the Kings Palace is in the middle of the Citie, made in forme of a walled Castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the Lodgings within are made of wood all ouer gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, couered with plates of gold. Truly it may be a Kings house: within the gate there is a faire large Court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Elephants, hee hath foure that be white, a thing so rare, that a man shall hardly finde another King that hath any such, as if this King knowe any other that hath white Elephants, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countie, and that cost me something the sight of them, for that they command the Merchants to goe to see them, and then they must give somewhat to the men that bring them: the Brokers of the Merchants giue for euery man halfe a Duckert, which they call a *Tansa*, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of Merchants that are in that Citie; and when they haue payd the aforesaid *Tansa*, they may chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the Kings stall, euery man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so.

This King amongst all other his Titles, is called *The King of the white Elephants*, and it is reported, that if this King knew any other King that had any of these white Elephants, and would not send them vnto him, that he would hazard his whole Kingdome to conquire them. He esteemeth these white Elephants very deere, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meet seruice, euery one of them is in a house, all gilded ouer, and they haue their meate giuen them in vessels of gluer and gold. There is one blacke Elephant, the greatest that hath beene seene, and he is kept according to his bignesse; he is nine cubits high, which is a marvellous thing. It is reported that this King hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all haue their teeth, and they vse to put on their two vppermost teeth sharpe pikes of Iron, and make them fast with rings, because these beasts fight and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many young Elephants that haue not their teeth sprouted forth: also this King hath a braue deuise in hunting to take these Elephants when he will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire Palace all gilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and round about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stand to see this hunting: neere vnto this Palace is a mighty great Wood, through the which the Hunt-men of the King ride continually on the backes of the female Elephants, teaching them in this business. Euery Hunter carrieth out with him five or fixe of these females, and they lay that they anoint the secret place with a certaine composition that they haue, that when the wilde Elephant doeth

smell

smell: hereunto, they follow the females and cannot leaue them: when the Hunters haue made prouision, and the Elephant is so entangled, they guide the females towards the Palace which is called *Tambell*, and this Palace hath a doore which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long straight way with trees on both the sides, which couereth the way in such wise, as it is like darkenesse in a corner: the wilde Elephant when he cometh to this way thinketh that hee is in the Woods. At the end of this darke way there is a great field: when the Hunters haue gotten this prey, when they first come to this field, they send presently to giue knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there goe out fifty or sixty men on horsebacke, and doe beset the field round about: in the great field then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Elephant is entred in there, the Hunters shoute and make a great noise, as much as is possible, to make the wilde Elephant enter in at the gate of that Palace, which is then open, and as soone as he is in, the gate is shut without any noise, and so the Hunters with the female Elephants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leauing the wilde Elephant alone: and when hee perceiueth that hee is left alone, hee is so mad that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, he singeth, he runneth, he iustleth, he thrusteth vnder the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kill some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great that he cannot hurt any body, yet he oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates. At length when he is weary, and hath laboured his body that he is all wet with sweat, then he plucketh in his trunk into his mouth, and then he throweth out so much water out of his belly, that he sprinkleth it ouer the heads of the lookers on, to the vttermost of them, although it be very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine Officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and pricke him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that are made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Elephant is in, hee cannot turne himselfe to goe backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should bee very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Elephant would kill them if they were not swift to saue themselves: at length when they haue gotten him into one of those houses, they stand ouer him in a loft, and get ropes vnder his belly and about his neck, & about his legs, and bind him fast, and so let him stand foure or fve dayes, and giue him neither meate nor drinke. At the end of these foure or fve dayes, they vnloose him, and put one of the females vnto him, and giue them meate and drink, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my iudgement there is not a beast so intellectuall as are these Elephants, nor of more vnderstanding in all the world: for he will doe all things that his keeper sayth, so that he lacketh nothing but humane speech.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the King of Pegu hath, is in these Elephants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands vnder their bellies: and in euery Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with Harquebusses, with Bowes and Arrowes, with Darts and Pikes, and other lancing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Elephant is so hard, that an Harquebuss will not pierce it, vnlesse it be in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and haue a very excellent order in their battell, as I haue scene at their Feasts which they make in the yeere, in which Feasts the King makes Triumphs, which is a rare thing and worthie memorie, that in so barbarous a People there should bee such goodly orders as they haue in their Armies, which be distinct in squares of Elephants, of Horsemen, of Harquebusses and Pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very naught and weake, as well the one as the other: they haue very bad Pikes, their Swords are worse made, like long Knives without points, his Harquebusses are most excellent, and alwaies in his warres he hath eighty thousand Harquebusses, and the number of them encreaseth daily. Because the King will haue them shoot euery day at the Planke, and so by continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also he hath great Ordnance made of very good metall; to conclude, there is not a King on the Earth that hath more power or strength then this King of Pegu, because hee hath twenty and sixe crowned Kings at his command. Hee can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the field against his Enemies. The state of his Kingdome, and maintenance of his Armie, is a thing incredible to consider, and the victuals that should maintayne such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleue it. I haue scene with mine eyes, that those people and Souldiers haue eaten of all sorts of wilde beasts that are on the earth, whether it be very filthie or otherwise all serueth for their mouthes: yea, I haue scene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great Armie want not Water and Salt, they will maintayne themselves a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers, and leaues of trees, they carrie Rice with them for their Voyage, and that serueth them in stead of Comfits, it is so dainty vnto them.

This King of Pegu hath not any Armie or power by Sea, but in the Land, for People, Dominions,

The King of Pegu

An excellent pastime of the Elephants.

These canes are like to them in Spain which they call *Loco de tore*.

A strange thing that a beast so wilde should in so short time be made tame. The greatest strength that the King of Pegu hath.

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

The order of their weapons and number of his men.

26. crowned Kings at his command, 1500000. men in one campe. Eating of Serpents.

Kings power.

The riches of
the King of
Pegu.

minions, Gold and Siluer, he farre exceeds the power of the great *Turke* in treasure and strength. This King hath diuers Magasons full of treasure, as Gold, and Siluer, and euery day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is neuer diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Saphirs, and Spinels. Neere vnto his Royall Palace there is an inestimable treasure whereof he maketh no account, for that it standeth in such a place that euery one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open euery day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses couered with Lead, and in euery one of these are certaine heathenish Idols of a very great valure. in the first house there is a Statue of the image of a Man of gold very great, and on his head a Crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Saphires, and round about him are foure little children of gold. In the second house there is the Statue of a Man of siluer, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as he sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceeds the height of any one rooffe of an house; I measured his feet, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a Crowne on his head like to the first. And in the third house there is a Statue of brasle of the same bignesse, with a like Crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house, there is a Statue of a Man as big as the other, which is made of *Gansa*, which is the metall they make their money of, and this metall is made of Copper and Lead mingled together. This Statue also hath a Crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that euery man at his pleasure may goe and see it: for the keepers thereof neuer forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I haue said before, that this King euery yeere in his feasts triumpheth: and because it is worthie of the noting, I thinke it meet to write thereof, which is as followeth. The King rideth on a triumphant Cart or Wagon all gilded, which is drawne by sixteene goodly Horses: and this Cart is very high with a goodly Canopie ouer it, behind the Cart goe twenty of his Lords and Nobles, with euery one a rope in his hand made fast to the Cart for to hold it vpright that it fall not. The King sitteth in the middle of the Cart; and vpon the same Cart about the King stand foure of his Nobles most fauoured of him, and before this Cart wherein the King is, goeth all his Armie as aforesaid, and in the middle of his Armie goeth all his Nobilitie, round about the Cart, that are in his Dominions, a maruellous thing it is to see so many people, such riches and such good order in a People so barbarous as they be. This King of *Pegu* hath one principall wife which is kept in a *Seralio*, hee hath three hundred Concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath ninety children.

The great
pompe of the
King.

The order of
Iustice.

No difference
of persons be-
fore the King
in controuer-
sies or in lu-
rice.

The commo-
dities that are
ventured in
Pegu.

Note the de-
parture of the
ships from
Saint Tome to
Pegu.

This King sitteth euery day in person to heare the suits of his Subiects, but he nor they neuer speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The King sitteth vp aloft in a great Hall, on a Tribunall seate, and lower vnder him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demand audience enter into a great Court before the King, and there set them downe on the ground forty paces distant from the Kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the King, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaues of a tree, these leaues are three quarters of a yard long, and two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe Iron made for the purpose, and in those leaues are their supplications written, and with their supplications, they haue in their hands a present or gift, according to the weightinesse of their matter. Then come the Secretaries downe to reade these supplications, taking them and reading them before the King, and if the King thinke it good to doe to them that fauour or iustice that they demand, then hee commandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not iust or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents.

In the *Indies* there is not any merchandise that is good to bring to *Pegu*, vntill it be at some times by chance to bring Opium of *Cambai*. and if hee bring money hee shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from Saint Tome are the onely merchandise for that place, which is the great quantitie of Cloth made there, which they vse in *Pegu*, which Cloth is made of Bombast wouen and painted, so that the more that kinde of Cloth is washed, the more liuely they shew their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such account of this kinde of Cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duc-kets. Also from Saint Tome they lade great store of red yarne, of Bombast died with a root which they call *Sasa*, as aforesaid, which colour will neuer out. With which merchandise euery yeere there goeth a great ship from S. Tome to *Pegu*, of great importance, and they vsually depart from Saint Tome to *Pegu* the eleuenth or twelfth of September, and if shee stay vntill the twelfth, it is a great hap if shee returne not without making of her Voyage. Their vse was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure Voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kinde of Cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it bee well dried, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his freight, thinking to haue the winde alwaies to serue their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the winds blowe firmly for certaine times, with the which they goe to *Pegu* with the wind in poope, and if they arriue not there before the winde change, and get ground to anchor, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or

four moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast and anchor there, then with great labour they may saue their Voyage. Also there goeth another great ship from *Bengala* euery yeere, laden with fine cloth of Bombast of all sorts, which arriue in the Harbour of *Pegu*, when the ship that commeth from *Saint Tome* departeth. The Harbour where these two ships arriue is called *Cosmin*. From *Malaca* to *Martawan*, which is a Port in *Pegu*, there come many small ships, and great, laden with Pepper, *Sandolo*, *Procellan* of *China*, *Camfora*, *Bruneo*, and other merchandise. The ships that come from *Mecca* enter into the Port of *Pegu* and *Cirion*, and those ships bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they haue no other thing that is good for *Pegu*: but they esteem not the losse of them, for that they make such great gaine of their commodities, that they carrie from thence out of that Kingdome. Also the King of *Assi* his ships come thither into the same Port laden with Pepper, from the coast of *Saint Tome* of *Bengala*, out of the Sea of *Baya* to *Pegu* are three hundred miles, and they goe it vp the Riuer in foure dayes, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a Citie called *Cosmin*, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of *Pegu* come to take the note and markes of all the goods of euery man, and take the charge of the goods on them, and conuey them to *Pegu*, into the Kings house, wherein they make the Custome of the merchandise. When the Customers haue taken the charge of the goods, and put them into Barkes, the Rector of the Citie giueth licence to the Merchants to take barke, and goe vp to *Pegu* with their merchandise; and so three or foure of them take a Barke and goe vp to *Pegu* in companie. God deliuer euery man that he giue not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any Custome: for if they doe, for the least trifle that is, he is vtterly vndone, for the King doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceiued of his Custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In *Pegu* this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine Cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the Jewels that come into *Pegu*, and are not found of that Countrey, pay Custome, but Rubies, Saphyrs and Spinels pay no Custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrey. All Merchants that meane to goe thorow the *Indies*, must carrie all manner of household stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is nor any lodging, nor Innes, nor Hosts, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when hee cometh to any Citie is to hyre a house, either by the yeere, or by the moneth, or as hee meanes to stay in those parts.

In *Pegu* their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Now from *Cosmin* to the Citie of *Pegu* they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their Boate to the Riuer side, and there tarric untill the water flowe againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant Voyage, hauing on both sides of the Riuer many great Villages, which they call Cities: in the which Hennes, Pigeons, Egges, Milke, Rice, and other things bee very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your Voyage vp to *Maccoe*, distant from *Pegu* twelue miles, and there they discharge their goods, and lade them in Carts or Waines drawne with Oxen, and the Merchants are carried in a Closer which they call *Deling*, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with Cushions vnder his head, and couered for the defence of the Sunne and Raine, and there he may sleepe if he haue will thereunto: and his foure *Falchines* carrie him running away, changing two at one time, and two at another. The custome of *Pegu* and freight thither, may amount vnto twenty or twenty two *per cento*, and twenty three according as he hath more or lesse *Polne* from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man haue his eyes watchfull, and to bee careful, and to haue many friends, for when they custome in the great Hall of the King, there come many Gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaues, and these Gentlemen haue no shame that their slaues robbe strangers: whether it be Cloth in shewing of it, or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Merchants helpe one another to keepe watch, and looke to their goods, they cannot looke thereto so narrowly but one or other will robbe something, either more or lesse, according as their merchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you haue set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape vnrobbed of the slaues, a man cannot choose but that hee must be robbed of the Officers of the Custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that you haue, and not by rate of euery sort as they ought to doe, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the Customhouse in this order, the Merchant causeth them to be carried to his house, and may doe with them at his pleasure.

There are in *Pegu* eight Brokers of the Kings, which are called *Tareghe*, who are bound to sell all the merchandise which come to *Pegu*, at the common or the current price: then if the Merchants will sell their goods at that price, they sell them away, and the Brokers haue two in the hundred of euery sort of merchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they bee sold by their hands or meanes, and on their words, and oftentimes the

Commodities brought into *Pegu*.

The *Chikinos* are pieces of gold worth sterling seuen shillings. * *Achen*.

Great rigour for the stealing of Customes.

Merchants must carrie their provisions, for there are no Innes.

Description of the fruitfulness of that soyle.

Deling is a small litter carried with men as is aforesaid.

Brokers.

A law for
Bankrupts.

Euery man
may stampe
what money
hee will.

How a man
may dispose
himselfe for
the trade in
Pegu.

Good instru-
ctions.

The Marchan-
dizes that goe
out of Pegu.

Idol-houses
couered with
Gold.

Merchant knoweth not to whom he giueth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the Broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the Merchant sell his goods without the consent of the Broker, yet neuertheless hee must pay him two *per cento*, and bee in danger of his money: but this is very seldome seene, because the Wife, Children and Slaues of the debtor are bound to the Creditor, and when his time is expired and payment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and carrie him home to his house, and shut him vp in a *Magasin*, whereby presently hee hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the Wife, Children, and Slaues of the debtor, and sell them, for so is the Law of that Kingdome. The currant money that is in this Citie, and throughout all this Kingdome is called *Gansa* or *Ganza*, which is made of Copper and Lead: It is not the money of the King, but euery man may stampe it that will, because it hath his iust partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting ouermuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money *Ganza*, you may buy Gold or Siluer, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Gold, Siluer and other Merchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things bee.

This *Ganza* goeth by weight of *Byza*, and this name of *Byza* goeth for the account of the weight, and commonly a *Byza* of a *Ganza* is worth (after our account) halfe a Ducker, little more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and Siluer is more or lesse in price, yet the *Byza* neuer changeth: euery *Byza* maketh a hundreth *Ganza* of weight, and so the number of the money is *Byza*. He that goeth to *Pegu* to buy Jewels, if hee will doe well, it behooueth him to bee a whole yeere there to doe his businesse. For if so be that he would returne with the Ship he came in, hee cannot doe any thing so conueniently for the breuitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in *Pegu* that come from *Saint Tome* in their ships, it is as it were about *Christmas*: and when they haue customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Merchants that come from *Saint Tome* take for the payment of their goods, Gold and Siluer, which is neuer wanting there. And eight or ten dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may haue Rubies in payment, but they make no account of them: and they that will Winter there for another yeere, it is needfull that they bee aduertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifye in their bargaine, the terme of two or three moneths payment, and that their payment shall be in so many *Ganza*, and neither Gold nor Siluer: because that with the *Ganza* they may buy and sell euery thing with great aduantage. And how needfull is it to be aduertized, when they will recouer their payments, in what order they shall receiue their *Ganza*? Because he that is not experienced may doe himselfe great wrong in the weight of the *Ganza*, as also in the fallenesse of them: in the weight hee may bee greatly deceiued, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any will receiue money or make payment, hee must take a publike weigher of money, a day or two before he goe about his businesse, and giue him in payment for his labour two *Byzas* a moneth, and for this hee is bound to make good all your money, and to maintaine it for good, for that he receiue it and seales the bags with his seale: and when he hath receiued any store, then he causeth it to be brought into the *Magasin* of the Merchant, that is the owner of it.

That money is verie weightie, for fortie *Byza* is a strong Porters burthen; and also where the Merchant hath any payment to bee made for those goods which hee buyeth, the Common weigher of money that receiue his money must make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Merchant with the charges of two *Byzas* a moneth, receiue and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Merchandizes that goe out of *Pegu*, are Gold, Siluer, Rubies, Saphires, Spinelles, great store of Benjamin, long Pepper, Lead, *Lacca*, Rice, Wine, some Sugar, yet there might be great store of Sugar made in the Countrey, for that they haue abundance of Canes, but they giue them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that Kingdome they spend many of these Sugar-canes in making of Houses and Tents which they call *Varely* for their Idols, which they call *Pagodes*, whereof there are great abundance, great and small, and these houses are made in forme of little Hills, like to Sugar-loaues or to Bels, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable Steeple, at the foot they are verie large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The said houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with Bricks and dirt in stead of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foot they make a couering for them with Sugar-canes, and plaister it with lime all ouer, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great abundance of Raine that falleth in those Countries. Also they consume about these *Varely* or Idol-houses great store of lease-gold, for that they ouerlay all the tops of the houses with Gold, and some of them are couered with gold from the top to the foot: in couering whereof there is great store of Gold spent, for that euery ten yeeres they new ouerlay them with gold, from the top to the foot, so that with this vanitie they spend great abundance of Gold. For euery ten yeeres the raine doth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make gold dearer in *Pegu* then it would bee, if they consumed not so much

much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of Jewels in *Pegu*, that he that hath no knowledge shall haue as good Jewels, and as good cheape, as hee that hath bene practised there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in *Pegu* foure men of good reputation, which are called *Tareghe*, or Brokers of Jewels. These foure men haue all the Jewels or Rubies in their hands, and the Merchant that will buy commeth to one of these *Tareghe* and telleth him, that hee hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they haue such quantitie, that they know not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Merchant hath broken his mind to one of these Brokers or *Tareghe*, they carrie him home to one of their shops, although hee hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jewellers perceiue that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The vse generally of this Citie is this; that when any Merchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carrieth them home to his house, let them bee of what value they will, he shall haue space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if hee hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes haue many Merchants in that Citie that haue very good knowledge in Jewels: with whom hee may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew them vnto whom he will; and if he finde that he hath not employed his money well, he may returne his Jewels backe to them whom he had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the *Tareghe* to haue his Jewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should bee thought that he sold them so deare to haue them returned. For these men haue alwayes great care that they affoord good penniworths, especially to those that haue no knowledge. This they doe because they would not lose their credite: and when those Merchants that haue knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deare, it is their owne faults and not the Brokers: yet it is good to haue knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they haue in buying of Jewels, which is this: There are many Merchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not vnderstand how the Jewels bee sold, the Broker and the Merchants haue their hands vnder a cloth, and by touching of fingers & nipping the joynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by know not what is demanded for them, although it be for a thousand or ten thousand Duckets. For euery ioynt and euery finger hath his signification. For if the Merchants that stand by should vnderstand the bargaine, it would breed great controuersie amongst them. And at my being in *Pegu* in the month of August, in Anno 1569. hauing gotten well by my endeouour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of Saint *Tome*, but then I should saue vntill March.

In which journey I was counsailed, yea and fully resolved to goe by the way of *Bengala*, with a Ship there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from *Pegu* to *Chatigan* a great Harbour or Port, from whence there goe small ships to *Cochin*, before the Fleet departs for *Portugall*, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to *Lisbon*, and so to *Venice*. When I had thus resolved my selfe, I went a boord of the ship of *Bengala*, at which time it was the yeere of *Touffon*: concerning which *Touffon* you are to vnderstand that in the East *Indies* oftentimes, there are not stormes as in other Countreies; but enery ten or twelue yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that haue seene it, neither doe they know certainly what yeere they will come.

Vnfortunate are they that are at Sea in that yeere and time of the *Touffon*, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yeere it was our chance to bee at Sea with the like storme, but it happened well vnto vs, for that our ship was newly ouer-planked, and had not any thing in her saue victuall and ballasts, Silver and Gold, which from *Pegu* they carrie to *Bengala*, and no other kind of Merchandize. This *Touffon* or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it carried away our sayles, yerds, and rudder; and because the ship laboured in the Sea, wee cut our Mast ouer boord: which when we had done, shee laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came ouer the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights, sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a third place: and for all this storme, the ship was so good, that sheooke not one jot of water below through her sides, but all ranne downe through the hatch-ches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driving too and fro as the wind and Sea would, wee were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a shoald: yet when it was day, we could neither see Land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the Diuine power, there came a great waue of the Sea, which draue vs beyond the shoald. And when wee felt the ship afloat, we rose vp as men reuiued, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelue fathom water, and within a while after wee had but fixe fathom, and then presently wee came to anker with a small anker that was left vs at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by

at ball and
with no? ball

Rubies exceed-
ding cheape
in *Pegu*.

the is the
the world

An honest care
of Heathen
people.

Bargaines
made with the
nipping of fin-
gers vnder a
cloth.

The King of
Arabia or
this *Touffon*
or *Tuffon*, is an
extraordinary
storme at Sea.

The *Touffon*
commeth but
euery 10 or 12
yeeres.

A manifest to-
ken of the Eb-
bing and flow-
ing in those
Countreies.

This Iland is
called *Sondina*

Sondina is the
fruitfullest
Countrey in
all the world.

Chatigan is a
port in *Bengala*
whither the
Portugals goe
with their
ships.

The King of
Rachim or *Ara-*
cam, neighbour
to *Bengala*.

Or, *Aracam*.
He made ano-
ther voyage to
Pegu here o-
mitted.

An order how
to provide to
goe over the
Desert from
Babilon to *A-*
lepo.

and by the ship strooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that shee should not overthrow.

When it was day the ship was all drie, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This *Touffon* being ended, wee discovered an Iland not farre from vs, and we went from the ship on the sands to see what Iland it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my iudgement the fertilest Iland in all the world, the which is deuided into two parts by a channell which passeth betweene it, and with great trouble wee brought our ship into the same channell, which parteth the Iland at flowing water, and there we determined to stay fortie dayes to refresh vs. And when the people of the Iland saw the ship, and that we were comming a land: presently they made a place of *Bazar* or Market, with Shops right ouer against the ship with all manner of prouision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that wee were amazed at the cheapnesse thereof. I bought many salted Kine there, for the prouision of the ship, for halfe a *Larine* a piece, which *Larine* may be twelue shillings sixe pence, being very good and fatte; and foure wilde Hogges ready dressed for a *Larine*; great fat Hennes for a *Bizze* a piece, which is at the most a Penie: and the people told vs that we were deceiued the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine Rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that haue seene it. This Iland is called *Sondina* belonging to the Kingdome of *Bengala*, distant one hundred and twentie miles from *Chatigan*, to which place we were bound. The people are *Moores*, and the King a very good man of a *Moore* King, for if he had bin a Tyrant as others bee, he might haue robbed vs of all, because the *Portugall* Captaine of *Chatigan* was in armes against the Rector of that place, and euery day there were some slaine, at which newes wee rested there with no small feare, keeping good warch and ward aboard euery night as the vse is, but the Gouvernour of the Towne did comfort vs, and bad vs that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selues securely without any danger, although the *Portugals* of *Chatigan* had slaine the Gouvernour of that Citie, and said that we were not culpable in that fact; and moreouer he did vs euery day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrarie to our expectations considering that they and the people of *Chatigan* were both subiects to one King.

Wee departed from *Sondina*, and came to *Chatigan* the great Port of *Bengala*, at the same time when the *Portugals* had made peace and taken a truce with the Gouvernours of the Towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the *Portugals* with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time eighteen ships of *Portugals* great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then he would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yeere was spent to goe to the *Indies*. The night before hee departed, euery ship that had any lading therein, put it aboard of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies. In this time there came a messenger from the King of *Rachim* to this *Portugall* Captaine, who said in the behalfe of his King, that hee had heard of the courage and valour of him, desiring him gently that hee would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his Port, and comming thither he should be very well intreated. This *Portugall* went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

This King of *Rachim* hath his seate in the middle coast betweene *Bengala* and *Pegu*, and the greatestemie he hath is the King of *Pegu*: which King of *Pegu* deuisech night and day how to make this King of *Rachim* his subiect, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the King of *Pegu* hath no power or armie by Sea. And this King of *Rachim* may arme two hundred Gallies or Fusts by Sea, and by land hee hath certaine Sluces with the which when the King of *Pegu* pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the King of *Pegu* should come with his power to hurt him.

Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to *Ormuz*, I found there Master Francis Berettin of *Venice*, and we freighted a Barke together to goe for *Basora* for seuentie Duckets, and with vs there went other Merchants, which did ease our freight, and very commodiously wee came to *Basora*, and there we stayed fortie dayes for providing a Carouan of Barks to goe to *Babilon*, because they vse not to goe two or three Barks at once, but fise and twentie or thirtie, because in the night they cannot goe, but must make them fast to the bankes of the Riuer, and then wee must make a very good and strong guard, and bee well provided of armour, for respect and safegard of our goods, because the number of Theeues is great that come to spoile and rob the Merchants.

And when we depart for *Babilon* wee goe a little with our sayle, and the voyage is eight and thirtie or fortie dayes long but we were fiftie dayes on it. When we came to *Babilon* we stayed there foure moneths, vntill the Carouan was readie to goe over the Wildernesse or Desert for *Alepo*; in this Citie we were fixe Merchants that accompanied together, fise *Venetians* and a *Portugall*, whose names were as followeth, Messer *Florinasa* with one of his kinsmen, Messer *Andrea de Polo*, the *Portugall*, and Master Francis Berettin and I, and so we furnished our selues with victuals

victuals and Beanes for our horses for fortie dayes; and wee bought Horses and Mules, for that they be very good cheape there. I my selfe bought a Horse there for eleuen Akens, and sold him after in *Alepo* for thirtie Duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did vs very great pleasure: we had also amongst vs two and thirtie Camels laden with Merchandise: for the which wee paid two Duckets for euery Camels lading, and for euery ten Camels they made eleuen, for so is their vse and custome. We take also with vs three men to serue vs in the voyage, which are vsed to goe in those voyages for five Duckets a man, and are bound to serue vs to *Alepo*: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the Camels cryed out to rest, our Pavilion was the first that was erected. The Carouan maketh but small iournies about twentie miles a day, and they set forwards euery morning before day two houres, and about two in the afternoone they sit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: for which cause we neuer wanted water, but euery day found good water, so that wee could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we carried a Camell laden alwaies with water for euery good respect that might chance in the Desert, so that we had no want neither of one thing nor other that was to be had in the Countrey. For we came very well furnished of euery thing, and euery day we eate fresh Mutton, because there came many Shepheards with vs with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that wee bought in *Babilon*, and euery Merchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gaue the shepheards a *Medin*, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our sheepe on the way, and for killing of them. And beside the *Medin* they haue the Heads, the Skinnies, and the intrals of euery sheepe they kill. Wee fixe bought twentie sheepe, and when we came to *Alepo* we had seuen alieue of them. And in the Carouan they vse this order, that the Merchants doe lend flesh one to another, because they will not carrie raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

From *Babilon* to *Alepo* is fortie daies iourney, of the which they make fixe and thirtie daies ouer the Wildernesse, in which fixe and thirtie dayes they neither see House, Trees nor people that inhabite it, but onely a Plaine, and no signe of any way in the world. The Pilots goe before, and the Carouan followeth after. And when they sit downe, all the Carouan vnladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in fixe and thirtie dayes we passe ouer the Wildernesse. For when we depart from *Babilon* two dayes wee passe by Villages inhabited vntill we haue passed the River *Euphrates*. And then within two dayes of *Alepo* wee haue villages inhabited. In this Carouan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Iustice vnto all men: and euery night they keepe watch about the Carouan, and comming to *Alepo* we went to *Tripoli*, whereas Master *Florin*, and Master *Andrea Polo*, and I, with a Frier, went and hired a Barke to goe with vs to *Ierusalem*. Departing from *Tripolie*, wee arriued at *Iaffa* from which place in a day and a halfe we went to *Ierusalem*, and wee gaue order to our Barke to tarry for vs vntill our returne. Wee stayed in *Ierusalem* fourteene dayes, to visit those holy places: from whence we returned to *Iaffa*, and from *Iaffa* to *Tripolie*, and there we shipped our selues in a ship of *Venice* called the *Bagazzana*: And by the helpe of the Diuine power, we arriued safely in *Venice* the fifth of Nouember 1581. I will not bee vnmindfull to put them in remembrance, that haue a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and giue them to their heires at the time of their death, and how this may be done very securely. In all the Cities that the Portugals haue in the *Indies*, there is a House called the schoole of *Santa misericordia commissaria*; the Gouvernours whereof, if you giue them for their paines, will take a copie of your Will and Testament, which you must alwayes carrie about you; and chieffie when you goe into the *Indies*. In the Countrey of the *Moores* and *Gentiles*, in those voyages alwaies there goeth a Captaine to administer Iustice to all Christians of the Portugals. Also this Captaine hath authoritie to recover the goods of those Merchants that by chance die in those voyages, and they that haue not made their Wills and registred them in the asoresaid Schooles, the Captaines will consume their goods in such wise, that little or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also these goeth in these same voyages some Merchants that are Commissaries of the Schoole of *Santa misericordia*, that if any Merchant die and haue his Will made, and hath giuen order that the Schoole of *Misericordia* shall haue his goods and sell them, then they send the money by exchange to the Schoole of *Misericordia* in *Lisbon*, with that copie of his Testament, then from *Lisbon* they giue intelligence thereof, into what part of Christendome soeuer it be; and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they bee heires, they shall receive there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not lose any thing. But they that die in the Kingdome of *Pegu* lose the third part of their goods by ancient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, the King and his Officers rest heires of a third of his goods, and there hath neuer beene any deceit or fraud vsed in this matter. I haue knowne many rich men that haue dwelled in *Pegu*, and in their age they haue desired to goe into their owne Countrey to die there, and haue departed with all their goods and substance without let or trouble.

In *Pegu* the fashion of their apparell is all one, as well the Nobleman, as the simple: the onely difference is in the fineness of the Cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another,

EEEEEE 3

and

36. Daies iourney ouer the Wildernesse.

On the Tower of the An order how to prouide for the going to Ierusalem.

The Author returneth to Venice, 1581. A very good order that they haue in those Countries for the recouering of the goods of the dead.

Order of Apparell in Pegu.

The order of
the womens
apparell in
Pegu.

and they weare their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which serueth for a shirt, then they gird another painted Bombast cloth, of fourteene braces, which they bind vp betwixt their legs, and on their heads they weare a small Tocke of three braces, made in guise of a Myter, and some goe without Tockes, and carrie (as it were) a Hiue on the heads, which doeth not passe the lower part of his care, when it is lifted vp: they goe all bare-footed, but the Noblemen neuer goe on foot, but are carried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a Hat made of the leaues of a tree to keepe him from the Raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feet bare in the stirrups. All sorts of women whatsoeuer they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foot they weare a cloth of three braces, open before, so straight that they cannot goe, but they must shew their secret as it were aloft, and in their going they faigne to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straightnesse of their cloth. They say that this vse was inuented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remoue from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly giuen vnto: which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare-footed, their armes laden with hoopess of Gold and Jewels: And their fingers full of precious Rings, with their haire rolled vp about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a Cloake.

CHAP. V.

GASPARO BALBI his Voyage to Pegu, and obseruations there, gathered out of his owne Italian Relation.



Townes on the
bankes of Euphrates.

Overhanging
Hills. but a little
Falls downe

Derfu or Elder
a faire Citie. A
Cabur a Riuer
of Red water.

Elerfi perhaps
Edessa.

Fountaine of
Pitch.

Nno 1579. on the thirteenth of December Gasparo Balbi a Jeweller of Venice travelled with the Carauan from Aleppo towards Bagdet and the East Indies: the first day came to *Bebbe*, the second to *Saguir*, the third to *Bir*, or *Albir* on the banke of *Euphrates* on the left hand, and there embarked their goods for *Felugia*. They stayed till the eleuenth of Ianuarie in cold and snowe to expect fure other Barkes. These Barkes of *Albir* are double keeled or botomed to preuent harmes. On the twelfth they came to *Tellenini* much afflicted with winde, snowe and cold. Thence to *Matao Lantache* on the right hand: and so on to *Calatelnogin* a dishabited Castle, to *Zoxenia* to *Miserusi*, to *Blis* (many dangerous shelues and trunks of trees are in that dayes way) to *Meliolxara*, to *Chalagiabar*, to *Elaman*, to *Suriech*, to *Raccha*, to *Elamora*, to *Aman*, to *Anagia* to *Casabi*, to *Celibi*, the ruinous Castle *Zebebe*, and the same day halfe an houre together vnder mountainous beetlebrowed ouerlookers threatening to fall on them, many stones whereof lying false in the water made it more dreadfull (the Mountaine is called *Eltorestromit*) and the next day came to two Falls or Precipices caused by the stones carried thither from that overhanging Hills ruines, so heightening the water, that the Fall was ten cubits, euery one there making his prayer for a good Voyage. At night they came to *Elder* on the right hand of the Riuer, anciently called *Port of the Chaine*, in which was a *Turkish Saniak* and *Cadi*, goodly men and fairer women then in the rest of those parts. Thence to *Muachefir*, to *Elpisara*, the Riuer *Cabur* falling into *Euphrates* (comming from *Merdin*) of reddish colour, to *Rahabi*, to *Zoxosoldan*, to *Siara*, to *Gorur*, and then vnder a Mountaine hollowed by the course of the water, called *Carteron*, minacing a downfall vpon vs, made the more fearefull by a threefold fissure and manifold ruines of stones; which passed in a quarter of an houre, they came to *Sora* a Castle neere to a great ruined Citie dishabited on the left hand seeming to them greater then *Cairo*; the Mariners affirmed that they had heard their Progenitors tell, that there had beene in it three hundred sixty and sixe Gates; it is called *Elerfi*, and rowing downe the streame with foure Oares from morning to noone, we hardly passed beyond one side thereof. Thence to *Anga* another ruined Citie, with many Mills, whereby it appeareth that *Euphrates* hath now a larger chanell then in those times. Next was *Chaine*, and neere it an Engine to throwe water into a chanell to water the fields; to *Sema*, to *Carpilchelbi*, to *Fochelcurm*, to *Edir*, to *Rechtalmel*, to *Zasara*, beyond which are straight passages, and a Sepulchre which they held in veneration, and each Mariner threw in a Bisket superstitiously to preuent Shipwracke: to *Elcuxi*, to *Elmesetana*, to *Castle Anna*, neere to which in *Diana*, *Ahorise* an *Arabian* Lord liueth; to the Ile *Anatelbes*; after dangerous passages to *Beg-gian* another Ile full of Date trees, to *Cabin*, to *Sberie*, to *Zousa*, to *Giera*, *Germa*, *Benexi*, *Dulet-gidit*, then to two Ilands namelesse being newly made by the Riuer, to *Zibida*, *Vrasa*, *Fuochelbe-ra*, *Abnsabur*, *Adis* (in which an *Arabike Saniak* keepeth to *Zexirnatu*, to *Giuba*, (residence of a *Saniak*) to *Nausa*, to *En*, neere to which is a boiling Fountaine of Pitch, wherewith the Inhabitants build their houses, daubing it on boughes cut from trees, so that they may seeme rather of Pitch then Wood, euery one taking what him pleaseth freely; and if the ouerflowing *Euphrates* should not carrie away the Pitch throwne into the field where it ariseth, they say there would be hills raised by it. Against the forcible streame of the Riuer is no rowing, or so difficult that

that a Boat in *Bir* costing five and twenty Duckets in *Eit* or *Felugia* is not worth about five. Following their Voyage they came to *Caragnol*, the Inhabitants whereof speake *Arabike*, *Turkish* and *Persian*. To water their fields they vse abundance of skin-bottles (fastned to a chaine with cords) drawne vp by Oxen in a Mill (as in the Water-honse at London) which empty themselues into water-passages. These mens Religion is reputed a Gallimaufrey or Heresie. On the one and twentieth of Februarie they arriued at *Felugia*. On the foure and twentieth at Sunne-rising they passed a Bridge ouer a Streame which runneth when the water is high from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, and came at noone to the ruines of a Citie called *Sendia*, and then halfe an houre after to the beginnings of old *Babylon*, and going along by the same, at night came to *Nareisa*, midway from *Felugia* to *Bagdet*, a place perilous for Robbers and Lions. Before Sun-rising next day we traueled againe alongst those ruines leauing them on the left hand, seeing pieces of great walls ruined, and one piece of the great Tower of *Babylon*, till comming to *Mascadon* they saw the Towers of *Bagdet* or new *Babylon*. From *Felugia* thither the soyle seemes good, yet neither is there Tree or greene Grasse, House or Castle: but Mushromes so good that the *Moores* eat them raw. They were nine and forty dayes from *Bir* to *Bagdet* by reason of the Winter.

Hard rowing
vp the Frat.

Old Babylon.

Tigris.

Ill sent.

Whirlepoole.

Hot and deadly
wind.

Seuen Pagods.

Saint Thomas.

Iesuits miracle
not about but
without reason
in a casuall ac-
cident.

Marinaccio.
Dan. 3. The
smell of fire
was not on the
persons mira-
culously deli-
uered: but
stinking stuffe
becomes the
foole-miracles
monger,

them

The thirteenth of March, 1580. they departed from *Bagdet* towards *Balsara*, embarked in the *Tigris*, a Riuer seeming like *Nilus*, not so endangered with shelues and bodies of trees as *Euphrates*. At *Elmaca* the Riuer is diuided into two, one running after into *Euphrates*, the other to *Balsara*. The Inhabitants on the right hand are *Arabs*, on the left *Gurgi*. On the eighteenth they came to *Cher*. There are many Lions, and *Arab* Theeues. There are also many keepers of Oxen, Sheepe and Goats. Thence to *Encaserami*, where each Mariner cast in a Bisket for deuotion to a holy man there buried. Hitherto both in *Euphrates* and *Tigris* they had good aire; but there they began to haue an ill sent of the Riuer, very noisome, and they were in the night endangered with a kinde of whirlepoole, and were faine to call to their consorts which towed them out. The next day they came to *Casale*, a *Saniaks* residence, where the *Persian* Riuer *Maroan* disembogued. Heere the Tide was first encountred out of the *Persian* Gulfe. A little beyond at *Ca-lactel* they fasten their Barks when the Tide ariseth, which otherwise could force them backe. The Champaines are well inhabited. They entred *Corno*, and a little beyond encountred a piece of *Euphrates* ioyning with *Tigris*, where abide many Souldiers with a *Saniak* to preuent theeues, which by hundreds in a companie vse to robbe. Here the Riuer (which in some places had beene like *Brent*) was as large as *Nilus*, and well inhabited. At certaine times it is here so hote that many die thereof: and in this Voyage foure persons wearied with heate and trauell late downe to refresh themselues a while, and were overcome by a hote winde which strangled them all foure. The one and twentieth they arriued at *Balsara*.

The Authors Voyage from *Balsara* to *Ormuz*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Cochin*, *Cananor*, *Seilan*, *Negapatan*, I omit, and will first welcome him to *Saint Thome*.

On the nine and twentieth of May, 1582. in the name of Christ wee set sayle, directing our Prow towards the North to auoide certaine shelues which are very perilous; we saw many Fishers, which tooke great store of fish, which they ate with Rice. All that night we sayled with a South winde Northerly. About three of the clocke the next morning we came to a place which is called the *Seuen Pagods*, vpon which are eight pleasant hillockes not very high, which are seuen leagues from *Saint Thomas*, right ouer against it, where wee arriued about noone the thirtieth of May, saluting it with three Peeces of Ordnance. The Citie of *Saint Thomas* is so called of the Reliques of that Saint, which are kept here with great veneration; it is situated in 13. degrees and a third part. The Front is towards the West, very strong by reason of the Blocke-houses, which are vpon the Port, along towards the Sea, this Port is so low that Elephants cannot enter in at it, for the Horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three Churches: one very faire, of *Saint Thomas*, which is well serued with Priests, the chiefe of them is a Vicar (for so they call him) who was sent thither by the Archbishop of *Goa*. There is another of *Saint Francis*, very wel serued with Capuchins: and another of *Saint Iohn* the Baptist, where the Fathers of *Saint Paul* of the Companie of *Iesus*, are in continuall prayer; to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient, when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast vp by the Sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that Church. I was here when this piece of timber was cast vp; for one day going to Masse to the Church of our Lady, I saw great concourse of people running to the Sea-side, and I went also to see what was the matter, and saw this piece of timber cast vpon the shoare. Then the Church of *Saint Iohn* Baptist was finished, but because they wanted transomes to make the rooffe they couered it with straw. This was held for a great miracle, that so great a piece of timber should bee cast vp by the Sea, the point lay towards the Quire of the Church. Moreouer, when they sawed this piece of wood, they perceiued in the outside of it, as also within it a stinke of * Oase, so that they could not come neere * it: whereupon they iudged, that it was caused by the abundance of water, wherewith it was inuolued in the Sea, and that it came from some farre Countrie. But after a while they set it on end; and now it is so hard, that the *Portugals* may make vse of it. The foresaid Fathers of *Saint Paul* haue another Church in the Citie, dedicated to Our Lady, where they baptise the *Gentiles*, and exhort and instruct them

them in matters of Faith. There is another Church called *Our Lady of Light*, which is served by Saint *Thomas* his Priests; but it is three miles out of the Towne. There is also another called *Our Lady of the Mount*, and another of the *Crosse*, here is also the Church of *Mercy*; out of the Towne there is one of Saint *Lazarus*, and many others well served. Saint *Thomas* is as faire a Citie as I saw any in that Countrie, and the houses ioyne one to the other, so to be able to succour one another. Without the Citie of Saint *Thomas* is another Citie environed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with *Gentiles* Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called *Adicario*, who hath power to execute iustice. They obserue the custome to burne their Dead in this Citie, as at *Negapaton*; but neere to this is a Citie called *La Casta de gli Orefici*, Goldsmiths rowe; they haue a custome when the Husband is dead, to make a pit in the earth, and there to place the dead corps crosse-legged; and on the other side set his liuing Wife in the same manner, and their kindred cast earth vpon her, pressing her downe, that shee may die also; and when they wiue, they marrie with their Comperes, as a Carpenter takes the daughter of a Carpenter, and so of others. The foresaid Inhabitants worship sometimes the figure of a Kow, and otherwhiles of a Serpent called *Bittia di Cappella*, whose biting is deadly, and it hath one part of the flesh from the middle inuer-
ted towards the head.

The *Bramins* are wont to burne Kowes excrements, and with the ashes for deuotion meeting with the *Gentiles* to dawbe their forehead and nose; who so painted wash not that day for deuotion of the Kow. The men which are deuoted to the Pagod or Statue, after they haue liued a whole yeere after their will in carnall pleasures, are wont to take a Bowe and an Arrowe, and shoot their owne flesh aloft in the aire, which they slash off in morsels, and when they can continue no longer in this manner, they cut their owne throat, thus sacrificing their body to the Pagod. There are some also which are called *Amocchi*, who are a kinde of people called *Chiani*, and are not of those *Gentiles* of Saint *Thomas*, but of the Coast of *Chiana*, who being weary of liuing, set themselves in the way with a weapon in their hands, which they call a *Crise*, and kill as many as they meete with, till some body killeth them; and this they doe for the least anger they conceiue, as desperate men. These *Gentiles* are very different in their adoration, for some worship the image of a Man, some of a Kow, others of Serpents; others the Sunne, or the Moone, some a Tree or the Water, and other things. They are accustomed to celebrate many Feasts; but in the moneth of Septemb. I saw one: the people planted a tree in the ground like the Mast of a ship, with the Main-yard acrosse, vpon which Main-yard were two hooks fastned: and there are many which desire to free themselves from some trouble or misery, who make a vow to the Pagod, to hooke or ganch themselves; and for this there are some deputed that stand there, who seeing any that will ganch themselves for deuotion, they first make an offering, and then they loosen a cord and let downe the hookes, and with them they fasten the shoulders of him that will hooke himselfe, and then they hoise him vp aloft, making him turne his face to the Pagod, and salute it three times with his hands in suppliant wise before his breast, and make him play with a weapon, which hee carrieth in his hands while he is in drawing vp: and after a while they let him downe, and colour the tree with his blood, saying they doe it in reuerence to the Pagod; and then they let him downe, and put a rope thorow the holes which the hookes made, and fastning that cord to the Pagod, they draw him by little and little to the Statue by that cord; then the women of the Pagod conduct him to the Statue to reuerence it, and after this they take care to heale him if they can. And thus they doe by a vow or promise to the Pagod to obtaine any thing, or in sicknesse to recover health. They haue another Feast by night which dureth eight nights in a long street of the Citie full of lights on both sides, and three or foure persons take one another by the hands, who haue on their armes certaine baskets full of viands made of Rice and Milke, and then they runne and cast that meate behind them, which they say the Deuill eats who runnes behind them, and while they are in this motion they neuer looke behind them; for they say, if they doe, they shall suddenly die: and this is sufficient for the mad customes of this Countrie.

On the thirteenth of September, 1583. in the name of Iesus Christ, after wee had laded our merchandise, and payd our Customes, we went a shipboord; And hauing sailed vntill the three and twentieth of this moneth, we found our selues neere to *Maccareo*, it is very strange which is reported of the ebbings and flowings of the water, and certainly he which hath not seene them will scarcely beleuee them; Certaine Pilots goe from *Marionan*, as swift as an Arrow in the encreasing of the water, as long as the Floud lasteth, and the Tide being at the height, they turne out of the channell, and there ride; when the water is fallen on drie land, and the bore or ride comes as some great tree: and in such a time they oppose the Prow against it, and so expect the furie of the water, which resembleth the noise of a great Earthquake; so that maugre their strength and skill the Barke is washed from head to stearne, and with that violence is carried swiftly into the channell. After that, the winde blew from the South-west, and wee failed to the North-west, till the morning, when we found our selues at *Bara*, right ouer *Negrais* (they call so in their language the Hauen which goeth into *Pegu*) where wee discovered on the left side of the Riuer a Pagod or *Varella* all gilded ouer, which is seene as farre off by the vellels that come from the Maine, and especially when the Sunne shines, which makes it glister round about as farre

as it is seene. And because the raine washeth it often and consumeth the gold, the men of that place often regild it, that the ships by the splendor thereof may haue this benefit, to know the Hauens: and they doe it for deuotion and reuerence to the place. Wee then all reioyced at that time, and made merrie; because we considered that if we had arriued there foure or fve dayes later we could not haue entred the Hauens by reason of the continual winds which blowe there with great furie. Then casting anchor, to expect the flood, so to shunne some Rockes which are vnder the water; we saw a place very curiously adorned with Bowers and a Church (where the *Talipois* reside, which are there as the Friers with vs) where the people of this Countrey assemble to pray. It is reported that in this place there are abundance of Tigres which deuoure the men and beasts of the Countrey. On the foure and twentieth of September, there came a little Barke neere vs called a *Salangara*, whereby the Captaine of our ship sent a *Portugall* with a present to the King, to giue him notice of our arriual, and the euening following wee drew neere to the Iland of *Flies*, so called of the multitudes of them there caused from the abundance of fish there salted, wherewith also we furnished our ship. In the meane time the ship went to *Cosmi*, to the Lord of the Countrey, who sent twenty Boats with eight Oares a piece, and a royall Almadie, which is a certaine long Barke, rowed with many Oares, and it beganne to put forth, and two dayes after the Lord of *Cosmi* came together with the ship, who presented our *Moorsish* Captaine with great faire Hennes, of a very good taste, and many Oranges, which growe in great quantitie in the Countrey. The said Lord was rowed in a Barke made very fantastically, it was of the length of a Foist; but so narrow that in the middle it seemed not to be above one pace ouer, at the head and stearne it was as narrow as our Gondolos; but it was very high, and there were more then an hundred Rowers, which rowe at the side with an hundred Oares like stickes, and they did obserue in their rowing to draw the water towards them altogether by reason of foure Trumpeters, which sound when they should rowe, and sit in the middle of the Barke; the Signior was in a high Cabbin made in the middle of the Boat covered after the manner of the middle part of a Gondolo, but greater, with a Port before to shut, and open as he pleaseth.

Now the fift of October we came to *Cosmi*, whose Territories on both sides are woody, and frequented with Parrots, Tigres, wilde Boares, Apes, and such like creatures. *Cosmi* is seated in 16. degrees and a third part, and hath the houses made of great *Indian* canes, and covered with straw, fronted towards the North-east, situate in a very fine place, but subiect to the raging of Tigres, which often enter into the Towne, and catch men and beasts, and deuoure them; but this they doe in the night, for they abide in the Woods all day.

Wee departed from *Cosmi* the sixe and twentieth of October, with a little *Paro*, which is to say, a voyage Barke, hauing committed our merchandise to the Guardian of the great *Paro*, and sayling down the Riuer, at euen we arriued at a Village on the left hand of the Riuer called *Pain Perlon*; and about three of the clocke the next morning at *Marma Mala*, and about the euening before a great Citie on the left hand of the Riuer called *Iaccubet*; and an houre after at another on the right side called *Tegiar den*. The morning following we came to a place called *Balatin*, where they make Pots and Iarres of excellent fine earth, and a little after we saw *Dian* a fertile Countrey, plentiful in timber both for Houses, Ships, and Barks, where they haue certaine vessels like Galeasses, which haue on both sides from head to sterne Cabbins with diuers merchandises, and in the middle in stead of the Mast there is a house like ours, so that within them they traffique for store of Muske, Benjamin, and diuers Jewels. On the nine and twentieth day we saw the Land of *Bedogiamana*, *Lagapala*, and *Purdabai*, and the euening wee came to a great Countrey called *Gungiebui*, where wee tarried with great feare of being assaulted by theues, who vnder the shew of friendship betray dispersed passengers; and in like manner we auoyded the danger of the multitude of Tigres, which in these parts assaile men, and destroy as many as they can get. For this cause we strengthened ourselues in the middle of the Riuer; yet they report, that the fiercenesse of this creature is such that he will prey in the water. The day following wee went in a narrow Riuer like our *Brent* by *Padua*, which is shadowed with Palme trees that growe in great abundance in both sides of the Riuer; there is the great Citie of *Coilan*, which is a league long on each side, which being a perfect square make twelue of our miles. After that, we came by another Citie called *Tunaguedan*, where are many Pagods and Statues; and at euening we arriued at *Leungon* a very faire Citie, seated in a pleasant Territory, replenished with Palme trees; parting from thence after wee had seene many buildings on both sides of the Riuer, about morning we came to a great populous Citie called *Siluanfedi*, and at euening before another called *Moggio*, where were infinite store of great and small vessels, all covered from head to sterne with straw, within which are the families of one house, so that they serue for conuenient habitations; they vse to drinke in them hot waters made of Rice, as strong as our *Aghauita*, these Barks sell fresh fish, and salted and dressed in diuers fashions, and other sorts of prouision, so that along that Riuer, to the mouth of the Sea, which is fresh water, they may saile without carrying any victuals, but only money to spend. The second of Nouember we came to the Citie of *Dala*, where besides other things are ten large roomes full

Talipois.
Tigres.

Iland of *Flies.*

Cosmi.

Dangerous
Tigres.

Pain Perlon.
Marma Mala.
Iaccubet.

Dian.

Gungiebui.

Brent the Ri-
uer which go-
eth from *Pa-*
dua towards
Venice.

Coilan.
Tunaguedan.
Leungon.
Siluanfedi.
Moggio.
Boat-houses.

Dala.
of

Dogon.

Dogon.

Idol guard.

Varella of
Dogon.Pilgrimage In-
dulgence and
Mart.Apes futable
to apish deu-
otions.

Great Bell.

Sirian.

of Elephants: which are kept there by diuers seruants of the King of *Pegu*. The day following we came to the faire Citie of *Dogon*, it is finely seated, and fronted towards the South west, and where they land are twenty long steps, as from the Pillar of Saint *Marke* to the Straw-bridge, the matter of them is strong and great pieces of timber, and there are great currents of water both at ebbe and fload, because it is a place neere *Maccareo*, which entreth and goeth out of the mouth of *Sirian*, which is a Sea-port: and alwaies when the water encreaseth, they goe vpon the Staires: and when it is ebbe, it discouers all about, and makes it a great way drie land. On both sides the Riuer, at the end of the banke, or at the staires, is a wooden Tigre, very great, and painted after the naturall colour of a Tigre; and there are two others in the midst of the staires, so farre one from another, that they seeme to share the staires equally. They stand with open mouth, shewing their teeth and tongue, with their claws lifted vp and stretched forth, prepared to assaile him that lookes on them. Concerning these they told mee a foolish belife which they haue, that they stand there to guard, for if any should be so bold to displease the Pagod, those Tigris should defend him, for he would giue them life. After we were landed we began to goe on the right hand in a large street about fifty paces broad, in which wee saw wooden houses gilded, and adorned with delicate gardens after their custome, wherein their *Talapois*, which are their Friars, dwell, and looke to the Pagod, or Varella of *Dogon*. The left side is furnished with Portals and Shops, very like the new *Procuratia* at *Venice*: and by this street they goe towards the Varella, for the space of a good mile straight forwards, either vnder painthouses, or in the open street, which is free to walke in. When we came at the Varella, we found a paire of staires of ninety steps, as long in my iudgement as the chancell of the *Rialto* at *Venice*. At the foot of the first staire are two Tigris, one at the right hand, and the other at the left, these are of stone, and stand in the same fashion that they doe on the shoare-side. The staires are diuided into three, the first is forty steps, the second thirty, and the third twenty, and at the top of each of them is a plaine spacious place. On the last step are Angels of stone, each with three Crowns one vpon the other; but so that that which is vndermost is the greatest, and that which is next lesser then that, yet greater then the vppermost, which is the least. They haue the right hand lifted vp, ready to giue the benediction, with two fingers stretched out. The other hand of the one is layd vpon the head of a Childe, and of the other vpon the head of an Ape: those Statues are all of stone. At the right hand is a Varella gilded in a round forme, made of stone, and as much in compasse as the streete before the *Venetian* Palace, if it were round: and the height may equall Saint *Markes* Bell-tower, not the top of it, but the little Pinnaces. At the left hand is a faire Hall carved and gilded within and without. And this is the place of deuotion, whither the people goe to heare the *Talapois* preach: the streete is greater then Saint *Markes*, at the least larger. And this is a place of great deuotion amongst them, and yeerely multitudes of people come by Sea and by Land. And when they celebrate a solemne Feast, the King in person goeth before them all, and with him the Queene, the Prince, and his other sonnes, with a great traine of Nobles and others, who goe to get a pardon. And on this day there is a great Mart where are all sorts of merchandises which are current in those Countries, which they frequent in great multitudes, which come thither not so much for deuotion as traffique, and wee may freely goe thither if wee will. Round about this and vpon another Varella were Apes running vp and downe, the great and small staires also are full of them. After wee had seene this, at the foot of the first staire when I went downe I turned my face to the left side, and with some *Portugals* which were in my companie found in a faire Hall a very large Bell, which we measured, and found to be seven paces and three hand bredths, and it is full of Letters from the top to the bottom, and so neere together that one toucheth the other, they are very well and neatly made: but there was no Nation that could vnderstand them, no not the men of *Pegu*, and they remember not whence, nor how it came thither. At the euening about one of the clocke at night wee went from this place, and about three we came among some Fishers Nets, which almost ship wrackt vs, as they did one of our companie, who being entangled in them went vnder them, and so was sunke, and this was through the negligence of some Fishers, who when they lay forth such Nets, ought to haue a barke with a light or fire, all the night to giue warning to Saylers, that they come not on that side. But praised be God, we freed our selues in the best manner we could, that day after the Sunne was vp wee arrived ouer against the mouth of *Sirian*, which is on the South side, where with some difficulty we landed, for the violence of the water drew vs into *Maccareo*. *Sirian* was an Imperiall Citie, where an Emperour resided, the Walls and Bulwarkes are ruined, by which one may see that it hath bene very strong, and almost impregnable: but Anno 1567. it was subdued by the King of *Pegu*, who to take it sent a million and an halfe of men: and after he had besieged it two yeeres with the losse of halfe a million of his men, he tooke it by treason. Which when the Emperour vnder stood, he poisoned himselfe, and the rest of his familie were carried away prisoners vpon Elephants, who returned in great numbers laden with Gold, Jewels, and other precious things: departing from *Sirian* we followed our Voyage, seeing many inhabited

ted Townes called by diuers names. Finally we came to a place called *Meccao*, where we disembarked to goe by land to *Pegu*, being about twelue miles. Ouer against *Meccao* are certaine habitations where the King of *Pegu* was then for his disport, who causeth there beautifull gilded vessels to be made, besteming such a King. From *Cosmi* to *Meccao* we were eleuen dayes in our Voyage, sayling alwaies by Riuers of fresh water, which ebbe and flowe, and on both sides there are houses and habitations made vpon piles planted in the earth, so that the Tigres cannot molest the Inhabitants, they goe vp to them vpon Ladders made of light wood, which they draw vp. Some of the Inhabitants keepe Buffalos in their houses; for they say, that the Tigres will not come neere the places where these beasts are, by reason of their ill sauour: they are in these Countries of vnmeasurable greatnesse and thicknesse. For the Voyage of Saint *Thomas* to *Pegu*, it is good to carrie Bracelets, which they make of glasse in Saint *Thomas*, for with these better then with money you may buy victuals, and there in the Citie where you buy them they are sold at a lowe price, but if they are enamelled they sell them deare. The number of Pagods or Varelles which wee saw in this Voyage I write not, for they are innumerable, and in diuers shapes; but I onely say, that on the shoare where wee landed to goe to *Dagon*, which is made of large strong timbers, are two Statues, which resemble two Boyes from the head downewards, their faces after the likenesse of Devils with two wings. There are some Varelles gilded, and set in faire places, to which they come and offer Gold and other merchandise in great quantitie, to maintayne their gilding, for the raine spoiles it. About these Varelles are found tyed many Apes of that kinde which resemble Mountain-cats, which wee call Monkeyes; they keepe them very carefully, holding them to be creatures beloued of God, because they haue their hands and feet like humane creatures; and therefore their Woods are full of them, for they neuer take any, except for their Varelles and Statues.

Meccao.

Preuention of Tigres.

Buffalos.

Diuersity of Varelles.

Monkeys in respect.

Pegu described.

Crocodile-guard.

Audience before the King.

The King and his *Semini*, which are his Courtiers.

Kings bounty.

There are two Cities of *Pegu*, the old and the new; in the former Strangers and Merchants inhabit, who are many, and vtter great store of merchandise, in this also is the Kings Nobles, and Gentlemen, and other people. The new is not very large, it was built by the father of the present King, on a sudden, in a very neat fashion and with wonderfull strength: The old is very ancient and reasonable great with many houses made of great canes, and many Magasins of brick to keepe wares in: and to speake of the old Citie of *Pegu*, as of the nobler, because of the Kings residence in it, and of all his Court, you must knowe that the Citie is pleasantly seated in the altitude of 16. degrees and a third part, it is enuironed with walls, and hath the forme of a perfect square, and in euery square are five gates: round about it are many ditches full of water, which continues all the yeere, and in them are many Crocodiles, which are put there, that if any will wade ouer these ditches they may be taken and killed.

After that I was provided of a good Druggerman and Interpreter, the noise of Trumpets was heard, which signified wee should see the King and haue audience of him, wee entred within the second gate, whereby they goe into the Court-yard, and the Interpreter and I cast our selues vpon our knees on the ground, and with our hands eleuated in humble wise, and making a shew three times before we rose of kissing the ground; and three other times we did thus before wee came neere to the place where the King sate with his *Semini*, prostrate on the earth (for no *Christian*, how neere soeuer to the King, nor *Moorish* Captaines, except of his *Semini*, come in that place so neere the King) I heard all his Speech, but vnderstood it not: I gaue the Emeralds to the Interpreter, who lifted them vp ouer his head, and againe made reuerence, of them called *Rombee*: and as soone as the King saw it, a *Nagiran*, that is to say, the Lord of his words, or Interpreter, making the like *Rombee*, tooke the Emeralds, and gaue them into the Kings hand, and then went out of his presence, who a little while after called him, commanding him as Lord of his words, that he should aske mee what Countriman I was, how many yeeres it was since I left my Countrie, and what was my name, and from what place I had brought those Emeralds, and I with the accustomed *Rombee* (for at euery word they speake they must make such an obeisance) answered that my name was *Gaspas Balbi*, that I had bene in my Voyage foure yeeres, and that I brought the Emeralds from *Venice* to giue his Maiestie, the fame of whose bountie, courtesie and greatnesse was spread ouer the world, and especially in our parts, to be the greatest King in the world; all this was written in their letters, and read by the Lord of his words to his Maiestie. He commanded to aske me in what parts *Venice* was seated, and what King gouerned it; and I told him that it was in the Kingdome of *Italie*, and that it was a Republike or free State, not gouerned by any King. When the King heard this, he greatly wondered; so that he began to laugh so exceedingly, that hee was ouercome of the cough, which made him that hee could hardly speake to his Great men. Lastly, hee demanded, if that King which last tooke *Portugall* were as great, and if *Venice* were warlike. To which I answered, that King *Philip* that had taken *Portugall* was the potentest King among the *Christians*, and that the *Venetians* were in league with him, but had no feare of any, yet sought friendship with all. And then I reported the ouerthrow which the *Venetians* gaue the Emperour of the *Turkes*. *Ametbi*, who at that time was at *Mecca*, confirmed this to be true of the defeat of the *Turkish* Armado. Then he gaue me a Cup of gold, and five pieces of *China* Damaske of diuers colours, and bad them tell me, that he gaue me these,

and

and did not so pay me for my Emeralds, for which I should be contented of his publike *Terreca*, which are his *Treasurers*. This was holden for novelty with them that saw it, for it was not the Kings custome to present any thing to any. Moreouer, the King ordered that for the wares which I had brought, the *Decagini* should not make me pay any Taxe or Custome.

Store of Elephants.

The King nourisheth at his charges more then eight hundred domesticall Elephants of warre; but for wilde ones they may haue as many as they will, for the Woods are full of them. The Bufalos of this Countrie are of berettine colour, but so great, that they are like Elephants. There are other creatures as with vs, and many also of other kinds. When he goeth to his recreations solemnely, or in his Robes, foure white Elephants goe before him vested with Gold, hauing their teeth inclosed in a sheath wrought with Iewels. The King of *Pegu* hath great store of Artillarie of all sorts; but he wants men to manage them, he might make as many Gallies, Foists & Galleasses as he would, if he had men to gouerne them, and to make them, and therefore makes none: yet when he vndertakes any enterprize, he carries with him small Ordnance, which are gouerned by certaine Gunners, *Moors* of *Bengala*, of whom, as of strangers, he hath small confidence.

King of Anna or Anna his Rebellion.

The King of *Anna*, being subiect to the King of *Pegu*, and Brother to his Father, had a purpose to make himselfe Master of his Nephewes Kingdome, and to make himselfe King, because he was the ancients of the Royall branch; therefore at the Inauguration of the present King, he would not come to doe him homage as he ought, and as other Kings and Dukes his subiects did; he did not onely absent himselfe, but also kept backe the Present of Iewels which he was wont to giue, and restrained also the trade from his Countrie to *Pegu*, not suffering any Merchant to passe, but sought to conspire with his chiefe Courtiers against the King of *Pegu*, who as a good Nephew dissembled it, the said King of *Anna* being recommended to him from his Father before his death. Finally, the King of *Pegu*, willing to cleare himselfe of the ill will conceived against the King of *Anna* his Vncle, sent one of his household seruants to him, who was slaine by the King of *Anna* because of the warre, trusting that the *Grandes* of the Kingdome of *Pegu* would fauour his part, and reuolt from their naturall Lord, to set Him in his place. Therefore the King of *Pegu* proclaimed warre against *Anna*, and called to him his *Bagnia* and *Semini*, and gaue order to his *Decagini*, that as they came he should put them in prison; which being performed by the *Decagini*, the King ordained that the morning following they should make an eminent and spacious Scaffold, and cause all the *Grandes* to come vpon it, and then set fire to it, and burne them all aliue. But to shew that he did this with iustice, he sent another mandate, that he should doe nothing till he had an *Olla* or Letter written with his hand in letters of gold, and in the meane time he commanded him to retaine all the prisoners of the *Grandes* families vnto the women great with child, and those which were in their swadling clothes, and so he brought them all together vpon the said Scaffold; and the King sent the Letter that he should burne them, and the *Decagini* performed it, and burned them all, so that there was heard nothing but weepings, shriekings, cryings, and sobbings: for there were foure thousand in this number which were so burned great and small, for which execution were publike Guards placed by the King, and all of the old and new Citie were forced to assist them; I also went thither, and saw it with great compassion and grieve, that little children without any fault should suffer such martyrdom, and among others there was one of his chiefe Secretaries, who was last put in to be burned, yet was freed by the Kings order; but his legge was begunne to be burnt, so that he was lame.

Messenger slaine.

Terrible execution.

Expedition against Anna.

Combat of Kings.

Opima spolia.
400000. men
slaine.

And after followed this order from his Maiestie, that those other Captaines which remained should come to him, and he said to them, You haue seene what we haue done to Traitors, but be faithfull, and set in order all the people as you can, for I am a Captaine that warre iustly, going without any feare of not ouercomming: and so on a sudden, and within few dayes, he gathered together out of both the Cities more then three hundred thousand persons, and encamped without the Citie. Ten dayes after that I saw the King vpon an Elephant all ouer couered with Gold and Iewels, goe to the warre with great courage, with a Sword after our custome sent him by the Vice-roy of *Goa*, the hilt whereof was gilded: the said Vice-roy was called *Don Luis de Zuia*: he left the white Elephants in the Citie. After that, the King fell sicke of the small poxe, but when he was well, he encountered with the King of *Anna*, and they two fought body to body without any hinderance of the Armies; who being equally matched, as their vse is, combated brauely, as did also the Guard of this King with that of the other, and after the Kings had fought a while hand to hand, first with Harquebusses, then with Darts, and lastly with the Sword, the Elephant of the King of *Pegu* brake his right tooth with charging that of *Anna*, in which furie he so coupled with the other Elephant, that the King of *Pegu* killed the King of *Anna*, and he remained lightly wounded on one arme, and in the meane while his Elephant fell dead vnder him, and the King of *Pegu* mounted vpon that of *Anna*. But when the Armie of *Anna* saw their King dead, they ceased to fight, and demanded pardon of the King of *Pegu*, who with a ioyfull countenance praising their valour pardoned them all, and making a muster, found that of three hundred thousand which hee brought from *Pegu*, there died

died in that battell more then 200000. and little lesse of those of *Anna*. After this victorie he ordered that *Anna* should be destroyed, and all the people made prisoners, among which was the Queene taken prisoner, who was sister of the King of *Pegu*, and confined, during her life in a large house with many royall attendants; but shee agreed neuer to goe forth. The rest of the Citizens were banished to live in Woods among Tigres, and other creatures, and this was because the King of *Pegu* could not finde the great treasure which the King of *Anna* had. This warre was in the beginning of the moneth of Aprill, when in that Countrey fall great store of raines, causing great cold in a place called *Meccao*; and the fourteenth day of Iuly, in sixe dayes he returned v unexpectedly to *Pegu*, not finding the Citie with those guards which his Maiestie had appointed, but at the request of the Prince his sonne he did no other iustice.

Anna dispeopled.

At this his arriuall he vnderstood, that when hee was at the warre, there was arriued vnder excuse to come to his fauour in the old Citie of *Pegu* the sonne of the Emperour of *Silon* (or *Siam*) with fifty Elephants of warre, and eight hundred Horses, besides Harquebussiers, Pikemen, and Souldiers with swords, who were sent rowards *Anna* by the great *Brama*; but instead of taking his way towards that coast he returned to *Silon*.

Warre betwixt *Pegu* and *Siam*, of which see *Rimenta*.

In the mean time was brought into *Pegu* the Elephant of the King of *Anna*, which was so much discontented, that all the day long he mourned, I my selfe saw him lament, and that hee would eate but very little; and this I saw in the lodging where the King of *Pegu* was wont to keepe his, where continually were two *Semini*, that prayed him to eate, and mourne no longer, but be merry, for he was come to serue a King greater then his own. Notwithstanding the said Elephant would not cease from teares, and alwaies in token of sorrow held down his trunk: and thus he continued the space of 15. dayes, and then he began to eate, to the Kings great content. With the teeth of the Kings Elephant which died in battell by command from his Maiestie were made certaine Pagods or Statues, which were layd vp to bee kept among the Pagods of gold and siluer. After the King made five other of *Gonza*, which was a maruellous thing to see, for sitting crosse-legged, they were as high as a strong man could fling a stone, and they were ingraued fairely and curiously: one toe of the foot was greater then a man, and the said Pagods were set in publike before the Palace, and bespangled with gold.

Elephants pietie or loyaltie.

Statues and Colosses.

Gonza is a mixe metall of brasie and tin wherof they make money.

The warre of *Anna* being now finished, the King of *Silon*, who was subiect to the King of *Pegu*, sent one to his Maiestie to tell him, that it grieved him that a slaue had giuen answer to his sonne, whom he had sent to aide the King himselfe, and therefore now he made no more account of him, nor held him for his Lord; therefore the King *Pegu* sent forth a great Armie against *Silon*, vnder the conduct of the great *Brama*, who after he had lost many people through the heat, & through the great fortitude of *Silon*, could obtaine nothing of him but this, that if the King of *Pegu* would come to the campe he would reuerence him, but he would not yeeld himselfe to his inferior; and the King of *Pegu* answered, that he would haue his least slaue subdue his subiect. Although they kept a straight liege against *Silon*, yet the Citie stood it out manfully. It hath beene an Imperiall Citie; the houses are of timber, built high because of the ouerflowing of the Riuer. In Winter euery house hath a Boat to transport their people from one side of the Riuer to the other: there are many houses of poore people made vpon great planks with edifices of wood or great canes built on them, which they guide whither they will, to buy and sell any sort of merchandise, which is exercised by women, who when a ship comes to that place, doe not vnlade it; but goe themselues vpon these Rafts to negotiate, buy and sell. The people of *Silon* are *Genites*, as those of *Pegu*, they are white and beautifull; they feare not to bee overcome by the King of *Pegu* after this manner; for his father brought them to his obedience, going in person, and accompanied with eight hundred thousand men, neither had he taken it, if it had not beene by treason, by opening a Gate, there were many *Portugals* then taken prisoners, who were freed by the present King of *Pegu* with commendations for doing what the King of *Silon* commanded them. In the meane time there was a great fire kindled in a street of the *Portugals* in *Pegu*, by the diuersitie of winds which blew, it burned more then 3800. houses, and some Pagods, and praying places: and because it is a custome, that the King of *Pegu* in such cases proceeds against those which are authors of such a fire, there was searce made who kindled the fire, and he was certified, that it was in the house of a *Portugall* Pilot which brought vs to the Citie. The King made no shew of iudging this to haue beene for malice: but we were in continuall feare of burning, and so much the rather, because one of the Kings Diuiners told him, that if hee would haue the victorie of *Silon*, hee must burne a Citie, as his father did; and therefore we doubted that hee would destroy this old Citie of *Pegu*; but he was dissuaded from it by the Prince his sonne, who is very courteous and pleasant, and much delighted in discharging Harquebusses, and to shoot in Bowes, hee is of great stature, and browne, as his father; when he goes abroad he is carried vp in a Palamkin very pompously (as his other three little brothers are also) vnder a Cloth of state openly.

Inuasion of *Siam*.

Moveable houses.

See before in *Cesar Frederik*, which was then in *Pegu*.

Deuillish counsell.

Our Author proceedeth in large discourses of this Countrey, and the occurrents of that time, which (so much as is necessary) we haue in some of our other Peguan Relators, *Frederike*, *Fitch*, or the *Leuites*, and are therefore here omitted.

FFFFFFFFFF

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.
The Voyage of Master RALPH FITCH Merchant of London to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaja, Ganges, Bengala; to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Iamabay in the Kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malaeca, Zelan, Cochin, and all the Coast of the East India: begun in the yeere of our Lord 1583. and ended 1591.

See Master Newbery his voyage to Ormus. sup. l. 9. c. 18. I had thought to have left out this voyage of Master Fitch, as being before published by Mr. Hakluyt but seeing none other of our English travellers have scene divers Countries here Discovered, for the better knowledge of him and them, I have added it here also.

Birra.

Felugia.
 Babilon (so vulgarly but falsely it is called) the true name is Bagdet. See sup. l. 9. c. 9. touching it. Babilon is now Babel indeed, nothing but ruine and confusion.

The Tower of Babel.

Boyling Pitch continually issuing out of the earth.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583. I Ralph Fitch of London Merchant, being desirous to see the Countries of the East India, in the companie of Master John Newbery Merchant (which had bene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Storie Painter, being chiefly set forth by the right Worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne Knight, and Master Richard Staper Citizens and Merchants of London, did ship my selfe in a Ship of London called the *Tigre*, wherein we went for *Tripolis* in *Syria*: and from thence we tooke the way for *Alepo*, which we went in seven dayes with the *Carouan*. Being in *Alepo* and finding good companie, we went from thence to *Birra*, which is two dayes and a halfe travell with Camels.

Birra is a little Towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the Towne runneth the River *Euphrates*. Here wee bought a Boate and agreed with a Master and Barge-men, for to goe to *Babilon*. These Boates be but for one voyage: for the streame doth runne so fast downwards that they cannot returne. They carry you to a Towne which they call *Felugia*, and there you sell the Boat for a little money, for that which cost you fiftie at *Birra*, you sell there for seven or eight. From *Birra* to *Felugia* is sixteene dayes journey, it is not good that one Boat goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should have much ado to save your goods from the *Arabians*, which bee alwayes thereabouts robbing: and in the Night when your Boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the *Arabians* that be Thieves, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a Gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the River of *Euphrates* from *Birra* to *Felugia*, there bee certaine places where you pay Custome, for many *Medines* for a some of Camels lading, and certaine *Railens* and *Sope*, which is for the tonnes of *Aborise*, which is Lord of the *Arabians* and all that great Desart, and hath some Villages vpon the River. *Felugia* where you unlade your goods which come from *Birra*, is a little Village: from whence you goe to *Babilon* in a day.

Babilon is a Towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffique of Strangers, for that it is the way to *Persia*, *Turkia*, and *Arabia*: and from thence doe goe *Carouans* for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from *Armenia* downe the River of *Tygris*. They are brought vpon rafts made of Goat-skinnes blowne full of winde and bords layd vpon them: and thereupon they lade there goods, which are brought downe to *Babilon*, which being discharged they open their skinnies, and carrie them backe by Camels, to serue another time. *Babilon* in times past did belong to the Kingdome of *Persia*, but now is subiect to the *Turke*. Over against *Babilon* there is a very faire Village from whence you passe to *Babilon* vpon a long Bridge made of Boates, and tyed to a great Chayne of Iron, which is made fast on either side of the River. When any Boates are to passe vp or downe the River, they take away certaine of the Boates untill they be past.

The Tower of *Babel* is built on this side the River *Tygris*, towards *Arabia* from the Towne about seven or eight miles, which Tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a little Mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of Bricks dried in the Sunne, and certaine Canes and leaues of the Palme tree layed betwixt the Bricks. There is no entrance to be scene to goe into it. It doth stand vpon a great Plaine, betwixt the Rivers of *Euphrates* and *Tygris*.

By the River *Euphrates* two dayes journey from *Babilon*, at a place called *Ait*, in a Field neere vnto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throw forth against the ayre boyling Pitch with a filthy smoake: which Pitch doth runne abroad into a great field which is alwayes full thereof. The *Moores* say that it is the mouth of Hell. By reason of the great quantitie of it, the men of that Countrey doe pitch their Boats two or three inches thicke on the out-side, so that no water doth enter into them. Their Boates bee called *Danec*. When there is great store of water in *Tygris*, you may goe from *Babilon* to *Basora* in eight or nine dayes: if there be small store it will cost you the more dayes.

Basora in times past was vnder the *Arabians*, but now is subiect to the *Turke*. But some of them the *Turke* cannot subdue, for that they hold certaine Ilands in the River *Euphrates*, which the *Turke* cannot wiane of them. They be Thieves all and haue no settled dwelling, but remoue from

from place to place with their Camels, Goates, and Horses, Wives and Children and all. They haue large blew Gownes, their Wives eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of Copper and Siluer, and they weare rings of Copper about their legs.

Basora standeth neere the Gulfe of *Persia*, and is a Towne of great trade of Spices and Drugs which come from *Ormuz*. Also there is great store of Wheat, Rice, and Dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serue *Babylon* and all the Countrey, *Ormuz*, and all the parts of *India*. I went from *Basora* to *Ormuz* downe the Gulfe of *Persia*, in a certaine ship made of bordses, and sowed together with Cayro, which is threed made of the huske of *Cocoes*, and certaine Canes or straw leaues sowed vpon the seames of the bordses, which is the cause that they leake very much. And so hauing *Persia* alwayes on the left hand, and the Coast of *Arabia* on the right hand wee passed many Ilands, and among others, the famous Iland *Baharim*, from whence come the best Pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormuz is an Iland in circuit about fife and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the dryest Iland in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely Salt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of *Persia*, which is about twelue miles from thence. All thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kind of victuals are sent vnto *Ormuz*. The *Portugals* haue a Castle * here which standeth neere vnto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the King of *Portugall*, hauing vnder him a conuenient number of Souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the Castle, and some in the Towne. In this Towne are Merchants of all Nations, and many *Moores* and *Gentiles*. Here is very great trade of all sorts of Spices, Drugs, Silke, cloth of Silke, fine Tapestry of *Persia*, great store of Pearles which come from the Ile of *Baharim*, and are the best Pearles of all others, and many Horses of *Persia*, which serue all *India*. They haue a *Moore* to their King which is chosen and gouerned by the *Portugals*. Their Women are very strangely attired, wearing on their Noses, Eares, Neckes, armes and legges, many rings set with Iewels, and lockes of Siluer and Gold in their eares, and a long barre of gold vpon the side of their Noses. Their Eares with the weight of their Iewels be worne so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arriuall wee were put in Prison, and had part of our goods taken from vs by the Captaine of the Castle, whose name was *Don Mathias de Albuquerque*; and from hence the eleuenth of October hee shipped vs and sent vs for *Goa* vnto the Vice-roy, which at that time was *Don Francisco de Mascarenhas*. The ship wherein wee were imbarcked for *Goa* belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure Horses in it. All Merchandize carried to *Goa* in a ship wherein are Horses, pay no Custome in *Goa*. The Horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no Horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first Citie of *India* that wee arriued at vpon the fifth of Nouember, after wee had passed the Coast of *Zindi*, is called *Diu*, which standeth in an Iland in the Kingdome of *Cambai*, and is the strongest Towne that the *Portugals* haue in those parts. It is but little, but well stored with Merchandize; for here they lade many great ships with diuers commodities for the straights of *Mecca*, for *Ormuz*, and other places, and these be ships of the *Moores* and of *Christians*. But the *Moores* cannot passe, except they haue a Passport from the *Portugals*.

Cambaietta is the chiefe Citie of that Prouince, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a Towne of the *Gentiles*: but if there happen any Famine, the people will sell their Children for very little. The last King of *Cambai* was *Sultan Badu*, which was killed at the siege of *Diu*, and shortly after his Citie was taken by the great *Mogor*, which is the King of *Agra* and of *Delli*, which are fortie dayes journey from the Countrey of *Cambai*. Here the Women weare vpon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather bee without their meat then without their Bracelets. Going from *Diu* wee come to *Daman*, the second Towne of the *Portugals* in the Countrey of *Cambai*, which is distant from *Diu* fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of Corne and Rice. They haue many Villages vnder them which they quietly possesse in time of Peace, but in time of Warre the enemy is master of them. From thence wee passed by *Basaim*, and from *Basaim* to *Tana*, at both which places is small trade but onely of Corne and Rice.

The tenth of Nouember, wee arriued at *Chaul* which standeth in the firme land. There bee two Townes, the one belonging to the *Portugals*, and the other to the *Moores*. That of the *Portugals* is neere to the Sea, and commandeth the Bay, and is walled round about. A little aboue that, is the Towne of the *Moores* which is gouerned by a *Moore* King called *Xa-Maluco*. Heere is great traffique for all sorts of Spices, and Drugges, Silke, and cloth of Silke, Sandales, Elephants teeth, and much *China* worke, and much Sugar which is made of the Nut called *Gagara*: the Tree is called the Palmer: which is the profitablest Tree in the world: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld Wine, Oyle, Sugar, Vineger, Cordes, Coles, of the leaues are made Thatch for the houses, Sayles for ships, Mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their Houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the Tree wood for ships. The wine doth issue out of the top of the tree. They cut a branch of a bough and binde it hard, and hang an earthen pot vpon it, which they emptie euery morning and euery evening, and still it and put in certaine

Kingdom of
Persia
Persia

to the
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Ormuz

* Imohabui
chreme, The
Persians haue
lately taken it.

Ormuz

Ormuz

Ormuz

Ormuz

* If there bee
twentie.

Ormuz

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Ormuz

Kine-devotion
Pythagorian su-
perstition.

Mad reason of
burning the
Dead.

Goa.

Idalcu.

Bisapor.

This was the
twentieth of
November.

They fled from
Goa. See here-
of Linschoten in
fine lib. 1.
Bellergan a
Towne.
Bisapor.

Gulconda.

Apparell.

Masulipatan.
See sup. lib. 3. c.
ult. of English
trade there.
Seruidore.

Bellaport.

Strange Mar-
riages.

dried Raisins, and it becommeth very strong Wine in short time. Hitherto many ships come from all parts of *India*, *Ormus*, and from *Mexico*: here bee many *Moors* and *Gentiles*. They haue a very strange order among them, they worship a Cow, and esteeme much of the Cowes dung to paint the walls of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a Louse: for they hold it a sinne to kill any thing. They eat no flesh, but live by Roots, and Rice, and Mlike. And when the husband dyeth his wife is burned with him, if shee be alive: if shee will not, her head is shaven, and then is neuer account made of her after. They say if they should bee buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many Wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those Wormes would lacke sustenance, which were a sinne, wherefore they will bee burned. In *Cambaya* they will kill nothing, nor haue any thing killed: in the Towne they haue Hospitals to keepe lame Dogs and Cats, and for Birds. They will giue meate to the Ants.

Goa is the most principall Citie which the *Portugals* haue in *India*, wherein the Vice-roy remaineth with his Court. It standeth in an Island, which may be five and twentie or thirtie miles about. It is a fine Citie, and for an *Indian* Towne very faire. The Island is very faire, full of Orchards and Gardens, and many Palmetrees, and hath some Villages. Here be many Merchants of all Nations. And the Fleet which cometh every yeere from *Portugall*, which be foure, five, or sixe great ships, cometh first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to *Cochin*, where they lade their Pepper for *Portugall*. Oftentimes they lade one in *Goa*, the rest goe to *Cochin*, which is from *Goa* an hundred leagues Southward. *Goa* standeth in the Countrey of *Hidalcu*, who lyeth in the Countrey five or seuen dayes iourney. His chiefe Citie is called *Bisapor*. At our comming we were cast into Prison, and examined before the Iustice and demanded for Letter, and were charged to bee spies, but they could proue nothing by vs. Wee continued in Prison vntill the two and twentie of December, and then wee were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand Duckets not to depart the Towne; which sureties Father *Stephens* an English *Iesuite* which wee found there, and another religious man a friend of his procured for vs. Our sureties name was *Andreas Taborer*, to whom we payd two thousand one hundred and fiftie Duckets, and still he demanded more: whereupon we made sute to the Vice-roy and Iustice to haue our money again, considering that they had had it in their hands neere five moneths and could proue nothing against vs. The Viceroy made vs a very sharpe answer, and said we should bee better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against vs.

Whereupon wee presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for ever to be Slaves in the Countrey, for it was told vs wee should haue the *Scrapado*. The fifth day of Aprill 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set ouer the River, we went two daies on foot not without feare, not knowing the way nor hauing any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first Townes which we came vnto, is called *Bellergan*, where there is a great Market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft Stones. From *Bellergan* wee went to *Bisapor*, which is a very great Towne where the King doth keepe his Court. He hath many *Gentiles* in his Court and they be great Idolaters. And they haue their Idols standing in the Woods, which they call *Pagodes*. Some bee like a Cow, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like Peacockes, and some like the Diuell. Here bee very many Elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they haue good store of Gold and Siluer: their houses are of stone very faire and high. From hence we went for *Gulconda*, the King whereof is called *Cutup de lachach*. Here, and in the Kingdome of *Hidalcu*, and in the Countrey of the King of *Decan*, be the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire Towne, pleasant, with faire houses of Bricke and Timber, it aboundeth with great store of Fruits and fresh water. Here the men and the women doe goe with a cloth bound about their middles, without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

The Winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these parts is a Port or Hauen called *Masulipatan*, which standeth eight dayes iourney from hence toward the Gulfe of *Bengala*, whether come many ships out of *India*, *Pegu*, and *Sumatra*, very richly laden with Pepper, Spices, and other commodities. The Countrey is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to *Seruidore*, which is a fine Countrey, and the King is called, *The King of Bread*. The houses here bee all thatched and made of Lome. Here be many *Moors* and *Gentiles*, but there is small Religion among them. From thence I went to *Bellaport*, and so to *Barrampore*, which is in the Countrey of *Zelabdim Echebar*. In this place their money is made of a kind of Siluer round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good siluer. It is marvellous great and a populous Countrey. In their Winter which is in Iune, Iuly, and August, there is no passing in the streets but with Horses, the waters bee so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great store of Cotton-cloth made, and painted clothes of Cotton-wooll: here groweth great store of Corne and Rice. We found Marriages great store both in Towne and Villages in many places where wee passed, of Boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and Girles of five or sixe yeeres old. They both doe ride vpon one Horse very trimly decked, and are carried through the Towne

Towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eat of a Banquet made of Rice and Fruits, and there they dance the most part of the night, and so make an end of the marriage. They lie not together untill they bee ten yeeres old. They say they marrie their Children so young, because it is an order, that when the man dyeth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the Father die, yet they may have a Father in law to helpe to bring vp the Children which be married: and also that they will not leaue their Sonnes without Wiues, nor their Daughters without Husbands.

From thence we went to *Mandoway*, which is a verie strong Towne. It was besieged twelue yeeres by *Zelabdim Echebar*, before hee could winne it. It standeth vpon a verie great high
10 Rocke as the most part of their Castles doe, and was of a very great circuit. From hence wee went to *Ugini* and *Serringe*, where we ouertooke the Ambassadour of *Zelabdim Echebar* with a maruellous great companie of men, Elephants, and Camels. Here is great trade of Cotton and Cloth made of Cotton, and great store of Drugs. From thence we went to *Agra*, passing many Riuer, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that we waded and swamme oftentimes for our liues. *Agra* is a very great Citie and populous, built with stone, hauing faire and large streets, with a faire Riuer running by it, which falleth into the Gulfe of *Bengala*. It hath a faire Castle and a strong, with a very faire Ditch. Here bee many *Moores* and *Gentiles*, the King is called *Zelabdim Echebar*: the people for the most part call him *The great Mogor*. From thence we went for *Fatepore*, which is the place where the King kept his Court. The Towne is greater
20 then *Agra*, but the houses and streets bee not so faire. Here dwell many people both *Moores* and *Gentiles*. The King hath in *Agra* and *Fatepore*, as they doe credibly report, one thousand Elephants, thirtie thousand Horses, one thousand and foure hundred tame Deere, eight hundred Concubines: such store of Ounces, Tygres, Buffles, Cockes and Hawkes, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great Court, which they call *Dericcan*. *Agra* and *Fatepore* are two very great Cities, either of them much greater then *London*, and very populous. Betweene *Agra* and *Fatepore* are twelue miles, and all the way is a Market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a Towne, and so many people as if a man were in a Market. They haue many fine Carts, and many of them carued and gilded with Gold, with two wheelles which bee drawne with two little Bulls about the bignesse of our great Dogs in *England*, and
30 they will runne with any Horse, and carrie two or three men in one of these Carts: they are couered with Silke or very fine cloth, and bee vsed here as our Coaches be in *England*. Hither is great resort of Merchants from *Persia*, and out of *India*, and very much Merchandize of Silke and Cloth, and of precious Stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The King is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a Shirt tyed with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head, coloured oftentimes with red or yellow. None come into his house but his Eunuches which keepe his women.

Here in *Fatepore* wee stayed all three untill the eight and twentieth of September 1585. and then Master *Iohn Newberie* tooke his iourney toward the Citie of *Labor*, determining from thence to goe for *Persia*, and then for *Aleppo* or *Constantinople*, whether hee could get soonest
40 passage vnto; and directed me to goe to for *Bengala* and for *Pegn*, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meet me in *Bengala* within two yeeres with a ship out of *England*. I left *William Leades* the Jeweller, in seruice with the King *Zelabdim Echebar* in *Fatepore*, who did enterayne him verie well, and gaue him an House and fise Slaues, an Horse, and euery day fixe *S. S.* in money.

I went from *Agra* to *Satagam* in *Bengala*, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore Boates laden with Salt, *Opium*, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and diuers other commodities downe the Riuer *Iemena*. The chiefe Merchants are *Moores* and *Gentiles*. In these Countries they haue many strange Ceremonies. The *Bramenes* which are their Priests, come to the water and haue a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, & lade vp water with both their hands,
50 and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be neuer so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These *Gentiles* will eate no Flesh, nor kill any thing. They liue with Rice, Butter, Milke, and Fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat and eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat vpon the earth, and rise vp and turne themselves about thirtie or fortie times, and vse to heaue vp their hands to the Sunne, and to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Euery time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger, to know when their stint is finished. The *Bramenes* marke themselves in the foreheads, eares, and throats, with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, and euery morning they doe it. And they haue some old men which goe in the streets with a
60 boxe of yellow Powder, and marke men on their heads and neckes as they meet them. And their wiues doe come by ten, twentie, and thirtie together, to the water side singing, and there doe wash themselves, and then vse their Ceremonies, and marke themselves in their foreheads and faces, and carrie some with them, and so depart singing. Their Daughters bee married, at, or before the age of ten yeeres. The men may haue seuen wiues. They be a kind of craftie

Mandoa, or *Mandoway*, a very strong Towne. *Vgini*.

Agra a great Citie.

Zeb. Echebar the great *Mogor*; Father to *Selim* which now raigneth, of whom see *Supl. 2. & 4. in Hawkins, Finch & Sir Tho. Roe, &c.*

Bulls draw Coches or Carts.

Newberies iourney in which it seemeth he died, vnknoyn how or where.

Will. Leades serued the King of *Cambaia*.

The superstitious Ceremonies of the *Bramenes*, like those of the antient *Gymnosophists* in *Strabo*, &c.

Deuotions (as on Beads) more by tale then by weight

Polygamy.

Prage.
Ganges.
Tygris.
Holy holy
Beggars.

Ganges water.

Bannaras.

A Pilgrimage
of the Gentiles
to the Riuer
Ganges.
Images.

Ada an Idoll, it
may seeme, of
Adam, whom
some haue
dreamed to
haue both sex-
es, with foure
hands, &c. af-
ter diuided in-
to Male and
Female.

Idolatrours
rites.

Funerals by
burning.

people, worse then the *Iemes*. When they salute one another, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, and say, *Rame, Rame.*

From *Agra* I came to *Prague*, where the Riuer *Iemena* entrencheth into the mightie Riuer *Ganges*, and *Iemena* loseth his name. *Ganges* commeth out of the Northwest, and runneth East into the Gulfe of *Bengala*. In those parts there are many Tygres, and many Partridges and Turtle-doues, and much other Fowle. Here be many Beggars in these Countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them *Schesebe*. Here I saw one which was a Monster among the rest. He would haue nothing vpon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head hee couered his priuities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or ten, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand vpon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake to the King. We went from *Prague* downe *Ganges*, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundrie sorts, and of wild Fowle, as of Swannes, Geese, Cranes, and many other things. The Countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part haue their faces shauen, and their heads very long, except some which be all shauen saue the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shauie them round, all but the crowne. In this Riuer of *Ganges* are many Ilands. His water is very sweet and pleasant, and the Countrey adioyning very fruitfull.

From thence we went to *Bannaras* which is a great Towne, and great store of Cloth is made there of Cotton, and *Shashes* for the *Moores*. In this place they bee all *Gentiles*, and be the greatest Idolaters that euer I saw. To this Towne come the *Gentiles* on Pilgrimage out of farre Countries. Here alongst the waters side, bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they haue their Images standing, which bee euill fauoured, made of stone and wood, some like Lyons, Leopards, and Monkeys, some like Men and Women, and Peacocks, and some like the Diuell with foure armes & foure hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, and some another, and by breake of day and before, there are men and women which come out of the Towne and wash themselves in *Ganges*. And there are diuers old men, which vpon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they giue the people three or foure strawes, which they take and hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves: and some sit to marke them in the forehead, and they haue in a cloth a little Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they haue washed themselves, they giue to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they goe to diuers of their Images, and giue them of their Sacrifices. And when they giue, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in diuers places there standeth a kind of Image which in their language they call *Ada*. And they haue diuers great stones carued, whereon they powre water, & throw thereupon some Rice, Wheat, Barley, and some other things. This *Ada* hath foure hands with clawes. Moreover, they haue a great place made of Stone like to a Well with steps to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stinketh: for the great quantitie of Flowers, which continually they throw into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves in it, that their sinnes be forgiven them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather vp the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holy.

They neuer pray but in the water, and they wash themselves ouer head, and lade vp water with both their hands, and turne themselves about, and then they drinke a little of the water three times, and so goe to their Gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray vpon the earth with their armes and legges at length out, and will rise vp and lie down, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foot. And some of them will make their Ceremonies with fiftene or sixteene pots little and great, and ring a little Bell when they make their mixtures ten or twelue times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and diuers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their Pots: and they say diuers things ouer their pots many times, and when they haue done, they goe to their Gods, and strow their Sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the forehead, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this Well, and to offer to these Idols. They haue in some of these Houses their Idols standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blow winde vpon them. And when they see any companie comming, they ring a little Bell which hangeth by them, and many giue their almes, but especially those which come out of the Countrey. Many of them are blacke and haue clawes of brasse with long nayles, & some ride vpon Peacocks & other Fowles which bee euill fauoured, with long hawkes bills, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giueth them all things both food and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make winde towards him.

Here some bee burned to ashes, some scortched in the fire and throwne into the water, and Dogs

- Dogs and Foxes doe presently eat them. The Wiues here doe burne with their Husbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be shaven, and neuer account is made of them afterward. The people goe all naked save a little cloth bound about their middle. Their women haue their neckes, armes and eares decked with rings of Siluer, Copper, Tinne, and with round hoopcs made of Iuorie, adorned with Amber stones, and with many Agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red vp to the crowne, and so it runneth three manner of wayes. In the Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted Gownes of cotton like to our Mattraces and quilted Caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tyed downe beneath their eares. If a man or a woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him before their Idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make an end of him. And if he doe not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a little and crie, and afterwards will carrie him to the waters side, and set him vpon a little raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the Riuer. When they bee married the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an old man which they call a *Bramane*, that is, a Priest, a Kow, and a Calfe, and a Kow with Calfe. Then the Man and the Woman, the Kow and Calfe, and the old man goe into the water together, and they giue the old man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse-bound with diuers things in it: the cloth hee layeth vpon the backe of the Kow, and then he taketh the Kow by the end of the tayle, and sayeth certaine words: and shee hath a Copper or a Brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the old mans hand, and the wiues hand by her husbands, and all haue the Kow by the tayle, and they powre water out of the pot vpon the Kowes tayle, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade vp water with their hands, and then the old man doeth tye him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the Kow and Calfe, and then they giue somewhat to the poore which be alwaies there, and to the *Bramane* or Priest they giue one Kow and Calfe, and afterward goe to diuers of their Idols and offer money, and liedowne flat vpon the ground and kisse it diuers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe Idols be blacke and cuill-fauored, their mouthes monstrous, their eares gilded, and full of Jewels, their teeth and eyes of Gold, Siluer, and Glasse, some hauing one thing in their hands, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shooes on. They haue continually Lampes burning before them.
- From *Bannaras* I went to *Patanaw* downe the Riuer *Ganges*: where in the way wee passed many faire Townes, and a Countrie very fruitfull: and many very great Riuers doe enter into *Ganges*, and some of them as great as *Ganges*, which cause *Ganges* to be of a great bredth, and so broad that in the time of raine you cannot see from one side to the other. These *Indians* when they be scorched and throwne into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces vpwards, I thought they tyed something to them to cause them to doe so: but they say no. There bee very many Thieues in this Countrie, which bee like to the *Arabians*: for they haue no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place, and sometime in another. Here the women be so decked with Siluer and Copper, that it is strange to see, they vse no shooes by reason of the rings of Siluer and Copper which they weare on their toes. Here at *Patanaw* they finde Gold in this manner. They dig deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bolls, and therein they find the Gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. *Patanaw* is a very long and a great Towne. In times past it was a Kingdome, but now it is vnder *Zelabdim Echebar* the Great *Mogor*. The Men are tall and slender, and haue many old folkes among them: the Houses are simple, made of earth, and couered with straw, the Streets are very large. In this Towne there is a trade of Cotton, and cloth of Cotton, much Sugar, which they carrie from hence to *Bengala* and *India*, very much Opium, and other commodities. Hee that is chiefe here vnder the King, is called *Tipperdas*, and is of great account among the people. Here in *Patanaw* I saw a dissembling Prophet which sate vpon an Horse in the Market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feet with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these Countries be much giuen to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.
- From *Patanaw* I went to *Tanda*, which is in the Land of *Gouren*. It hath in times past beene a Kingdome, but now is subdued by *Zelabdim Echebar*. Great trade and traffique is here of Cotton, and of cloth of Cotton. The people goe naked with a little cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the Countrie of *Bengala*. Here be many Tigres, wilde Buffes, and great store of wilde Fowle: they are very great Idolaters. *Tanda* standeth from the Riuer *Ganges* a league, because in times past, the Riuer flowing ouer the bankes in time of raine did drowne the Countrie and many Villages, and so they doe remaine. And the old way which the Riuer *Ganges* was wont to runne, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the Citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From *Agra* downe the Riuer *Iemena*, and downe the Riuer *Ganges*, I was fife moneths comming to *Bengala*, but it may be sayled in much shorter time.
- I went from *Bengala* into the Countrie of *Conche*, which lieth fife and twenty dayes iourney

Apparell.

Foolish physick

Marriagerites:

This tying of new married folks together by the clothes, was vsed by the *Mexicans* in old time.

Vgly Idols.

Patanaw.

Bredth of *Ganges* in time of raine beyond kerne.

Prides punishment. Gold found, how.

Falfe Prophet.

Tanda in *Goirens*.

Fife moneths passage.

Conche.

Countrie set
with Canes.

Pythagorean
Gentilisme.

In Mexico they
use likewise for
small money
the fruit Cacao,
which are like
Almonds.

Hugeli.

Porto Angeli.

Orixa.

The like cloth
may be made
of the long
grasse in Vir-
ginia.

Satagam.

Ganges water
precious.

Tippara or Por-
to Grande.

* Arracan.

Botanter a
great northern
Countrie.

Merchants of
China, Musco-
vie and Tartar-
ie.

Large eares.
These seem to
be the moun-
taines of Imaus
called by the
People Cumao.

The apparell
of the Tartarie
Merchants.

Kow tayles in
great request.

Bacola.

Houses and
apparell.

ney Northwards from *Tanda*. The King is a *Gentile*, his name is *Suckel Counse*: his Countrie is great, and lieth not farre from *Cauchin China*; for they say they haue Pepper from thence. The Port is called *Cacchegate*. All the Countrie is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the ends and driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water and drowne the ground aboue knee deepe, so that Men nor Horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any warres bee. Here they haue much Silke and Muske, and cloth made of Cotton. The people haue eares which be maruelous great of a spanne long, which they draw out in length by deuices when they bee young. Here they be all *Gentiles*, and they will kill nothing. They haue Hospitals for Sheepe, Goats, Dogs, Cats, Birds, and for all other liuing creatures. When they be old and lame they keepe them vntill they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places and bring it thither, they will giue him money for it, or other victuals, and keepe it in their Hospitals, or let it goe. They will giue meat to the Ants. Their small money is Almonds, which oftentimes they vse to eate.

From thence I returned to *Hugeli*, which is the place where the *Portugals* keepe in the Countrie of *Bengala* which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from *Satagan*: they call it *Porto Piqueno*. We went through the Wildernesse, because the right way was full of thieues, where we passed the Countrie of *Genren*, where we found but few Villages, but almost all Wildernesse, and saw many Buffes, Swine and Deere, Grasse longer then a man, and very many Tigres. Not farre from *Porto Piqueno* South-westward, standeth an Hauen which is called *Angeli*, in the Countrie of *Orixa*. It was a Kingdome of it selfe, and the King was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the King of *Patan*, which was their neighbour, but he did not enioy it long, but was taken by *Zelabdim Echebar*, which is King of *Agra*, *Delli*, and *Cambaia*. *Orixa* standeth fixe dayes journey from *Satagan* South-westward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of Cotton, and great store of cloth which is made of Grasse, which they call *Terna*, it is like a Silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for *India*, and diuers other places. To this Hauen of *Angeli* come euery yeere many ships out of *India*, *Negapatan*, *Samatra*, *Malacca*, and diuers other places; and lade from thence great store of Rice, and much cloth of Cotton wooll, much Sugar, and long Pepper, great store of Butter and other victuals for *India*. *Satagam* is a faire Citie for a Citie of the *Moors*, and very plentifull of all things. Here in *Bengala* they haue euery day in one place or other a great Market which they call *Chandean*, and they haue many great Boats which they call *Pericose*, wherewithall they goe from place to place and buy Rice, and many other things: these Boats haue foure and twenty or fixe and twenty Oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but haue no couerture. Here the *Gentiles* haue the water of *Ganges* in great estimation, for hauing good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of *Ganges* a great way off, and if they haue not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a little on them, and then they thinke themselves well. From *Satagam* I trauelled by the Countrie of the King of *Tippara* or *Porto Grande*, with whom the *Mogores* or *Mogen* haue almost continuall warres. The *Mogen* which be of the Kingdome of *Recon* * and *Rame*, be stronger then the King of *Tippara*, so that *Chatigan* or *Porto Grande* is oftentimes vnder the King of *Recon*.

There is a Countrie foure dayes journey from *Conche* before mentioned, which is called *Botanter*, and the Citie *Bottia*, the King is called *Dermain*; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are Merchants which come out of *China*, and they say out of *Musconia* or *Tartarie*. And they come to buy Muske, Cambals, Agats, Silke, Pepper, and Saffron like the Saffron of *Persia*. The Countrie is very great, three moneths journey. There are very high Mountaines in this Countrie, and one of them so steepe, that when a man is fixe dayes journey off it he may see it perfectly. Vpon these Mountaines are people which haue eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long they call them Apes. They say that when they bee vpon the Mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whither they goe. There are Merchants which come out of the East, they say, from vnder the Sunne, which is from *China*, which haue no beards, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the Mountaines, which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northerne Merchants are apparellled with woollen Cloth and Hats, white Hosen close, and Boots which bee of *Musconia* or *Tartarie*. They report that in their Countrie they haue very good Horses, but they bee little: some men haue foure, fiue, or fixe hundred Horses and Kine: they liue with Milke and Fleth. They cut the tayles of their Kine, and sell them very deare, for they be in great request, and much esteemed in those parts. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is aboue a spanne long: they vse to hang them for brauerie vpon the heads of their Elephants: they be much vsed in *Pegu* and *China*: they buy and sell by scores vpon the ground. The people be very swift on foot.

From *Chatigan* in *Bengala*, I came to *Bacola*; the King whereof is a *Gentile*, a man very well disposed, and delighteth much to shoot in a Gunne. His Countrie is very great and fruitfull, and store of Rice, much Cotton cloth, and cloth of Silke. The Houses be very faire and high builded, the Streets large, the People naked, except a little cloth about their waste. The Women

men weare great store of siluer hoopcs about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with Siluer and Copper, and rings made of Elephants teeth.

From *Bacola* I went to *Serrepore* which standeth vpon the Riuer of *Ganges*, the King is called *Chondery*. They be all hereabout Rebels against the King *Zelabdim Echebar*: for here are so many Riuers and Ilands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his Horsemen cannot preuaile against them. Great store of Cotton cloth is made here.

Serrepore.

Sinnergan is a Towne fixe leagues from *Serrepore*, where there is the best and finest cloth made of Cotton that is in all *India*. The chiefe King of all these Countries is called *Isacan*, and he is chiefe of all the other Kings, and is a great friend to all *Christians*. The Houses here, as they be in the most part of *India*, are very little, and couered with straw, and haue a few mats round about the walls, and the doore to keepe out the Tigres and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they liue of Rice, Milke, and fruits. They goe with a little cloth before them, and all the rest of their body is naked. Great store of Cotten cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serue all *India*, *Ceylon*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, and many other places.

Sinnergan.

Houses how made to preuent Tigres.

Pythagoreans.

I went from *Serrepore* the eight and twentieth of Nouember, 1586. for *Pegu* in a small Ship or Foist of one *Albert Caranillos*, and so passing downe *Ganges*, and passing by the Iland of *Sundiua*, *Porto Grande*, or the Countrie of *Tippera*, the Kingdome of *Recon* and *Magen*, leauing them on our left side with a faire winde at North-west: our course was South and by East,

Sundiua Iland.

which brought vs to the Barre of *Negrais* to *Pegu*: if any contrary winde had come, wee had throwne many of our things ouer boord: for we were so pestered with people and goods, that there were scant place to lie in. From *Bengala* to *Pegu* is ninety leagues. We entred the Barre of *Negrais*, which is a braue Barre, and hath foure fathomes water where it hath least. Three dayes after we came to *Cosmin*, which is a very pretie Towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall and well disposed; the women white, round faced, with little eyes: the houses are high built, set vpon great high posts, and they goe vp to them with long Ladders for feare of the Tigres which be very many. The Countrie is very frui full of all things. Here are very great Figs, Oranges, Coccoes, and other fruits. The Land is very high that we fall withall; but after we be entred the Barre, it is very lowe and full of Riuers, for they goe all to and fro in Boats, which they call *Paroes*, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them.

Barre of *Negrais*.

Cosmin.

Ladders vsed to auoide the danger of wild beasts. Dwelling in Boats.

From the Barre of *Negrais* to the Citie of *Pegu* is ten dayes iourney by the Riuers. We went from *Cosmin* to *Pegu* in *Paroes* or Boats, and passing vp the Riuers wee came to *Medon*, which is a pretie Towne, where there be a wonderfull number of *Paroes*, for they keepe their Houses and Markets in them all vpon the water. They rowe to and fro, and haue all their merchandises in their Boats with a great *Sombrero* or Shadow ouer their heads to keepe the Sunne from them, which is as broad as a great Cart wheele made of the leaues of the Coco trees and Figge trees, and is very light.

Medon.

From *Medon* we went to *Dela*, which is a very faire Towne, and hath a faire Port into the Sea, from whence goe many ships to *Malacca*, *Mecca*, and many other places. Here are eigh- teen or twenty very great and long houses, where they tame and keepe many Elephants of the Kings: for there about in the Wildernesse they catch the wilde Elephants. It is a very fruitfull Countrie. From *Dela* wee went to *Cirion*, which is a good Towne, and hath a faire Port into the Sea, whither come many ships from *Mecca*, *Malacca*, and *Sumatra*, and from diuers other places. And there the ships stay and discharge, and send vp their goods in *Paroes* to *Pegu*.

Dela.

Cirion.

From *Cirion* we went to *Macao*, which is a pretie Town, where we left our Boats and in the morning taking *Delingeages*, which are a kinde of Coaches made of cords and cloth quilted, and carried vpon a stang between three or foure men: we came to *Pegu* the same day. *Pegu* is a Citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walls of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two Townes, the old Towne and the new. In the old Towne are all the Merchants strangers, and very many Merchants of the Countrie. All the goods are sold in the old Towne which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call *Bambos*, and be couered with straw. In your House you haue a Ware-house, which they call *Godon*, which is made of bricke, to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or fife hundred houses: so that if the *Godon* were not, you should bee in danger to haue all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the new Towne is the King, and all his Nobilitie and Gentry. It is a Citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire Walls, and a great Ditch round about it full of water with many Crocodiles in it: it hath twenty Gates, and they be made of stone, for euery square fife Gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with Gold very faire. The Streets are the fairest that euer I saw, as straight as a line from one Gate to the other, and so broad, that ten or twelue men may ride afront thorow them. On both sides of them at euery mans doore is set a Palmer tree, which is the Nut-tree which make a very faire

Macao.
Coaches carried on mens shoulders.

Pegu.
Cane-houses.

Crocodiles in Gates.

Palm-tree streets.

faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and couered with tiles.

Gilded houses.

Four white Elephants.

The King of the white Elephants.

Taking of Elephants.

Use of them in battell.

King sits twice a day.

Kings power. Ochia a Citie in Siam.

This manner of carriage on mens shoulders is vsed in Peru, and in Florida.

The Kings house is in the middle of the Citie, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is vpon the fore-front, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or Idoll standeth is couered with tiles of siluer, and all the walls are gilded with gold. Within the first Gate of the Kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the Kings Elephants, which bee maruellous great and faire, and are brought vnto warres and in seruice of the King. And among the rest hee hath foure white Elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other King which hath them but hee if any other King hath one, hee will send vnto him for it. When any of these white Elephants are brought vnto the King, all the Merchants in the Citie are commanded to see them, and to giue him a present of halfe a Ducat, which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many Merchants in the Citie. After that you haue giuen your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the Kings house. This King in his Title is called the *King of the white Elephants*. If any other King haue one, and will not send it him, hee will make warre with him for it: for hee had rather lose a great part of his Kingdome, then not to conquer him. They doe very great seruice vnto these white Elephants; euery one of them standeth in an house gilded with gold, and they doe feed in vessels of siluer and gilt. One of them when hee doth goe to the Riuer to bee washed, as euery day they doe, goeth vnder a Canopie of cloth of gold or of silke carried ouer him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on Drummes, Shawmes, or other Instruments: and when hee is washed and commeth out of the Riuer, there is a Gentleman which doth wash his feet in a siluer Basin: which is his office giuen him by the King. There is no such account made of any blacke Elephant, bee he neuer so great. And surely there bee wonderfull faire and great, and some bee nine cubits in height. And they doe report that the King hath about fve thousand Elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight.

This King hath a very large place wherein hee taketh the wilde Elephants. It standeth about a mile from *Pegu*, builded with a faire Court within, and is in a great Groue or Wood: and there be many Hunts-men, which goe into the Wildernesse with shee Elephants: for without the shee they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and euery Hunter hath fve or sixe of them: and they say that they anoint the shee Elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wilde Elephant doth smell, he will not leaue her. When they haue brought the wilde Elephant neere vnto the place, they send word vnto the Towne, and many Horsemen and footmen come out and cause the shee Elephant to enter into a straight way which doth goe to the Palace, and the shee and hee doe runne in: for it is like a Wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walls, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them. Then they pricke him with sharpe canes, and cause him to goe into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle & about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meate and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the King is in these Elephants. And when they goe into the warres they set a frame of wood vpon their backes, bound with great cords, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with Gunnes, Bowes and Arrowes, Darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnies are so thicke that a pellet of an Harquebussle will scarce pierce them, except it bee in some tender place. Their weapons be very bad. They haue Gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, Darts and Swords short without points.

The King keepeth a very great State: when hee sitteth abroad, as hee doth euery day twice, all his Noblemen which they call *Shemmes*, sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the King, hee is to kneele downe, to heaue vp his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when hee entreteth, in the middle way, and when hee commeth neere to the King: and then hee sitteth downe and talketh with the King: if the King like well of him, hee sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if hee thinke not well of him, hee sitteth further off. When hee goeth to warre, hee goeth very strong. At my being there hee went to *Ochia* in the Countie of *Siam* with three hundred thousand men, and fve thousand Elephants. Thirty thousand men were his Guard. These people doe eate Roots, Herbes, Leaues, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Serpents, and Snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the King rideth abroad, he rideth with a great Guard, and many Noblemen, oftentimes vpon an Elephant with a fine Castle vpon him very fairely gilded with gold; and sometimes vpon a great frame like an Horf-liter, which hath a little house vpon it couered ouer head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with gold, and set with many Rubies and Saphires, whereof hee hath infinite store in his Countie, and is carried vpon sixteen or eightene mens shoulders. This Coach in their Language is called *Serrion*. Very great feasting

feasting and triumphing is many times before the King both of men and women. This King hath little force by Sea, because he hath but very few ships.

Hee hath houses full of Gold and Silver, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the Mines of Rubies and Saphires, and Spinellles. Neere vnto the Palace of the King, there is a Treasure wonderfull rich; the which because it is so precious doth not adcount of it, and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled Court with two Gates, which bee alwayes open. There are foure Houses gilded very richly, and covered with Lead in euery one of them are Pagodes or Images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the Picture of a King in Gold with a Crowne of gold on his head, full of great Rubies and Saphires, and about him there stand foure Children of Gold. In the second house is the picture of a Man in Silver wonderfull great, as high as an house; his Foot is as long as a man, and hee is made sitting with a Crowne on his head very rich with Stones. In the third house is the picture of a Man greater then the other made of Brasse, with a rich Crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another made of Brasse, greater then the other, with a Crowne also on his head very rich with Stones. In another Court not farre from this, stand foure other Pagodes or Idols, marvellous great of Copper, made in the same place where they doe stand; for they bee so great, that they be not to be remoued: they stand in foure Houses gilded very faire, and are themselves gilded all ouer saue their heads, and they shew like a blacke *Marian*. Their expences in gilding of their Images are wonderfull. The King hath one Wife and about three hundred Concubines, by which they say he hath fourescore or fiftiescore & ten Children. He sitteth in Iudgement almost euery day. They vse no speech, but giue vp their supplications written in the Leanes of a Tree with the point of an Iron bigger then a Bodkin. These Leanes are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. Hee which giueth his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter bee liked of, the King accepteth of his present, and granteth his request; if his sute be not liked of, hee returneth with his present; for the King will not take it.

In *India* there are few commodities which serue for *Pegu*, except *Opium* of *Cambai*, painted Cloth of *Saint Thome*, or of *Masulipatan*, and white cloth of *Bengala*, which is spent there in great quantitie. They bring thither also much Cotton, Yarned coloured with a Root which they call *Saia*, which will neuer lose his colour: it is very well sold here, and very much of it commeth yeerely to *Pegu*. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from *Bengala*, *Saint Thome*, and *Masulipatan*, come to the barre of *Nigra* and to *Cosmin*. To *Martaban* a port of the Sea in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, come many ships from *Malacca* laden with Sandell, Porcelanes, and other wares of *China*, and with *Gumphora* of *Borneo*, and Pepper from *Acheu* in *Sumatra*. To *Cirion* a Port of *Pegu* come ships from *Mecca* with Woollen cloth, Scarlets, Velluts, *Opium*, and such like. There are in *Pegu* eight Brokers, whom they call *Targhe*, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they bee worth, and you giue them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your Merchandizes vpon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if hee pay you not presently, you may take his Wife and Children and his Slaues, and bind them at your doore, and see them in the Sunne; for that is the Law of the Countrey. Their current money in these parts is a kind of brasse which they call *Gansa*, wherewith you may buy Gold, Silver, Rubies, Muske, and all other things. The Gold and Silver is Merchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares bee. This brasse money doth goe by a weight which they call a *Biza*, and commonly this *Biza* after our account is worth about halfe a Crowne or somewhat lesse. The Merchandize which bee in *Pegu*, are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spinells, Muske, Benjamin or Frankincense, long Pepper, Tinne, Lead, Copper, *Lacca* whereof they make hard Waxe, Rice, & Wine made of Rice, and some Sugar.

The Elephants doe eat the Sugar Canes, or else they would make very much. And they consume many Canes likewise in making of their Varellaes or Idol Temples, which are in great number both great and small. They bee made round like a Sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compasse: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Varellaes great quantitie of Gold; for that they bee all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and euery ten or twelue yeeres they must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the Gold: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their gold in these vanities, it would bee very plentifull and good cheape in *Pegu*. About two dayes journey from *Pegu*, there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the Pilgrimage of the *Pegues*: it is called *Dogoune*, and is of a wonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the top. And there is an house by it, wherein the *Tallipoies* which are their Priests doe Preach. This house is five and fiftie paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walkes in it, and fortie great Pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walkes; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which bee likewise gilded: it is gilded with Gold, within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the Pilgrimes to lie in: and many goodly Houses for the

the Temple

Huge Idols.

The Treasures
of the Priests

Paper of the
long leaues of
a Tree.

An excellent
colour with a
Root called
Saia.

Woollen cloth
and Scarlets
sold in *Pegu*.

The money of
Pegu

The seuerall
Merchandizes
of *Pegu*.

The forme of
their Temples
or Varellaes.

The *Tallipoies*
or Priests of
Pegu.

Beautiful
Temple.

Solemne Feast

The Preaching
and apparell
of the Priests.Rowli or high
Priest.Orders how
taken.Houses and
begging.Observatio of
new Moones.Iamahy five
and twentie
dayes journey
Northeast-
ward from
Pegu.Physicke and
Diuels name.They burne
their Dead.

the *Tallipoies*, to Preach in, which are full of Images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with Gold. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with Trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade about two miles in length. And when their Feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the Kingdome of *Pegu* thither at their Feast.

In *Pegu* they have many *Tallipoies* or Priests, which Preach against all abuses. Many men resort vnto them. When they enter into their *Kiack*, that is to say, their holy place or Temple, at the doore there is a great Jarre of water with a Cocke or ladle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift vp their hands to their heads, first to their Preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The *Tallipoies* goe very strangely apparelled, with one Cambriline or thinne cloth next to their bodie of a browne colour, another of yellow, doubled many times vpon their shoulder: and those two bee girded to them with a broad Girdle: and they haue a Skinne of leather hanging on a string about their neckes, whereupon they sit, bare headed and bare footed; for none of them weareth Shooes; with their right armes bare, and a great broad *Sombrero* or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the Raine. When the *Tallipoies* or Priests take their Orders, first they goe to Schoole vntill they bee twentie yeeres old or more, and then they come before a *Tallipoie*, appointed for that purpose, whom they call *Rowli*: hee is of the chiefeft and most learned, and hee opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leaue their Friends, and the companie of all Women, and take vpon them the habite of a *Tallipoie*. If any be content, then he rideth vpon an Horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with Drums and Pipes, to shew that he leaueth the riches of the world to bee a *Tallipoie*. In few dayes after, he is carried vpon a thing like an Horflitter, which they call a *Serion*, vpon ten or twelue mens shoulders in the apparell of a *Tallipoie*, with Pipes and Drums, and many *Tallipoies* with him, and all his friends, and so they goe with him to his House, which standeth without the Towne, and there they leaue him. Euerie one of them hath his House, which is very little, set vpon sixe or eight Posts, and they goe vp to them with a Ladder of twelue or fourtene stauces. Their Houses bee for the most part by the high wayes side, and among the Trees, and in the Woods. And they goe with a great Pot made of wood or fine earth, and couered, tyed with a broad girdle vpon their shoulder, which commeth vnder their arme, wherewith they goe to begge their victuals which they eate, which is Rice, Fish, and Herbes. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people presently doe giue them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their Pot: for they say they must eate of their Almes, and therewith content themselves. They keepe their Feasts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send Rice and other things to that *Kiack* or Church of which they bee; and there all the *Tallipoies* doe meete which bee of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the *Tallipoies* doe Preach, many of the people carrie them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is deuided among them. They haue none other Ceremonies nor seruice that I could see, but onely Preaching.

I went from *Pegu* to *Iamahy*, which is in the Countrey of the *Langerianes*, whom wee call *Langermes*; it is five and twentie dayes iourney Northeast from *Pegu*. In which iourney I passed many fruitfull and pleasant Countries. The Countrey is very low, and hath many faire Riuer. The Houses are very bad, made of Canes, and couered with Straw. Here are many wilde Buffes, and Elephants. *Iamahy* is a very faire and great Towne, with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streetes are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these Countries they weare no Shooes. The Women bee much fairer then those of *Pegu*. Heere in all these Countries they haue no Wheat. They make some cakes of Rice. Hither to *Iamahy* come many Merchants out of *China*, and bring great store of Muske, Gold, Silver, and many other things of *China* worke. Heere is great store of Victuals: they haue such plentie, that they will not milke the Buffes, as they doe in all other places. Heere is great store of Copper and Benjamin. In these Countries when the people bee sicke they make a vowe to offer meat vnto the Diuell, if they escape: and when they bee recovered they make a Banquet with many Pipes and Drums and other Instruments, and dauncing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, Cocos, Figges, Arrecaes, and other Fruits, and with great dauncing and reioycing they offer to the Diuell, and say, they giue the Diuell to eate, and driue him out. When they bee dauncing and playing they will cry and hallow very loud; and in this sort they say they driue him away. And when they be sicke a *Tallipoie* or two euery night doth sit by them and sing, to please the Diuell that hee should not hurt them. And if any die hee is carried vpon a great frame made like a Tower, with a couering all gilded with gold made of Canes, carried with fourtene or sixtene men, with Drums and Pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the Towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his Friends and Neighbours, all men: and they giue to the *Tallipoies* or Priests many Mats and Cloth: and then they returne to the house and there make a Feast for two dayes: and then the Wife with all the neighbours

hours Wiues and her friends, goe to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry, and gather the peeces of bones which bee left vnburned and burie them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which bee neere of kin doe shaue their heads, which they do not vse except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

Caplan is the place where they finde the Rubies, Saphires, and the Spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes journey from *Ana* in the Kingdome of *Pegu*. There are many great high Hills out of which they digge them. None may goe to the Pits but onely those which digge them.

In *Pegu*, and in all the Countries of *Ana*, *Langeiannes*, *Siam*, and the *Bramas*, the men weare bunches or little round Balls in their priuie members: some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skinne and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they doe when they bee fiue and twentie or thirtie yeeres old, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be married the Husband is for euery Child which his Wife hath, to put in one vntill hee come to three, and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were inuented because they should not abuse the Male sexe. For in times past all those Countries were so giuen to that Villanie, that they were very scarce of people. It was also ordayned, that the Women should not haue past three cubites of Cloth in their nether clothes, which they bind about them; which are so strait, that when they goe in the streets, they shew one side of the legge bare about the knee. The bunches aforesaid bee of diuers sorts: the least be as bigge as a little Walnut, and very round: the greatest are as bigge as a little Hens egge: some are of Brasse, and some of Siluer: but those of siluer bee for the King and his Noblemen. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a little bell. There are some made of Lead, which they call *Selmy*, because they ring but little: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The King sometimes taketh his out, and giueth them to his Noblemen as a great gift: and because hee hath vsed them, they esteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale vp the place in seuen or eight dayes.

The *Bramas* which bee of the Kings Countrey (for the King is a *Brama*) haue their legges or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselues, made blacke with certaine things which they haue: they vse to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kind of Anile or Blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an Honour among them: but none may haue it but the *Bramas* which are of the Kings kindred.

These people weare no Beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let sixtene or twentie haire grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carrieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haire out as soone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They haue their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a Dog hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The *Pegues* if they haue a sute in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long Canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties goe into the water by the poles, and there sit men to Iudge, and they both doe diue vnder the water, and he which remaineth longest vnder the water doth winne the sute.

The tenth of Ianuarie I went from *Pegu* to *Malacca*, passing by many of the Ports of *Pegu*, as *Martauau*, the Iland of *Tani*, from whence commeth great store of Tinne which serueth all *India*, the Ilands of *Tanaseri*, *Iunfalaon*, and many others; and so came to *Malacca* the eight of February, where the *Portugals* haue a Castle which standeth neere the Sea. And the Countrey fast without the Towne belongeth to the *Malayos*, which is a kind of proud people. They goe naked with a cloth about their middle, and a little roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from *China*, and from the *Malucos*, *Banda*, *Timor*, and from many other Ilands of the *Ianas*, which bring great store of Spices and Drugs, and Damants and other Jewels. The voyages into many of these Ilands belong vnto the Captaine of *Malacca*: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great summes of money euery yeere. The *Portugals* heere haue oftentimes warres with the King of *Achem*, which standeth in the Iland of *Sumatra*: from whence commeth great store of Pepper and other Spices euery yeere to *Pegu* and *Mecca*, within the *Red Sea*, and other places.

When the *Portugals* goe from *Macao* in *China* to *Iapan*, they carrie much white Silke, Gold, Muske, and Porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but Siluer. They haue a great Caracke which goeth thither euery yeere, and shee bringeth from thence euery yeere about sixe hundred thousand Crusadoes: and all this Siluer of *Iapan*, and two hundred thousand Crusadoes more in Siluer which they bring yeerely out of *India*, they imploy to their great aduantage in *China*: and they bring from thence Gold, Muske, Silke, Copper, Porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the *Portugals* come to *Canton* in *China* to traffique, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the Gate of the Citie, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the Towne all night, but must lie in their Boats without the Towne.

G g g g g g g g

And

The writing of the people of China.

Caplan is the place where the Rubies and other precious Stones are found.

Anthony Galuan no writeth of these Bals. Captaine Saris also and others

The people of Pegu weare no Beards.

Triall of suites

Malacca.

The Voyage to Japan.

Eight hundred thousand Crusadoes in siluer imployed yeerely by the Portugals in China.

The writing of
the people of
China, &c.

Laban.

Diamants.

Iamba.

Gold.

Bima.

He returneth
from Malacca.

Bengala.

Ceylon.

Large Eares.

Gemmes.

Blacke and lit-
tle people.

Cape de Comori.

Coulam.

Cochin.

People with
swollen legges
mentioned al-
so by Ioh. Huy-
gen.

How Pepper
groweth.

And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are euill vled and imprisoned. A man may keepe as many Concubines as hee will, but one Wife onely. All the *Chineans*, *Iaponians*, and *Cauchin Chineans* doe write right downwards, and they doe write with a fine Pen-
fill made of Dogs or Cats haire.

Laban is an Iland among the *Ianas* from whence come the Diamants of the *New water*. And they find them in the Rivers: for the King will not suffer them to digge the Rocke. *Iamba* is an Iland among the *Ianas* also, from whence come Diamants. And the King hath a masse of earth which is Gold; it groweth in the middle of a Riuer: and when the King doth lacke Gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth Gold. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yeere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of Aprill.

Bima is an other Iland among the *Ianas*, where the Women trauell and labour as our men doe in *England*, and the Men keepe house and goe where they will.

The nine and twentieth of March 1588. I returned from *Malacca* to *Martanan*, and so to *Pegu*, where I remained the second time vntill the seuenteenth of September, and then I went to *Cosmin*, and there tooke shipping: and passing many dangers by reason of contrarie winds, it pleased God that wee arriued in *Bengala*, in Nouember following: where I stayed for want of passage vntill the third of Februarie 1589. and then I shipped my selfe for *Cochin*. In which Voyage wee endured great extremitie for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreame hot, and we were many Merchants and Passengers, and we had verie many calmes, and hot weather. Yet it pleased God that we arriued in *Ceylon* the sixth of March, where we staid five daies to water and to furnish our selues with other necessarie prouision. This *Ceylon* is a braue Iland, verie fruitfull and faire; but by reason of continuall Warres with the King thereof, all things are verie deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the Castle where the *Portugals* be: wherefore oftentimes they haue great want of victuals. Their prouision of victuals commeth out of *Bengala* euerie yeere. The King is called *Rana*, and is of great force; for hee commeth to *Columbo*, which is the place where the *Portugals* haue their Fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many Elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them bee good with their Pieces which be Muskets. When the King talketh with any man, hee standeth vpon one legge, and setteth the other foot vpon his knee with his Sword in his hand: it is not their order for the King to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of Cotton-wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound vp with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his bodie is naked. His Guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and hee in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the *Chingalayer*, which they say are the best kind of all the *Malabars*. Their Eares are verie large; for the greater they are, the more Honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a spanne long. The Wood which they burne is Cinamon wood, and it smelleth verie sweet. There is great store of Rubies, Saphires, and Spinelles in this Iland: the best kinde of all bee here; but the King will not suffer the Inhabitants to digge for them, lest his Enemies should know of them, and make Warres against him, and so driue him out of his Countrey for them. They haue no Horses in all the Countrey. The Elephants bee not so great as those of *Pegu*, which bee monstrous huge: but they say all other Elephants doe feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they bee verie small. Their Women haue a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare. All of them bee Blacke and but little, both Men and Women. Their Houses are verie little, made of the branches of the Palmer or Coco-tree, and couered with the Leaues of the same tree.

The elcuenth of March wee sayled from *Ceylon*, and so doubled the Cape of *Comori*. Not farre from thence, betweene *Ceylon* and the maine land of *Negapatan*, they fish for Pearles. And there is fished euerie yeere verie much; which doe serue all *India*, *Cambasa*, and *Bengala*, it is not so orient as the Pearle of *Baharin* in the Gulfe of *Persia*. From *Cape de Comori*, wee passed by *Coulam*, which is a Fort of the *Portugals*: from whence commeth great store of Pepper, which commeth for *Portugall*: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the Carackes of *Portugall*. Thus passing the Coast we arriued in *Cochin* the two and twentieth of March, where wee found the weather warme, but scarcitie of Victuals: for here groweth neither Corne nor Rice: and the greatest part commeth from *Bengala*. They haue here very bad water, for the Riuer is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to bee like Lepers, and many of them haue their legges swollen as big as a man in the waste, and many of them are scant able to goe. These people here be *Malabars*, and of the race of the *Naires* of *Calicut*: and they differ much from the other *Malabars*. These haue their heads very full of haire, and bound vp with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good Archers with a long Bow and a long Arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there bee some Caluers among them, but they handle them badly.

Here groweth the Pepper; and it springeth vp by a Tree or a Pole, and is like our Iuie berry, but something longer like the Wheat-eare: and at the first the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and drie them. The leafe is much lesser then the Iuie leafe and thinner

thinner. All the Inhabitants here have very little houses, couered with the leaues of the Coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature; the women little; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes: all the rest of their bodies be naked: they haue horrible great Eares with many rings set with Pearles and Stones in them. The King goeth incached, as they doe all; he doth not remaine in a place aboue five or sixe dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but little: his Guard is but small: he remoueth from one house to another according to their order. All the Pepper of Calicut and course Cinamom, groweth here in this Countrey. The best Cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine young Trees. Here are verie many Palmer or Coco-trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other necessarie things, as I haue declared before.

Blacke people.

40 The Naires which be vnder the King or Samorin, which bee Malabars, haue alwayes Warres with the Portugals. The King hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the Sea to rob and steale. Their chiefe Captaine is called Cogi All; he hath three Castles vnder him. When the Portugals complaine to the King, he saith he doth not send them out: but hee consenteth that they goe. They range all the Coast from Ceylon to Goa, and goe by foure or five Parowes or Boates together; and haue in euery one of them fiftie or threescore men, and board presently. They doe much harme on that Coast, and take euery yeere many Foists and Boates of the Portugals. Many of these people bee Moores. This Kings Countrey beginneth twelue leagues from Cochín, and reacheth neere vnto Goa. I remained in Cochín vntill the second of Nouember, which was eight moneths; for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: 20 if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochín I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochín to Goa, is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threescore leagues, where I remained three and twentie dayes: and there making my prouision of things necessarie for the Ship, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to Balsora fiftie dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

The King of Calicut.

Goa.

Chaul.

Ormuz.

Heere I thought good, before I make an end of this my Booke, to declare some things which India and the Countrey farther Eastward doe bring forth.

30 The Pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochín: and much of it doeth grow in the Fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The Shrub is like vnto our Iuic-tree: and if it did not runne about some Tree or Pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is Greene; and then they lay it in the Sunne, and it becometh blacke.

The Pepper tree.

The Ginger groweth like vnto our Garlike, and the root is the Ginger: it is to bee found in many parts of India.

Ginger.

The Cloues doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which bee diuers Ilands: their Tree is like to our Bay-tree.

Cloues.

The Nutmegs and Maces grow together, and come from the Iles of Banda: the tree is like to our Walnut-tree, but somewhat lesser.

Nutmegs and Maces.

40 The white Sandoll is wood very sweet and in great request among the Indians; for they grind it with a little water, and annoint their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Ile of Timor.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is sold dearer then Gold. I thinke none of it commeth for Christendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in Canes and is the best, commeth from the great Ile of Borneo.

Camphora.

Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

Lignum Aloes.

The Benjamin commeth out of the Countries of Siam and Iangomés.

The Long Pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Ianas.

Long Pepper.

50 The Muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the Merchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a litle beast like vnto a yong Roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the Muske.

Muske.

Of the Amber they hold diuers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the Sea, and that they finde it vpon the shores side.

Amber.

The Rubies, Saphires, and Spinelles, are found in Pegu.

Rubies, Saphires, and Spinelles.

The Diamants are found in diuers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Ianas.

Diamants.

The best Pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Persian Sea, the worser from the Piscaria, neere the Ile of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermost Coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of Drugges come from Cambaia.

Spodium.

60 Now to returne to my Voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsora or Basora, and from Basora to Babilon: and wee passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the Boat vp the Riuer with a long cord. From Babilon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth neere to Nimire, which is all ruinated and destroyed; it standeth fast by the Riner of Tigris. From

Balsora.

Babilon.

Mosul

Mosul.
Meridin.
Orfa.

Bir.
Aleppo.
Tripolis.

Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the Countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire Towne, and it hath a goodly Fountaine full of Fish; where the Moores hold many great Ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say hee did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, and so passed the Riuer of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for companie; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arriued the nine and twentieth of Aprill 1591. hauing beene eight yeeres out of my native Countrey.

CHAP. VII.

Indian Observations gathered out of the Letters of NICOLAS PIMENTA, Visiter of the Iesuites in India, and of many others of that Societie, written from diuers Indian Regions; principally relating the Countries and accidents of the Coast of Coromandel, and of Pegu.

N. Pimenta's
Letter.

Carrick burnt.

Letter of Francis
Fernandes.

Chandecan.

Lac.

Note the cause
why Iesuites &
Friars haue so
much preui-
led; viz. their
exemptions
from ordinarie
Iurisdiction &
priuiledges a-
boue it by Pa-
pall grants.
Boyes sent.
N. Pimenta.

Porca.
Coulam.
Tranancor.
Madure.
C. Cori.

Periapatan.

Tripalacur.



Nicholas Pimenta, the Indian Visiter in his Letter to Claudius Aquanina the General of the Iesuites, relateth his visitation-Voyage from Goa in December 1597. To Cochín first, the occurrents wherein hee had certified by Letter in the Viceroyes ship or Caracke, which being richly laden was accidentally and irrecoverably fired, the Ordnance thundring Death and lightning manifold mischieues to the Rescuers. Hee sent from Cochín a Mission to Bengala, Francis Fernandes, and Dominicke Sosa; another to Pegu, Melchior Fonsera, and Andrew Bones. The effect whereof appeared in their letters. Fernandes writ from Siripur in Bengala, in Ianuarie 1599. the dangers of their Voyage by Malabar Pirats, a three dayes Tempest, the shelues of Ganges, before they arriued at Gullam, two hundred and ten miles vp that Riuer: where they left one of their Societie which could meanly write to teach that Schoole. Sosa indeuoured to learne the Bengalan Language and translated into it a tractate of Christian Religion, in which were confuted the Gentile and Mahumetan errors: to which was added a short Catechisme by way of Dialogue, which the Children frequenting the Schoole learned by heart, and taught the Seruants in their Families, with the signe of the Crosse and other things belonging to Christianitie. They perswaded them to erect an Hospitall, buying a house and household stuffe to that purpose, and reformed the courses of many which liued in Piracie, and loose lusts: and in October departed thence to the Great Port, sixe hundred miles from the Small Port or Porto Pequeno, not without dangers from Tigres and Theeues. In the midway in the Kingdome of Chandecan, where they stayed a moneth to reforme disorders by Lusts and Discord, and Baptised two hundred; The King gaue them a place to build a Church in, and monies to that purpose, with libertie to Preach the Gospell. In the Woods of that Kingdome great store of Waxe is made which is thence transported to other parts of India. At Siripur in December, they arriued and were receiued as Angels from Heauen, by reason the Bishop of Cochín had Excommunicated the new Captayne with his followers, from which Sentence they hoped the Iesuites would exempt them: and although wee were loth to intermeddle, yet could we not but giue answer to them. At Siripur the Gouvernour gaue vs leaue to Preach and assigned sixe hundred peeces of Gold for reuenue, and roome to build a Church, with promise of all necessaries. I send you two Boyes of Bengala to bee instructed in the Colledge, and next yeere will send two others as your Worship commanded. When we came to Chatigan wee learned that the King of Aracan was gone to the warre of Pegu. Thus farre Fernandes.

Father Baltasar Sequeira was Elected to the Peguan mission, which went to the Towne of Saint Thomas, thence to sayle with the first opportunitie with Father Iohn Costa for Pegu: but wee arriued at Saint Thomas before they were gone. We departed from Cochín, and in the way visited the new Church in the Kingdome of Porca; thence came to Coulam, and passed the rest of the way with great feare; for the King of Tranancor had certified vs, that the King of Madure was comming against him with seuentie thousand armed men, and many Elephants. But wee visited three and thirtie Churches in his Kingdome, and turned to the Promontorie Cori, and beyond that to the Fishing Coast euen to Turacurin. In the Towne Punicale, I met F. Henrie whom F. Xavier had there left two and fiftie yeeres before, still of able bodie, and daily writing in the Malabar language to illustrate the Christian Religion. Periapatan is the chiefe Citie of the Parauelines, where wee left a Residence of two Priests, which might passe as farre as Tripalacur, which two places by Cape Ramanancor are made farre distant by Sea, but by Land are neere each other. We passed that Cape and came to Talemanare at the entrance of the

He *Manare*, and hauing visited the Churches in that Iland, passed the Riuer and went by land to the Pearle-fishing.

Wee rested all night in the Tents of Fishermen, which with many lights round about prohibited the assaults of Elephants. But we saw nothing but Peacocks; and a Viper had conueyed herselfe into our stufte, which vseth to kill within seuen houres after her striking, which was espied. There come from the Regions about sixtie thousand into these Tents of Fishermen, bringing all their Families: Our Priests say Masse in the Churches erected on the shore, appease tumults and haue care of good order, without whom all that companie would bee dissolved. Wee passed from *Manare* not without great perill by tempest to *Negapatan*, where Father *Francis Paer* lieth buried, whom the Inhabitants worship as a Saint. Many Portugals dwell there, and many winter there, which come from the Coast of *China*, *Bengala*, *Pegu*, and *Malaca*. They buy a place for five hundred Duckets for a new Residence of ours.

The *Naich* of *Tanioar* desired a Church in his Port, and at *Trangobar* sixe miles from *Negapatan* another was begun. From hence wee went by land to *Saint Thomas*, traouelling twelue dayes in a pleasant Countrey, beautified with Groues and Streames, enriched with a fertile soile and wholesome eyre. But so prodigious and innumerable were their Idols, in many very faire Temples, and other lesse Oratories almost without number, that Superstition contended with Ambition; and the Colosses of their Idols were remoued from place to place in Chariots as high as steeples, by thousands of men setting their shoulders to the Wheelles. In our way wee saw *Cidambaran* the mother Citie of their Superstitions, furnished with gorgeous Temples. Their *Brachmanes* haue thirtie thousand Duckets reuenue, whereof but twelue thousand are now payed.

The *Naichus* of *Gingi* was come thither, in whose Dominion it standeth. Hee commanded that we should be brought to his Presence. Before vs two hundred *Brachmanes* went in a ranke to sprinkle the house with Holy water, and to preuent Sorcerie against the King, which they vse to doe euery day that the King first entreteth into any house. We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaine hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all ouer his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles; some Princes and *Brachmanes* attended him. He entertained vs kindly, and maruelled much that wee chewed not the leaues of *Betele* which were offered vs, and dismissed vs with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of vs for his new Citie which hee was building. The next day wee went away, which we had not done, had any told vs of a strange Spectacle that day there to bee scene, which wee after came certainly to know.

There were twentie Priests which they call *Iogues*, which threw themselues from the highest pinnacle of the Temple for this cause. There is a Temple of *Perimal*, in which is worshipped an Ape called *Hanimant*, whom they report to haue bene a God, and for I know not what offence, with many other thousands of Gods (in like wise metamorphosed) to haue bene transformed into an Ape, and to haue ruled ouer all those Apes in that place. But hauing necessarie occasion to passe from *Ramanancor* to *Ceilan*, wanting shipping, hee leaped ouer the waters, and at euery leape made an Iland or hill of Sands, so making way for himselfe and his. They say it was his Tooth, which the Viceroy *Constantine* cast into the fire, notwithstanding the *Ethnikes* offer of three hundred thousand Duckets for the Redemption. These *Ethnikes* also fable, that a holy man at *Cidambaran* for penance sake kept his foot many yeeres nayled thorow with an Iron nayle; and when God forbad him that penance, hee refused and said he would neuer giue it ouer, till hee might see God dancing about him. At length God yeelded to him, and with the Sunne, Moone and Starres danced before that Saint, they playing on Instruments and dancing. From God, as he danced, fell a Gold chaine off his foot, whence *Cidambaran* receiued the name, signifying *A Golden Chaine*. Now at this time was a great Controuersie amongst these *Gentiles*, whether it were lawfull to place the Signe of *Perimal* (which is nothing but a Mast or Pole gilded, with an Ape at the foot) in the Temple of *Cidambaran*. Some refused, others by their Legats importunately vrged, and the *Naichus* of *Gingi* Decreed to erect it in the Temple, the Priests of the Temple which were the Treasurers, withstanding, and threatning if it were done to cast downe themselues from the top. The *Brachmanes* of the Temple sware to doe the like after they had buried the former, which yet after better aduise they performed not. About twentie had perished in that precipitation on that day of our departure; whereat the *Naichus* angrie, caused his Gunners to shoot at the rest, which killed two of them, the rest wandring in vncertaine places. A Woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrell that shee cut her owne throat. The Mast with the Ape was neuerthelesse erected.

Wee trauelled by the fauour of the *Naichus* and the Princes of *Trinidad*, and *Salanaccha* his Subiects, to *Saint Thomas*. This was the ancient Citie *Meliapor*, sometimes chiefe Citie of the Kingdome of *Coromandel*, now subiect to the *Ragin* or King of *Vissanagor*, (by the Portugals called *Bisnaga*, and by Writers termed *Narsinga*, of a King of that name) who of the *Ethnikes* in those parts is acknowledged with this portentuous Stile. The Husband of Subuast (that is)

Gggggggg ;

He *Manare*.

The fishing Coast.
Peacocks.
Viper.
Pearle-fishing.

Negapatan.
F. Paer wor-
shipped.

Naichus or
King of *Tanioar*
Trangobar.

Idols and Idol-
chariots.

Cidambaran.

Naichus or
King of *Gingi*.

Superstitious
madnesse of
Iogues.
Hanimants Le-
gend.
Ape-deitie.
Legendarie
lies.

Saint Thomas
or *Meliapor*.

Prodigious ti-
tle of the King
of *Bisnaga*.

of good Fortune, God of great Provinces, King of the greatest Kings, and God of Kings, Lord of all Horse-forces, Master of those which know not how to Speake, Emperour of three Emperours, Conqueror of all which hee seeith, and Keeper of all which hee hath overcome; Dreadfull to the eight Coasts of the world, the Vanquisher of Mahumetan Armies, Ruler of all Provinces which hee hath taken, Taker of the Spoiles and Riches of Ceilan; which farre exceedeth the most Valiant men, which cut off the head of the Invincible Viraulalan; Lord of the East, South, North, West, and of the Sea; Hunter of Elephants, which lieth and glorieth in virtue Militarie. Which titles of Honour enioyeth the most Warlike Vencatapadin, Ragin, Denamagan Ragel, which now raigneth and gouerneth this World. Hee now resideth in Chandegrin, and in times past rained farre and wide, from Cape Cori to the Kingdomes adjoyning to Gou, on the Coasts of both Seas, till Idalcen and others (as the Naichi before mentioned) shooke off his yoke. Hee was now embroiled in warre with the Naichus of Madure. I appointed Father Simon Sa Rector of the Colledge of Saint Thomas, to begin a Mission thither as soone as hee could. A Seminatie was erected at Meliapor, of the chiefe Children of the Badagades by the almes of Deuout men, and a Schoole of the Malabars adioyned, in which is taught the Tongue of Tamul (or vulgar) and the Badagan vsed by the Courtiers. Whiles a new Peguan mission was talked of, there came ships from Pegu which related the turbulent state of that Kingdome, and I will heere adioyne what I learned of credible persons which a long time had beene eye-witnesses of Pegues prosperitie and aduersitie.

Relations of Pegu.
Fredericke saith, that this King had 26 Kings subiect to him.

See Fredericke of this Expedition, then in Pegu.

Miseries of Pegu: and how caused.

Miserable execution.

See this Combate before in Balbi.

Siam inuaded.

Peguan losses.

THE King of Pegu, Father of the present, of the race of the Bramas, was the mightiest of all which haue rained in Pegu. For hee subdued twelue Kingdomes to his Empire viz. the Kingdome of Cauclan, whence come the best Saphires and Rubies; Ana, in which are Mines of Ciprian Brasse, Lead and Siluer; Bacan, in which are many Gold mines; Tangram, which abounds with Lead and Lac; Prom, which aboundeth also in Lead and Lac; Tangoma, stored with Copper, Muske, Pepper, Silke, Gold, Siluer; Lawran, where is store of Bejoine, enough to lade ships; the eight and ninth, are the Kingdomes of Trucen; whence many China wares are transported to vs; the tenth and eleuenth, are the Kingdomes of Cablan abounding in Gemmes, neere to the Kingdome of Aana, betwixt it and China. The twelfth, is the Kingdome of Sion (or Siam) which he subdued last, and in that Expedition is said to haue armed 1060000. men, taking one of ten with him to that warre. Hee rained fixe and thirtie yeeres in such affluence of all things, that one hundred Ships laden with Rice would not haue seemed to diminish the store. The plentie of Gemmes was such, that in one moneth a man might haue bestowed many talents of Gold thereon. Yet now there are scarcely found in all that Kingdome any men, but a few which with the King haue betaken themselues to the Castle, which with Women and Children are said not to exceed seuen thousand. For in late times they haue beene brought to such miserie and want, that they did eate Mans flesh and kept publike shambles thereof, Parents abstained not from their Children, and Children deuoured their Parents. The stronger by force preyed on the weaker, and if any were but skinn and bone, yet did they open their intrailles to fill their owne and sucked out their braines. The women went about the streets with knives to like butcherly purposes. The cause of this misery was this.

The former King being dead, his Sonne the second moneth of his Raigne hearing that the King of Ana his Vncle affected some change of State, and that fortie of his Grandes had conspired with him, committed those fortie and Burned them all, together with their Wiues, Children, Friends and Familiars, causing all that fled out of the fire to be Cut in peeces. This estranged his Subiects hearts, whereof hee had experience in the Warre against his Vncle, and therefore offered him single Combate vpon an Elephant, the suruior to possesse the Scepter. In this Combat, the King of Pegu slew his Vncle of Ana. But whiles hee was in that expedition, the King of Siam entred the Peguan Confines with an Armie as farre as a Towne called Satan, diuulging a rumour that hee came to ayde his Lord the King. This was much stomacked by the King of Pegu, who sent an Armie against him, commanding the Generall to bring him Captiue. But this Armie disposed it selfe, and neglecting the Kings command, returned to their homes. The King after his returne sent to the Siamite to come to him, who offered to continue his Tribute, but refused to come.

Two yeeres after, the Peguan with an Armie of nine hundred thousand men, marcheth against Siam and besiegeth it. The Siamite makes him faire offers, but protracted the time till the third moneth, that in the inundation which happeneth in March, the Kings Armie might be indamaged. That Riuer like Nilus (but in another moneth) vseth to couer one hundred and twentie miles circuit in ground, and so ouerwhelmed this Armie, that scarcely seuentie thousand of that great multitude returned to Martanan, and those without Horses and Elephants. The King of Pegu hauing once and againe made such Expeditions in vaine, at length hee sent his Brother the King of Tangoma with many Commanders; twise also hee sent his Sonne thither with a great Armie: which committed hostile spoyles, but yet euer returned with the losse of more then halfe their Armie: and his Sonne in the last Expedition was killed with shot of a Piece. Thus enraged and resolved to teunge, hee made great preparations three yeeres together,

ther, and then thought to carrie with him all the *Peguan* to this warre. But of them, presenting the former dreadfull slaughters and losses to their mindes, some became *Talapotes* (Friers in their Ethnicisme) others hid themselves in Desarts, and Woods, and many sold themselves for Slaues. The King caused *Ximibago* his Vncle to search the publike Records, and to presse one halfe to the warres, he also proclaimed that all which in such a space had turned *Talapotes* should returne secular; the young should be compelled to the warres, the old to be exiled into the Region of the *Bramas*, whom also he after changed away for Horses. He ordained also that all the *Peguan* should be branded in the right hand, that euery mans name, Countrie and condition might be known. They seeing themselves thus opprobriously branded, *Talapotes* forced to returne Secular, and old men exchanged for Horses, began to rebell.

10 The *Cosmians* first set a King ouer them, against whom the King sent an Armie, which spoiled all the Countrie, and brought many Captiues, whom the King caused to be burned: and continuing his warre ypon them, forced by famine, they yeelded to his mercy, but he with exquisite torments slue them all. The next stage of his furie was the Kingdome of *Ana*, where hee commanded his sonne the Gouverneur to bring them all into the Kingdome of *Pegu*, now so destitute of Inhabitants; but the aire not agreeing, they brake out in pusses and diseases, which also infected the Natiues, that some with impatience of the torture threw themselves into the River. Some of the *Peguan*s in this time had with the *Siamites* help, brought the Castle of *Murmulan* into their possession, whom the King besieged a yere together. And the *Siamites* comming on them vnexpected, ouerthrew his Armie, killed his Horses and Elephants, slue and drowned many, tooke others: and so became Lords of all that Countrie, and many *Peguan* Peeres fled to them; whose wiues, children, and families the King after his manner destroyed yterly with fire, sword and water. And thus the whole tract from *Pegu* to *Martauan* and *Murmulan*, was brought to a Wilderness.

30 Whiles hee besieged *Murmulan*, hee sent for his sonne the Vice-roy of *Prom*, who imagined that it was to proclaime him Heire apparant, and so preferrd him to his elder brother the Prince of *Ana*; but when he came was sent to the siege of *Murmulan*, which he excusing was threatened by his father, and commanded presently to salute his brother, and bee gone thither. Hee returned to *Prom*, and rebelled against his father. In these broiles the *Siamite* taketh opportunitie, and marcheth against *Pegu* in haruest time. Some of their fruits were hastily inned, the rest burned by the Kings command. The *Siamite* layeth siege to *Pegu*, in which were then numbred an hundred and fifty thousand *Peguan*s, *Bramans*, and of other Nations; three thousand peeces of Ordnance, one thousand of them brasse. The siege continued from Ianuarie to April, 1596. By the helpe of some *Portugals* and *Turkes*, the Citie escaped, and the rumour of *Portugals* comming by the way of *Camboia* raised the siege, the *Siamite* fearing to lose his owne, whiles he sought to winne that which was anothers. But Famine succeeded with a worse siege, which made the forren Souldiers leaue the Citie, a few remayning which were fled from *Tangu*. The King hereupon commanded the King or Vice-roy of *Tangu*, to gather the haruest then ripe, and to imbarke it and the people for *Pegu*. Hee answered that hee would send halfe, and that he or his sonne would come. The King sends foure principall men to fetch him and the prouision by force. The *Tanguan* kills those Commissioners, possessed himselfe of the ships and Souldiers, and by Proclamation prohibiteth returne and aide to *Pegu*. Thus the famine encreased in the Citie, insomuch that they killed and did eate each other. The King caused the people to be numbred, and there finding seven thousand *Siamites*, caused them all to be slaine, and diuided the prouision to the rest, of which there were not of all ages and sexes about thirty thousand remayning.

40 The King of *Prom* held out three yeeres against his father, and then repenting, sent messengers that he would bring all the people of *Prom*, which were 50000. to the Citie. Hereupon the King pardoned him, and sent him presents. But his chiefe Counsellour which had set him on worke, fearing his head would be the price of his reconciliation, poisoned this young Prince, and aspiring to the Kingdome, was within seven dayes after killed by the Grandes, of whom euery weeke almost yeelded a rising Sunne setting in a bloody Cloude: insomuch that in two moneths space, of fifty thousand scarcely fifty men remained, which going to *Pegu*, left *Prom* to the habitation of wilde beasts. Many *Peguan*s yet remained in other Countries whither they had fled, as in *Iangoma*, *Arracan*, *Siam*. The *Talipois* perswaded the *Iangoman*, brother to the King of *Pegu*, to vsurpe the Kingdome, which he refused, pretending his Oath. They replied, that no Religion hindered, if he placed his brother in the *Vabat*, that is a Golden throne, to be adored of the people for a God. He also found out another trick, that his brother of *Pegu* was borne before his father was enthronized, himselfe after he was now King, begotten also of the old King of *Pegu* daughter, whereas the Kings mother was not a Kings daughter. The King is said to haue killed two hundred Eunuches, lest they should betray his huge treasures: it is also reported, that his father caused to be cast three hundred fixty sixe *Combalengas* of Gold (a great kinde of Gourde) which none knoweth where they be. He hath also fixty seven Idols of Gold adorned with Jewels of all sorts, foure Store-houses with great plenty of Lead,

Cosmi destroyed

Ana despoiled.

Murmulan alienated.

Martauan desolate.

Prom threatened.

Pegu besieged;

Forfaken;

Famished.

Prom made a Wilderness.

Tricks for treason.

Great treasures.

Fernandes his
Letter.

Martauans fer-
tilitie.

Bones his Let-
ter.
King of Pegu
taken.

600. Elephants
and 600. horses
burdens of
gold and gems
taken.

Sirian.

Miserable spe-
ctacle.

Siluer and
Brasse.

Hot punish-
ment for cold
courage.

Pet. Williams.
Floris, sup. l. 3.
cap. 14.

Pimenta.
Town of Saint
Thomas.
Gingi.

Iogues succes-
sours of Gym-
nosophists.
They haue an-
other sort cal-
led. Sanasses,
which liue in
Defarts, and
sometimes come
forth starke
naked, as those
mentioned by
Onesicritus and
Megasthenes,
but not so lear-
ned.

Lead, Brasse, Ordnance, without weight. This was then the state of the Kingdome of Pegu, brought to one Citie, and that almost destroyed.

The rest wee will supply out of the Epistle of Andrew Bones, and Francis Fernandes, Iesuites. This writes concerning Martauan, that it is a large Kingdome, but now desolate by the Siamites warre no lesse then Pegu. But two hundred thousands of the Inhabitants lurke in Woods and Mountaines. The King hath only two or three fortified Cities, not able to withstand the Siamite. The fertilitie of that Countrie is such, that it yeeldeth yeerely a threefold Haruest, and at what time of the yeere soeuer they sowe, the seeds come to ripenesse. Cochin and Malacca alone carrie from thence yeerely thirty ships laden with Graine. The Woods also abound with diuers Fruit-trees; the Herbes are almost all both odoriferous and medicinable. It is able to lade yeerely twenty of the greatest ships with Pitch and Timber. Their Fountaines, Riuer, wilde and tame Beasts, Mines of Gold, Siluer, Brasse, Iron, and Lead, also of Rubies and Gemmes, likewise their commodious Ports I omit: as also the temperature of the aire, and the hopes of conuerting the countrie, since frustrated.

Bones writeth, the eight and twentieth of March, 1600. that the King of Pegu beleagred with a straight siege by the Kings of Tangu and Arracan, deliuered himselfe (vnable to hold out any longer) to the King of Tangu, which caused his head and the Queenes also to bee cut off. The like he did to his sonne the Prince. After this he went to the Tower where the Kings treasure was kept, which was so much that scarcely sixe hundred Elephants and as many Horses were sufficient to carrie away the Gold and Gemmes onely. For I say nothing of the Siluer and other Metals, as things of no price. The King of Arracan then absent, hearing that the King of Tangu against his agreement with him had taken all this treasure for himselfe, and dismissed the Armie without his Knowledge, came thither with the aide of the Portugals to inuade Tangu. I went thither with Philip Brito, and in fiftene dayes arriued at Sirian, the chiefe Port in Pegu. It is a lamentable spectacle to see the bankes of the Riuer set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now ouerwhelmed with ruines of gilded Temples, and noble edifices; the wayes and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished and cast into the Riuer, in such numbers that the multitude of carkasses prohibiteth the way and passage of any ship; to omit the burnings and massacres committed by this the cruellest of Tyrants that euer breathed.

The King of Arracan is now ending his businesse at the Tower of Macao, carrying thence the Siluer which the King of Tangu had left, exceeding three millions, besides many and rare pieces of brazen Ordnance remayning in that Castle. The Kings of Siam and Iangoma with great forces haue inuaded the King of Tangu to despoile him of his spoiles. The King of Arracan is yet Lord of Pegu, though not acknowledged by those which fled or hid themselves, and hath deliuered the Port of Sirian to Philip de Brito, that the Peguan fugitiues might haue refuge vnder Portugall protection. Brito is in hand with building the Fort, and is earnest for a Residence of our Society. The King of Siam in his way towards Tangu made irruption into the Kingdome of Martauan, but was twice repelled with losse; and hath therefore reenforced his Armie, withall commanding two of his Captaines for negligence and cowardise to bee drowned in Caldrons of scalding Oile, after which entring a third time hee hath subdued that Kingdome of Martauan. What after happened in Pegu and Siam, See before in Master Floris his Journall. Wee will retorne to Coromandel with Pimenta.

THE Towne of Saint Thomas is famous by the Cathedrall Church, the Apostles Sepulchre, his house in the little Hill, his martyrdome in the great Hill, and the miracle of the Crosse. Wee went thence to Gingi; the greatest Citie we haue sent in India, and bigger then any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted. In the midst thereof is a Castle like a Citie, high walled with great hewen stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water: in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable. The Naicus shewed vs his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke. The Iogues which had returned by land from Bengala, brought in such vessels water from Ganges for the Courtiers, they were encompassed with filthie base clothes, which they kissed as holy vessels notwithstanding. The Naicus appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced vs to the Groue (though consecrated to an Idoll) the Iogues ambitiously affecting applause by tolerating in the open Court the most intolerable Sun-beames, sometimes at noone (but sildome) interposing a thinne Vaile. Wee saw one of them, which being shut vp in Iron Cage had there made himselfe perpetuall prisoner, so walking with his head and feet out, that he neuer could sit nor lie downe. At the sides of the Caue hung forth an hundred Lampes, which at certaine times foure Iogues his attendants lighted. He ietted with great iollitie and glorie as if he gaue light to the world by his splendour.

The next day the inner part of the Castle was shewed vs, hauing no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded. In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tilts. Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot; a Spring also of cleare water. The Naicus had bene

beene here kept by his Vncle, whom yet by helpe of his friends he forced to become in the ſame place his vnwilling ſucceſſour, hauing put out his eyes. He was guarded homeward with a thouſand armed men: in the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre. At the Porch one entertained him with an Oration in his praife, a thing vſuall in their ſolemne pompes. *Chriſtapanachus* (that is his name) ſhewed vs another day his ſtore of Iewels, and gaue vs leaue in his new Citie, which hee called *Chriſtapatama*, to fixe a reſidence and erect a Church, two hundred pieces of gold being aſſigned to the Priſt thereof, his Letters Parents written in the *Tamulan* and *Badagan* Languages. This new Citie is ſeated in the Land *Arungor*, neere the mouth of the Riuer *Velarius*. Thence we came to the Riuer *Colocam*. *Cholgana* a great man receiued vs with great kindneſſe. Hee is old and ſeuere, and hath cauſed Crocodiles to bee put in his Riuer for his ſecuritie, charging them not to hurt his owne people. They neuertheleſſe killed a man, whereupon I knowe not by what arts hee tooke two of them which were the malefactors, and put chaines about their neckes, and caſt them into a miry place, there to bee ſtoned by the people, and to die of famine. One of theſe we ſaw.

Wee paſſed thence to *Trangambaran*, and thence to *Taniaor*, the walls whereof are built of hewen ſtone, and it is the ſeat of another *Naichus*, who had lately renounced the world and prepared himſelfe for death, accompanied in that deuotion by his ſeuenty wiues, all which were to be burned in the ſame fire with his carkaſſe. Hee had beſtowed ſiue thouſand pieces of gold in ſweet woods againſt that day. The *Naichus* of *Madure* is very ſuperſtitious, and reſigned his Palace to his Idol *Chochanada*, vpon the authoritie of a Priſt which ſaid the Idoll by night had bidden him tell the King, that hee or I muſt dwell in this houſe. Hee daily ſits in iudgement, a *Bramene* ſtanding by, which euer and anone whineth out the name of the Idoll *Aranganassa*; and when one is weary another ſucceedeth, and continueth that acclamation, though hee ſits fixe houres.

Simon Sa writes from *Meliapor*, the twentieth of Nouember, 1598. amongſt many other things of *Paparagin*, which in one houſe kept three hundred *Brachmans*, and gaue hospitalitie to the Pilgrims which went to, or came from *Tripiti*, a famous Idoll three miles from *Chandegrin*. They purge their ſinnes by waſhing their bodies and ſhauing their heads and beards. The Idoll is in a cold hill compaſſed with fertile valleyes abounding with fruits, which none dare touch. There are plenty of Apes, which are ſo tame, that they will take meate out of ones hand. The people take them for a Nation of gods which hold familiaritie with *Perimal*. They worſhip *Perimal* in many figures, of a Man, an Oxe, Horſe, Lion, Hog, Ducke, Cocke.

The Archbiſhop of *Goa* *Alexius Menefius* viſited the Diocelle of *Angamala*, the Archbiſhop there being dead: he cauſed their bookes to be purged from innumerable *Nestorianiſmes*, appointed eighty Pariſhes, kept a Synode, and tooke away thoſe things, which in their bookes were againſt the Pope.

Emanuel Carualius in his Letters from *Malaca*, in Ianuarie, 1599. writeth of an Embaſſage ſent thither from the King of *Camboia* to obtaine ſome of the Fathers of *Saint Paul* (ſo the *leſuites* are called in the Eaſt Indies) to bee ſent into his Kingdome. This Kingdome of *Camboia* hath *Canci* or *Cochinchina* on the North, *Sion* (or *Siam*) on the South, which alſo lieth in the miſt betwixt *Pegu* and *Camboia*, the Sea on the other ſide. It hath a Riuer which ouerfloweth yeerely. The Region is fertile, and hath alſo ſtore of Beioine and other merchandiſe. Within twenty yeeres laſt paſt this numerous people hath beene much diminished by warres with *Siam*. Beyond *Camboia* are the *Laos*, which inhabite on the Riuer ſides, and Lakes made by it. For the Riuer runneth twelue hundred miles, and the head thereof is not knowne by the *Camboyans*. The *Laos* which dwelt aboue on the Riuer twenty yeeres agoe, would needs come downe the Riuer with an Armie of two hundred thouſand men, which all periſhed, and the King of *Camboia* periſhed alſo in the battell. His ſonne by helpe of the *Portugals* expelled the *Laos*, which ten yeeres together infeſted the Countrey. They haue many Cities and Temples like the *Chinois* and *Iaponians*, with their *Bonzos*.

Emanuel de Veiga from *Chandegrin*, in September, 1599. writeth of his Voyage from *Saint Thomas* thither. The ſecond day at night they lay at *Trimalur*, where they ſaw their Idols ſolemne Proceſſion by night, carried into the ſtreet by eight Porters in a high Throne: the Image it ſelfe not aboue three ſpannes long clothed with an vpper garment of red ſilke, an inner ſhirt of linnen. An Elephant went before the pompe, conſecrated to the Idoll, carrying a white Banner on his backe; and after him three Oxen ſacred alſo thereto, on which ſate Drummers: after them Trumpetters and Pipers with diuerſified Inſtruments, ſtraight, crooked, great, ſmall. Theſe all made a confuſed ſound, without any obſeruatiſon of order and time. After theſe came 30. women-dancers, which haue deuoted themſelues to the Idols perpetuall ſeruice, which may not marrie, but prostitute themſelues for the moſt part, all goodly and richly arrayed, all carrying Lampes burning. And the Idoll came in the Rere with his Porters and Priſts, liuing on the reuenues of the Temple. The common people followed with lights. They paſſed foure ſtreets, and in their returne ſet the Idoll in a place erected with pillars with a ſtone rooſe, and all the companie compaſſed the Idoll three times, which done, they carried him to the Temple, where foure

Cholgana's Crocodiles charmed.

Trangubaram. Taniaor.

70. Wiues burned with their Husbands carkaſſe. See after.

Simon Sa his Letter.

Reformation of *Saint Thomas* Chriſtians

Letter of *Carualius*.

Camboya.

The *Laos*. See *Frier Gaſpar* *Cruz.* to. 2. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Letters of *Veiga*. *Trimalur*. Idol-proceſſion.

Blacke *Santus*.

Letter of Riccius.

four *Brachmanes* entertained him, which bowed their heads to the Idoll; one of them bringing on his head a basket of boyled Rice for the Idols supper, attended with Fanners to scarre away Flies. When the meate was set downe, a Curtaine was drawne, lest any might see the Idoll eating, the Instruments sounding the while. Soone after the Curtaine was drawne againe, the Rice remoued, the Ministers gone in, and one comes forth which makes an Oration in his praise, and then all went into the Temple, where foure houres were spent in idle-idol-rites. The King of *Bisnagar* gaue vs leaue to erect a Church and make residence there, and was much delighted with the picture of Our Lady, and the things vttered by Father *Ricius*. This Father *Francis Riccius* writ at the same time of the great pleasure which the King tooke in beholding the Image of our Sauour, and of the blessed Virgin *aduocata nostra*, (these are his words) by whose intercession the King and Nobilitie became so kinde to vs to giue vs leaue to build a Church, erect Crollses, and conuert men, insomuch that fifty families were to giue place, and depart from the ground thereto assigned vs. The King of *Bisnagar* writ a Letter to *Pimenta*, beginning thus, *The King of Kings and Great Lord, the Knight of Knights, Ouencatepati*, that is, King after God, &c.

Letter of Cotignus. Alexander an English-Indian-Iesuite.

Greater eclips of wit then the Sunne. Perimals feasts and legend.

Melchior Cotignus his Letter of that Mission mentioneth *Alexander* an Englishmen a Brother of the *Iesuiticall* Order (*Linschoten* cap. 92. mentioneth *Newbury*, *Fitch*, and two other Englishmen imprisoned at *Goa*, where a *Iesuite* sought, in hope so to get the wealth of the Merchants in their hands, to bring them to their Order, whereto one was perswaded, a Painter, of which facultie they haue few in the *Indies*, and so made vse of him, hoping also to winne the rest, which after escaped: *Fitches* Voyage you haue before) He mentioneth also their superstitious opinion touching the Sunnes Eclipse, caused, as that of the Moone, when the Dragon (one of their constellations) biteth either of them; for which cause they all fast that day, crying out that the Dragon deuoureth the Sunne. At the Feast of *Perimals* marriage was such concourse of people, that that dayes offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the King, Queene and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and an halfe. The Feast of *Kowes* was solemnized a moneth before, and all the wayes filled with them: for they hold *Perimal* to haue bene the sonne of a Kow. The rumour was that the King would warre vpon the *Naichus* of *Tangaor* called *Astapanais*, but his death preuented it, his three hundred Concubines being burned with him to honour his Exequies, willingly leaping into the flames. Three Tribes are the principall Inhabitants of *Chandegrin*, *Bramenes*, *Raius*, and *Cietius*, of which they say that *Perimal* brought forth the first out of his head, the second out of his breast, the third out of his bellie, the rest as baser vulgar from his feet. No maruell that they are all so apish from such originall.

CHAP. VIII.

JOHN HVIGHEN van Linschoten his Voyage to Goa, and obseruations of the East Indies, abbreviated.

Chap. 3. The manner and order vsed in the ships in their Indian Voyages.



Pon the eight of Aprill, being Good-friday, in the yeere of our Lord 1483. which commonly is the time when their ships set sayle within foure or fve dayes vnder or ouer, wee all together issued out out of the Riuer of *Lisbon*, and put to Sea, setting our course for the Ilands of *Madera*.

The ships are commonly charged with foure or fve hundred men at the least, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as there are Souldiers and Saylers to be found. When they goe out they are but lightly laden, onely with certaine pipes of Wine and Oyle, and some small quantitie of merchandise, other thing they haue not in, but balast, and victuals for the companie, for that the most and greatest ware that is sent into *India*, are Rials of eight, because the principall Factors for Pepper doe euery yeere send a great quantitie of money, wherewith to buy Pepper, as also diuers particular Merchants, as being the least ware that men can carrie into *India*: for that in these Rials of eight they gaine at the least forty per cento: when the ships are out of the Riuer, and enter into the Sea, all their men are mustered, as well Saylers as Souldiers, and such as are found absent and left on land, being registred in the Bookes, are marked by the Purser, that at their returne they may talke with their Sureties, (for that euery man putteth in Sureties) and the goods of such as are absent, being found in the ship are presently brought forth and prised, and an Inuentorie being made, it is left to be disposed at the Capitaines pleasure. The like is done with their goods that die in the ship, but little of it commeth to the owners hands, imbezeled and priuily made away.

The Master and Pilot haue for their whole Voyage forth and home againe, each man an hundred and twenty Milreyes, euery Milrey being worth in *Dutch* money seuen Gilders, and receiue before hand, each man foure and twenty Milreyes, besides that they haue Chambers both vnder in the ship, and Cabbins about the hatches, as also Primage, and certaine tunnes freight. The like

like have all the other Officers in the ship according to their degrees, and although they receive money in hand, yet it costeth them more in gifts before they get their places, which are given by favour and good will of the *Pronoador*.

The chiefe Boat-swain hath for his whole pay 50. Milreyes, and receiveth 10. in ready money. The Guardian, that is the quarter master, hath 1200. Reyes the moneth, and for fraught 2800. and receiveth 7. Milreyes in ready money. The *Seto Pilot*, which is the Masters mate, hath 1200. Reyes, which is three Duckets the moneth, and as much fraught as the quarter Master. Two Carpenters, and two Callafareh which helpe them, have each man foure Ducats a moneth, and 3900. Milreyes fraught. The Steward that giveth out their meate and drinke, and the *Merinho*, which is he that imprisoneth men aboard, and hath charge of all the Munition and Powder, with the deliivering forth of the same, hath each man a Milrey the moneth, and 2340. Reyes fraught, besides their Chambers and freedome of Custome, as also all other Officers, Saylers, Pikemen, Shot, &c. have every man after the rate, and every one that serveth in the ship. The Cooper hath three Duckets a moneth, and 3900. Reyes fraught. Two *Servidores*, those are they which hoise vp the Main-yard by a wheele, and let it downe againe with a wheele as neede is, have each man one Milrey the moneth, and 1800. Reyes fraught. Three and thirty Saylers have each man one Milrey the moneth, and 2800. Reyes fraught. Seven and thirty Rowers have each man 660. Reyes the moneth, and 1860. Reyes fraught, foure Pageants, which are Boyes, have with their fraught 443. Reyes the moneth, one master Gunner, and eight vnder him, have each man a different pay, some more, some lesse. The Surgeon likewise hath no certaine pay. The Factor and Purser have no pay but onely their Chambers, that is belowe vnder hatches, a Chamber of twenty pipes, for each man ten pipes, and above hatches each man his Cabbin to sleepe in, whereof they make great profit. These are all the Officers and other persons which sayle in the ship, which have for their portion every day in victuals, each man alike, as well the greatest as the least, a pound and three quarters of Bisket, halfe a Can of wine, a Can of water, an Aroba which is 32. pound of salt flesh the moneth, some dried Fish, Onions and Garleeke are eaten in the beginning of the Voyage, as being of small value; other provisions, as Sugar, Honie, Raisins, Prunes, Rice, and such like, are kept for those which are sicke: yet they get but little thereof, for that the Officers keepe it for themselves, and spend it at their pleasures, not letting much goe out of their fingers: as for the dressing of their meate, Weede, Ports, and Pannes, every man must make his owne provision: besides all this there is a Clarke and Steward for the Kings Souldiers that have their parts by themselves, as the Saylers have.

This is the order and manner of their Voyage when they sayle vnto the *Indies*, but when they returne againe, they have no more but each man a portion of Bisket and Water vntill they come to the *Cape de Bona Esperance*, and from thence home they must make their owne provisions. The Souldiers that are passengers have nothing else but free passage, that is roome for a Chest vnder hatches, and a place for their Bed in the Orloope, and may not come away without the Viceroyes passport, and yet they must have bene five yeeres Souldiers in the *Indies* before they can have licence, but the Slaues must pay fraught for their bodies, and custome to the King. The one and twentieth of September wee entred the River into the Road vnder the Land of *Bardos*.

Of the Towne and Iland of Goa, chiefe Citie of India.

The Citie of Goa, is the Metropolitan or chiefe Citie of all the Orientall *Indies*, where the *Portugals* have their traffique, where also the Vice-roy, the Arch-bishop, the Kings Counsell, and Chancerie have their residence, and from thence are all places in the Orientall *Indies*, governed and ruled. There is likewise the Staple for all *Indian* commodities, whither all sorts of Merchants doe resort, comming thither both to buy and sell, and out of *Arabia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, *Cambata*, *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Sian*, *Malacca*, *Iana*, *Molacca*, *China*, &c. The Citie and Iland of Goa lieth vnder 15. degrees, on the North side, and is distant from the Equinoctiall, (by the way that the *Portugals* ships doe come thither from *Mossambique*) foure hundred miles. It is an Iland wholly compassed about with a River, and is about three miles great, it lieth within the Coast of the Firme Land, so that the Iland, with the Sea coast of the Firme Land, doe both reach as farre each as other into the Sea. It is onely separated from the firme Land, by an arme of the Sea, or of the River, that runneth in by the North side of the Towne, and so round about the Iland to the South side, where it entreth againe into the Sea, and is in forme almost like a Halfe-moone. The River runneth euen vnto the Towne, and is indifferent broad, there are betweene the Firme Land and the Iland, certaine small Ilands that are all inhabited by the naturall borne Countymen, and on the other side of the Towne the River is there so small, that in Summer time, by wading to the knees in water, a man may passe it ouer on foot. On the which side the Iland hath a wall with certaine Bulwarkes, which the *Portugals* of late yeeres have caused to be made, to defend them from the Firme Land in time of warre, as it often hapneth, for it hath diuers times bene besieged by *Dialcan* or *Hidalcan*, at the mouth and the entrie of the River. On the North side lieth the Land of *Bardos*, which is high Land, vnder which Land the *Portugals* doe anchor

Bardcs.
Canarijns.

Salfette.

anchor safely out of all danger, and there they haue a place to lade and unlade their wares. This Land of *Bardcs* is also vnder the *Portugall* subiection, and is full of Villages inhabited with people that are of the Firme Land, lying about it, called *Canarijns*, who for the most part are *Christians*, but obserue their owne manner of apparell, which is to goe all naked, their priue members onely couered. This Land is full of *Indian* Palme trees, whereon the *Indian* Nuts called *Cocos* doe growe, as also all the other Ilands lying in the Riuer. This Iland of *Bardcs* is separated from the Firme Land by a small Riuer, which is so little, that it cannot almost be discerned from the Firme Land. On the South side of the Iland of *Goa*, where the Riuer runneth againe into the Sea, there commeth euen out with the coast a Land called *Salfette*, which is also vnder the subiection of the *Portugals*, and is inhabited, and planted both with people and fruit, like the Land of *Bardcs*, and is likewise parted with a little Riuer from the Firme Land. Betweene this Land of *Salfette*, and the Iland of *Goa*, lie also some small Ilands, all full of *Indian* Palme trees, and by the mouth or issue of the Riuer, lieth an Iland which is called *Goa Velha*, that is old *Goa*, from whence there commeth no speciall thing, neither is it much inhabited. Those Lands of *Bardcs* and *Salfette*, are by the Kings of *Portugall* let out to farme, and the rents thereof are employed to the payment of the Arch-bishop, Cloisters, Priests, and other the Kings Officers, yeerely stipends, which is granted them by speciall Priuiledges and Patents from the King. The Iland is very hilly, and in some places so desert and rough, that on some sides men can hardly trauell ouer land (but with great labour) to the Towne of *Goa*. The Iland euen to the Sea side is full of Villages, and inhabited by the *Canarijns*, which are the naturall borne people of the Land, and doe altogether liue by working vpon the Land, and by their Palme trees. The Villages and dwellings of these *Canarijns* are most round about the Iland, and on the water sides, or by small Lakes, whereof there are some few within the Iland, and the cause why they dwell thus, is for that the Palme trees will not growe in any other place but on lowe ground, by the waters, specially in sandy ground: so that there are no Palme trees to be found on the high land within the Countrey vnlesse it be vpon sandy grounds on the Sea coast, or Riuer sides. On the East side of the Towne of *Goa* vpwards, into the Riuer, about three miles from the Towne of *Bardcs*, lieth a place where the *Portugals* ships doe anchor, the Riuer hath some creekes, and a ship of two hundred tunnes or thereabouts, may easily discharge before the Towne, but the *Portugals* great ships must discharge themselves at *Bardcs*: which being done, they may if they will freely goe and lie before the Towne. The Towne is well built with faire houses and streets, after the *Portugall* manner, but because of the heate they are somewhat lower. They commonly haue their Gardens and Orchards at the back-side of their houses, full of all kind of *Indian* fruits: as also the whole Iland through, they haue many pleasant Gardens and Farmes, with houses to play in, and trees of *Indian* fruits, whether they goe to sport themselves, and wherein the *Indian* women take great delight. The Towne hath in it all sorts of Cloysters and Churches as *Lisbon* hath, onely it wanteth Nunnes, for the men cannot get the women to trauell so farre, where they should be shut vp, and forsake *Venus*.

Inquisition.

Touching the *Portugals* iustice and ordinances, as well in worldly as spirituall causes, they are all one as they are in *Portugall*. They dwell in the Towne among all sorts of Nations, as *Indians*, *Heathens*, *Moors*, *Iewes*, *Armenians*, *Gusarates*, *Benianes*, *Bramenes*, and of all *Indian* Nations and People, which doe all dwell and traffique therein, euery man holding his owne Religion, without constraining any man to doe against his conscience, onely touching their ceremonies of burning the dead, and the living, of marrying and other superstitions, and deuillish inuentions, they are forbidden by the Arch-bishop to vse them openly, or in the Iland, but they may freely vse them vpon the Firme Land, and secretly in their houses, thereby to shunne and auoide all occasions of dislike that might be giuen to *Christians*, which are but newly baptised: but touching the worldly policy or good gouernment of the Countrey, and executing of iustice, as also for the ruling of the Townes-men in the Citie: it is common to them all, and they are vnder the *Portugals* law, and hee that is once christned, and is after found to vse any heathenish superstitions, is subiect to the Inquisition, whatsoeuer he be, or for any point of Religion whatsoeuer. The Iland hath nothing of it selfe to nourish it withall, but only some Cartell, Hennes, Goats, Doues, &c. but very few, because of the barrenesse and euill situation of the place, which is a most hilly, barren, and wilde Countrey, and full of waste ground: all their necessities, as Beasts, Hennes, Hogges, Egges, Milke, &c. come from *Salfette* and *Bardcs*, but most part out of the Firme Land, Corne, Rice, and other Graine: also Oyle, and all other necessities come from other Countries, and are brought in by the Riuer, as from *Cambata* on the North side, and from the coast of *Malabar*, and other places, as in the description of the coast we haue in part declared: of Wine called Wine of Palme trees, they haue enough, and so much that they haue to spare for other places. They haue but little fresh water, but onely one Well, called *Banganyn*, which standeth about a quarter of a mile without the Citie, wherewith the whole Towne is serued, which the slaues fetch in Pots and sell it in the Towne, and is very good to drinke: for water to dresse meate, wash, and doe other things withall, they commonly haue Wells within their houses: the Land of it selfe is very stony and drie, hauing a kind of red earth, so that some *Italian* Alchymists haue

haue promised to get Copper and Gold out of the same, which neither the King nor Vice-roy would euer consent vnto, fearing lest the report of such treasure would bee occasion of greater trouble.

Mines dangerous.

THe Portugals in India, are many of them married with the natural born women of the Countrie, and the children proceeding of them are called *Mestiços*, that is, *half-countrimen*. These *Mestiços* are commonly of yellowish colour, notwithstanding there are many women among them, that are faire and well formed. The children of the Portugals, both boyes and girles, which are borne in India, are called *Castiços*, and are in all things like vnto the Portugals, only somewhat differing in colour, for they draw toward a yellow colour; the children of those *Castiços* are yellow, and altogether like the *Mestiços*, and the children of *Mestiços* are of colour and fashion like the naturall borne Countrimen or *Decanijs* of the Countrie, so that the posteritie of the Portugals, both men and women being in the third degree, doe seeme to be naturall *Indians*, both in colour and fashion. Their liuings and daily traffiques are to *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Cambaia*, *China*, and euery way, both North and South: also in *Goa* there is holden a daily assemblie or meeting together, as well of the Citizens and Inhabitants, as of all Nations throughout India, and of the Countries bordering on the same, which is like the meeting vpon the *Burse* in *Antwerpe*, yet differeth much from that, for that hither in *Goa* there come as well Gentlemen, as Merchants and others, and there are all kindes of *Indian* commodities to sell, so that in a manner it is like a *Faire*. This meeting is onely before noone, euery day in the yeere, except Sundayes and Holidayes: it beginneth in the morning at seuen of the clocke, and continueth till nine of the clocke, but not in the heate of the day, nor after noone, in the principall street of the Citie, named the *Straight street*, and is called the *Leylon*, which is as much to say, as an outroop: there are certaine Criers appointed by the Citie for the purpose, which haue of all things to be cried and sold: these goe all the time of the *Leylon* or Outroop, all behanged about with all sorts of gold chaines, all kinds of costly Jewels, Pearles, Rings, and Precious stones: likewise they haue running about them, many sorts of Captiues and Slaues, both men and women, young and old, which are daily sold there, as beasts are sold with vs, where euery one may chuse which liketh him best, euery one at a certaine price. There are also *Arabian* Horses, all kind of Spices and dried Drugs, sweet-Gummies, and such like things, fine and costly Couerlets, and many curious things, out of *Cambaia*, *Sinde*, *Bengala*, *China*, &c. and it is wonderfull to see in what sort many of them get their liuings, which euery day come thither to buy wares, and at another time sell them again. And when any man dieth, all his goods are brought thither and sold to the last peniworth, in the same outroop, whosoeuer they be, yea although they were the Vice-royes goods: and this is done to doe right and iustice vnto Orphans and Widowes; and that it may bee sold with the first, where euery man may see it, so that euery yeere there is great quantitie of ware sold within that Citie, for that there die many men within the Towne, by meanes of their disordered liuing, together with the hotnelle of the Countrie: the like assemblie is holden in all places of India, where the Portugals inhabite. There are some married Portugals that get their liuings by their slaues, both men and women, whereof some haue 12. some 20. and some 30. for it costeth them but little to keep them. These slaues for money do labor for such as haue need of their helpe, some fetch fresh water, and sell it for money about the streets: the women slaues make all sorts of confectures and conserues of *Indian* fruits, much fine needleworke, both cut and wrought workes, and then their masters send the fairest and the youngest of them well drest vp with their wares about the streets to sell the same, that by the neatnetle and beauty of the said women slaues, men might be moued to buy, which hapneth more for the affection they haue to the slaues, & to fulfill their pleasure with them, then for any desire to the conserues or needle-workes: for these slaues do neuer refuse them, but make their daily liuing thereby, and with the gaines that they by that meanes bring home, their masters may well keepe and maintayne them. There are others that vse exchanging of moneyes, and to buy money when it commeth, as time serueth to sell it again, for they buy the Rials of eight, when the ships come from Portugall, whereof some buy at the least ten or twelue hundred, and keepe them till the moneth of April, which is the time when the ships sayle to *China*, for then are the Rials of eight sought for to carrie thither, & are commonly worth fise and twenty or thirty in the hundred profit, and then they receiue for them a certaine money, which at the same time is brought from *Ormuz*, called *Larryns*, that come out of *Persia*, which they buy for eight or ten in the hundred profit, and keep them till the Portugals on the moneth of September come thither, and so deliuer them againe for twenty or fise and twenty in the hundred profit, in exchange for Rials of eight, as I said before, for they must haue these *Larryns* with them to *Cochin*, to buy Pepper and other wares, for that it is the best and most profitable money. There are yet other sorts of money called *Pagods*, *Venetianers*, and *Santbones*, which are gold, all which they doe likewise buy and sell, so that there are many that doe nothing else, and become rich, specially he that hath a good stocke. This exchange commeth most commonly from the Spiritualltie, who doe secretly vse it, by other mens meanes, without any let or hinderance. Some there are that liue vpon their rents which they haue by their Palme trees.

Chap. 29.

Of the customes of the Portugals, and such as are issued from them, called *Mestiços*, or halfe countrimen, as well of *Goa*, as of all the Orientall Countries. *Mestiços*. *Castiços*. Exchange.

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There are among them but two manner of people, that is, Married men, and Souldiers, for that all Young men vnmarried are named Souldiers, which is the best name that a man can haue; not that the Souldiers are any wayes bound or vnder the commandement and Regiment of any Captaine, which throughout *India*, is not vsed, but when the *Portugals* come into *India* out of *Portugall*, and are arriued there, euery man goeth where he thinketh best, although in *Portugall* euery mans name that goeth in the ship is written and registred, which is done in this sort: euery man is written vp, both his name and surname, with a note what pay they receiue of the King, whereof some beare the title of *Fidalgo da Casa del Rey noſſas Senor*, that is, a Gentleman of the Kings House, which is the chiefeſt title: there are others named *Mozos Fidalgos*, which is also an Honourable title, and they are commonly Gentlemens Sonnes, or by the Kings fauour aduanced thereunto: There are yet others that are named *Caualliero Fidalgo*, which is not so much as the other two, yet it is an Honourable title, and is the title of a Knight, who for some Valiant act by him done is made Knight, which they doe for a small matter: for that if he doe any Act to be accounted of, or be in a manner of such an action doing, presently he is of a Captaine or a Gentleman made a Knight, whereof they much boast themselves: and it is now growne so common among them, that very Cookes Boyes and others as meane as they, are made Knights: there are others also that are named *Mozos da Camara, do Numero, e do Seruice*, which is seruants to the King, some of his Chamber, some of his Accounts, and some for his Seruice, this is the first Title or Degree of credite, whereby through their good seruice they attaine vnto better, and are more glorious of their Titles, then of all the riches in the world. There are also that are named *Eſcuderos Fidalgos*, that is Esquires, which is likewise a degree of credit: Others are named *Hommes honorados*, which is men of Honour, and the poorest among them (which are not named by any title) are set downe for Souldiers, which are the common and Rascall sort: these are euery man paid their wages according to their Titles, and may each man in his qualitie (by long seruice, or some good action, but most by fauour) rise to higher degree; for that according to their Titles their seruice is rewarded. The *Portugals* which sayle for *India*, being thus registred and written downe, the said Register at their arriual there, is deliuered to be kept by one of the Kings Officers thereunto appointed, which euery three yeeres is likewise changed, as other Officers are, and is called the chiefe Clerke of the *Matricola* Generall.

Chap. 30.
Of the *Portugals* and *Mestigos*, their Houses, Curtesies, Narriages, and other Customs and manners of *India*.

THE *Portugals*, *Mestigos*, and *Christians*, keepe Worshipfull and bountifull Houses, hauing commonly (as it is said before) five, fixe, ten, twentie, some more, some lesse Slaues, both men and women, in their houses euery man according to his estate and qualitie, I meane Married men. They are very cleanly and sweet in all things belonging to their Houses, specially in their Linnen, for that euery day they change Shirts and Smockes both men and women, and their Slaues and Seruants likewise, with other things that they weare, which they doe because of the great heat in that Land. The *Portugals* are commonly serued with great grauitie, without any difference betweene the Gentleman and the common Citizen, Townesman or Souldier, and in their going, curtesies, and conuersations, common in all things: when they goe in the Streets they step very softly and slowly forwards, with a great pride and vaine-glorious maiestie, with a Slaue that carrieth a great Hat or vayle ouer their heads, to keepe the Sunne and Raine from them. Also when it raineth they commonly haue a Boy that beareth a Cloake of Scarlet or of some other Cloth after them, to cast ouer them: and if bee before Noone, he carrieth a Cushion for his Master to kneele on when he heareth Masse, and their Rapier is most commonly carried after them by a Boy, that it may not trouble them as they walke, nor hinder their Grauities. When they meet in the streets a good space before they come together, they begin with a great *Befolas maos*, to stoope with their bodies, and to thrust forth their foot to salute each other, with their Hats in their hands, almost touching the ground: likewise when they come into the Church where they haue Stooles readie, which their Slaues haue prepared for them: all that are by him that commeth in, doe stand vp, and with the same manner of bowing their bodies doe him great Reuerence, and if it chanceth that any doth him reuerence (as the manner is) and that hee to whom it is done doth not greatly esteeme thereof, so that he doth him not the like curtesie, they doe altogether for that cause goe after him, and cut his Hat in peeces, saying that he had disgraced the partie, wherein it is not for them to aske wherefore they should so doe, for it would bee the greatest shame and reproach in the world vnto them, if they should not reuenge so great an iniurie: and when they seeke to be reuenged of any man that hath shewen them discourtesie, or for any other cause whatsoeuer it bee, they assemble ten or twelue of their Friends, acquaintance or companions, and take him wherefoeuer they find him, and beat him so long together, that they leaue him for dead, or verie neare dead, or else cause him to be stabbed by their Slaues. But if they desire not to kill him, they baste him well about the ribbes and all his bodie ouer with a thicke Reed, as big as a mans legge, which is called *Bambus*, whereby for eight daies after and more he hath enough to doe to keepe his Bed, and sometime in that manner they leaue him for dead. This is their common

common Custome, and is neuer looked vnto or once corrected. Also they vse long bagges of full of Sand, wherewith they will giue such blowes each vpon other, that therewith they will breake each others limbes, and for euer after make them lame.

When any man goeth to visit another in his House, although he which is visited bee one of the principall Gentlemen of the Citie, and the visitor but a simple Souldier, or some other man, it is the manner that hee which is visited commeth vnto the doore of his House, with his Hat in his hand, and with great curtesie to receiue him that commeth to visit him, and so leadeh him vp into his Hall or Chamber, wherein hee will speake with him, where he offereth him a Chaire to sit downe, and then he himselfe sitteth by him, then he asketh him what hee would haue, which hauing vnderstood hee bringeth him downe againe to the doore in the like sort, and so with a *Besolas manos* biddeth him farewell, and if hee should not doe so, or when he giueth him a Stoole, should giue him one vnlined, or one that is lesse or lower then that he taketh for himselfe, hee that visiteth him would take it in euill part, esteeming it a great scorne, and seeke to be reuenged on him for the same.

When they haue any Weddings and are married, whosoever they bee if they haue any wealth, all the Friends and Neighbours come together, euery man on Horsebacke, and hee that hath not a Horse will borrow one, and are euery man very costly Apparellled, at the least some fiftie or a hundreth Horses little more or lesse, as the person is of qualitie, and so they ride altogether in good order vnto the Church with their Seruants, and euery man his Hat for the Sunne, the Parents and Friends in the hinder part, and in the last row the Bridegroom betweene two of them, whom they call Gossops: after them followeth the Bride betweene two *Commeres*, each in their *Pallamkin*, which is most costly made, and after follow the Slaues both men and women going in Troupes, as if they ranne to Hunt, and so comming to the Church, and being Married according to the order vsed in the Church of Rome: they are in the same order brought home againe, and passing through the streets, the neighbours leaning vpon *Indian* Carpets looke out of the windowes, and throw Rose water vpon the Bride and Bridegroom, and other sweet smelling waters, with Roses and Sugar Comfets, or Corne. In the meane time their Slaues play vpon Shalmes and Trumpets most pleasant and melodious to heare, and coming to the House where the Bride and Bridegroom dwell, with great reuerence and courtesie bowing downe their bodies, they take their leaues of all the Companie, which are all on Horsebacke about the doore. And so the Bride, the Bridegroom and the *Commeres*, goe vp and sit with great grauitie in a Window, and then begin the Horsemen that led them to Church, in honour of the Married couple, one after the other to runne a course, the Gossops beginning first, and the rest following twice or thrice one after the other, with continuall playing on Shalmes, which are very common in *India*, for that he which is of any wealth hath them of his owne within his House. This being ended, they all passe before the window where the Bride & Bridegroom sit with a great reuerence, and so passe on all sauing the Gossops, for they goe vp to the Bride and Bridegroom, and bid *God gine them Ioy*; then is there some Comfets and Marchpane brought forth, to drinke a Cup of water withall, and after some courteous salutations and congratulations to the new Married couple, they take their leaues and depart: so there remaineth with the Bride and Bridegroom but three or foure of their nearest friends and kinsmen, for whom there is a Dinner prepared, with litle meat, yet very costly, which they passe ouer very lightly, and not many words, which done they presently bring the Bride to Bed, without any other Ceremonies or Charges, wherewith the Marriage is done and ended. Oftentimes it chanceth, that they goe to bed at the least two houres before Sun-setting, not hauing the patience to stay so long as wee doe in these Countries.

When a Child is to bee Christened, it is likewise in the same sort led to Church with Horses, and last of all commeth the Father alone, after whom followeth two men on Foot, the one with a great Siluer or Gilt vessell full of Bread baked like Cracklings, which in *Portugall* are called *Rosquilhos*, and in the middle a great Waxe candle, well made and gilded, thrust through with some peeces of money of Gold and Siluer, for an Offering to the Priest that baptiseth the Child, and all ouer strowed and couered with Roses: the other carrieth a great Siluer or gilt Saltfeller in one of his hands, and a Lampe of the same stuffe in his other hand, each with rich and costly Towels on their shoulders: after that followeth two *Pallamkins*, on the one side the *Commere*, on the other side the Midwife with the Child, couered with a costly Mantle, made for the purpose, and so the ceremonies of Baptisme being ended in the Church, it is againe in the like sort brought home, and being there, they haue the like manner of Musicke & Shalmes, running and leaping with their Horses before the window where the *Commere* sitteth, with the same Ceremonies as at the Wedding. This is the manner and custome of those that are Married and keepe House.

But concerning the Souldier that is vnmarried, thus it is. They goe in the Summer time into the *Armado* lying on the water, and being within the Townes and on the Land, they are verie stately apparellled, and goe verie grauelie along the streets with their Slaues or men hired for the purpose, that beare a Hat ouer them for the Sunne and Raine: for there are many *Indians*

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that

Beggerly pride

that are daily hired for the purpose, and haue twelue *Basarcos* the day, which is as much as two Stiuers or a Scoter, and they serue such as haue no slaues; and that will not keepe any to that end. The Souldiers dwell at least ten or twelue in a house, where they haue among them a slave or hired *Indian* or two which serueth them, and washeth their Shirts, and haue foure or five Stooles with a Table, and euerie man a Bed. Their meat is Rice sodden in water, with some salt Fish, or some other thing of small value (without Bread) and cleare Fountaine water for their drinke, wherewith they are well pleased. They haue amongst them all one or two good suites of Apparell, all of Silke as the manner is there, and when one goeth abroad, the other stay at home, for in the house they haue no need of Clothes, (but sit whosoeuer they be) in their Shirts and a paire of linnen Breeches, and so as it were naked by reason of the great heat, for if some of them haue occasion to goe out twentie times in one day, they must so often lend him their Apparell, and he must likewise put off his clothes, as often as he cometh home againe. Some Souldiers haue a Gentleman or Captaine to their friends which lendeth them money to apparell themselves withall, to the end when Summentime cometh, they may bee readie to goe with them in Fleet to Sea, as also to haue their friendship, by night and at other times to beare them companie, or to helpe them to be reuenged of any iniurie by them received, as I said before: for that he which in *India* hath most Souldiers to his friends, is most regarded and feared. So that to be short, in this manner they doe maintaine themselves in common, whereby they are able to come in presence of the best of the Countrey. Many and most of them haue their chiefe maintenance from the *Portugals* and *Mestigos* wiues, as also the *Indian Christians* wiues, which doe alwaies bestow liberall rewards and gifts vpon them to fulfill their vchaste and filthie desires, which they know very well how to accomplish, and secretly bring to passe. There are some likewise that get their liuing by their Friends, traouling for them from place to place with some wares and Merchandizes, and they are called *Chattins*. These doe giue ouer and leaue the office of a Souldier in the Fleet, and the Kings seruice: and now likewise they are all giuen to scraping and catching, as well the Vice-roy, Gouvernours, and others, as also the Church-men and Spiritualtie, little passing or esteeming the common profit or the seruice of the King, but onely their particular profit, making their account, that the time of their abode is but three yeeres: wherefore they say they will not doe otherwise then those that were before them did, but say that others which come after them shall take care for all: for that the King (say they) gaue them their Offices, thereby to pay them for their seruices in times past.

Chap. 31.
Of the manuer
and Customes
of Portugall
and Mestigos
women in *India*.

Their pride.

Their feeding.

THE *Portugals*, *Mestigos*, and *Indian Christian* women in *India*, are little seene abroad, but for the most part sit still within the house, and goe but seldome forth, vnlesse it bee to Church, or to visit their friends, which is likewise but verie little, and when they goe abroad, they are well provided not to be seene, for they are carried in a *Pallankin* couered with a Mat or other cloth, so that they cannot be seene. When they goe to Church, or to visit any friend, they put on very costly apparell, with bracelets of Gold, and Rings vpon their armes, all beset with costly Iewels & Pearles, & at their eares hang laces full of Iewels. Their clothes are of Damaske, Veluet, and cloth of Gold, for Silke is the worst thing they doe weare. Within the house they goe bare headed, with a Waistcoat called *Bain*, that from their shoulders couereth their navel, and is so fine that you may see all their body through it, and downwards they haue nothing but a painted cloth wrapped three or foure times about their bodies. These clothes are very faire, some of them being verie costly wrought with Loom-work, and diuers figures and flowers of all colours, all the rest of the body is naked without any hose, but onely bare-footed in a paire of Moiles or Pantofles, and the men in like sort. This is their manner in the House both old and young, rich and poore, none excepted, for they goe forth but very little, and then they are both couered and carried, and what they need abroad, that the Slaues both men and women doe fetch in. The Women eate no Bread or very little, nor yet the Slaues, not that they refuse it for the dearenesse or want of bread, (for they haue enough and great abundance) but they are so vsed to eate Rice, that they desire no other, which they seeth with water and eate it with some salt Fish, or a kind of salt fruit called *Mangas*, or with some other composition both of Fish and Flesh, with Potrage which they powre vpon it, and so eate it with their hands: for there they eate nothing with Spooones, and if they should see any man doe so, they would laugh at him. When they drinke they haue certaine pots made of blacke earth verie fine and thinne, much like those that wee vse in *Holland* for Flower-pots, hauing in the necke thereof a partition full of holes with a spout, (and these Cruses are called *Gorgoletta*;) to this end, that when they drinke, they may hold the pot on high, and touch it not with their mouthes, but the water running from the spout falleth into their mouthes, neuer spilling drop, which they doe for cleanness, because no man should put it to his mouth, and when any man cometh out of *Portugall*, and then beginneth to drinke after their manner, because he is not vsed to that kind of drinking, hee spilleth it in his bosome, wherein they take great pleasure and laugh at him, calling him *Reynol*, which is a name giuen in

iest to such as newlie come from *Portugall*; and know not how to behaue themselves in such graue manner, and with such cereinonies as the *Portugals* vse there in *India*: so that at the first they are much whooped and cried at in the streets, vntill by vse and practice they haue learned the *Indian* manner, which they quicklie doe. The men are very ielalous of their Wiues, for they will neuer bring any man into their houses, how speciall a friend soeuer hee be, that shall see their Wiues or their Daughters, vnlesse it be some gossip or other married man with his wife in companie. When they will goe together to some place to sport and solace themselves, they are alwaies well guarded by their Slaues, both men and women, both for their safetie and seruice. If any man commeth to the doore to aske for the Master of the House, presently their Wiues and their Daughters runne to hide them, and so leaue the man to answer him that standeth at the doore: likewise they suffer no man to dwell within their houses, where the Women and Daughters be, how neere kinsman soeuer he bee vnto them, being once fifteene yeeres of age, nor their owne Sonnes, but haue certaine Chambers and places beneath, or besides their house where they lie, and may in no sort come among the women, and thither they send them their meat and other prouisions, for it hath oftentimes bene seene in those Countries, that the Nephew hath layne by his Aunt, and the Brother by the Brothers wife, and the Brother with his Sister: whereof I haue knowne some that haue been taken with the manner, and that both they and the woman haue bene slaine by the Husbands. The women are very Luxurious and vnchaste, for there are very few among them, although they be married, but they haue besides their husbands one or two of those that are called Soldiers, with whom they take their pleasures: which to effect, they vse all the flights and practises they can deuise, by sending out their Slaues and Baudes by night, and at extraordinary times, ouer Walls, Hedges, and Ditches, how narrowly soeuer they are kept and looked vnto. They haue likewise an Hearbe called *Deutroa*, which beareth a seed, whereof bruising out the sap, they put it into a Cup or other vessell, and giue it to their Husbands, either in meat or drinke, and presently therewith, the man is as though he were halfe out of his wits, and without feeling, or else drunke, doing nothing but laugh, and sometime it taketh him sleeping, whereby he lyeth like a dead man, so that in his presence they may doe what they will, and take their pleasure with their friends, and the husband neuer know of it. In which sort he continueth foure and twentie houres long, but if they wash his feet with cold water hee presently reuiueth, and knoweth nothing thereof, but thinketh hee had slept.

There are many men poysoned by their wiues, if once they be moued: for they know how to make a certaine Poyson or Venome, which shall kill the person that drinketh it, at what time or houre it pleaseth them: which poyson being prepared, they make it in such sort, that it will lie sixe yeeres in a mans body, and neuer doe him hurt, and then kill him, without missing halfe an houres time. They make it also for one, two, or three yeeres, moneths or dayes, as it pleaseth them best, as I haue scene it in many, and there it is very common. There are likewise many women brought to their ends by meanes of their Husbands, and slaine when soeuer they take them in Adulterie, or that they doe but once suspect them; which if they doe, presently they cut their throats, and bring three or foure witnesses to testifie that strange men entred into their houses by night, at vnaccustomed times, or else by day, and had their pleasures of their Wiues, or in other sort as they will deuise it; whereby they are presently discharged of the crime, according to the Lawes and Ordinances both of *Spain* and *Portugall*, and presently may marrie with another wife. This notwithstanding is no meanes to make the Women feare, or once to leaue their filthy pleasures, although there are euery yeere many women without number so dispatched and made away by their husbands, and it is so common with them, that no man thinketh it strange, or once wondereth thereat, because of the Custome. The Women also for their part say and flatly affirme, that there can be no better death then to die in that manner, saying that so they are sacrificed for Loue, which they thinke to be a great Honour vnto them.

The women are by nature very cleanly and neat, as well in their Houses as in Apparell, for that although all whatsoeuer shee putteth on her bodie euery day, is both white, cleane and fresh: yet they haue a manner euery day to wash themselves all the bodie ouer, from head to foot, and sometimes twice a day, in the morning and at euening: and as often as They ease themselves or make water, or else vse the companie of their Husbands, euery time they doe wash themselves, were it a hundreth times a day and a night: they are no great workers, but much delighted in sweet Hearbes, and in perfumes and Frankincense, and to rub their bodies and their foreheads with sweet Sanders and such like woods, which with water they doe steepe or breake in peeces: also the whole day long they doe nothing, but sit and chaw Leauces or Herbes, called *Bettela*, with Chaulke and a certaine Fruit called *Arrequa*, whereof in another place among Fruits and Herbes I will speake more. This *Arrequa*, some of it is so strong, that it maketh men almost drunke, and wholly out of sence, although in shew and in taste it is almost like Wood or Rootes: these three things they sit all the whole day chawing in their mouthes, like Oxen or Kine chawing the cudde: they let the sap goe downe into their throats, and spitt the rest out of their mouthes, whereby they make their mouthes so red and blackish

Iealousie;

Luxurie and filthy Lusts,

Deutroa

Cunning poysoners,

Neatnesse.

Idleness and costlinesse,

Bettela and Arrequa.

Otia si tollas, pe-
riore Cupidinis
arcus.

hinc stultus
etiam videtur

Chap. 32.
Of the Vice-
roy of Portu-
gall, and of his
Gouernment
in India.

Iesuites goe to
the worlds end
for the world.

Iesuites heretic
Da mihi & ad-
fer mihi; nihil
haberi, religio
est dicere. Ter.

Chap. 33.
Of the Hea-
thens, Indians,
and other
strangers
dwelling in
Goa.
Varietie of
Religions.
Of their Reli-
gions, see more
at large in my
Pilgrimage lib. 5.

that to such as know it not it is strange to see: all which, with their washing, Frankinsence, and rubbing with Sanders, they haue learned and receiued of the *Indian* Heathens, which haue had those Customes of long time, and yet till this day vse them: they say it preferueth the Teeth, and keepeth them sound, good for the mawe, and against a stinking mouth and euill breath, in-
somuch as they are so vsed to chew it, that wheresoeuer they goe or stand, they must alwaies haue of those Leaues caried with them, and the women Slaues doe likewise goe alwaies chaw-
ing, and are so vsed thereunto, that they verilie thinke, that without it they can not liue, for their common worke is to sit all day, when their Husbands are out of doores, behind the Mat which hangeth at the window, alwaies chawing the herbe *Bettelo*, seeing those that passe by in the streets, and no man seeth them: but as any man passeth by which liketh them, and they will let them haue a sight, they lift vp the Mat, whereby they doe the passenger a great fauour, and with that manner of shewing themselves and casting lookes, they make their beginnings of Loue, which by their slavish women they bring to effect: to the which end they haue all di-
uellish deuises that possible may bee inuented, for that both night and day they doe practise nothing else, but make it their onely worke, and to make nature more liuely to abound and moue them thereunto, they doe vse to cate those *Bettelos*, *Arreguas* and *Chaulke*, and in the night it standeth by their bed sides, this they cate, whole handfuls of Cloues, Pepper, Ginger, and a baked kind of meat called *Chachunde*, which is mixed and made of all kindes of Spices and Herbes, and such like meates, all to increase their leacherie.

And they are not content therewith, but giue their Husbands a thousand Herbes for the same purpose to cate, they not knowing thereof, thereby to fulfill their pleasures, and to satisfie their desires, which can not by any meanes bee satisfied. They are likewise much vsed to take their pleasures in Bathes, by swimming therein, which they can verie well doe, for there are verie few of them, but they would easilie swim ouer a Riuer of halfe a mile broad.

E Verie three yeeres there is a new Vice-roy sent into *India*, and sometime they stay longer, as it pleaseth the King, but verie few of them, he continueth in *Goa*. In the Hall of his Palace stand the Guard, and in the great Hall, where his Councell sit, are painted all the Viceroyes, that haue gouerned in *India*, since the first Discouerie and Conquest thereof, and as they new come, their Pictures are likewise placed there. These Viceroyes haue great reuenues, they may spend, giue, and keepe the Kings treasure, which is verie much, and doe with it what pleaseth them, for it is in their choise, hauing full and absolute power from the King, in such sort, that they gather and hoord vp a mightie quantitie of Treasure, for that besides their great allowance from the King, they haue great Presents and Gifts, bestowed vpon them. For it is the custome in those Countries, when any Viceroy cometh newly ouer, that all the Kings bordering about *Goa*, and that haue peace and friendship with the *Portugals*, doe then send their Ambassadors vnto him, to confirme their Leagues with great and rich Presents, therewith likewise to bid the Viceroy welcome, which amounteth to a great masse of Treasure: these Presents in this sort giuen, the *Iesuites* by their practises had obtained of the King, and for a time enioyed them at their pleasure (looking verie narrowly vnto them, that they might not be deceiued) vntill long time since, a Viceroy named *Dan Luis de Taide* Earle of *Arongia* came thither, and refused to let them haue them, saying that the King being in *Portugall* knew not what was giuen him in *India*, and that those Presents were giuen vnto the Viceroy and not to the King, and said the King had no power to giue them to the *Iesuites*: so that hee kept them for himselfe, which the *Iesuites* tooke in euill part, and said, the Viceroy was an Hereticke. Yet from his time ever since the Viceroyes haue vsed to keepe them for themselves. They say, and it is found to bee most true, that the first yeere of the Viceroyes time, he hath enough to doe to repaire and furnish his House, and to know the manners and customes of the Countries, without any further troubling of himselfe. The second yeere to gather Treasure, and to looke vnto his particular profits, for the which cause he came into *India*. The third and last yeere to prepare himselfe and set all things in order, that he bee not overtaken or surprised by the new Vice-roy when hee cometh, but that he may returne into *Portugall* with the goods which he had scraped together. The same is to bee vnderstood of all the Captaines in the Fortes, and of all other Officers in *India*.

IN the Towne and Iland of *Goa*, are resident manie Heathens, *Moors*, (which are *Mahumetans*) *Jewes*, and all strange Nations bordering thereabout, euerie one of them vsing seuerall customes and superstitions in Religion. The *Moors* cate all things except Swines flesh, and dying are buried like the *Jewes*; but the Heathens, as *Decanys*, *Gusarates*, and *Canaras*, and other *Indians* being dead, are burnt to ashes, and some Women being aliue are burned with them, that is, such as are Gentlemen or Noblemen, and the Wiues of the *Bramenes*, which are their Idolatrous Priests. Also for the Merchants, some of them cate all things, except Kowes, or Buffles flesh, which they esteeme to bee Holy. Others cate not any thing whatsoeuer, that hath either life or blood in it, as those of *Gusarata*, and the *Banians* of *Cambaia*, which obserue Py-

thagoras

thagoras Law : most of them pray vnto the Sunne and Moone, yet they doe all acknowledge a God that made, created and ruleth all things, and that after this life there is another, wherein men shall be rewarded according to their workes. But they haue Idols and Images, which they call *Pagodes*, cut and formed most yglie, and like monstrous Diuels, to whom daily they offer, and say, that those Holy men haue beene liuing among them, whereof they tell so many Miracles, as it is wonderfull, and say, that they are intercessours betwene them and God. The Diuell oftentimes answereth them out of those Images, whom they likewise know, and doe him great honour by offering vnto him, to keep friendship with him, and that hee should not hurt them. They haue a Custome, when any Maide is to be married, and that they will honour their *Pagode*, for the more credit to the Bridegroom, they bring the Bride with great Triumph and Musicke before their *Pagode*, which is made with a Pinne of luorie bone, to whom the nearest friends and kinswomen of the Bride, together with the Bride doe goe, and by force make the Image to take the Brides maidenhead, so that the blood remaineth still vpon the Image, for a remembrance thereof, and then after other diuellish Superstitions and Ceremonies, hauing made their Offerings, they bring the Bride home, where shee is deliuered to the Bridegroom, hee being very ioyfull and proud, that their *Pagode* hath honoured him so much and ealed him of so much labour. They haue for the most part a custome to Pray vnto the first thing they meet withall in the Morning, and all that day after they pray vnto it, bee it Hog, or any other thing. And if in the morning they goe out, they chance at the first sight to see a Crow (whereof there are great numbers in *India*) they will not goe forth of their doores all that day, no nor for all the goods in the world, for they esteeme it an euill signe, and an *unluckie* day. They pray likewise to the *New Moone*, and when shee first appeareth, they fall vpon their knees, and salute her with great Deuotion. There are among them certaine people called *Iogues*, which are such as we call Hermits, & those doe they esteeme for Holie men, these men liue a verie strict life with great Abstinence, and make the common people beleue many strange things. They haue likewise many Southsayers and Witches, which vse Iugling, and trauell through out the Countie, hauing about them many liue Snakes, which they know how to bewitch, and being shut vp in little Baskets, they pull them out and make them dance, turne, and winde at the sound of a certaine Instrument, whereon they play, and speake vnto them. They wind them about their neckes, armes, and legges, kissing them, with a thousand other deuises, onely to get money. They are all for the most part verie skilfull in preparing of Poysons, wherewith they doe many strange things, and easilie poyson each other, their dwellings and Houses are verie little and low, couered with Straw, without windowes, and verie low and narrow doores, so that a man must almost creepe vpon his knees to goe in ; their Householdstuffe is Mats of straw, both to sit and lie vpon, their Tables, Table-clothes, and Napkins, are made of the great *Indian* Fig-leaues, they serue them not onely for Tables, Sheets, and other Linnen, but also for Dishes, wherein they put their meat, which you shall likewise see in the Grocers, and Pothecaries shops, to put and wrap in all things whatsoever they haue within their shops, (as wee doe in Paper.) They likewise ioyne them together in such sort, that they can put both Butter, Oyle, and such liquid stufes therein, and also whatsoever cometh to hand. To dresse their meat they haue certaine Earthen pots wherein they seeth Rice, and make holes in the ground, wherein they stampe it, or beat it with a wooden Pestell made for the purpose, and they are so miserable, that they buy the Rice in the Huskes, as it groweth on the ground, and some of them haue Rice sown behind their House to serue their necessarie vse. They vse to drinke out of a Copper kanne with a spout, whereby they let the water fall downe into their mouthes, and neuer touch the Pot with their lippes. Their Houses are commonly strawed with Kow-dung, which (they say) killeth Fleas. They are verie cleane on their Bodies, for euerie day they wash themselves all their bodie ouer, as often as they ease themselves or make water, both men and women, like the *Moors* and *Mahometans*. They wash themselves with the left hand, because they eate with the right hand, and vse no Spooones. They doe keepe and obserue their Ceremonies and Superstitions, with great deuotion, for they neuer goe forth without praying, when they trauell by the way. They haue on euery Hill, Cliffe, Hole, or Denne their *Pagodes* and Idols in most deuillish and deformed shapes, cut and hewed out of the stones and rockes, with their Furnaces hard by them, and a Cisterne not farre from them, which is alwaies full of water, and euery one that passeth by, washeth their feet therein, and so fall downe before their Idoll, some setting beforehim for an offering Fruits, Rice, Egges, Hennes, &c. as their deuotions serue, and then cometh the *Bramene* their Priest and taketh it away and eateth it, making the common people beleue that the *Pagode* hath eaten it.

When they will make a voyage to Sea, they vse at the least fourteene daies before they enter into their Ships, to make so great a noise with sounding of Trumpets, and to make Fires, that it may bee heard and scene both by night and day, the Ship being hanged about with Flagges, wherewith (they say) they feast their *Pagode*, that they may haue a good Voyage. The like doe they at their returne for a Thanksgiuing fourteene daies long & thus they vse to doe in all their Feasts, Affaires, Mariages, Childbirths, & at other times of the yeere, as Sowing, & Mowing, &c.

The

Vgly Idols: and Idolatry more vgly.

Oracles.

Diuellish custome for Brides.

Hog-god.

Iogues, Friers or Hermits.

Homely householdstuffe.

Flea-bane.

The Diuell neuer hinders the quantitie but the qualitie of Deuotion: for falsehood makes it his, whereof he is ambitious.

The Heathenish *Indians* that dwell in *Goa* are very rich Merchants, and traffique much, there is one street within the Towne, that is full of shops kept by those Heathenish *Indians*, that not onely sell all kinds of Silkes, Sattins, Damaskes, and curious workes of Porcelaine from *China* and other places, but all manner of wares of Veluet, Silke, Sattin and such like, brought out of *Portngall*, which by meanes of their Brokers they buy by the great, and sell them againe by the piece or elles, wherein they are very cunning, and naturally subtile. There is also another street, where the *Benianes* of *Cambaia* dwell, that haue all kinds of wares out of *Cambaia*, and all sorts of precious stones, and are very subtile and cunning to bore and make holes in all kinds of stones, Pearles, and Corrals: on the other side of the same street dwell other Heathens, which sell all sorts of Bedsteads, Stooles, and such like stufte, very cunningly couered ouer with Lacke, most pleasant to behold, and they can turne the Lacke into any colour that you will desire. There is also a street full of Gold and Siluer Smiths that are Heathens, which make all kind of workes, also diuers other Handicrafts men, as Copper-smiths, Carpenters, and such like Occupations, which are all Heathens, and euery one a street by themselves. There are likewise other Merchants that deale all by great, with Corne, Rice, and other *Indian* wares and merchandises, as Wood and such like. Some of them farme the Kings Rents and Reuenues, so that they are skilfull euery way to make their profits. There are also many Heathen Brokers, very cunning and subtile in buying and selling, and with their tongues to pleade on both sides.

There are in *Goa* many Heathen Physicians which obserue their grauities with Hats carried
ouer them for the Sunne, like the *Portugals*, which no other Heathens doe, but onely Amba-
sadors, or some rich Merchants. These Heathen Physicians doe not onely cure their owne Na-
tions and Countymen, but the *Portugals* also, for the Vice-roy himselfe, the Arch-bishop, and
all the Monkes and Friers doe put more trust in them then in their owne Countymen, whereby
they get great store of money, and are much honoured and esteemed. The Countymen in the
Villages round about *Goa*, and such as labour and till the land are most *Christians*: but there is
not much difference among them from the other Heathens, for that they can hardly leaue their
Heathenish superstitions, which in part are permitted them, and is done to draw the other
Heathens to bee christened, as also that otherwise they would hardly bee perswaded to con-
tinue in the *Christian* Faith. There is in every place of the street Exchangers of money, by them
called *Xaraffos*, which are all *Christian Jewes*. They are very ready and expert in all manner of
accounts, and in knowing of all sorts of money, without whose helpe men dare not receiue
any money, because there is much counterfeit money abroad, which is hard to be knowne from
the good, were it not for these *Xaraffos*, which can disterne it with halfe an eye. The *Indian*
Heathens haue a custome, that no man may change nor alter Trade or Occupation, but must
vsue his fathers Trade, and marrie mens daughters of the same Occupation, Trade, or dea-
ling, which is so neerely looked vnto, that they are diuided and set apart, each Occupation by
it selfe, as Countries and Nations are, and so they call one another: for if they speake to a
man, they aske him of what Trade he is, whether he be a Goldsmith, Barber, Merchant, Gro-
cer, Fisherman, or such like. They giue no household-stuffe with their daughters, but onely
Jewels, and pay the charges of the Wedding. The Sonnes inherite all their goods.

THe times and seasons of the yeeres are as followeth. Winter beginneth on the last of Aprill, throughout the whole coast which is called *India*, from *Cambaia* to the *Cape de Comorin*, and commeth with a Westerne winde, which bloweth out of the Sea vpon the Coast: the beginning thereof is with thunder and lightning, and after that a stedfast and continuall raine, which lasteth night and day till the moneth of September, and then Winter endeth with thunder and lightning: and by reason of that continuall raine, it is called Winter, as also because at that time they cannot trauell on the Seas. But in warme weather, when fruit time commeth on, it is then right Summer: for the time, which in *India* is called Summer, because of the clearenesse and drinesse of the weather, is the colder and the wholsomer, and then there blowe East windes, so that the nights are then very coole, and somewhat sharpe; and then there are no speciall kindes of fruits in season, but such as growe continually all the yeere. Against the Winter commeth, euery man maketh his prouision of victuals, and all other necessities, like as in a ship that is to make a Voyage of five or sixe moneths; also all their ships are brought into the Riuer, and vnfurnished of tacklings, and euery thing being taken out of them they are couered with Mats, otherwise they would rot with the raine, which is so stedfast and continuall all the Winter, that many times diners houses by reason of the great moistnesse doe fall vnto the ground: and as soone as Winter beginneth, there driueth into the mouth of the Hauen great bankes and shoales of sands, which stop it vp, so that neither Ship nor Boat can either goe out or in: and the Sea both there and along the coast maketh so great a roaring and noise, that men can neither heare nor see: also the water of the Riuer of *Goa* which runneth about the Iland in Winter, by meanes of the land-waters that by the continuall raine falleth from the Hills, is cleane fresh water, and of a red colour, which in Summer is cleane contrarie and

Mungrell Chri-
stians.

Trade-con-
fancy.

Chap. 34.
Of the times
of the yeere in
India, and of
their diseases,
&c.

and like sea-water, by reason of the concourse it hath with the Sea. In the Moneth of September, when Winter endeth, the bankes of sand doe fleet and vade away out of the Riuer, so that not onely small ships may come in and goe out, but also the great *Portugall* ships of fixteene hundred tunnes may freely enter without a Pylor, for it is deepe enough, and without danger. In Winter it is a heauy and melancholike being there, for there is no other exercise to be vsed, but onely to sit in their shirts, with a paire of linnen breeches, and goe and passe the time away with their neighbours, in playing and such exercises, for that throughout the whole Towne there is no other doing. The women and *Mesticos* take great pleasure in the Winter time when it raineth, with their husbands and slaues to goe into the fields, or some Garden, whether they carrie good store of victuals, and there in their Gardens haue many Cesternes or Ponds of water, wherein they take their delights to swimme and to bathe themselves. In this time most of their *Indian* fruit is in season.

The Summer beginneth in September, and continueth till the last of Aprill, and is alwaies cleare skie and faire weather, without once or very little raining: Then all the ships are rigged and made ready to sayle for all places; as also the Kings Armie to keepe the Coast, and to conuoy Merchants, and then the East windes beginne to blowe from off the Land into the Seas, whereby they are called *Terreinbos*, that is to say, the *Land winds*. They blowe very pleasantly and coolly, although at the first, by changing of the weather they are very dangerous, and cause many great diseases, which doe commonly fall in *India*, by the changing of the time. These winds blowe alwaies in Summer, beginning at midnight, and continue till noone, but they neuer blowe aboue ten miles into the Sea, from off the coast, and presently after one of the clocke vntill midnight the West winde bloweth, which commeth out of the Sea into the Land, and is called *Virafon*. These winds are so sure and certaine at their times, as though men held them in their hands, whereby they make the Land very temperate, otherwise the heate would be vnmeasurable.

Constancy of winds.

It is likewise a strange thing that when it is Winter vpon the coast of *India*, that is from *Diu* to the Cape de *Comorin*, on the other side of the Cape de *Comorin*, on the coast called *Choramandel*, it is cleane contrary, so that there it is Summer, and yet they lie all vnder one height or degrees, and there is but seventy miles by land betweene both coasts, and in some places but twenty miles, and which is more, as men trauell ouer land from *Cochin* to *Saint Thomas* (which lieth on the same coast of *Choramandel*) and coming by the Hill of *Ballagatte*, where men must passe ouer to goe from the one coast vnto the other: on the one side of the Hill to the top thereof it is pleasant cleare sunne shining weather, and going downe on the other side there is raine, winde, thunder and lightning, as if the world should end and be consumed: which is to be vnderstood, that it changeth from the one side to the other, as the time falleth out, so that on the one side of the Hills it is Winter, and on the other side Summer: and it is not onely so in that place and Countrey, but also at *Ormuz*, on the coast of *Arabia Felix* by the Cape of *Rosalgatte*, where the ships lie, it is very still, cleare, and pleasant water, and faire Summer time; and turning about the Cape on the other side, it is raine and wind with great stormes and tempests, which with the times of the yeere doe likewise change on the other side, and so it is in many other places of the Orientall Countries.

Winter and Summer within few miles in the same height.

The sicknesses and diseases in *Goa*, and throughout *India*, which are common, come most with the changing of the times and the weather, as it is said before: there raigeth a sickness called *Mordexyn*, which stealeth vpon men, and handleth them in such sort, that it weakeneth a man, and maketh him cast out all that he hath in his body, and many times his life withall. This sickness is very common, and killeth many a man, whereof they hardly or neuer escape. The bloody Fluxe is there likewise very common and dangerous, as the Plague with vs. They haue many continuall Feuers, which are burning Agues, and consume mens bodies with extreme heate, whereby within foure or five dayes they are either whole or dead. This sickness is common and very dangerous, and hath no remedie for the *Portugals* but letting blood: but the *Indians* and Heathens doe cure themselves with herbes, as *Sanders*, and other such like ointments, wherewith the ease themselves. This sickness consumeth many *Portugals* euery yeere, some because they haue little to eat, and lesse to drinke of any meate or drinke that is nourishing, and vse much company of women, because that Land is naturall to prouoke them thereunto, as also the most part of the Souldiers by such meanes haue their liuing and their maintenance, which oftentimes costeth them both life and limme, for although men were of Iron or Steele, the vnchaste life of a woman, with her vnassatiabable lusts were able to grind him to powder, and sweepe him away like dust, which costeth many a mans life, as the Kings Hospitall can well beare witness, wherein they lodge, whensoever they are sicke, where euery yeere at the least there entred fife hundred liue men, and neuer come forth till they are dead, and they are onely *Portugals*, for no other sicke person may lodge therein, I meane such as are called white men, for the other *Indians* haue a Hospitall by themselves. In this Hospitall they are very well looked vnto by the *Iesuites*, and Gentlemen: whereof euery moneth one of the best is chosen and appointed, who personally is there by them, and giueth the sicke per-

persons whatsoever they will desire, and sometimes spend more by foure or fūe hundred Duc-kets of their owne purses, then the Kings allowance reacheth vnto.

But returning to our matter of sicknesse, Pockes and Piles, with other secret diseases, they are in those Countries very common, and not hidden or concealed, for they thinke it no shame, more then to haue any other disease. They heale them with the root *China*: there are some that haue had them at the least three or foure times, and are not any thing at all shunned or disliked for the same, but dare both boast and bragge thereof. It is not any thing perilous for the body, insomuch that they had rather haue them, and feare them lesse then any of the foresaid diseases. The Plague hath neuer beene in *India*, neither is it knowne vnto the *Indians*, but poisoning, witchcraft, and such like, whereby some lose their healths, and some their liues, is their daily exercise, and very common with them. The stone grauell, and rupture raigneth much among them, specially among married men, by reason of the great quantitie of water that they drinke being given to all pleasure and riotousnesse, enioying all what their hearts desire, sitting alwaies with their bellies open in their shirts in a Gallerie, recreating themselves with the wind which cooleth them, sometimes hauing a slaue to scratch and pare their nayles and feet, another the head, the third holds a Fanne to drive away the Flies. This is the common vse for two houres after noone, where likewise they take an afternoones sleepe, and euer as they haue thirst, they bring him a dish of Conserues or other Comfets, that the water should not worke too much in his body, but taste the better. With such and the like exercises they doe passe the day till night comes on, so that commonly they haue all swollen bellies like *Bacchus*, whereby the Souldiers and other *Indians* call them *Barrigois*, that is, *Bellies*, or *Great bellies*.

The day both Summer and Winter is there all of a length, not much difference, onely in the change they haue about an houres difference. The Sun riseth at fixe, and setteth at fixe. When it is noone, commonly they haue the Sunne in the middle of the element iust ouer their heads, and it giueth no shadow, although it stretcheth somewhat out as the Sunne taketh his course. In *Goa* you may see both the Poles of the world, the North and South Starres stand not farre about the Horizon.

Chap. 36.
Of the *Indians*
called *Bra-*
menes, which
are the Mini-
sters of the *Pa-*
gods, and *Indi-*
an Idols, and of
their manner
of life.

THE *Bramenes* are the honestest and most esteemed Nation among all the *Indian* Heathens: for they doe alwaies serue in the chiefeest places about the King, as Receiuers, Stewards, 30
Ambassadors, and such like Offices. They are likewise the Priests and Ministers of the *Pagods*, or deuilish Idols. They are of great authoritie among the *Indian* people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may bee knowne from other men; they weare vpon their naked bodie, from the shoulder crosse vnder the arme ouer their bodie downe to the girdle, or the cloth that is wrapped about their middle, three or foure strings like sealing threed, whereby they are knowne: which they neuer put off although it should cost them their liues, for their Profession and Religion will not permit it. They goe naked, sauing onely that they haue a cloth bound about their middles to hide their priue mem-
bers. They weare sometimes when they goe abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called *Cabaia*, lightly cast ouer their shoulders, and hanging downe to the ground like some other *In-* 40
dians, as *Benianes*, *Gusarates*, and *Decanys*. Vpon their heads they weare a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they neuer cut off, but weare it long and turned vp as the women doe. They haue most commonly round rings of gold hanging at their eares, as most of the *Indians* haue. They eate not any thing that hath life, but feed themselves with herbes and Rice, neither yet when they are sick will for any thing be let blood, but heale themselves by herbes and ointments, and by rubbing their bodies with Sanders, and such like sweet woods. In *Goa* and on the Sea coasts there are many *Bramenes*, which commonly doe maintayne themselves with selling of Spices and other Apothecarie ware, but it is not so cleane as others, but full of garbish and dust. They are very subtile in writing and casting accounts, whereby they make other simple *Indians* beleue what they will. 50

Touching the points of their Religion, wherein the common people beleue them to bee Prophets: whatsoever they first meet withall in the streets at their going forth, that doe they all the day after pray vnto. The women when they goe forth haue but one cloth about their bodies; which couereth their heads, and hangerh downe vnto their knees: all the rest of the body is naked. They haue rings through their noses, about their legs, toes, neckes, and armes, and vpon each hand seuen or eight rings or bracelets, some of siluer and gilt, if they be of wealth and abilitie: but the common people of glasse, which is the common wearing of all the *Indian* women. When the woman is seuen yeeres old, and the man nine yeeres, they doe marrie, but they come not together before the woman be strong enough to beare children. When the *Bramenes* die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they 60
throwe much wood and other things: and if the man bee of any account, they cast in sweet Sanders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne, and such like, and much Oyle, because the fire should burne the stronger. Which done, they lay the dead *Bramenes* in it: then commeth his wife with musike and many of her neere friends all singing certaine praises in commendation of

of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, and encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe with him into the other world. Then shee taketh all her Jewels, and parteth them among her friends, and so with a cheerfull countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle: so shee is quickly dead, and with her Husbands body burned to ashes: and if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any woman refuseth to be burnt with her Husband, then they cut the haire cleane off from her head: and while she liueth she must neuer after weare any Jewels more, and from that time shee is despised, and accounted for a dishonest woman. These *Bramenes* obserue certaine Fasting dayes in the yeere, and that with so great abstinence, that they eate nothing all that day, and sometimes in three or foure dayes together. They haue their *Pagodes* and Idols, whose Ministers they are, whereof they tell and shew many Miracles, and say that those *Pagodes* haue beene men liuing vpon earth, and because of their Holie liues, and good Workes done here in this world, are for a reward thereof, become Holie men in the other world, as by their miracles, by the Diuell performed, hath beene manifested vnto them, and by their commandements their formes and shapes are made in the most vgly and deformed manner that possible may be deuiled. Such they Pray and Offer vnto, with many diuellish Superstitions, and stedfastly belecue that they are their Aduocates and Intercessors vnto God. They belecue also that there is a supream God aboue, which ruleth all things. and that mens soules are Immortall, and that they goe out of this world into the other, both Beasts and Men, and receiue reward according to their workes, as *Pythagoras* teacheth, whose Disciples they are.

The *Gusarates* and *Banians*, are of the Countrey of *Cambaia*: many of them dwell in *Goa*, *Diu*, *Chaul*, *Cochin*, and other places of *India*, because of their trade and traffique in Merchandise, which they vse much with all kindes of wares, as Corne, Cotton, Linnen, Anil, Rice, and other wares, specially all kind of precious Stones wherein they haue great skill. They are most subtil and expert in casting of Accounts and Writing, so that they doe not onely surpass and goe beyond all *Jewes* and other Nations thereabouts, but also the *Portugals*: and in this respect they haue no aduantage, for that they are very perfect in the trade of Merchandise, and very readie to deceiue men. They eate not any thing that hath Life or Blood in it, neither would they kill it for all the goods in the world, how small or vnnesseary soeuer it were, for that they stedfastly belecue, that euery living thing hath a Soule, and are next after Men to be accounted of, according to *Pythagoras* law, and know it must die: and sometimes they doe buy certaine Fowles or other Beasts of the *Christians* or *Portugals*, which they meant to haue killed, and when they haue bought them, they let them flee and runne away.

They haue a custome in *Cambaia*, in the High-wayes, and Woods, to set Pots with water, and to cast Corne and other Graine vpon the ground to feed Birds and Beasts withall: and throughout *Cambaia* they haue Hospitals to cure and heale all manner of Beasts and Birds therein whatsoeuer they ayle, and receiue them thither as if they were Men, and when they are healed, they let them flie or runne away whither they will, which among them is a worke of great Charitie, saying, it is done to their euen neighbours. And if they take a Flea or a Louse, they will not kill it, but take or put it into some hole or corner in the wall, and so let it goe, and you can doe them no greater iniurie then to kill it in their presence, for they will neuer leaue intreating and desiring with all curtesie not to kill it, and that man should not seeme to commit so great a sinne, as to take away the life of that, to whom God had giuen both Soule and Bodie: yea, and they will offer much money to a man to let it liue, and goe away. They eate no Radishes, Onions, Garlicke, nor any kind of Herbe that hath any colour of Red in it, nor Egges, for they thinke there is blood in them. They drinke not any Wine, nor vse any Vineger, but onely water. They are so dangerous of eating and drinking with other men which are not their Countymen, that they would rather starue to death then once to doe it. It happeneth oftentimes that they sayle in the *Portugals* ships from *Goa* to *Cochin*, to sell their Wares, and to traffique with the *Portugals*, and then they make their prouisions for so long time as they thinke to stay vpon the way, which they take aboard with them, and thereupon they feed. And if the time falleth out longer, then they made account of their water and prouision being all spent, as it happened when I sailed from *Goa* to *Cochin*, they had rather die for hunger and thirst then once to touch the *Christians* meat. They wash themselves before they eate, as the *Bramenes* doe, as also euerie time when they ease themselves or make water. They are of a yellow colour like the *Bramenes*, and somewhat whiter, and there are Women among them which are much whiter and clearer of Complection then the *Portugall* women. They are formed and made both in Face, Limbes, and in all other things like men of *Europe*, colour onely excepted. Their Apparell is a thinne white Gowne vpon their naked bodies, from the head to the feet, and made fast on the side vnder their armes, their Shooes of red leather, sharpe at the toes, and turning vp like hookes, their Beards shauen like the *Turkes*, sauing onely their Mouſtaches, they weare on their Heads a white cloth three or foure times wrapped about like the *Bramenes*, and vnder their haire a Starre vpon their foreheads, which they rub euery morning with a little

Chap. 37.
Of the *Gusarates* and *Banians* of *Cambaia*.

One liued fixe dayes with the *English*, and neither did eate or drinke. See lib. 3. c. 14.

white

white Sanders tempered with water, & three or foure graines of Rice among it, which the *Bramenes*; also doe as a superstitious Ceremonie of their Law. Their Bodies are commonly anoynted with Sanders and other sweet Woods, which they doe verie much vse, as also all the *Indians*. Their Women are apparelled like the *Bramenes* wiues, they eate like the *Mahometans*, and all other *Indians* vpon the ground. In their Houses or Assemblies they sit on the ground vpon Mats or Carpets, and alwayes leaue their Shooes without the doore, so that they are alwayes barefoot in their Houses: wherefore commonly the heeles of their shooes are neuer pulled vp, to saue labour of vntying or vndoing them, they haue a thousand other Heathenish superstitions which are not worth the rehearfall.

Chap. 38.
Of the Canaras
and Decaniins.

Brutish and
stinking holies

THe *Canaras* and *Decaniins* are of the Countrey of *Decan*, commonly called *Ballagate*, lying behind *Goa*: many of them dwell in *Goa*. Their Apparell is like the *Gufurates* and *Benianes*, except their Shooes, which they weare like Antiques with cut toes, and fastned about vpon their naked feet, which they call *Alparcas*. They weare their Beards and haire long, as it groweth without cutting, but onely turne it vp, and dresse it as the *Benianes* and *Bramenes* vse to doe, and are like them for colour, forme, and making. They eate all things except Kine, Hogges, and Buffles, Flesh and Fish. They account the Oxe, Kow or Buffle to bee Holie, which they haue commonly in the house with them, and they besmeere, stroke, and handle them with all the friendship in the world, and feed them with the same meat they vse to eate themselves, and when the Beasts ease themselves, they hold their hands vnder their tails and so throw the dung away. In the night time they sleepe with them in their Houses, and to conclude, vse them as if they were reasonable Creatures, whereby they thinke to doe God great seruice. In their Eating, sitting in the House, Washing, making Cleane, and other Ceremonies and Superstitions they are altogether like the *Bramenes*, *Gufurates*, and *Banians*. In their Marriages they contract each with other at seuen yeeres, and at eleuen or twelue yeeres they are married, and dwell together. When they are to bee married, they begin foureteene dayes before to make a great sound with Trumpets, Drummes, and Fires, which continueth day and night for all those foureteene dayes, with so great a noise of songs and Instruments, that men can neither heare, nor see: On the Wedding day, all the friends and kindred on both sides doe assemble together, and sit vpon the ground, round about a Fire, and goe seuen times about it uttering certaine words, whereby the Wedding is done. They giue their Daughters no Household-stuffe, but onely some Jewels, as Bracelets, Eare-rings, and such like of small value, wherewith their Husbands must be content, for the Daughters are no Heyres, but the Sonnes inherite all, but they keepe and maintaine their Daughters and Sisters till they marrie: when they die, they are likewise burnt, and some of their Wiues with them, but not so many as of the *Bramenes*. Every one of them followeth his Fathers occupation, and marrieth with the Daughters of such like Trades, which they name Kindreds. They haue their Fasting dayes, and Ceremonies like the *Bramenes*, for they are as the Laitie, and the *Bramenes* as the Spirituallie, the Ministers, Priests, and Prophets of their Idols. They hire and farme the Customes and Rents of the *Portugals*, and the Kings reuenues in the Land of *Bardes*, *Salsette*, and the Iland of *Goa*, so that oftentimes for any question or strife they must appeare in Law, where they alwayes come without Councill or Atturney, and know so well how to place their words, according to the Lawes of *Portugall*, not onely Temporall but Spirituall, that they are able to set downe, and shew where it standeth written, as well as any Counsellour could doe, and make their Petitions and Requests without any mans aduise, that the *Portugals* doe wonder at their readie wits, as I haue oftentimes found in them. When they are to take their Oathes to beare witnesse with any man, they are set within a Circle made of Ashes vpon the pavement where they stand, still laying a few Ashes on their bare Heads, holding one hand on their heads, the other on their breasts, and then in their owne speech sweare by their *Pagode*, that they will tell the Truth without dissimulation, whatsoeuer shall bee asked them, for that they certainly beleue they should be damned for euer, if as then they should not say the truth, but conceale it.

Oathes.

Chap. 39.
Of the Canari-
ins and Corum-
biins of India.

Rice grounds.

THe *Canarijns* and *Corumbiins* are the Countrimen, and such as deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours. These are the most contemptible, and the miserablest people of all *India*, and liue very poorely, maintaining themselves with little meat. They eate all kind of things, except Kine, Oxen, Buffles, Hogges, and Hens flesh; their Religion is like the *Decaniins* and *Canaras*, for they are all of one Countrey and Custome, little differing: they goe naked, their priuie members onely couered with a cloth. The Women goe with a cloth bound about their middle beneath their nauels, and hanging downe to the middle of their thighes, and the other end thereof they cast ouer their shoulders, whereby halfe their breasts are couered. They are in a manner blacke, or of a darke browne colour, many of them are *Christians*, because their chiefe habitation and dwelling places are on the Sea-side, in the Countreies bordering vpon *Goa*, for that the Palme-trees doe grow vpon the Sea coasts, or vpon the banks by Riuer sides. The Rice is sowed vpon low ground, which in Winter time is couered with water, where,

wherewith those *Canarijns* doe maintaine themselves: these bring Hennes, Fruit, Milke, Egges, and other such like wares into the Towne to sell. They dwell in little straw Houses, the doores whereof are so low, that men must creepe in and out, their household-stuffe is a Mat vpon the ground to sleepe vpon, and a Pit or hole in the ground to beat their Rice in, with a Pot or two to seeth it in, and so they liue and gaine so much as it is a wonder. For commonly their Houses are full of small Children, which crall and creepe about all naked, vntill they are seuen or eight yeares old, and then they couer their priuie members. When the women are readie to trauell with Child, they are commonly deliuered when they are all alone, and their Husbands in the fields, as it fortuneth vpon a time, as I and some other of my friends went to walke in the fields, and into the Villages where the *Canarijns* dwell, and hauing thirst, I went to one of the *Canarijns* houses to aske some water, therewith to refresh vs, and because I was very thirstie, I stooped downe and thrust my head in at the doore, asking for some water. where I espied a Woman alone within the house, tying her cloth fast about her middle, and before her hauing a wooden Trough (by the *Portugals* called *Gamello*) full of water, where shee stood and washed a Child, whereof as then she had newly beene deliuered without any helpe: which hauing washt, she laid it Naked on the ground vpon a great *Indian* Figge leafe, and desired me to stay and she would presently giue me water. When I vnderstood by her that she had as then newly beene deliuered of that Child without any helpe, I had no desire to drinke of her water, but went vnto another to aske water, and perceiued the same woman not long after going about her house, as if there had beene no such matter, and the Children are brought vp in that manner cleane naked, nothing done vnto them, but onely washed and made cleane in a litle cold water, and doe in that sort prosper and come vp as well as man would wish, or as any Child within these Countries can doe with all the tending they haue, and liue many times vntill they be a hundred yeares old, without any Head-ach, or Tooth-ach, or losing any of their Teeth. They weare onely a tucke of haire on the tops of their Heads, which they suffer to grow long: the rest of their haire is cut short, they are very expert in Swimming and Diuing, they row vp and downe the Riuer in Boates called *Almadias*, whereof some of them are hewen out of a peece of wood, and so narrow that a man can hardly sit in them, and it chanceth oftentimes that they turne ouer and ouer twice or thrice before they passe the Riuer, and then they leape out into the water and turne them vp, and so powring out the water they get into them againe. They are so miserable, that for a Penie they would indure to be Whipped, and they eate so litle, that it seemeth they liue by the Aire, they are likewise most of them leane, and weake of limbes, of litle strength and very Cowards, whereby the *Portugals* doe them great outrage and villanie, vsing them like Dogs and Beasts.

Childbirth.

In their Marriages and Deaths they obserue the manner of the *Decarijns* and *Canaras*, as also in their Religion and Ceremonies. When the Man is dead his body is burnt, and the Woman cuts her haire off, and breaketh all her Jewels, although they bee but few and small, for they are most of Glasse.

There are many *Arabians* and *Abexijns* in *India*. The *Arabians* obserue *Mahometts* Law, and the *Abexijns*, some are *Mahometans*, some *Christians*, after their manner, for they are of *Prester Iohns* land. The *Abexijns* that are *Christians*, haue on their Faces foure burnt markes in manner of a Crosse, one ouer their Nose in the middle of the forehead, betweene both their eies, on each of their Cheekes one, betweene their eyes and their eares, and one vnder their nether Lip downe to the chinne. These *Abexijns* and *Arabians*, such as are free doe serue in all *India* for Saylers and Sea-faring men. The *Portugals* (although they serue for Saylers in the *Portugals* Ships) that come into *India*, and haue neuer beene other in *Portugall* but Saylers, yet are they ashamed to liue in that order, and thinke it a great discredit vnto them, together with a great diminishing of their Authorities and estimations, which they account themselves to hold in *India*, so that they giue themselves out for Masters of ships, and by their Captaines are also called Pilots and chiefe Boatswaines, but not lower: for if they should descend but one step lower, it would be a great blot and blemish vnto them all their liues after, which they would not indure for any thing in the world. These *Abexijns* and *Arabians*, serue for small money, and being hired are verie lowly and subiect, so that oftentimes they are beaten and smitten, not as Slaues, but like Dogs, which they beare very patiently, not once speaking a word: they commonly haue their Wiues and Children with them in the ship wherein they are hired, which continually stay with them, what Voyage soeuer they make, and dresse their owne meat, which is Rice sodden in water with salt Fish among it. The cause why the Women faile in the ship, is, for that in Summer and not else, their ships goe to Sea, when they alwaies haue calme water and faire weather, with good windes: they haue commonly but one *Portugall* or two for Captaine, Master and Pilot, and they haue a chiefe Boatswaine, which is an *Arabian*, which they call *Mocadon*, and he is ruler of the *Arabians* and *Abexijns*, that are Sailers, whom he hath vnder his subiection, euen as if they were his Slaues or Subiects.

Chap. 46.
Of the *Arabians* and *Abexijns* dwelling in *India*.

Pride of *Portugall* Saylers.

This *Mocadon* is hee that conditioneth and maketh bargaine with the owners of the Ship,

to haue so many Sailers, and hee receiue the monethlie money for their wages, and accounteth with the Sailers particularly, but for gouernment of the ship hee hath not to doe, neither troubleth himselfe therewith. The ships when they saile, vse no Caske for water, because there is not any throughout all *India*, nor any made there, saue onely such as come out of *Portugall*, and vsed in the *Portugall* shippes: but in stead of Pipes they vse a great foure cornered wooden Cesterne, that standeth by the maine Mast, at the very foot thereof, vpon the keele of the ship, which is very well pitched, and made fast, wherein they lade as much water as they thinke will serue them for their Voyage. The Captaine, Master or Pilot, Marchants and Passengers, haue euerie man their meat by themselves, and their water in great *Indian* pots called *Martauans*.

Chap. 41.
Of the blacke
people of *Mosambique*,
which are cal-
led *Caffares*, &c
of their man-
ners and cu-
stomes. See of
these *sup. 9. c. 12*

THE Blacke people or *Caffares* of the Land of *Mosambique*, and all the Coast of *Ethiopia*, and within the land to the Cape de *bona Speranza*, goe all naked, although those of *Mosambique*, (that is the Women) doe a little couer themselves, which they doe by meanes of the daily conuersation they haue with the *Portugals*. Some haue all their bodies rased and seared with Irons, and all figured like rased Satten and *Damaske*, wherein they take great pride, thinking there are no fairer people then they in all the world, so that when they see any white people, that weare Apparell on their bodies, they laugh and mocke at them, thinking vs to bee Monsters and vgly people: and when they will make any diuellish forme and Picture, then they inuent one after the forme of a White man in his apparell. There are among them that file there Teeth as sharpe as Needles, which they likewise esteeme for a great ornament.

Note of *Iesuites*

There are some of them that are become *Christians* since the *Portugals* came thither, but there is no great paines taken about it in those Countries, because there is no profite to bee had, as also that it is an infectious and vnwholsome Countrey: And therefore the *Iesuites* are warie enough not to make any Houses or habitations therein, for they see no great profite to be reaped there for them, as they doe in *India* and the Ilands of *Iapan*, and in other places, where they find great quantities of Riches, with the sappe whereof they increase much and fill their Bee-hiues, therewith to satisfie their thirstie and insatiable desires.

A costly kinde
of Chaine for
Women to
weare.

They haue a Custome among them, that when they goe to Warre against their enemies, if they winne the Battell, or ouerthrow each other, he that taketh or killeth most men, is holden and accounted for the best and brauest man among them, and much respected, and to witnesse the same before their Kings, of as many as they haue slaine or taken Prisoners, they cut off their priue members, that if they bee let goe againe, they may no more beget Children, which in proesse of time might mischiefe them, and then they drie them well, because they should not rot: which being so dried, they come before their Kings with great reuerence, in the presence of the principall men in the Village, and there take these members so dried one by one in their mouthes, and spit them on the ground at the Kings feet, which the King with great thanks accepteth, and the more to reward and recompence their Valour, causeth them all to be taken vp and giuen to them againe, for a signe and token of Honour, whereby euer after from that time forwards they are accounted as Knights, and they take all those members, wherewith the King hath thus honoured them, and tie them all vpon a string like a Bracelet or Chaine, and when they Marrie, or goe to any Wedding, or Feasts, the Bride or Wiues of those Knights doe weare that Chaine of mens members about their neckes, which among them is as great an Honour, as it is with vs, to weare the Golden Fleece.

From *Mosambique* great numbers of these *Caffares* are carried into *India*, and many times they sell a Man or Woman that is growne to their full strength, for two or three Duckets. When the *Portugals* ships put in there for fresh Water and other necessaries, then they are dearer. In time of Pouertie or Dearth the Fathers may sell their Children, as it happened in my time, that there was such a dearth, and scarcitie of Victuals in the firme land, and Countries bordering vpon *Goa*, that the men of *India* came to *Goa* (and other places where the *Portugals* are resident) to sell their Children in great numbers, and for small prices, to buy them victuals. I haue seene Boyes of eight or ten yeares, giuen in exchange for fise or sixe measures of Rice, and some for three or foure Duckets the peece, and some came with their Wiues and Children to offer themselves to bee Slaues, so that they might haue meate and drinke to nourish their bodies.

And because the *Portugals* haue Traffique in all places (as wee haue beene in many) it is the cause why so many are brought out of all Countries to be sold, for the *Portugals* doe make a liuing by buying and selling of them, as they doe with other wares.

Chap. 42.
Of the *Malabares* and *Nayros* in *India*,
with their
manners and
custome.

THE *Malabares*, are those that dwell on the Sea-coast, betweene *Goa*, and the Cape de *Cormorijn* Southward from *Goa*, where the Pepper groweth. They haue a speech by themselves, and their Countrey is diuided into many Kingdomes, they goe all naked onely their priue members couered, the Women likewise haue but a cloth from their Nauell downe to their knees, all the rest is naked, they are strong of limbes, and verie arrogant and proud, of colour

colour altogether blacke, yet verie smooth both of haire and skinne, which commonly they anoynt with Oyle, to make it shine; they weare their haire as long as it will grow, tyed on the top or crowne of their heads with a Lace, both men and women: the lappes of their Eares are open, and are so long that they hang downe to their shoulders, and the longer and wider they are, the more they are esteemed among them, and it is thought to be a beautie in them. Of Face, Bodie and Limbes, they are altogether like men of *Europe*, without any difference, but onely in colour, the men are commonly verie hairie, and rough vpon the brest, and on their bodies, and are the most Lecherous and vnchaste Nation in all the Orient, so that there are
 10 verie few women Children among them, of seuen or eight yeeres old, that haue their Maiden-heads: They are verie readie to catch one from another, though it bee but for a small Penie.

In their Houses they are not verie curious, their houses and householdstufte, differeth not much from the *Canarijns* and *Corumbijns* of *Goa*. Their Idolatrie, Ceremonies and Superstitions, are like the Heathens. Of these *Malabares* there are two manner of people, the one is Noblemen or Gentlemen, called *Nayros*, which are Souldiers, that doe onely weare and handle
 20 Armes, the other is the common people, called *Polyas*, and they may weare no Weapons, nor beare any Armes. The *Nayros* must in all places where they goe or stand, weare such Armes as are appointed for them, and alwayes be readie at the Kings commandement to doe him seruice, some of them doe alwayes beare a naked Rapier or Courtelas in their right hands, and a great Target in their left hand, those Targets are very great: and made of light wood, so that when
 20 they will they can couer their whole bodies therewith; they are so well vsed thereunto, that they esteeme it nothing to beare them, and when they trauell on the way, they may be heard a great way off, for that they commonly make a great knocking with the Hilt of their Rapier against the Target, because they would be heard. There are some that carrie a Bow and a venemous Arrow vpon their shoulder, wherein they are verie expert, others carrie long Pikes, some Pieces, with the Match ready lighted, and wound about their armes, and haue the best Lockes that possible may be found in all *Europe*, which they know so well how to vse, that the *Portugals* can haue no aduantage against them. Wherefoeuer they goe, they must alwaies haue their Armes with them, both night and day. Not any of them are Married, nor may not marrie during their liues, but they may freely lie with the *Nayros* Daughters, or with any other that li-
 30 keth them, what women soeuer they be, yea though they be Married women. When the *Nayro* hath a desire thereunto, hee entreteth into a house where he thinketh good, and setteth his Armes in the street without the doore, and goeth in and dispatcheth his businesse, with the good Wife or the Daughter, the doore standing wide open, not fearing that any man should come in to let him; for whosoever passeth by, and seeth the *Nayros* armes standing at the doore, although it be the Goodman himselfe, hee goeth by, and letteth him make an end, and hauing done, he taketh his Armes and departeth thence, and then the Husband may come to the house without making any words, or once mouing question about it. In that manner they goe where they will, and no man may denie them. As these *Nayros* goe in the streets, they vse to crie *Po, Po*, which is to say, *Take heed, looke to your selues*, or *I come, stand out of the way*, for that the other
 40 sort of people called *Polyas*, that are no *Nayros*, may not once touch or trouble one of them; for if any of the *Polyas* should stand still, and not giue them place, whereby he should chance to touch their bodies, he may freely thrust him through, and no man aske him why he did it. And when they are once touched by any *Polyas*, or by any other Nation except *Nayros*, they must (before they eate, or conuerse with other *Nayros*) wash and cleanse their bodies with great Ceremonies and Superstitions. Likewise they must not be touched by any *Christian*, or any other man. And when the *Portugals* came first into *India*, at *Cochin* it was concluded, (to pacifie the matter, and to keepe peace and quietnesse among them) that two men should be chosen, one for the *Nayros*, and the other for the *Portugals*, that should Fight bodie to bodie, and hee that should be ouerthrowne, that Nation should giue place vnto the other, this was done in the
 50 presence of both Nations, and the *Portugall* ouercame the *Nayro*, whom he slew; whereupon it was agreed, that the *Nayros* should giue place vnto the *Portugall*, and stand aside vntill he be past wheresoeuer they meet. The *Nayros* weare the nailes of their hands very long, whereby they shew that they are Gentlemen, because the longnesse of the Nailes doth let and hinder men from working or doing any labour. They say likewise that they doe it, the better and faster to gripe a thing in their hands, and to hold their Rapiers, which some *Portugals* and *Mesticos* doe likewise vse, and hold the same opinion with the *Nayros*, whereof there are many in *India*, which let their Nailes grow for the same cause.

The principallest or chieftest of those *Nayros*, which are Leaders or Captaines of certaine numbers of *Nayros*, weare a Gold or Siluer bracelet, or Ring, about their armes, aboue their
 60 elbowes: as also their Gouvernours, Ambassadours, and Kings, whereby they are knowne from other men, for otherwise they goe all naked. Also their Kings, Rulers, and other Captaines and Leaders, when they goe abroad, are guarded and accompanied by other *Nayros*. They are verie good and stout Souldiers, and will set vpon a man very fiercely, they are also verie full of reuenge, so that whensoeuer they fight against their Enemies either by water or by land, and

that they chance to be thrust into the bodie with a Pike, they are not presently therewith content to lie downe, but if they cannot speedily plucke the Pike forth, they will not spare to pull it forth with both their hands, and draw it through their bodies, therewith to set vpon them that gaue them the wound, and to be reuenged on them.

The King may not Iudge nor execute those *Nayros* openly, for if they haue deserved Death, he causeth them by other *Nayros* to be put to death. The Daughters of the *Nayros*, may not haue the companie of any man, but onely of *Nayros*, although secretly they haue the company of many *Portugals* and *Christians*, but if the *Nayros* once perceiued it, or finde them in the deed doing, they might kill them without further question. In euery place where they dwell, they haue a Pit, or Well digged, wherein they doe hold water, which standeth openly in the way where euery man passeth by, wherein euery morning when they rise, they wash themselves all ouer, beginning first at the Foot and so rising vp to the Head, as well Men as Women, without being ashamed to be seene of such as goe by, or looke vpon them, and the King himselfe likewise: which water is so Greene, slimie and stinking, that a man can not chuse but stop his Nose as he goeth by it: and they certainly beleue, that whensoever they should forget to wash themselves in that water, that they should then be whollie vn-cleane and full of sinne: and this washing or making cleane, must not be done in any running water, but it must be in a place where the water standeth in a Pit or Well, and by their *Bramenes* conjured with many Words and Ceremonies, otherwise it were of no vertue but whollie vnprofitable, for their Idolatrous seruices. They are like the other Heathens, and are burned when they are Dead: their Sonnes may not be their Heyres, because they haue no Wiues, but vse all women, where and when they will, doubting which is their owne Sonne: for the *Bramenes* also haue the Kings wiues at their pleasures, and doe him great honour when it pleaseth them to lie with their Queene. Their heyres are their Sisters sonnes, for they say, although they doubt of their Fathers, yet they know their Sisters are the Mothers of them. Thus much touching the *Nayros* and Gentlemen or Souldiers.

The other common people of the *Malabares*, called *Polias*, are such as are the Countrey Husbandmen and Labourers, men of Occupations, Fishers, and such like: those are much contemned and despised, they liue miserably, and may weare no kind of Weapon, neither yet touch or bee conuersant with the *Nayros*, for as the *Nayros* goe on the streets, and they heare him call, they step aside, bowing their Armes, and stooping with their Heads downe to the ground, not daring so much as once looke vp before the *Nayros* be past: in other things they obserue the Customes of the other *Indians*, for that euery man followeth the Occupation of his Elders, and may not change it for any thing.

There are great numbers of *Moores* and *Jewes* in all places of *India*, as at *Goa*, *Cochin*, and within the Land. In their Houses and Apparell they follow the manner of the Land wherein they are resident: amongst the *Indians* they haue their Churches, Sinagogues and *Mesquitas*, wherein they vse all Ceremonies according to their Law: but in the places where the *Portugals* inhabite and gouerne, it is not permitted vnto them to vse them openly, neither to any *Indian*, although they haue their Families and dwelling Houses, and get their livings, and deale one with the other: but secretly in their Houses they may doe what they will, so that no man take offence thereat: without the Townes and where the *Portugals* haue no commandement, they may freely vse and exercise their Ceremonies and Superstitions, euery one as liketh him best, without any man to let or denie them: but if they bee found openly doing it in the *Portugals* Townes and Iurisdiccions, or that they haue any point of Christian ceremonies mingled among theirs, both men and women die for it, vnlesse they turne vnto the Christian Faith: they are most white of colour, like men of *Europa*, and haue many faire Women. There are many of them that came out of the Countrey of *Palestina* and *Ierusalem* thither, and speake ouer all the Exchange verie perfect and good Spanish.

The *Moores* likewise haue their *Mesquitos*, wherein they pray, and about the Church they haue many Sellers and Galleries, where they learne their Children their principles of Religion before they goe to Church: they wash their Feet, for the which purpose they haue alwayes a Cesterne with water standing without the Church, and leaue their *Alparcos* (which are their Shooes) standing at the Church doore before they goe in, and being in the Church they fall flat on the ground vpon their faces, and so with their armes and hands lifted vp, make many counterfeit faces. They are also Circumcised like the *Jewes*, and eate no Hogs flesh, and when they are dead they are buried. In their Churches they haue not any Images, but onely some Stones or round Pillers standing vpright with certaine *Chaldean* letters (out of their *Alcaron*) grauen vpon them. As I and a friend of mine chanced to goe out of the Towne, wee were desirous to see their *Mahometicall* Church, and their manner of Service, which was denied vs by the keeper of the doore, that bad vs put off our Shooes, but because we would not, hee said it was not lawfull for vs to enter in that sort into the Church: but to let vs see it, hee suffered vs to stand within the doore, and opened some of the windowes, that wee might see what was

Holy water.

Heyres.

Polias.

Chap. 43.
Of the Moores
and Jewes in
India.

was within it: then the *Portugall* asked him for their God and their Saints which they vsed to pray vnto, because he saw the Church emptie, as I said before: then the *Moore* answered him, that They vsed not to pray to Stockes and Stones, but to the liuing God, which is in Heauen, and said, that the proud *Portugall Christians*, and the *Heathens* were all of one Religion, for that they pray to Images made of Wood and Stones, and giue them the Glorie which onely appertaineth to the liuing God: with the which answer the *Portugall* was so angrie, that hee began to chide, so that there had growne a great quarrell, had it not beene for me.

See the proote
hercof, sup.
pag. 28.

10 IN the Kingdome of *Narsinga*, or the Coast called *Choramandel*, there standeth a *Pagode*, that is very great, exceeding rich, and holden in great estimation, hauing many Pilgrimages & Visitations made vnto it from all the Countries bordering about it, where euery yeere they haue many Faires, Feasts, and Processions, and there they haue a Waggon or a Cart, which is so great and heauie, that three or foure Elephants can hardly draw it, and this brought soorth at Faires, Feasts, and Processions. At this Cart hang likewise many Cables or Ropes, whereat also all the Countrey people, both men and women of pure deuotion doe pull and hale. In the vpper part of this Cart standeth a Tabernacle or Seat, wherein sitteth the Idoll, and vnder it sit the Kings Wiues, which after their manner play on all Instruments, making a most sweet melodie, and in that sort is the Cart drawne forth, with great Deuotions and Processions: there are some of them, that of great zeale and pure deuotion doe cut peeces of flesh out of their bodies, and throw them downe before the *Pagode*: others lay themselues vnder the wheelles of the Cart, and let the Cart runne ouer them, whereby they are all crushed to peeces, and pressed to death, and they that thus die, are accounted for holy and deuout Martyrs, and from that time forwards are kept and preserued for great and holy Reliques, besides a thousand other such like beastly Superstitions, which they vse, as one of my Chamber fellowes, that had seene it shewed me, and it is also well knowne throughout all *India*.

Chap. 44.
Of their Pa-
godes.

Mad Zeale.

Devils Mar-
tyrs.

Vpon a time I and certaine *Portugals* my friends, hauing licence from the Vice-roy were at a Banquet and meeting, about fise or fixe miles within the firme Land, and with vs wee had certaine *Decaniys*, and naturall borne *Indians*, that were acquainted with the Countrey, the chiefe cause of our going, was to see their manner of burning the dead *Bramene*, and his Wife with him being aliue, because we had beene aduertised, that such a thing was to bee done. And there among other strange deuises that we saw, we came into some Villages, and places inhabited by the *Indians*, where in the way, and at euerie Hill, stonie Rocke or hole, almost within a *Pater noster* length, we found a Carued *Pagode*, or rather Devils, and monsters in hellish shapes. At the last we came into a Village, where stood a great Church of stone, wherein wee entred, and found nothing in it but a great Table that hung in the middle of the Church, with the Image of a *Pagode* painted therein so mishaped and deformed, that more monstrous was neuer seene, for it had many Hornes, and long Teeth that hung out of his mouth downe to the knees, and beneath his nauell and belly, it had another such like face, with many hornes and tuskes. Vpon the head thereof stood a triple Crowned Myter, not much vnlike the Popes triple Crowne, so that in effect it seemed to bee a Monster, such as are described in the *Apocalips*. It hung before a Wall, which made a partition from another Chamber, in manner of a Quier, yet was it close made vp without windowes, or any place for light, in the middle whereof was a little narrow close doore, and on both sides of the doore, stood a small Furnace made within the wall, wherein were certaine holes or Lattices, thereby to let the smoke or saour of the fire to enter into that place, when any Offering should be made. Whereof we found some there, as Rice, Corne, Fruits, Hennes, and such like things, which the *Indians* daily offered, but there came so filthie a smoke and stinke out of the place, that whosoever went neere it, was almost ready to choke, the said place being all black, smeerie and foule therewith. Before this doore being shut, in the middle of the Church, there stood a Calfe of stone, whereon one of our companie leaped, and laughing, began to crie out, which the *Bramene* that kept the Church perceiuing, began to call and crie for helpe, so that presently many of the neighbours ranne thither, to see what the cause might be, but before the throng of people came, we dealt so well with the *Bramene* (acknowledging our fault, and saying it was vnadvisedly done) that he was well content, and the people went home againe. Then we desired the *Bramene* to open vs the doore that stood shut, which after much intreatie hee yeelded vnto, offering first to throw certaine Ashes vpon our foreheads, which we refused, so that before he would open vs the doore, we were forced to promise him that we would not enter further in, then to the doore.

The doore of their *Sancta Sanctorum*, or rather *Diabolorum*, being opened, it shewed within like a Lime-kill, being close vaulted round about, ouer the head without either hole or window to cast in light, but onely at the doore, neither was there any light in all the Church, but that which came in at the doore we entred by. Within the said Cell or Vault, there hung at the least one hundred burning Lamps, in the middle wherof stood a litle Altar, & couered ouer with cloth made of Cotton-wooll, and ouer that with pure Gold, vnder the which (as the *Bramene* told vs) sate the *Pagode* being of cleane Gold, of the bignesse of a Puppet or a Babie sold in

Like lips like
lattice.

Faires: hard by the Church without the great doore, stood within the earth a great foure cornered or square Cesterne, hewed out of Free stone, with stayres on each side to goe downe into it, full of greene, filthie and stinking water, wherein they wash themselves when they meane to enter into the Church to pray. From thence wee went further, and still as we went, in euery place we found *Pagodes* hewed out of hard Stones, and standing in their holes, of such lively shapes and figures as we told you before. These stand in the wayes vnder certaine couertures, without the Churches, and haue hard by each of them a small Cesterne of water, cut out of the stone to wash their feet, with halfe an *Indian Nut*, that hath a handle and hangeth there to take vp water withall. And this is ordayned for Trauellers that passe by, who commonly at euery one of those *Pagodes* doe fall downe and make their Prayers, and wash their feet in those Cesternes. By the said *Pagodes*, commonly doe stand two little Furnaces, with a Calfe or Kow of stone, before the which they set their Offerings, which are of such things, as are to bee eaten, euery man as his Deuotion serueth, which they thinke the *Pagode* eateth in the Night, but it is taken away by the *Bramene*. We found in euery place such Offerings standing, but we had little desire once to taste thereof, it looked so filthily, and as we had sufficiently beholden their mishapen figures and monstrous Images, we returned againe into the Village, wherein we saw the stone Church, because the *Bramene* had aduertised vs, that the same day about Euening, the *Pagode* should be carried in Procession, to sport it selfe in the Fields, and to fetch a circuit, which we desired to see. And about the time which hee appointed, they rung a little Bell, which they had gotten of the *Christians*, wherewith all the people began to assemble, and tooke the *Pagode* out of his diabolicall Cell, which with great reuerence, they set in a *Palamkin* borne by the chiefe men of the Towne, all the rest with great deuotion following after, with their vsuall noyse and sound of Trumpets and other Instruments, wherewith they went a reasonable way round about a Field, and then brought him to the stone Cesterne, where washing him very cleane (although he were very filthie stinking) they carried him againe into his Cell, leaving him shut herein withall his Lampes, to make good cheere, and hauing made a foule smoake and stinke about him, and euery man left his Offering behind him, they went home to their houses, leauing the *Bramene* alone, who in stead of the *Pagode*, made good cheere at their costs with his Wife and Familie.

Chap. 45.
Of all the kind
of Beasts, Cat-
tell, & Fowles,
in India.
Kine.
Oxen.
Mutton.
Hogs.
Sheepes tailes.

Buffles and
their Milke.

Cheeses
Wild Beasts.

Few small
Birds.
Great Bats
and hurtfull.
I haue heard
that they
breed & haue
many young as
Rats with vs.
Crows bold.

Great Rats.

There is ouer all *India* great store of Cattell, as Oxen, Kine, Sheepe, Hogges, Goates, Kids, and such like, and very good cheape, and in great abundance, although the flesh is not of so good a taste as that in *Europe*, which proceedeth from the heat of the Countrey, and therefore it is not much esteemed. A man may buy the best Kow in *Goa*, for five or sixe *Par-dawes*. Oxen are there little killed to eat, but are most kept to till the Land, all other things as Hogs, Sheepe and Goates, are sold after the rate. Mutton is little esteemed of, and not much vsed to be eaten, for it is forbidden to such as are sicke, and the Hogs flesh is much better and sounder, which is rather permitted vnto sicke persons then Mutton. There are Sheepe in that Countrey of fine quarters in quantitie, for that the tayle is as great, and hath as much flesh vpon it, as any of the quarters, there are many Buffles, but nothing good to bee eaten, vnlesse it be by poore people, but their Milke is very good, and is very well sold and ordinarily eaten, for you shall see the Slaues and *Canariys* in great numbers, all day going about the streets to sell the Milke of Buffles, and Goates, and excellent sweet Creame, and fresh Butter in small peeces. They make likewise some small white Cheeses, but they are very salt and drie: wilde Bores, some Hares, Conies, Harts, and Hindes are there also to be found, but not many Cockes, Capons, Pheasants, and Doves are there in great abundance and good cheape. In the Island of *Goa* and thereabout are Sparrowes, and some other small Birds, yet not many: but on the Coast of *Cochin* and *Malabar*, there are very few Sparrowes, nor any such like small birds. There are in *India* many Battes, and some of them so great, that it is incredible to tell. They doe great mischief to Trees, Fruits and Herbes, whereby the *Canariys* are constrained to set men to watch in their Trees, and yet they can hardly rid them away. The *Indians* eat them, and say they are as good meat as a Partridge.

There is a most wonderfull number of blacke Crows, which doe much hurt, and are so bold that oftentimes they come flying in at their windowes, and take the meat out of the dish, as it standeth vpon the Table, before them that are set downe to eate: and as I my selfe fate writing aboue in a Chamber of the house, the windowes being open, one of those Crows flew in at the window, and picked the Cotton out of mine Inke-horne, and blotted all the paper that lay on my Table, doe what I could to let him. They sit commonly vpon the Buffles backs, and pecke off their haire, so that you shall find very few Buffles that haue any haire vpon their backs, and therefore to auoyd the Crows they get themselves into Marishes, and warrie places, where they stand in the water vp to the neckes, otherwise they could neuer be rid of them. There are likewise great numbers of Rats, and some as bigge as young Pigges, so that the Cats dare not touch them. Sometimes they digge downe the Houses, for that they vndermine the walles and foundations through and through, whereby many times the houses fall downe and

and are spoiled. There is another sort of Rats, that are little and reddish of haire. They are called sweet smelling Rats, for they haue a smell as if they were full of Muske.

Muske-rats:
such are in
Virginia.
Ants hurtfull.

Of Ants or Pismires there is so great abundance throughout all *India*, and so noisome, that it is incredible to such as haue not seene it: for that men may set nothing whatsoever it be, that is to be eaten, or fatty, nor yet their clothes nor linnen, but you shall presently find at the least a thousand vpon it: and in the twinkling of an eye they will presently consume a loafe of bread: wherefore it is the manner throughout *India*, to make all the Cupboords wherein they keepe their victuals, and Chests, where their linnen and apparell lieth, with foure feet or pillars, and vnder euery foot or pillar a stone or wooden Cesterne full of water, and place the Cupboord or Chest in the middle of the roome, not neere the wall, whereby they cannot come at it, otherwise it would be spoiled, and if they doe neuer so little forget to powre water into the Cesternes, if it be but a *Pater noster* while, presently there will be so many Pismires crawling all ouer it, that it is wonderfull: so that it seemeth to be a curse or plague of God sent vpon that Countrey. There are some likewise that vse such Cesternes of water vnder their bedstead, because they would not be troubled with them as they lie in their Beds, and also vnder their Tables. Some men which keepe *Canarie* birds, or such small fowles (that are brought thither from *Portugall*, or out of *Turkie* and *Persia* for their pleasures) are forced to set them on a sticke or perch made for the purpose, with a Cesterne of water vnder it, otherwise it would presently be killed by the Pismires: and though it hangeth in the top of the house, yet they will come at it if it haue a string, to hold it by. The Souldiers and poore people that haue not the meanes to buy Cupboords, with Cesternes) put the bread and other victuals which they leaue (which is not ouermuch) in a cloth tied on knots, and hang it on a naile against the wall, and make a circle about it of Charcole, so that the Pismires cannot get ouer, nor come at it. There is another sort of Pismires which are almost a finger long, and reddish of colour: they runne into the fields, and doe great hurt to the herbes, fruits, and plants.

Great Ants.

Moths and wormes which creepe and eate through mens clothes, are there in great abundance, whereby men must vse no more clothes nor linnen in those Countreies then that he necessarily and daily weareth on his backe, otherwise they are presently moth-eaten and spoiled. They can hardly keepe any Paper or Bookes from wormes, which are like eare-wormes, but they doe often spoile and consume many Papers and euidences of great importance. There are also many *Wall-lice*. There is a kind of beast that flieth, twice as bigge as a Bee, and is called *Baratta*: These creatures also doe much hurt, and are commonly in Sugar, Honie, Butter, Oile, and all fat wares and sweet meates. Many of them likewise come into their Chests among their clothes and linnen, which they doe also spoile and spot. They are in great numbers and very hurtfull. There can be nothing so close shut or made fast, but they will get in and spoile it, for where they lie or be, they spot all things with their egges, which sticke as fast as sirop vpon a Paper, so that they may be esteemed as a plague like to the Pismires.

Wormes.

They are called Wall-lice, because they breed in Walls: but in true English they are called *Midges*, and in Latin, *Cimices*.

Within the Land there are also Tigres: other cruell beasts, as Lions, Beares, and such like there are few or none: but venomous beasts, as Snakes, Lizards, and such like there are many, for the Lizards will clime and creepe vpon the walls in their houses, and oftentimes fall vpon men, as they lie in their Beds and sleepe, and therefore many men that are of abilitie, doe hang Testers and Curtaines ouer and about their Beds. There are likewise many Chamelions, which are said to liue by the aire, but they are not hurtfull.

There are many Monkeys or Marmosets, that doe great hurt to the Palme trees, wherein the *Indian Nut* or *Cocus* doth growe. In those trees you shall commonly see certaine litle beasts, called *Bichos de Palmeiras*, that is, *Beasts of the Palme trees*: They are much like Ferrets, where-with men vse to hunt and catch Cunnies, and haue a taile like the Penner of an Ink-horne, and grayish speckled haire: they are pretie beasts to keepe and to passe the time withall. Parrots are there in great numbers, and flie abroad in the Woods. There commeth in *India* out of the Iland of *Molucas* beyond *Malacca*, a kind of birds, called *Noyras*: they are like Parrots, but they haue many red feathers, and speake like Parrots: they are worth in *India* twenty or thirtie *Pardawes* the piece: they are very faire to looke on, and speake sweetly: they claw or tickle men with their tongues vpon their heads and beards, and make them cleane at the roots, as also their eares and their teeth, so that they are very pleasant to keepe in a house, for that both in colour and beauty of feather they surpass all birds and Parrots whatsoever: but there could neuer yet be any of them brought liuing into *Portugall*, although they haue sought and vsed all the meanes they could to bring them for a Present to the King, which he greatly desireth: but they die vpon the way, for they are very delicate, and will hardly be brought vp.

Monkeys.

Elephants are in many places of *India*. In the Iland of *Seylon* there are also great numbers, which are esteemed the best and sensiblist of all the world, for wheresoever they meet with any other Elephants (the *Indians* report for a truth, that they haue tried it) those Elephants of other Countreies doe reuerence and honour to the Elephants of *Seylon*. The most seruice that they vse them for in *India*, is to draw their Pipes, Burs, Packes, and other goods, and to ship them,

Chap. 46.
Of the Elephant.

them, all which they doe with Elephants. They are kept at the Kings charges, and he that needeth them, speaketh to their Keepers, and agreeth with them for a price to haue their labour: Then the Keeper getteth vpon the necke of the Elephant, and thrusteth his feet vnder his eares, hauing a hooke in his hand, which he sticketh on his head, where his stones lie, that is to say, aboue betweene both his eares, which is the cause, that they are so well able to rule them: and comming to the thing which they are to draw, they bind the Fat or Packe fast with a rope that he may feele the weight thereof, and then the Keeper speaketh vnto him: whereupon hee taketh the corde with his snout and windeth it about his teeth, and thrusteth the end into his mouth, and so draweth it hanging after him, whither they desire to haue it. If it be to be put into a Boat, then they bring the Boat close to the shoare of the Key, and the Elephant putteth it into the Boat himselfe, and with his snout gathereth stones together, which he layeth vnder the Fat, Pipe, or Packe, and with his teeth striketh and thrusteth the Packe or Vessell, to see if it lie fast or not. It will draw any great shot or other Iron worke, or metall being made fast vnto it, be it neuer so heauie. They draw Fusts, small Gallies, and other great Boats, as Caruels, and such like, as easily out of the water vpon the land, as if no man were in them: so that they serue their turnes there, euen as our Sleds or Carts with Horses doe heere, to carrie our wares and merchandises. Their meate is Rice and water, they sleepe like Kine, Oxen, Horses, and all foure-footed beasts, and bow their knees and all their members as other beasts doe. In Winter when it beginneth to raine, then they are vnquiet, and altogether mad, so that their Keepers cannot rule them, and then they are let some whither out of the Towne to a great tree, and there tied vnto it by the legs with a great Iron chaine, where they carrie him meate, and so he lieth in the open aire, as long as he is mad, which is from Aprill to September, all the Winter time when it raineth, and then he commeth to himselfe, and beginneth to serue againe as tamely, that a man may lie vnder his bellie, so you doe him no hurt: but he that hurteth him, he must take heed, for they neuer forget when any man doth them iniurie, vntill they be reuenged. They are very fearefull of a Rat or Mouse, and also of the Pismires, because they feare they would creepe into their snouts. They are likewise afraide of gun-shot and of fire, vnlesse by length of time they be vsed vnto them. When they haue the companie one of the other, the male Elephant standeth vpon the higher ground, and the female somewhat lower. As they goe along the way, although you see them not, you may heare them a farre off by the noise of their feet and clapping of their eares, which they continually vse. They are as swift in going almost as a Horse, and are very proude, and desirous of honour. When there is any great Feast or Holiday kept in Goa, with solemne Procession, commonly the Elephants goe with them, the young before, and the old behind, and are all painted vpon their bodies with the Armes and Crosses of Portugall, and haue euerie one fise or fixe Trumpetters or Players vpon the Shalmes, sitting vpon them that sound very pleasantly, wherewith they are as well pleased, and goe with as great grauitie, and in as good order, as if they were men. It happened in Goa, that an Elephant should draw a great Fust out of the water vnto the land, which Fust was so great and heauie, that he could not doe it alone, so that they must haue another to helpe him: whereupon the Keeper chid him, vsing many hard words, saying, that *he was idle and weake, and that it would be an euermore shame for him, that they must fetch another to helpe him*, wherewith the Elephant was so desperate, that hee thrust away his fellow (which was brought to helpe him) and beganne freshly againe to draw, with so great force, more then he was well able to doe, that with extreme labour he burst and fell downe starke dead in the place. At such time as I was to make my Voyage from Cochin to Portugall, the Rudder of our ship was out of order, so that it must of force be brought on land to make it fit againe, and so it was drawne to the Riuer side at the sterne of the Boat, which the Elephant should draw on land vpon two boords, that it might slide vp, and because it was heauie, (as the Rudder of a ship of foureteene hundred or sixteene hundred tunnes requirerh) as also that the Elephant was as yet but young, and not growne to his full strength, so that he could not draw it out alone, yet he did the best he could: but seeing he could not doe it, he fell on his fore-legs, and beganne to erie and weepe, that the teares ranne out of his eyes, and because many of vs stood vpon the shoare to behold this sight, the Keeper began to chide him, and with hard words to curse him, because he shamed him thus in prefence of so many men, not to be able to draw vp such a thing: but what strength or labour soeuer the Elephant vsed, he could not doe it alone, but when they brought another Elephant to helpe him, they both together drew it halfe out of the water, so that it lay partly vpon the boords. The first Elephant perceiuing that, with his head and teeth thrust the other Elephant away, and would haue no more helpe, but drew it out himselfe.

They are likewise very thankful & mindful of any good done vnto them. When new yeres day commeth, their keepers vse of common custome to aske new yeeres gifts of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and other Gouvernours and Gentlemen, and then the Elephants come to the doore and bow their heads downe, and when any thing is giuen, they kneele on their knees with great lowlinesse, and thankfulness, for the good deedes so done vnto their keepers (which they thinke to be done vnto themselves.) They vse as they passe by such houses, to bow their heads at the dores,

as also when they passe by the Church doores, and by Crosse, which their Masters teach them. They haue a custome that they goe often into the Market where hearbs are sold, as Reddish, Lettice, Coleworts, and such like stuffe, and those that are liberall to the Elephant, doe vse to throw something before him. Among the rest there was one hearbe wise which alwayes vsed to throw something of her wares before the Elephant. Now when the time came on that the Elephant groweth mad, as I said before, they vse to goe with them three or foure dayes, or a weeke about the streets before they binde them vp, (being as then but halfe mad) to aske something of euery bodie for the feeding of the mad Elephant in the winter time. And going thus about the streets, the Master is not able to rule him, for hee runneth about with his head downward, and by his roaring giueth the people warning to beware, and when he findeth or seeth no man, hee leapech and ouerthroweth whatsoeuer he meeteth withall, whereby hee maketh great sport and pastime, much like to the baiting of Oxen in *Spain*, which neuer ceaseth, vntill one, two, or more of them be slaine, the like rule is kept with the mad Elephant in *India*. It chanced in this running about that the Elephant ranne through the streetes, and in haste at vnawares came into the market, throwing downe all that was in his way, whereat euery man was abash, and leauing their ware, ranne to saue themselves from being ouer runne by the Elephant, and by meanes of the noyse and prease of people, they fell one ouer another, as in such cases is commonly seene. Among them was this woman, that alwayes vsed to giue the Elephant something to eate, which had a little childe in the market lying by her in a basket, and by the hastie rising vp and throng of the people, the woman ranne into a House, not hauing time to snatch vp her Child, and take it with her, and when the Elephant was alone in the Market place, where hee roared vp and downe, ouerthrowing all things that were before him, hee came by the Child (that as I said) lay still in the Market, and as euery man looked, specially the Mother, which cried out, and verily thought that the Elephant had taken it and cast it on his shoulder and spoyled it as he did all other things. He on the contrarie notwithstanding all his madnesse, being mindfull of the good will and liberality of the Childes Mother dayly vsed vnto him, tooke vp the Child handiomey and tenderly with his Snout, and laide it softly vpon a Stall by a Shop side, which done, he began againe to vse the same order of stamping, crying, and clapping as he had done at the first, to the great wondering of all that beheld it, specially to the ease and ioy of the Mother, that had recovered her Child sound and well againe.

THE *Abada* or *Rhinoceros* is not in *India*, but onely in *Bengala*, and *Patane*. They are lesse and lower then the Elephant. It hath a short horne vpon the nose, in the hinder part somewhat bigge, and toward the end sharper, of a browne blew, and whitish colour; it hath a snout like a Hog, and the skin vpon the vpper part of his body is all wrinckled, as if it were armed with Shields or Targets. It is a great enemy of the Elephant. Some thinke it is the right Vnicorne, because that as yet there hath no other bene found, but onely by heare-say, and by the Pictures of them. The *Portugals* and those of *Bengala* affirme, that by the Riuer *Ganges* in the Kingdome of *Bengala*, are many of these Rhinoceros, which when they will drinke, the other beasts stand and waite vpon them, till the Rhinoceros hath drunke, and thrust their horne into the water, for hee cannot drinke but his horne must be vnder the water, because it standeth so close vnto his nose, and muzzle: and then after him all the other beasts doe drinke. Their hornes in *India* are much esteemed and vsed against all venome, poyson, and many other diseases: likewise his teeth, clawes flesh, skin, and bloud, and his very dung and water and all whatsoeuer is about him, is much esteemed in *India*, and vsed for the curing of many diseases and sickneses, which is very good and most true, as I my selfe by experience haue found. But it is to bee vnderstood, that all Rhinoceros are not a like good, for there are some whose hornes are solde for one, two or three hundred *Pardawes* the piece, and there are others of the same colour and greynesse that are sold but for three or foure *Pardawes*, which the *Indians* know and can discerne. The cause is that some Rhinoceros, which are found in certaine places in the countrey of *Bengala* haue this vertue, by reason of the hearbs which that place onely yeeldeth and bringeth forth, which in other places is not so, and this estimation is not onely held of the horne, but of all other things in his whole bodie, as I said before. There are also by *Malacca*, *Sion*, and *Bengala* some Goates that are wilde, whose hornes are esteemed for the best hornes against poyson, and all venome that may be found: they are called *Cabras de Mato*, that is, wilde Goates.

FISH in *India* is very plentifull, and some very pleasant and sweete. Most of their fish is eaten with Rice, that they seeth in broth which they put vpon the Rice, and is somewhat sowre, as if it were sodden in Gooseberries, or vnripe Grapes, but it tasteth well, and is called *Carril*, which is their daily meate, the Rice is in steade of bread: there are also good Shads, Soales, and other sorts of fishes. The Crabs and Creuishes are very good and marueilous great, that it is a wonder to tell, and that which is more wonderfull, when the Moone is in the full, here with vs it is a common saying, that then Crabs and Creuishes are at the best, but there it is cleane contrarie: for with a full Moone they are empirie and out of season, and with a new Moone good and full. There are

Chap. 47.
Of the Abadas
or Rhinoceros.

Goats hornes
good against
poyson.

Chap. 48.
Of the Fishes
and other
beasts in the
Seas of *India*.
Crabs best at
the full.

also

also Muskles and such like Shell-fishes of many sorts, Oysters very many, specially at *Cochin*; and from thence to the *Cape de Comorijn*. Fish in *India* is very good cheape; for that with the valew of a stiver of their money, a man may buy as much fish and Rice to it, as will serue five or six men for a good meale.

Sharkes
Marking.

As our ship lay in the Riuer of *Cochin*, readie to sayle from thence to *Portugall*, it hapned that as wee were to hang on our Rudder, which as then was mended, the Master of the Ship, with foure or five Saylers, went with the boate to put it on, and another Sayler beeing made fast with a corde about his middle, and tied to the Ship, hung downe with halfe his bodie into the water to place the same vpon the hookes, and while hee hung in the water, there came one of those *Hagens*, and bit one of his legs, to the middle of his thigh, cleane off at a bit, notwithstanding that the Master strooke at him with an Oare, and as the poore man was putting downe his arme to feele his wound, the same fish at the second time for another bit did bite off his hand and arme about the elbow, and also a peece of his buttocke.

In the Riuer of *Goa* in winter time, when the mouth of the Riuer was shut vp, as commonly at that time it is, the fishermen tooke a Fish of a most wonderfull and strange forme, such as I think was neuer seene either in *India*, or in any other place, which for the strangeness thereof was presented to my Lord the Archbishop, the picture whereof by his commandement was painted, and for a wonder sent to the King of *Spaine*.

Monstrous fish

It was in bignesse as great as a middle sized dog, with a snout like a Hog, small eyes, no eares, but two holes where his eares should bee, it had foure feete like an Elephant, the tayle beginning somewhat vpon the backe broad, and then flat, and at the very end round and somewhat sharpe. It ranne along the Hall vpon the floore, and in euery place of the house snorting like a Hog. The whole bodie, head, tayle, and legs being couered with scales of a thumb breadth, harder then Iron, or Steele: Wee hewed and layd vpon them with weapons, as if men should beate vpon an Annull, and when we strooke vpon him, he rouled himselfe in a heape, head and feet altogether, so that hee lay like a round ball, we not being able to iudge where he closed himselfe together, neyther could we with any instrument or strength of hands open him againe, but letting him alone and not touching him, he opened himselfe and ranne away as I said before.

Maffens re-
ports it also.
Hist. Ind. l. 7.
but somewhat
differing.

A Ship sayling from *Mosambique* into *India*, hauing faire weather, a good sore winde, as much as the sayles might beare before the winde for the space of foureteene dayes together, directing their course towards the Equinoctiall line, euery day as they tooke the height of the Sunne, in steade of diminishing or lessening their degrees, according to the winde and course they had and helde, they found themselves still contrarie, and euery day further backwardes then they were.

At the last the chiefe Boteson whom they call the Masters mate, looking by chance ouer-board towards the beake-head of the ship, he espied a great broad taile of a Fish that had winded it selfe as it were about the beake head, the body thereof being vnder the keele, and the head vnder the Rudder, swimming in that manner, and drawing the shippe with her against the winde and their right course: whereby presently they knew the cause of their so going backwards: so that having at the last stricken long with stauies and other weapons vpon the fishes tayle, in the end they stroke it off, and theredy the Fish left the ship, after it had layen foureteene dayes vnder the same, drawing the ship with it against winde and weather: for which cause the Vice-roy in *Goa* caused it to be painted in his palace for a perpetuall memory, where I haue often reade it, with the day and time, and the name both of the Ship and Captaine.

There are by *Malacca* certaine fish shels found on the shoare, much like Scalop shels, so great and so heauie, that two strong men haue enough to doe with a Leauer to draw one of them after them. Within them there is a fish which they of *Malacca* doe eate. There were some of those shels in the ballast of the ship that came from *Malacca*, and kept companie with vs from the Iland of *Saint Helena*, to the Iland of *Tercera*, where the ship was cast away, and some of the shels taken out of her, which the *Iesuites* of *Malacca* had sent vnto *Lisbon*, to set in the wals of their Church and Cloyster, which they there had caused to bee made, and most sumptuously built. The like happened to a ship called *Saint Peter* that sayled from *Cochin* towards *Portugall*, that fell vpon a Sand, which at this day is called after the same ships name *Saint Peters Sand*, lying from *Goa* South South-east vnder 6. degrees vpon the South side, where it was cast away, but all the men saued themselves, and of the wood of the ship that was cast away, they made a small Barke or Caruell, wherewith they all arriued in *India*: and while they were busied about building of their ship, they found such great Crabs vpon that Sand, and in so great numbers, that they were constrained to make a sconce, and by good watch to defend themselves from them, for that they were of an vnreasonable greatnesse, so that whomsoever they got vnder their clawes, it cost him his life.

Great Crabs.

Chap. 49.

Of all Fruits,
Trees, Plants,
and common
heerbs in *India*
and first of a
certaine fruit
called *Ananas*.

Ananas is one of the best fruits, and of best taste in all *India*, but it is not a proper fruit of *India*, but a strange fruit, for it was first brought by the *Portugals* out of *Brasill*, so that at the first it was sold for a noueltie, at a Pardaw the peece, and sometimes more, but now there

are

are so many growne in the Countrey, that they are very good cheape. The time when they are ripe is in Lent, for then they are best and sweetest of taste. They are as bigge as a Melon, and in forme like the head of a Distaffe, without like a Pine apple, but soft in cutting: of colour red and greenish: They growe about halfe a fathome high from the ground, not much more or lesse. The leaues are like the herbe that is brought out of Spaine, called Aloe, or *Semper vna*, because it is alwaies greene, and therefore it is hanged on the beames of houses) but somewhat smaller, and at the ends somewhat sharpe, as if they were cut out. When they eat them, they pull off the shell, and cut them into slices or pieces, as men desire to haue them drest. Some haue small kernels within them, like the kernels of Apples or Peares. They are of colour within like a Peach, that is ripe, and almost of the same taste, but in sweetnesse they surpass all fruits. The iuyce thereof is like sweet Must, or new Rensh Wine: a man can neuer satisfie himselfe therewith. It is very hot of nature, for if you let a Knife sticke in it but halfe an houre long, when you draw it forth againe, it will be halfe eaten vp, yet it doth no particular hurt, vnlesse a man should eat so much thereof, that hee forget vpon them. The sicke are forbidden to vse them.

I *Aacas* growe on great trees like Nut trees, and onely on the Sea shoares, that is to say, in such Countreies as border on the Seas, cleane contrarie vnto all other fruits, for they growe about the earth, vpon the trunks or bodies of the trees, and vpon the great thicke branches, but where the branches spread abroad, being small and full of leaues, there groweth none: they are as bigge as a great Melon, and much like it of fashion, although some of them are as great as a man can well lift vp, and outwardly are like the *Ananas*, but smother, and of a darke greene colour, the fruit within is in husks, like Chesnuts, but of another forme, and euery huske hath a Nut, which is halfe white, the rest yellowish, and sticketh to a mans hands like Honie, when it is in Bee-hiues among the Wax, and for roughnesse and in taste for sweetnesse not much vnlike. The fruit is on the outside like a Chesnut, and in forme or fashion like an Acorne, when the greene knob that groweth vnder it is taken away, and of that bignes and somewhat bigger: this fruit that is outmost being eaten, the rest is good to be roasted or sodden, and are not much vnlike in taste to the Chesnuts in *Europa*. There are of these huskes in euery *Iacca* an hundred and more, according to the greatnesse thereof. There are two sorts of them, the best are called *Girasal*, and the common and least esteemed, *Chambasal*, although in fashion and trees there is no difference, saue that the *Girasals* haue a sweeter taste.

M *Angas* groweth vpon trees like *Iacca* trees: they are as big as a great Peach, but somewhat long, and a little crooked, of colour cleere, greene, somewhat yellowish, and sometimes reddish: it hath within it a stone bigger then a Peach stone, but it is not good to be eaten: the *Mangas* is inwardly yellowish, but in cutting it is watrish, yet some not so much: they haue a very pleasant taste, better then a Peach, and like the *Ananas*, which is the best and the most profitable fruit in all *India*, for it yeeldeth a great quantitie for food and sustenance of the Countrey people, as *Oliues* doe in *Spaine* and *Portugall*: they are gathered when they are greene, and conserued, and for the most part salted in Pots, and commonly vsed to be eaten with Rice, sodden in pure water, the huske being whole, and so eaten with Salt *Mangas*, which is the continuall food for their slaves and common people, or else salt-dried fish in stead of *Mangas*, without Bread, for Rice is in diuers places in stead of Bread. These salted *Mangas* are in cutting like the white *Spanish Oliues*, and almost of the same taste, but somewhat sauiory and not so bitter, yet a little sowre, and are in so great abundance, that it is wonderfull: there are others that are salted and stuffed with small pieces of greene Ginger, and Garlecke sodden: those they call *Mangas Recheadas* or *Machar*: they are likewise much vsed, but not so common as the other, for they are costly and more esteemed: these are kept in Pots with Oyle and Vineger salted. The season when *Mangas* are ripe is in Lent, and continueth till the moneth of August.

C *Aius* Groweth on trees like Apple trees, and are of the bignes of a Peare, at one end by the stalke somewhat sharpe, and at the head thicker, of a yellowish colour, being ripe they are soft in handling: they growe very like Apples, for where the Apples haue a stalke, these *Aius* haue a Chesnut, as bigge as the fore-ioynt of a mans thumbe: they haue another colour and fashion then the Chesnuts of *Iacca*, and are better and more sauiorie to eat, but they must be roasted: within they are white like the Chesnuts of *Europa*, but haue thicker shells, which are of colour bluish and darke greene. When they are raw and vnrolled, you must not open them with your mouth, for as soone as you put them to your mouth, they make both your tongue and your lips to smart, whereby such as knowe it not are deceiued: wherefore you must open their shells with a Knife, or roste them, and then they will peelee. This fruit at the end where the stalke groweth, in the eating doth worke in a mans throat, and maketh it swell, yet it is of a fine taste, for it is moist and full of iuyce: they are commonly cut in round slices, and layd in a dish with Water or Wine, and Salt throwne vpon them.

Chap. 50.
Of *Iacca* or
Iacca.

Chap. 51.
Of *Mangas*.

Chap. 52.
Of *Aius*.

Chap. 53.
Of Iambos.Summer and
Winter at
once in the
same tree.

The trees whereon the *Iambos* doe grow are as great as Plum trees, and very like vnto them: it is an excellent and a very pleasant fruit to looke on, as big as an Apple: it hath a red colour and somewhat whitish, so cleare and pure, that it seemeth to be painted or made of Wax: it is very pleasant to eate, and smelleth like Rose water; it is white within, and in eating moist and waterish; it is a most dainty fruit, as well for beauty to the sight, as for the sweet saour and taste: it is a fruit that is neuer forbidden to any sick person, as other fruits are, but are freely given vnto sicke men to eate, that haue a desire thereunto, for it can doe no hurt. The blossoms are likewise very faire to the sight, and haue a sweet smell: they are red and somewhat whitish of colour. This tree beareth fruit three or foure times euery yeere, and which is more wonderfull, it hath commonly on the one side or halfe of the tree ripe *Iambos*, and the leaues fallen off, and on the other side or halfe it hath all the leaues, and beginneth againe to blossome, and when that side hath fruit, and that the leaues fall off, then the other side beginneth againe to haue leaues, and to blossome, and so it continueth all the yeere long: within they haue a stone as great (and very neere of the same fashion) as the fruit of the Cypresse tree.

Chap. 54.
Of the fruits
in India.

There is a fruit called *Iangomas*, which groweth on trees like Cherrie trees: they are in bignesse like small round Plummes of a darke red colour, they haue no stones in them, but some small kernels: they are of taste much like Plummes, whereof there are very many, but not much esteemed of.

There is another fruit called *Carambolus*, which hath eight corners, as big as a small Apple, sowre in eating, like vnripe Plummes, and most vsed to make Conserues.

There are yet other fruits, as *Brindojns*, *Durindots*, *Iamboloens*, *Mangestains*, and other such like fruits; but because they are of small account, I thinke it not requisite to write seuerally of them, but onely of two of them.

The barks of these trees are kept and brought ouer Sea hither, and are good to make Vinegar withall, as some *Portugals* haue done.

There is also a fruit that came out of the *Spanish Indies*, brought from beyond the *Philippinas* or *Lusons* to *Malacca*, and from thence to *India*, it is called *Papaies*, and is very like a Melon, as big as a mans fist, and will not growe, but alwaies two together, that is male and female: the male tree neuer yeeldeth any fruit, but onely the female; and when they are diuided, and set apart one from the other, then they yeeld no fruit at all. It is a tree of the height of a man, with great leaues. This fruit at the first for the strangenesse thereof was much esteemed, but now they account not of it. There are likewise in *India* some Fig trees of *Portugall*, although the fruit doth neuer come to good perfection. Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and such like fruit, are throughout all *India*, in great abundance, and for goodnesse and taste surpasseth those of *Spaine*. Grapes are not there to be found, but onely vpon some houses, as we haue them in *Netherland*: yet against Christmas and Lent, there are Raisins brought into *Goa*, by the *Decanets* and *Indians* out of the *Firme Land*, and from *Ballagate*, but they are not so good as those in *Spaine*, and very few they are, but for price as good cheape as other fruits. There are also in *India* many Melons, but not so good as those in *Spaine*, for that they must be eaten with Sugar, if you will haue any sweetnesse in them: but there is another sort like Melons, called *Patcos* or *Angurias*, or Melons of *India*, which are outwardly of a darke Greene colour, inwardly white with black kernels: they are very waterish and hard to bite, and so moist, that as a man eateth them, his mouth is full of water, but yet very sweet, and very cold and fresh meat, wherefore many of them are eaten after Dinner to coole men. Cucumbers and Radices are there in great numbers, also Coleworts, but not so good as in *Europe*, for the Coleworts neuer growe to their full growth, but are loose with their leaues open. They haue likewise some Sallet herbes, but very little: herbes whereof men make Pottage are not there to be had, nor many sweet smelling herbes nor flowers, as Roses, Lilies, Rosemarie, and such like sorts of flowers and plants there are none, yet they haue some few Roses, and a little Rosemarie, but of no great smell. The fields neuer haue any other flowers in them, but onely grasse, and that is in Winter when it raineth, for in Summer it is cleane burnt off with the exceeding heate of the Sunne. There is onely a kind of blossomes of trees, which growe all the yeere long, called *Fulle*, that smell very sweet: the women doe ordinarily throwe them among their linnen and apparell to make them sweet. They likewise make Collars or strings full of them, which they weare about their neckes, and strew them in their Beds, for they are very desirous of sweet saours, for other sorts of sweet flowers and herbes, whereof thousands are found in *Europe*, they are not in *India* to be had: so that when you tell them of the sweet flowers and herbes of these Countries, they wonder much thereat, and are very desirous of them.

Chap. 55.
Of the Indian
Figs.

Indian Figs there are many and of diuers sorts, one better then the other, some small, some great, some thicke, some thinne, &c. but in generall they are all of one forme and colour, little more or lesse, but the trees are all one, and of the height of a man: the leaues are of a fathome long, and about three spannes broad, which the *Turkes* vse in stead of browne Paper,

to put Pepper in. In the Tree there is no Wood, but it may rather bee called a Reede then a Tree. The bodie of the tree (I meane that which couereth the outward part when it beginneth somewhat to grow) is in a manner very like the inner part of a Siue made of haire, but in shew somewhat thicker, and is (as it were) the barke of it: but when you open it, it is full of leaues, closed and rowled vp together, of the height of halfe a mans length, and somewhat higher. These leaues doe open and spread abroad on the top of the Tree, and when those that are within the bodie doe in their time thrust themselves forth vpwordes out of the innermost part of the Tree, then doe the outmost leaues beginne to dry, and fall off, vntill the Tree bee come to his full growth, and the fruit to their perfect ripenesse. The bodie of the Tree may be
 10 a spanne thicke at the most. The leaues haue in the middle of them a very thicke and gray veine which runneth cleane through them, and detideth them out of the middle of the leaues, which are in the innermost part of the Tree at their springing vp, there commeth forth a flowre, as bigge as an Estridge Egge, of colour russet, which in time groweth to be long, with a long stalke, and it is no Wood, but rather like a Colewort stalke: This stalke groweth full of figs, close one by the other, which at the first are in fashion like greene Beanes, when they are yet in the huskes, but after grow to halfe a spanne in length, and three or foure inches broad, as
 20 thicke as Cucumbers, which stalke beareth at the least, some two hundred figges, little more or lesse, and grow as close together as Grapes: the clusters are so great as two men can scarcely beare vpon a staffe, they are cut off when they are but halfe ripe, that is to say, when they are as yet halfe greene, and halfe yellow, and hanged vp in their houses vpon beames, and so within foure or fve dayes they will be fully ripe and all yellow. The Tree or Plant yeeldeth but one bunch at a time, which being ripe, they cut the whole Tree downe to the ground, leaving only the root, out of the which presently groweth another, and within a moneth after beareth fruit, and so continueth all the yeere long, and neuer leaueth bearing: they are in all places in so great abundance, and so common throughout all India that it is wonderfull, being the greatest meate and sustenance of the Countrey: they are of a maruellous good taste: when they eate them, they pull off the shels. The most and commonest sort are by the Portugals called *Figos doria*, that is, Garden figges, those are somewhat thicke, there are others which are smaller, and thinne without, and are called *Senorjns*, which are of the
 30 best sort: they smell well, and are very good of taste. Many kinds of them.

There is another sort called *Cadoljns*, which are likewise well esteemed, but the best of all are called *Chincapolojns*, and are most in the Countrey of *Malabar*: these are but a little yellow, but they continue commonly on the outside greene, and are small and long, with a speciall sweet smell, as if they were full of Rose Water. There are yet many sorts, some that are very great, about a span long, and in thicknesse correspondent: these grow much in *Cananor*, and in the Coast of *Malabar*, and are by the Portugals called Figges of *Cananor*: and by reason of the great quantitie thereof are dried, their shels being taken off, and so being dried are carried ouer all India to be sold. These when they are ripe are most roasted, for they are but seldome eaten raw, as other Figges are, they are somewhat harsh in swallowing, and inwardly red of colour, and being
 40 roasted they are shaled or pilled like the others, and so cut in slices, which done, they cast some beaten Sinamon vpon them, steeping them in Wine, and then they taste better then roasted Quinces; they are cut vp in the middle, as all the other kind of Figges vse to be, and then boiled or fried in Sugar, which is a very daintie meat, and very common in India: to conclud, it is one of the best and necessariest fruits in all India, and one of the principallest sustenances of the common people, they are found in all places of the Indies and Orientall Countries. There are also found in *Arabia*, and are called *Musa*, as also in *Ierusalem*, *Damasco*, and *Cairo*, as I haue beene truly informed by credible persons, which daily trauell and traffique into India. And they doe beleue that this is the same fruit, which Adam did eate when he sinned first.

There grow in India many *Iniamos* and *Batatas*. These *Iniamos*, are as bigge as a yellow Root, but somewhat thicker and fuller of knots, and as thicke on the one place, as in the other, they
 50 grow vnder the Earth like Earth Nuts, and of a Dun colour, and white within like Earth Nuts, but not so sweet.

The *Batatas* are somewhat red of colour, and of fashion almost like the *Iniamos*, but sweeter, of taste like an Earth Nut. These two fruits are very plentifull.

This is the most profitable tree of all India. The tree waxeth very high and straight, of the thicknesse of a small span little more or lesse, it hath no branches but in the vppermost part thereof, and in the top grow the leaues, which spread like vnto Date trees, and vnder the leaues close to the tree grow the Coquos together, commonly ten or twelue one close by another, but
 60 you shall seldome find one of them growing alone by it selfe. The blossome of this fruit is very like the blossome of a Chestnut. The wood of the tree is very sappy like a Sponge, and is not firme, they doe not grow but on the Sea sides, or bankes of Rivers close by the strand, and in sandy grounds, for there groweth none within the Land. They haue no great Rootes, so that a man would thinke it were impossible for them to haue any fast hold within the Earth, and yet they

Chap. 56.
Of the Palme trees, whereon the Indian nuts called *Cocos* grow.

they stand so fast and grow so high, that it maketh men feare to see men climbe vpon them, lest they should fall downe. The *Canaryns* climbe as nimbly, and as fast vpon them, as if they were Apes, for they make smal steps in the trees like staires, whereon they step, and so climbe vp, which the *Portugals* dare not venter: their planting is in this manner. They first plant the *Coques* or Nuts whereof the trees doe spring, and when they are about the height of a man, in winter time they plant them againe, and dung them with ashes, and in Summer time water them. They grow well about houses, because commonly there they haue good earth, and beeing well looked vnto & husbanded they yeeld fruit in few yeeres. Those trees are more abundant with them, then Olive trees in *Spaine*, or Willow trees in the *Low Countreies*. The profits they reape thereby are these.

The vses of
the Wood.

First, the wood is very good for many things, although it be spongius and sappy, by reason of the length of it, for in the Islands of *Maldina* they make whole ships thereof, without any Iron naile in them, for they sow them together with the Cords that are made of the said *Cocus*, or Nut, the Ropes and Cables being likewise of the same tree, as also the Sailes which they make of the leaues, which leaues are called *Olas*. They serue likewise to make the *Canaryns* houses, and for Hats which they vse to carrie ouer their heads, for the Sunne or the raine; they make also Mats or Tents that lie ouer the *Palamkins* when it raineth, to couer the women when they are carried abroad, and such like things: they likewise make thereof very fine Hartes, that are much esteemed, and cost three or foure *Pardawes* the piece, which they weare in Summer for lightnesse. The Nuts are as great as an *Elfridge* Egge, some smaller, and some greater and are outwardly couered with a huske or shell, which as long as it groweth on the tree, is Greene without, like an *Acorne* with his huske or cup.

The hairie
huske: Coards
and Cables.

This huske being dry and pulled off, is haire like Hempe, whereof all the Coards and Cables that are vied throughout all *India* are made, as well vpon the Land as in the Ships. It is of colour very like the Ropes of *Sparta* in *Spaine*, they are very good, but they must bee kept in salt water, whereby they continue very long, but in fresh or

* The *Indian* Nuts are couered ouer with two sorts of huskes or shels, whereof the vttermost is hairie, and of it they make *Cairo*, that is, all their Cables and Ropes, and stop and make their shippes close with it in stead of Ocam or Tow, for that it keepeth the ships closer in salt water then our Ocam or Tow, because in salt water it closeth and shutteth it selfe closer together. Of the other they make not onely drinking Cups, in *India*, but here with vs also, for that the common people beleue there is a certaine vertue in them against stirring of the bodie, but it is not so.

Water.

raine water they doe presently rot, because they are not drest with Pitch, and Tarre as our ships are. The ship wherein I came out of *India* into *Portugall*, had no other Ropes nor Cables, nor any such kind of stufte, but such as were made of the *Indian Cocus*, called *Cairo*, which continued very good, sauing only that we were forced euery fourteene daies to wash our Cables in the Sea, whereby they serued vs as well as Cables of Hempe. The fruit when it is almost ripe is called *Lanha*, and within is full of water, and then it is white of colour, thinne and soft, and the longer the *Cocus* is on the tree, the more the water groweth and changeth into white, which is the meate of the Nut within, and tasteth much like a *Hasel Nut*, but somewhat sweeter. The *Lanbos* haue within them a good draught of water, which is very cleere, sweet, and coole to drinke. It is at the least halfe a Kan full, and when men walke abroad and are thirstie, they goe vnto the *Canaryns*, who presently with a great Knife in their hands come vp to the tree, and cut off as many *Lanbos* as a man desireth, selling them for a *Basaruco*, or two a piece, which they make verie readie and cleere to be drunke. The first shell that is ouer the inward fruit (which as the Nut is come to his full ripenesse, becommeth almost to be wood) is then but thinne and soft, and very pleasant to eate with Salt and doe taste almost like *Artichokes*, a man may drinke as much of this water as he will, for it will not hurt him, but is a very pleasant drinke; when the fruit is ripe, there is not so much water in it, and is white within, and somewhat thicker of substance, and then the water is not so good as it was before beeing *Lanbos*, for then it becommeth somewhat sowre.

Inner shell.

Vses of the
shell.

These *Cocus* beeing yet in their huskes, may bee carried ouer the whole World, and not once hurt or bruised, and it happeneth oftentimes that by continuance of time, the water within the *Cocus* doth conuert, and congeale into a certaine kind of yellow Apple, which is very sauourie and sweet. The huske being taken off, the shell serueth for many vses, as to make Ladles with wooden handles, and also certaine little pots, which beeing fastned to a sticke, they doe therewith take and lade water out of their great pots, they make thereof also small vessels to beare Wine in when they walke into the fields, and a thousand other things. These shels are likewise burnt, and serue for coales for Goldsmiths, which are very good and excellent. Of the white of these Nuts in *India* they make pottage, and dresse meate withall, straying and pressing out the Milke, wherein with many other mixtures they seeth their Rice, and to bee short, they neuer dresse any Rice, which they call *Carrizl*, and is the sawce to their meate thereunto, but they put some of their *Cocus* Milke into it, else the *Cocus* is but little eaten, for there it is not esteemed of, but serueth for meate for the slaues, and poore people. They likewise breake the *Cocus* in pieces, and taking off the shell they dry the fruit or white meate that is within it, and it is carried in great quantities out of *Malabar* to *Cambaya*, and *Ormus*, and to the Northernne Coasts and quar-

Of the white
meate.

quarters beyond *Goa*, as also to the Countrey of *Ballagate*, and Traffique much therewith. Of this white substance they make Oile, which they stampe in Cisternes like Oliues, and it maketh very good Oile, as well to eate as to burne, which is likewise very medicinable.

There are two sorts of Oile made of these Nuts, one out of the fresh or greene Nuts, stamped and mixed with warme water, which being pressed forth the Oile swimmieth about the water: this Oile is used to purge the maw and the guts, for it purgeth very gently, and without hurt some mixe therewith the iuyce of *Thamarindes*, and maketh thereof a very wholsome Medicine, the other Oile is prest out of the dried *Cocus*, which is called *Copra*, and is good also to purge the maw, and against the shrinking of the sinewes, as also for old aches and paines in the ioynts and limbes.

* This water being drunke, is very good against the heate of the Liuer and the Kidneyes, and clen- seth the yard from corruption and filthy matter.

This dried *Cocus* which is so carried abroad, is called *Copra*. When they desire to haue no *Cocus* or fruit thereof, they cut the blossomes of the *Cocum* away, and binde a round Pot with a narrow mouth, by them called *Callao*, fast vnto the Tree, and stop the same close round about with pot earth, so that neither Wind nor Aire can either enter in, or come forth, and in that sort the Pot in short space is full of water, which they call *Sura*, and is very pleasant to drinke like sweete Whay, and somewhat better.

The same water standing but one houre in the Sunne, is very good Vineger, and in *India* they haue none other. This *Sura* being distilled, is called *Fula*, or *Nipe*, and is as excellent *Aqua vita*, as any is made in *Dort* of their best *Rhentish* Wine,

but this is of the finest kind of Distillation. The second Distillation thereof is called *Vraca*, which is very good Wine, and is the Wine of *India*, for they haue no other Wine. It is very hot and strong, yet the *Indians* drinke it as if it were water, and the *Portugals* vse it in this sort. They put it into Vessels, and to a Pipe of *Vraca*, they put three or foure Hands of Raisons that are brought for Merchandise into *India* from *Ormuz*, (euery Hand is twelue pounds) which being washed they put into the Vessell leauing the bung open, and the Pipe not being full, for if it were it would burst, by reason of the heat, because therewith it seetheth in the Pipe like water on the fire, and boyling so, it is stirred euery day for the space of fourteene or fifteene dayes, in which time the *Vraca* getteth as faire a red colour, as if it were *Portugall* Wine, and differeth not much in taste, but yet sweeter and hotter of it selfe, howbeit it is altogether as faire, and of as good a colour as their *Portugall* Wine, so that they can hardly bee discerned one from the other: this

Wine is called Wine of *Passa*, or Raisons. With this Wine there is great Traffique vsed to *Bengala*, *Malacca*, *China*, and other places, and euery Pipe thereof costeth within *Goa* thirtie *Pardawen* the piece, little more or lesse. Of the aforesaid *Sura* they likewise make Sugar, which is called *Iagra*: they seeth the water, and set it in the Sunne, whereof it becommeth Sugar, but it is little esteemed beause it is of a browne colour, and for that they haue so great quantitie and abundance of white Sugar throughout all *India*. The innermost part of the tree or trunke is called *Palmito*, and is the pith or heart of the same trunke, which is much esteemed, and sent for a present vnto men of great account. It is as thin as Paper, and also white, and is as if it were pleated or prest together, as they vse to pleate and presse womens Huykes in the Low Countreyes: it is also long and slender, and hath sometimes fifty or fixty folds or pletes in it like a Paper-book

This the *Indians* vse for Paper and Bookes, which continueth in the same folds, whereon they write when it is greene, and so let it dry, and then it is impossible to get the Letters out againe, for it is printed therein with a kind of Iron Instrument: The *Indians* call it *Olla*, whereof all their Bookes, Writings, and Euidences are made, which they can scale, and shut vp as wee doe our Letters.

Those Ilands haue no other dealing or liuing, but with *Cairo*, whereof they make Ropes and Cables, and with the *Copra*, or the white substance of the *Cocus*, whereof Oile is made, so that they doe oftentimes come into *India*, when the ship and all the furniture, victuall and Merchandise is onely of those Palme-trees.

Duryoen is a fruit that only groweth in *Malacca*, and is so much commended by those which haue prooued the same, that there is no fruit in the World to be compared with it: for they affirme, that in taste and goodnesse it excelleth all kind of fruits, and yet when it is first opened, it smelleth like rotten Onions, but in the taste the sweetnesse and daintinesse thereof is tryed. It is as great as a Mellon, outwardly like the *Iaacka*, whereof I haue spoken, but somewhat sharper or pricking, and much like the huskes of Chesse-nuts. It hath within it certaine partitions like the *Iaacka*, wherein the fruit groweth, beeing of the greatnesse of a little Hennes Egge, and therein are the Nuts as great as Peach-stones. The fruit is for colour and taste like an excellent meate, much vsed in *Spaine*, called *Mangiar Blanco*, which is made of Hennes flesh, distilled with Sugar: The trees are like the *Iaacka* trees, the blossomes white, and somewhat yellowish: the leaues about halfe a span broad, somewhat sharpe at the end, within light greene, and without darke greene.

Oile.

Surawate.

Vineger and Wine.

Sugar.

The Palmito.

Chap. 57.

Of the Duryo- ens, a fruit of Malacca.

Chap. 58.

Of the tree *Arbore de Rays*, that is, root tree, and the *Bambus*, or reed of India. *Ficus Indica secundum Clusium* Fabricius Mor-dents a great traueiler which had dwelt some yeeres at Goa, told *Clusius* that some of these trees by reason of this multiplication contained a miles compass, & that the Indians made galleries and chambers by cutting part away, and that it yeelded an eccho, and he had seene sometime 800. or 1000. shadowed vnder one, able to receiue 3000. *Quicquid* West Indian Mangle is of the same or like kind and *Lopes* his *African Enzanda*. Reeds.

Here is a tree in India called *Arbore de Rays*, that is to say, a Tree of Roots: this tree is very wonderfull to behold, for that when it groweth first vp like all other trees, and spreadeth the branches: then the branches grow full of roots, and grow downwards againe towards the Earth, where they take root againe, and so are fast againe within the ground, and in length of time, the broader the tree is, and that the branches doe spread themselves, the more rootes doe hang vpon the branches, and seeme as farre off to be Cordes of Hempe, so that in the end the tree couereth a great piece of ground, and crosseth one root within the other like a Maze. I haue seene trees that haue containd at the least some thirty or fortie paces in compasse, and all out of the roots which came from aboue one of the branches, and were fast growne and had taken root againe within the Earth, and in time waxed so thicke, that it could not be discerned, which was the chiefe or principall trunk or bodie of the tree: in some places you may creepe betweene the roots, and the more the tree spreadeth, so much the more doe the roots spring out of the same branches, and still grow downe till they come to Earth, and there take roote againe within the ground, and still increase with rootes, that it is a wonder. This tree hath no fruit that is worth the eating, but a small kind of fruit like Oliues, and good for nothing but for Birds to eat.

There are in India other wonderfull and thicke trees, whereof shippes are made: there are trees by *Cochin*, that are called *Angelina*, whereof certayne Scutes or Skiffes called *Tones* are made: there are of those *Tones* that will lade in them at the least twentie or thirtie Pipes of water, and are cut out of one piece of Wood, without any piece or seame, or any ioyns: whereby men may well coniecture the thickenesse of the tree, and it is so strong and hard a Wood, that Iron in tract of time would bee consumed thereby, by reason of the hardnesse of the Wood. There are also ouer all India many Sugar-canes in all places, and in great numbers, but not much esteemed of: and all along the Coast of *Malabare* there are many thicke Reedes, specially on the Coast of *Choramandell*, which Reedes by the Indians are called *Mambu*, and by the Portugals *Bambu*: these *Mambu* haue a certaine matter within them, which is (as it were) the pith of it, such as Quills haue within them, which men take out when they make them Pens to write: the Indians call it *Sacar Mambu*, which is as much to say, as Sugar of *Mambu*, and is a very medicinable thing much esteemed, and much sought for by the *Arabians*, *Peasants*, and *Moors*, that call it *Tabaxyr*.

Those Reeds grow most in the Coast of *Choramandell* in *Bisnagar*, and *Malacca* in many places, and in great abundance: they grow very high, and are diuided in each ioynt one from another, at the least a span and a halfe, and rather more, and are as thicke as a mans legge about the knee: they doe commonly grow vpright, and most of them as high as the highest house in the Low-countrie: they bow them many times in growing, that they may bring them into a forme or fashion to serue for their *Pallankins*, wherein the Portugals and Indian Lords are carried, as I haue before: the leaues of those Reeds or *Bambu* grow wide one from another, and haue almost the fashion of an Oliue leafe.

Chap. 59.

Of the tree called *Arbore Triste*.

The tree called *Arbore Triste*, that is, the Sorrowfull Tree, is so called, because it neuer beareth blossomes but in the night time, and so it doth and continueth all the yeere long: it is a thing to bee wondred at: for that so soone as the Sunne setteth, there is not one blossome seene vpon the tree, but presently within halfe an houre after, there are as many blossomes vpon it, as the tree can beare: they are very pleasant to behold, and smell very sweet, and so soone as the day commeth on, and the Sunne is rising, presently all the blossomes fall off, and couer all the ground, so that there remaineth not one to bee seene vpon the tree: the leaues shut themselves close together, so that it seemeth as though it were dead, vntill Evening commeth againe, and then it beginneth to blossome as it did before: the tree is as great as a Plumme tree, and is commonly planted behind mens houses, in their Gardens for a pleasure, and for the sweet smell: it groweth very quickly vp, for that many young plants doe spring out of the roote, and as soone as those young plants bee about halfe a fadome high, they haue presently as many blossoms vpon them as the branches on the trees, & although they cut the tree downe to the ground, yet within lesse then halfe a yeere there wil branches spring out of the roote, and likewise if you breake a branch off from the tree and set it on the earth, it will presently take root and grow, and within few dayes after beareth blossomes: the blossomes are in a manner like Orange tree blossomes, the flowre being white, and in the bottome somewhat yellow and reddish, which in India they vse for Saffron, therewith to dresse their meates, and to die with all as we doe with our Saffron, but it is neither so good, nor of so pleasant a taste, yet it serueth there for want of the other.

Chap. 60.

Bettele.

Bettele is a leafe somewhat greater and longer out then Orange leaues, and is planted by stickes, whereupon it climeth like Iuie or Pepper, and so like vnto Pepper, that a farre off growing each by other they can hardly be discerned. It hath no other fruit but the leaues onely, it is much dresse and looked vnto, for that it is the daily bread of India. The leaues being gathered do continue long without withering, alwaies shewing fresh and Greene, and are sold by the dozen, and

and there is not any woman or man in all *India*, but that euery day eateth a dozen or two of the same leaues or more: not that they vse them for food, but after their meals tides, in the morning and all the day long, as likewise by night, and as they goe abroad in the streets, wheresoeuer they bee you shall see them with some of these leaues in their hands, which continually they are chawing. These leaues are not vied to bee eaten alone, but because of their bitternesse they are eaten with a certaine kind of fruit, which the *Malabares* and *Portugalls* call *Arecca*, the *Gusurates* and *Decaniys*, *Suparij*, and the *Arabians* *Fauffel*. This fruite groweth on trees like the *Palme* trees, that beare the *Nut Cocus* in *India*, but they are somewhat thinner, with leaues somewhat longer and smaller. The fruit is much like the fruit that groweth on *Cypresse* trees, or like a *Nutmeg*, though some of them are on the one side flat, and on the other side thicker, some being somewhat greater and very hard. They cut them in the middle with a knife, and so chaw them with *Bettele*, they are within full of veines, white, somewhat reddish. There is a kind of *Arecca* called *Cechanijn*, which are lesse, blacker, and very hard, yet are likewise vied with *Bettele*, and haue no taste but only of the Wood, and yet it moisteneth the mouth, and coloureth it with red and black, whereby it seemeth that the lippes and teeth are painted with blacke blood, which happeneth when the *Arecca* is not well dried. There is another sort, which in the eating or chawing being swallowed downe, maketh men light in the head, as if they had drunke wine all the day long, but that is soone past. They vse yet another mixture which they eate withall, that is to say, a cake or role made of a certaine wood or tree called *Kaate*, and then they anoint the *Bettele* leaues with chalke made of burnt oyster shels, which can doe no hurt in their bodies by reason of the small quantitie of it; all this being chawed together, and the Iuice swallowed downe into their bodies, for all the rest they spit forth; they say it is very good for the maw, and against a stinking breath, a soueraigne medecine for their teeth, and fastning of gummies, and very good against the Schorbuck, & it is most true that in *India* very few men are found with stinking breaths, or tooth aches, or troubled with the Schorbuck or any such diseases, and although they be neuer so old, they alwayes haue their teeth whole and sound, but their mouthes and teeth are still as if they were painted with black blood, as I said before, and neuer leaue spitting reddish spittle like blood. The *Portugall* women haue the like custome of eating these *Bettele* leaue, so that if they were but one day without eating their *Bettele*, they perswade themselues they could not liue: Yea, they set it in the night times by their beds heads, and when they cannot sleepe, they doe nothing else but chaw *Bettele* and spit it out againe. In the day time wheresoeuer they doe sit, goe, or stand, they are continually chawing thereof, like Oxen or Kine chawing their cud.

The Noblemen and Kings, wheresoeuer they goe, stand, or sit, haue alwaies a seruant by them, with a Silver Kettle in their hand full of *Bettele* and their mixtures, and when they will eat, giue them a leafe readie prepared. And when any Ambassadour cometh to speake with the King, although the King can vnderstand them well, yet it is their manner (to maintaine their estates) that the Ambassadour speaketh vnto them by an Interpreter, that standeth there in presence, which done, hee answereth againe by the same Interpreter. In the meane time the King lieth on a bed, or else sitteth on the ground vpon a Carpet, and his seruant standing by readie with the *Bettele*, which hee continually chaweth, and spitteth out the Iuice and remainder thereof into a Silver Bason; standing by him, or else holden by some one of his slaues or his wiues, and this is a great honour to the Ambassadour, especially if hee profereth him of the same *Bettele* that he himselfe doth eate.

The Herbe called *Dutroa* is very common in *India*, and groweth in euery field. The leafe thereof is sharpe at the end like the point of a Speare, and is indented on the edges like the leafe of Beares-claw, and about that bignesse, hauing in it many long threds or veines, it groweth without taste or moysture, and somewhat bitter and smelling like a Raddish. The flower or blossom of this Plant, is very like vnto the blossome of Rose-mary in colour: and out of this blossom groweth a bud, much like the bud of Popie, wherein are certaine small kernells like the kernells of Melons, which being stamped and put into any meat, wine, water, or any other drinke or composition, and eaten or drunke therewith, maketh a man in such case as if hee were foolish or out of his wits, so that hee doth nothing else but laugh, without any vnderstanding or sence once to perceiue any thing that is done in his presence. And sometime it maketh him sleepe as if hee were dead, in that sort he continueth for the space of twentie foure houres: but if his feet be washed with cold water, then hee cometh to himselfe againe before the twentie foure houres bee expired. There is yet another Herbe in *India*, called by the *Portugalls* *Herba Sentida*, or feeling Hearbe, the cause why it is called so, is for that if any man passeth by it and toucheth it, or throweth either Sand or any other thing vpon it, presently it becommeth as though it were withered, and closeth the leaues together and cometh not to it selfe, and to his first force againe as long as the man standeth by it: but presently when the man is gone and turneth his backe, it openeth the leaues againe, and becommeth stiffe and faire againe, as though they were newly growne: and touching it againe, it shutteth and becommeth withered as before, so that it is a pleasure to see it, and strange to bee obserued. Also there is a thing to be wondred at, and seemeth

Chap. 61.
Of the Hearbe
Dutroa, and a
Plant called
Herba Sentida,
or the feeling
Hearb.

Herba Sentida.
This Plant
groweth in
Africa and *A-*
merica, as in
Iobson and *M.*
Harecourt you
may read; if it
be the same
for those are
bushes liker
Roses and not
Hearbs, as this
seemeth.

Horn-plant.

ynpossible to such as haue not seene it: and this it is, within the Towne and Iland of Goa, at the one end of the Towne, where the Kine, Oxen, Seepe, and all kind of Cattle are killed and slaine to be sold for meat for the Inhabitants, called *Matanaquas*; in that place there lie all the Hornes of the said beasts scattered and throwne about, as if they were altogether vnprofitable, because the *Portugalls* and *Indians* vse them not, and it is likewise a great dishonour and iniury to the *Spaniards* and *Portugalls* to haue any Hornes, or once to shew a Horne to each other, or to throw it before his doore, for reuenge of which act they would kill each other, and there is sharpe Iustice vsed, if any man doe offend in that sort, by shewing his neighbour the Horne, or naming it vnto him, for that thereby they meane he is a man that is made cookold by his wife. These hornes hauing layne there a certaine time, doe sticke fast in the earth (I meane the inner part of the horne) and there it taketh root as if it were a tree, as I my selfe haue seene and pulled forth many of them that had rootes of two or three spannes in length, which was neuer seene in any place of the World.

Of the Spices, Drugs, Plants and Stuffles for Physicians and Apothecaries, ordinarily vsed in India, and of their growing.

C. 62.

Pepper is of diuers sorts, that is to say, blacke, white, and Long-pepper is called *Canarijn*: the blacke is the commonest. Pepper groweth and is planted at the foot of another tree, and most part at the foot of the Tree called *Arecca*, or some such like Tree, and groweth vpon the tree like *Bettele* or *Ine*. The leaues of Pepper are like Orange leaues, but somewhat smaller, they are greene and sharpe at the ends, in chawing it biteth the tongue, and tasteth much like to *Bettele*, it growes in bunches like Grapes, but a great deale lesser and thinner, yet somewhat thicker then Gooseberries: they are alwayes greene till they begin to drie and to ripen, which is in December and Ianuary, for at that time they are gathered. The long Pepper groweth in *Bengala*, and some in the Iland of *Iaua*, and is another kind of tree: the long Pepper is of the length of a needle, or the tagge of a point, but somewhat thicker, and all of a like thicknesse: it is outwardly rugged, and of an ashe colour, and within somewhat white, with small seeds, but in taste and vse it is like the other blacke and white Pepper. The white Pepper (as I said) is like the black, both in taste and forme, yet it is accounted for better and stronger, and is not in so great quantitie as the black. The Pepper called *Canarijn* in the Countrey of *Goa* and *Malabar*, almost of the fashion of *Panike*: it is an ashe colour, and hollow within, with some small kernells, which in eating tasteth and heateth like other Pepper, yet it is vsed only by the poore people, and therefore is called *Canarijn* Pepper, that is to say, *Countrey mens* Pepper, or *poore peoples* Pepper: therefore it is neuer laden away, for it is very course and of a little value, neither would it bee able to raise the freight, and therefore is it left in the Countrey.

C. 63.
Cinamon.

Cinamon trees are as great as oliue trees, & some lesser, with leaues of *Colmi* like Bay leaues, but of fashion like Citron leaues, though somewhat smaller. They haue white blossomes, and a certaine fruit of the greatnesse of blacke *Portugall* Oliues, whereof also Oyle is made, which is vsed for many things. The tree hath two Barks, but the second Barke is the Cinamon, it is cut off in foure square peeces, and so laid to dry, at the first it is ashe colour, after as it beginneth to dry, it rolleth together of it selfe, and looketh of the colour as it commeth hither, which proceedeth of the heat of the Sun. The tree from whence the Barke is taken they let it stand, and within three years after it hath another Barke as it had before. These trees are in great abundance, for they grow of themselves without planting, in the open fields like bushes: the root of this tree yeeldeth a water which smelleth like *Camphora*, it is forbidden to bee drawne forth for spoyling the trees. The Cinamon that is not well dried is of ashe colour, and that which is ouermuch dried, blackish, but the best dried is reddish: there is much and excellent water distilled out of Cinamon while it is halfe greene, which is much vsed in *India*, and many times carried into *Portugall* and other places: it is very pleasant both to drinke and to smell, but very hot and strong: it is vsed against the Colicke and other diseases proceeding of cold, it is likewise good against stinking breath, and euill sauer of the mouth. There is likewise a water made of the blossomes of this tree, but not so good, nor so well esteemed as that of Cinamon it selfe. The places where Cinamon groweth, is most and best in the Iland of *Seylon*, wherein there is whole Woods full of Cinamon trees: in the coast of *Malabar* there groweth likewise great store, and some Woods of Cinamon, but not halfe so good, and lesser trees, the barke being grayer and thicker and of small vertue.

C. 64.
Ginger.

Ginger groweth in many places of *India*, yet the best and most carried abroad, is that which groweth in the Coast of *Malabar*: it groweth like thin and young *Netherland* Reedes of two or three spannes high, the Roote whereof is Ginger, being greene, it is much eaten in *India* for Sallets, as also sodden in Vineger, which they call *Achar*, as I said of Pepper, and other Fruits that are vsed in that manner throughout all *India*: the time when they are most gathered and begun to bee dried, is in December and Ianuarie: they drie it in this sort, that

is, they couer it with pot-earth, which they do to stop & fil vp the holes, & therby to make it continue the fresher, for the Pot-earth preserueth it from wormes, without the which it is presently consumed by them: it is little esteemed in *India*, notwithstanding there is much shipped, as well to the Red Sea, as to *Ormus*, *Arabia* and *Asia*.

THe Trees whereon Cloues grow are like Bay Trees, the blossomes at the first white, then greene, and at last red and hard, which are the Cloues, and when the blossomes are greene, they haue the pleasantest smell in all the world. The Cloues grow very thicke together and in great numbers they are gathered and then dried, their right colour when they are drie is a darke yellow, and to giue them a blacke colour they are commonly smoked. The Cloues that stay on the Tree vngathered are thicke, and stay on till the next yeere, which are those that are called the *Mother of Cloues*. And in the place where the Trees stand, there groweth not any grasse or greene hearbe at all, but it is wholly drie, for that those Trees draw all the moisture vnto them. That which the *Portugalls* call *Baston*, or with vs the *Stocke of the Cloue* (and is the stalke whereby they hang on the trees) is gathered with the Cloues, and so they are mingled together: for that in *Maluco* they neuer garble their Cloues, but in *India* they are many times parted, though verie little: for they are most part sold and vsed with dust and stalkes, and altogether; but such as are to bee sent to *Portugall* are seuered and clenfed. The Cloues are so hotte of nature, that whensoever they are made cleane, and seperated from their garblish, if there chance to stand either tubbe or payle of water in the chamber where they cleanse them, or any other vessell with wine or any kind of moisture, it will within two daies at the furthest bee wholly soken out and dried vp, although it stand not neere them, by reason of the great heat of the Cloues that draw all moisture vnto them, as by experience I haue often scene. The same nature is in the vnspun Silke of *China*, so that whensoever the Silke lieth any where in a house vpon the flowre, that is to say, vpon boords, a foot or two aboue the ground, and that the flowre is sprinkled and couered with water, although it toucheth not the Silke, in the morning all that water will bee in the Silke, for that it draweth it all vnto it. And this trick the *Indians* oftentimes vse to make their Silke weigh heauie when they sell it, for it can neither be seene nor found in the Silke.

THe Nutmeg Tree is like a Peare Tree, or a Peach Tree, but that they are lesse, and it hath round leaues. These Trees grow in the Iland of *Banda*, not farre from *Maluco*, and also in the Ilands of *Iana* and *Sunda*, from whence they are carried to *China* and *Malacca*, and also into *India* and other places. The fruit is altogether like great round Peaches, the inward part whereof is the Nutmeg. This hath about it a hard shell like Wood, wherein the Nut lieth loose: and this wooden shell or huske is couered ouer with Nutmeg flower, which is called *Mace*, and ouer it is the fruit, which without is like the fruit of a Peach.

Cardamomum is a kind of spice, which they vse much in *India* to dresse with their meates, and commonly they haue it in their mouthes to chaw vpon. It is very good against a stinking breath and euill humours in the head, and serueth also for other thing in medicines: it groweth like other graines, and is very like to *Panyke*, but of a white colour drawing somewhat towardes yellow. The huskes are as great as the huskes of *Panyke* grains, but somewhat small: within there is about ten or twelue graines of berries, which is the *Cardamomum*. There are two sorts of *Cardamomum*, that is to say, great and small; most of it groweth in *Calicut* and *Cananor*, places on the Coast of *Malabar*: it is likewise in other places of *Malabar*, and in the Iland of *Iaua*, and from the Countries aforesaid it is most carried into other places, but little brought into *Portugall*, because of the great charges and long way: yet many times the Saylers and other Trauellers bring it. They seech no flesh in *India*, but commonly they put *Cardamomum* into the pot, it maketh the meate to haue as good a sauor and a taste as any of the other Spices of *India*.

Lack by the *Malabares*, *Bengalers*, and *Decanys*, is called *Assy*, by the *Moors* *Lac*; the *Men of Pegu* (where the best is found, and most trafficked withall) doe call it *Treck*, and deale much therewith by carrying it vnto the Iland of *Sumatra* (in time past called *Taprobana*) and there they exchange it for Pepper, and from thence it is carried to the Red Sea, to *Persia* and *Arabia*, whereupon the *Arabians*, *Persians*, and *Turkes* call it *Lac Sumatra*, that is, *Lac* of *Sumatra*, because it is brought from thence into their Countries. The manner how it is made is thus: in *Pegu*, and those places from whence it cometh, there are certaine very great Pismires with wings, which fly vp the trees that are there like Plum trees, and such other trees, out of the which trees comes a certaine gumme, which the Pismires sucke vp, and then they make the *Lac* round about the branches of the trees, as Bees make Honey and Waxe, and when it is full, the owners of the trees come, and breaking off the branches lay them to drie, and being drie the branches shrinke out, and the *Lac* remaineth behind like a Reed: sometimes the Wood breaketh within them, but the lesse Wood it hath within it the better it is: the peeces and crummes that fall

They beate the
Lac to powder,
and melt it,
and so mixe all
manner of co-
lours vpon it as
they list, red,
blacke, greene,
yellow, or any
other colour,
and make pec-
ces thereof,
such as are sold
hereto seale
letters withall.
See 71.

fall vpon the ground, they melt them together, but that is not so good, for it hath filth and earth within it: it happeneth oftentimes that they finde the Pismires wings within the raw Lac. When the Lac is raw, as it commeth from the Tree, it is a darke red colour, but being refined and clenfed, they make it of all colours in India.

Benioin is a kinde of stufte, like Frankinsence and Myrrhe, but more esteemed, for it serueth for many medicines, and other things

As when they make Balles or peeces of Amber and Muske, they must alwaies haue Benioin with it to make it perfect, it groweth much in the Kingdome of Syau, in the Iland of Sumatra, in the Ilands of Iauas, and the Countrey of Malacca, they are high Trees full of branches, with leaues like Lemmon Tree leaues, with a thicke and high stemme or stocke in the middle, from whence proceedeth the Gumme, which is the Benioin. When the Tree is young, then it yeeldeth the best Benioin, which is blackish of colour, and of a very sweet smell, and is called Benioin de Boninas, that is to say, Benioin of the Flowers, because of the perfect smell. The second Benioin, is called Benioin Amendoado, that is, Benioin of Almondes, because it is mixed with pieces of white Benioin among the blacke, like to Almondes that are cut in pieces. This Benioin is not so good, because the white Benioin is of the old Trees.

Ca. 72.

Frankinsence groweth in Arabia, it is the Gumme that floweth out of the bodies of Trees, like Benioin.

Mirre by the Indians is called Bola, it groweth in the same that Benioin and Frankinsence doth, and commeth also out of Arabia Felix, but most out of the Countrey of Abexin from the inward parts of the Countrey, lying betweene Mosambique, and the red Sea, which is called Prester Iohns Land.

Ca. 74.

There are three sorts of Sanders, that is, white, yellow and red: the white and the yellow, which is the best, come most out of the Iland of Tymor, which lieth by Iana. This Iland hath whole woods and wildernesses of Sanders, both of white and yellow, and from thence it is carried throughout all India, and other Countries, and traffique much therewith: the red Sanders groweth most in the coast of Choramandel and Tanassarijn, which is in the Countrey of Pegu: the trees of Sanders are like Nut trees, and haue a certaine fruit vpon them like Cherries, at the first greene, and after blacke, but of no taste nor any thing worth, for it presently falleth off, onely the wood of the tree is accounted of, which is the Sanders.

Ca. 75.

Snakewood is most in the Iland of Seylon: it is a lowe Tree: the roote thereof being the Snake-wood, is of colour white, shewing somewhat yellow, very hard and bitter in taste, it is much vsed in India: they stampe and bruise it like Sanders, in water or wine, and so drinke it, it is very good and well proued against all burning Feauers: one ounce thereof bruised and mixed with water is good against all poison and sicknesse, as the collicke, wormes, and all filthy humors and coldnesse in the body, and specially against the sting of Snakes, whereof it hath the name: it was first found by meanes of a little beast called Quil, or Quirpele, which is of bignesse very like a Ferret (wherewith in those Countries they vse to driue Cunnies out of their holes, and so catch them) whereof in India they haue many in their houses, which they play withall to passe the time away, as also to kill their Mice and Rats, and to driue them away. This Beast by nature is a great enemy to the Snake, so that wheresoeuer she findeth any, she fighteth with them: and because it is often bitten by the Snake, it knoweth how to heale it selfe with this Snake-wood, whereof there is much in Seylon, where also are many of those Beasts, and great store of Snakes) so that if it be neuer so sore bitten, hauing eaten of this wood, it is presently healed, as if it had neuer beene hurt.

Ca. 76.

Lignum Aloes.

The Lignum Aloes which in India is called Calamba and Palo D'aguilla, is most in Malacca, in the Iland of Sumatra, Camboia, Sion, and the Countries bordering on the same: the trees are like Oliue trees, and somewhat greater: when it is cut off, it smelleth not so well, because it is greene, for the drier it is, the better it smelleth: the best and that which smelleth most is the innermost part of the wood: some of it is better then the rest, which the Indians doe presently know how to finde out: the best and finest is called Calamba, and the other Palo Daguilla. Now to know which is the best, you must vnderstand that the wood that is very heauie with blacke and browne veines, and which yeeldeth much Oyle or moistnesse (which is found by the fire) is the best, and the greater and thicker it is, the better it is, and hath the more vertue. Of this wood they make many costly things, and it hath a speciall and precious smell, so that it is greatly esteemed: specially the Calamba, which if it be good, is sold by weight against Siluer and Gold. The Palo Daguilla next after the Calamba is much accounted of. There is another kinde of Palo Daguilla, which is called Aquilla Brana, or wilde Aquilla, and is also much esteemed: for the Indians vse it therewith to burne the bodies of their Bramenes, and other men of account, when they

Aquila brana.

are dead: and because it is costly, therefore it is a great honour to those that are burnt therewith, as it is to those that with vs are buried in Tombes of Marble stones: but it is not comparable to the other *Palo Daguilla*, nor the *Calamba*. The wilde *Aguilla* groweth most in the Island of *Seylon*, and on the coast of *Choramandel*, and the best *Palo Daguilla*, and *Calamba* groweth in *Malacca*. These costly woods are much vsed in *India* for Beades, and Crucifixes, which are holden in great reuerence.

The Author proceedeth in a large discourse of other Drugs, Gems and Indian occurrences which I haue omitted.

CHAP. IX.

Relation of Ormuz, and of the late taking thereof by the English and Persians.

§. I. A Relation of the Kings of Ormuz, and of the foundation of the Citie of Ormuz, taken out of a Chronicle which a King of the same Kingdome composed, called Pachaturunxa, written in Arabicke.

King *Mahomet* reigning in *Aman*, which is within *Arabia felix*: in the beginning of his reigne, desiring to amplifie his Kingdome and fame, assembled all the great men of his Kingdome, and said vnto them, how the Countries of the coast of *Persia* had beene his predecessours, and by negligence of some of them they were lost, disinhabited, and vnprofitable: that hee determined with the principall of his Kingdome that would follow him to goe thither in person, and with some of the common sort for to build some Cities and Townes in that Countrie, and that it might be cultivated, seeing it was a good Countrie. And so would his Kingdome and his fame be augmented, and that he would leaue for the gouernment of *Arabia* his Sonne, which was a man able to rule well. All condescending that his determination seemed them well, he commanded presently to prepare much people, many of the principalls following him, and departing from *Aman*, they came to *Calciat*, which is neere the Sea in the same *Arabia*. Hee thought good, and his also to build in that port a Citie, because it was a place disposed for them of the Countrie to traffique with the Ships that should passe that way: for the which his Sonne remained there with much people, putting in effect the determination of his Father and of his Counsell; and the Citie in time did so prosper, that at this day in the ruines it sheweth to haue beene a very great and noble Citie. After that King *Mahomet* had ordained the matters of *Arabia* and of *Calciat*, he embarked with the people he had for his company diuided in many ships, which hee caused to be made ready, and passed to the side of the coast of *Persia*, and arrived at the Cape of *Iasquet*, that is where *Ormuz* doth now stand, thirty leagues without the straight. And seeing that Countrie, and the disposition of it not conuenient to settle himselfe, iourneying along the coast, hee arrived at a Countrie which then was called *Harmuz*, which is neere to that which now is called *Magostan*, and *Braami*, which now at this day they call *Cosfecca*, it stands right against that which now is called *Harmuz*, in the coast of *Persia*. And the King with his contenting themselves with the Countrie, determined to settle themselves in it and to inhabit, and so they tooke in hand presently to build houses, and to husband the ground.

And because this King was very liberall, and fauoured much the poore people of the Countrie, and the husbandmen, and receiued strangers louingly, hee was well beloued generally of all that had notice of him. And the fame of his vertues spreading abroad, and his noblenesse through all the place round about, many people came vnto him to dwell vnder his defence and gouernment. This was the cause whereby this new Citie was much enobled. The fame of his vertues and goodnesse was spread abroad among all the Kings of that straight, as well of *Persia* as of other parts of *Arabia*, all of them sent to visit him with great presents, shewing the great contentment they had with his good neighbourhood. When this King saw himselfe prosper, and fauoured of all about him, and with many people, to purchase more the loue of all men, he commanded money to be coined, for there was none in the Countrey, which increased greatly the loue of all men toward him, and iointly the prosperity of his Countrie. For this benefit which hee did to all that Countrie, in the inuenting money for them, they called him generally *Deranquis*, which is to say, *scale of money*. After the Citie of *Ormuz* built in the coast of *Persia*, and prosperous with many people and riches, the King commanded his great men to goe through the Countries of *Magostan*, and euery one should take that which best liked him, for to cultivate, inhabite, and build in it

Aman.

Calciat.

Iasquet.

Harmuz.

Magostan.

Braami.

Cosfecca.

First *Ormuz* built in *Cosfecca*.

diuers Townes. They did so, and every one tooke the cuntry that liked him best, and inhabited and husbanded it, and every one gaue his owne name to the Cuntry he tooke, of whom those Countries are nominated to this day. And because the Kings that succeeded *Mabomet* were mighty and good in their gouernment, they held the Cuntry in their successions, increasing alwaies in people and noblenesse. And their children that descended of them were such continually, that the Fathers in their life time gaue them the gouernment of the Kingdome, and they rested in their old age.

Custome of
succession.
Genealogies.

The Goazill.

Cays.

Cherman or
Cherman.

I. Quexome, or
Kishme.

I. Ormuz before
called Iarum,
described.

A place and
fruit so called.

Why Iarum
was called Or-
muz.

Cays.

It was the custome among these Kings, because the memory of their forefathers might not perish, when they came to the tenth generation, they began their denominations anew, the tenth following tooke the names of the ten before. In sort that the first of the number of the ten was to take the name of the founder; and so in order till the number of ten were ended. This order continued some yeeres, the reigne going by a direct line. Afterward this order and custome perished, because that one for couetousnesse of reigning did kill the other, and many were made blinde by others that would haue the gouernment of the Kingdome. But there is one great and notable thing in this Kingdome, that although there were many that reigned tyrannously, murdering the lawfull Kings, yet vnto this day there neuer reigned any that was not of the blood Royall. Onely *Hormuz*, being in the side of *Persia*, one that then reigned being dead, and hauing none of the blood royall in the Cuntry, the *Goazill* (which is the Gouverneur of the Kingdome) did make himselfe King. At this time a Sonne in law of the King deceased which was his Nephew, was with a great Armie of men of warre, by commandement of his Vncle, against the Iland and Citie of *Cays*. Newes were brought him how his Vncle was dead, and how the *Goazill* had made himselfe King; wherefore hee raised presently the siege from against *Cays*, and came with all the men he had to *Ormuz*: and as soone as he came he was receiued of all with great contentments and feasts, for they were very sorry to haue for their King a man that was not of the blood royall, wherefore with great feasts they tooke the Kings Nephew for their King. Which commanded presently to behead the *Goazill* which had made himselfe King, and all his associates and allies.

After that the direct line was broken in the succession of the Kingdome, there was no such good gouernment in the Kingdome, neither did the things thereof prosper, but went rather to decay and diminution, whereby there was not already so much resistance against their aduersaries, the warres of the neighbour Kings increasing, the King of *Cherman* chanced to come, which is within the land of *Persia*, with a great armie, and very puissant against *Hormuz*, for to destroy it. The King *Cabadim* which reigned at that time in *Hormuz*, not daring to abide the encounter and power of the King of *Cherman*, embarked himselfe with all the people hee could, and the Cuntry forsaken, withdrew himselfe to the Iland that is called *Quexome*, which is neere the Iland of *Ormuz*. And being in it a few daies, and thinking he was not safe in it, being somewhat too bigge, and in it he could not well defend himselfe, he passed then with his people to the Iland which now is called *Hormuz*, because it was closer, holding that in it he might defend himselfe from whatsoever enemies. This Iland was before desert, and had no more but a few poore Fishermen, and they called it *Iarum*, which is to say a *Wood*. For as the Iland is almost all of Salt, and the grounds almost all saltish, because some Riuer that run through it, which come from a Mountaine that is in the midst of it, are of the salt water, and by the sides of the water lieth the Salt white as Snow, and hee that is to passe the Riuer must step ouer the Salt. And the stones of the hill in some places are salt, which the shippes doe carrie for ballast vnto *India*. Notwithstanding about the Iland there grow some very thin Woods and Trees like Apple trees of *Anafega*, which beare a Fruite that the *Portugals* doe call small Apples, like the Apples of *Anafega*, which doe not eate well, for they are sustained and liue by the raine water. So that because the Iland is barren, and beareth nothing but that which I said: because it is so salt, they call it *Iarum*. Also because it was not inhabited, it was in times past smaller and closer then now it is, as euen to this day the Inhabitants doe shew the places where the Sea did reach. The King *Cabadim* landing now in this Iland, and determining to settle himselfe in it, began to build houses for himselfe and his to inhabit. They remedied themselves with that which they went to seeke in the Countries round about. And also because the King of *Cherman* returned to his owne Cuntry, they went from thence to maintaine the places which before they did possesse, cultivating them. And because the Citie built in the Iland of *Iarum* prospered, they made it the head of their Kingdome. Those which succeeded them named it *Hormuz*, which remaineth to this day, which was the name of the principall Citie which they had on the firme land, that the King of *Geman* destroyed and arruinated.

It is to be noted that this straight of *Harmuz*, some leagues within from *Ormuz*, is an Iland called *Cays*; in the which was built in times past a very rich and noble Citie, whereof at this day there is a remembrance among them of the Country, and now the Iland is desert, in the which appeare the memory of the old buildings that were in it. This Iland and Citie was very rich, populous, and very prosperous, because of the great resort of Ships that resorted from all parts of *India*, with great riches and great store of goods, and for the great concourte of people that from

Persia

Persia and *Arabia* come to it to seeke such goods as came thither from *India*, bringing also very rich merchandise, in change of the which or for mony which they made of them they bought those that from *India* came thither. In sort that all the riches which now *Hormuz* hath, & all the traffick then the Island of *Cays* had, that which now is called *Hormuz*, being as I haue said vnhabited.

The Author here relateth the wars betwixt the King of *Xiras*, in behalfe of *Cays* against *Ormuz*; which I haue omitted. Island *Baren*.

The King of *Hormuz* seeing the euils that had befallen to him by meanes of the *Goazil* of *Cays* (which had prouoked the King of *Xiras* against him) he went against him with a great Armie, and besieging him some daies, and not being able to subdue him, he returned to *Hormuz*, because winter came on: and the next yeere he went against it, and tooke and sacked it, and left in it a *Goazil* made with his owne hand, with great store of people. The *Goazil* overcome had meanes to escape, and he fled in a Terrada to the Island of *Baren*: and made him strong againe in *Baren*, with the fauour of the *Goazil* of *Baren*, and returned againe against *Cays*, and craftily comming to a parley with the *Goazil* which the King of *Hormuz* had left there for safegard of the Citie, he tooke him and pulled out both his eyes, and posselt him ag aine of the Citie.

But *Pachaturunxa* succeeding in the Kingdome of *Hormuz* (which was the Author of this Chronicle, and reigned about 300. yeeres agbe, little more or lesse) brought it vnder his subiection, and from thence forward it remained subiect to the Kingdome of *Hormuz*. And presently this *Pachaturunxa* subdued the Island of *Baren* in punishment for the fauour that hee gaue to the *Goazil* of *Cays*: and so the Kings of *Hormuz* were prosperous, so that they subdued all the Islands that were in all the straight and all the Countrie along the coast of *Arabia* vnto *Lassa* and *Catiffa*, and others also on the side of *Persia*, whereby it was made a very great Kingdome and a rich and very prosperous: chiefly that all the traffick of *Cays* was passed to the Island, which now is called *Hormuz*: whereby *Cays* was vterly lost, as well in her buildings as in her riches, and now it is altogether destroyed and vnhabited, hauing beene the principall Island in all those parts. And *Hormuz* being a barren and vnhabited Island, and a Mountaine of Salt, is among the richest Countries of the *India* one of the richest, for the many and great merchandize that come to it from all places of *India*, and from all *Arabia*, and from all *Persia*, euen of the *Mogores*, and from *Russia* and *Europe* I saw Merchants in it, and from *Venice*. And so the Inhabiters of *Hormuz* doe say, that all the world is a ring, and *Hormuz* is the stone of it. Whereby it is commonly said, that the Custome-house of *Hormuz* is a channell of Siluer which alwayes runneth. The last yeere that I was in *Hormuz*, hauing continued there three yeeres, the Officers affirmed to mee that the Custome-house did yeeld 150000. Pardaos to the King of *Portugall*, besides that which is presumed the *Moores* and the *Goazil* did steale, which are Officers of the Custome-house. And although this Island yeeldeth no fruit, neither hath water nor victualls, yet it hath great abundance of flesh, bread, rice, and great store of fish, and many and good fruits, whereof it is prouided from many places, especially from *Persia*, &c.

Pachaturunxa King & author.

Observations of the Dominican Translator Riches of *Ormuz*. The World a ring, and *Ormuz* the gem. Custome house a siluer chanel.

§. II.

Relation of Ormuz businessse by Master W. PINDER.

A Briefe of some passages and accidents of a Voyage to the East *Indie* in the *London*, Captaine *Andrew Shilling* Commander of her, and three other Ships in the Company, namely the *Hart*, wherein Master *Richard Bluh* was Viceadmirall, the *Roe Bucke* Rere admirall, Master *Richard Swan* Master of her, and *Christopher Browne* Master of the *Egell*, being the fourth Ship, the five and twentieth of March 1620. These foure Ships set saile from the Downes the foure and twentieth of Aprill. All foure Ships got into *Saldany Bay*, whose latitude is 33. degrees 57. minutes, and 25. degrees, 48. minutes, to the Easterne of the *Lizart* in *Cornwall*, and it hath 2. degrees 27. minutes Westerly variation. The same day arriued Captaine *Fitz-Harbord* with the *Exchange* and *Untie*, who came from *England* in our Company with three Ships vnder his command, and left our company the fourth of Aprill: there was in the Bay an *English* Ship that came from *Surat*, named the *Lyon*, Captaine *Widdall* in her: also there were ten *Dutch* Ships, bound for *Iaccatra*.

M. Pinder had bin before in East *Indies*, with those ships which the Cōpany there tooke. He was now in this *Persian* business (as I remember) Master of the *London*. This I promise as a Preface to the larger *Ormusian* Relations following.

The thirtieth of Iune our Ships were watered, being the chiefe cause of putting into that Bay, but formerly there hath bin plenty of Oxen and Sheepe, to bin bought for small value, but by some abuse to the people, there is nothing to be had, except water: by some neglect, our continuance was vntil the 25. of Iuly, with much hassard and preiudice to our passage: so plying for *Surat*, with purpose to haue gone within the Island of *S. Lawrence*, we were forit to goe without the Island, being the first passage of any *English* without, to the coast of *India*: and the eight of October wee came to sight of certaine Islands, in latitude tenne degrees fiftie one minutes of North and longitude from the Cape of *Good hope*, Easterly fiftie five degrees 58. minutes, and variation thirteene degrees fiftie foure minutes Westerly. These Islands affords good reliefe, and are worth discouery, their owne Inhabitants report. From these Iles we ran with the coast of *Indie*, and first sight thereof was Mount *Delin*, which is the highest hill in *India*, our latitude at sight of it was 11. degrees 47. minutes longitude 56. degrees 51. minutes variation 15 degrees 43. minutes.

the

the tenth of October. The Coast of *India* is bold to runne with all dangers, sheweth it selfe from Cape *Commeren*, you may bee bold to runne all the Coast to *Diu* head in tenne fathom the darkeft night that may bee, and good anchoring off, to thirtie or fortie fathome depth from the Coast; and from September vntill Februarie, you may saile to and fro on that Coast, hauing the Land wind turnes at night, and Sea wind turnes at day, proued by many trials. The thirteenth of October, the Ship anchored in twelue fathoms, five leagues from the Coast, in the latitude 13. degrees Northerly, 14. minutes, longitude 58. degrees Easterly, 12. min. from Cape *Bonassperanca* the sixteenth, certaine Boats brought vs fish with some small store of fruit, and hence from the shoare riding then in the latitude, 13. degrees 33. minutes, and 14. degrees 44. variation so pling toward *Surat*: the seuen and twentieth we anchored some seuen mile and a halfe from *Dabul*, in eight fathome and a halfe depth, the Towne bearing East by North, by the Compasse. From this place we had good prouision for our men, who were most sickly, but God restored health in short time to them, the latitude of it is 17. degrees Northerly, 38. minutes Easterly. From *Dabul*, on the third of Nouember wee plied for *Surat*, and on the sixth, in latitude 19. degrees 51. minutes. Capt. *Shilling* sent the *Hart* and *Egell* toward *Persia*, for Cape *Iasques* being so appointed by the worshipfull Company. The ninth, the *London* and *Row Buck* arrived at the Port of *Swally* neere *Surat*, whose latitude is 21. degrees Northerly 16. minutes; there vnderstood we that the *Portugall* lay with a Fleet of Ships to surprise those that should come to *Iasques* in the *Persian* Gulfe, which to preuent we made all the hast that might be to strengthen our friends, and preuent their plot, and on the one and twentieth of Nouember, wee surprised one of their Ships of some two hundred and fiftie tun, who came from *Arabia*; this Ship wee manned landing all the *Portugalls*, and plied for *Iasques*, and on the fifth of December, we met the *Hart* and *Egell* forced from *Iasques* by the *Portugall*, and had turned off a Ship of theirs the which they tooke in their passage. Our forces vnited wee made hast to our Port, the which the fifteenth of December wee had sight of, and also of the *Portugall* Fleet, who assaulted vs the seuenteenth, but let them boast their entertainment, praise to the Lord he fought for vs, and if the firing of a Ship, that should haue fired them had taken effect, their glorious pride had beene quailed that day. Yet were we Commanders vnder God of the Rood, while hee sent to *Ormuz* to renew his forces, and on the twentieth came towards vs, and then thought by often waying and tiring our men, being not accustomed to those hot parts to bee master of vs; but one the eight and twentieth hee was taught a better lesson, with Gods guard, and vie of our Powder and Shot: which had it not failed vs, they had scarce any of them troubled *Englishmen* more; but I referre to them how they sped. Our Capt. *Andrew Shilling* receiued a mortall wound, the sixth shot that past this eight and twentieth, yet was valiant and spake cheerefull, with thankfulness to God the last minute of his life, which ended the sixth of Ianuarie. Hee was buried the ninth, and on the fourteenth we set saile for *Surat* from *Iasques*, whose latitude is twentie five degrees Northerly, twentie foure minutes, and eleuen degrees twentie minutes Northerly to the Wester of *Damans meridian*, some 18. degrees 40. minutes variation. On the seuen and twentieth of Ianuarie, wee tooke a *Portugall* in our returne, which on the first of Februarie we brought to *Swalle*, our Port of *Surat* and rebuilt her, sending the *Portugalls* to their homes. And on the fifth of Aprill, 1621. hauing laden the *Hart* and *Row Buck* to goe for *England* with foure saile, vnder the command of Captaine *Blith* wee put to Sea, the time being to late for the laden Shippes to goe for *England*, it was thought fit to goe for the Red Sea, there to stay vntill the next season, in which passage we met a *Portugall* Ship of two hundred and fiftie tunne laden with Rice and Cordige of bast, for to supply those wee formerly fought with. Also the seuenth of May we tooke another of one hundred tunne. With these two prizes the *London* and *Andrew* went for Cape *Rosselgate*, and the *Hart* and *Row buck* went for *Mercera*. Being neither of vs able to get into the Red Sea, the times so farre past, the Ships separated. As soone as the *London* came to *Zor*, where formerly I had been, there we made hast to prouide vs water, and put many *Portugals* on shore, many other with their *Moores* made their escape. Then plied we for *Tewe*, where the *Arabs* vsed vs courteously, so that from the seuenth of Iune to the ninth, wee had filled ninetie tunne of water: on the fourteenth came order from *Muscat* to the *Arabs*, to withstand our watering; with the *Portugalls* aide they did their best, some seuen or eight hundred of them with small Shot and Bow, and Arrowes, but the Lord fought our battell, so that but one of our men were lost, yet landed we daily with Brasse, Base, and small Shot, vntill all our Ships were watered, it standeth in the latitude 22. degrees Northerly fiftie minutes, and some twelue leagues within Cape *Rosselgate*, and hath twentie degrees five minutes variation, the coast bold from *Rosselgate* to it. On the two and twentieth of Iune, setting saile from thence for *Zor*, where wee made fall of the Rice taken, and after broke and burned the Ship by reason of her wants, to bring prouision of victuall for our men, and there daily watering on our guard, hauing newes ouer Land from the *Hart* and *Row buck*, to whom was returned answere, that they should meet vs at a braue Harbour some league within *Rosselgate*, it hath latitude 22. degrees Northerly 32. minutes, being by the chieft of our Fleet called *Londons Hoope*, it hath Wood and Water on the West side of the Bay, also multitude of fish) the eight of August the *Hart* & *Row buck* came to vs, and on the fifteenth, we all set saile for *India* to stop the Ports

Fight with the Portugalls.

Ports for entry of certaine Ships, their Prince hauing much wronged our Masters, promising them free passage through his Countrey with their goods, but when it came within it, he presently made bootie of it with his Souldiers; so Captaine *Blith* with the *London* and *Primrose*, one of the prizes formerly taken lay before the Harbour of *Dabul*, and Master *Keridge* in the *Hart*, Master *Browne* in the *Roe Bucke*, my selfe in the *Andrew*, so named, being the first Prize taken after the Death of Captaine *Shilling*, and with her the other were taken. These three last specified, lay before *Chaul* from the thirtieth of August, vntill the thirtieth of September, on which Night I was sent to goe for *Surat* in the *Andrew*, by order from Captaine *Blith*, and to aduertise Master *Thomas Russell* of our Passage he being Chiefe in the Factorie, and in my passage for *Surat*, I surprised a Ship of that Princes, which had formerly wronged our Masters, and carried her to *Surat* surrendring her to the chiefe Factor: there found I riding Captaine *Weddall* in the *Jonas*, Master *Woodcocke* in the *Whale*, Master *Stephenson* in the *Dolphin*, Master *Beuerson* in the *Lyon*, Master *Johnson* in the *Rose*, Master *Danis* in the *Richard*, a Pinnesse who had taken a prize from the *Portugals* the twentieth of October. The *London*, *Hart*, *Roe Bucke*, and *Primrose*, came to *Swalle* with a Prize by them taken. We continued there till the fixe and twentieth of November, at which time with nine sayle of Ships for *Persia*, and the *Hart* and *Egell* for *England*. The nine that went for *Persia* were vnder the Command of Captaine *Blith*, and Captaine *Weddall*, and on the three and twentieth of December we came to *Custacke*, some seuen and twenty leagues from *Iasquis*, and lyeth Latitude 26. degrees, 40. minutes. *Ormuz* in sight of it bearing West Northwest, by a Meridian Compasse some ten leagues from it. Our *Persian* Factors aduertised vs that after our Fight the former yeare, the Chiefeine of the *Portugals* had erected a Castle on *Kishme*, an Ile in sight of *Ormuz*, the which the *Persian* had layne siege vnto some seuen or eight moneths, and lost some eight or nine thousand men in siege of it. Wherefore he required our ayde in these Warres if we would haue our Masters goods from his Countrey, telling vs it was our Enemy as well as his; therefore if wee would haue our Masters goods or Trade with him, we must ayde him, and then we should haue the halfe bootie gotten by the Victorie, also great Priuiledges for the future good of our Masters. On these termes we Condescended and went for *Kishme* on the nineteenth of Ianuary from *Custacke*, and the three and twentieth Besieged it by Sea, and the *Persian* by Land with some of our ayde, so that on the nine & twentieth of Ianuary they came to Parley, and it was Concluded that they should part with Bag and Baggage; provided, they went not for *Ormuz*, onely their Commander to remaine as pledge. There were two of our people slaine at this seruice, the one at the surrender namely Master *Baffin*, there were some one thousand of all sorts in this Castle, and the *Portugals* with some *Moores* were sent away, but the *Persian* required certaine *Moores* which had reuolted from him as hee pretended. So those being deliuered him, though he had formerly promised them mercy, yet he put them all to death. This Castle had in it 17. Pieces of Ordnance, one Brasse Cannon Pedro, two Brasse Culuering, 2. Iron Demiculuering, 4. Brasse Sackers, 2. Iron Minion, 6. Iron Falken, therein left to *English*-men, to hold possession with the *Persian* in the behalfe of the *English* part.

On the fourth of February, we all set sayle for *Combroon*, which is on the mayne of *Persia* some three leagues within *Ormuz*. Then was sent the *Portugall* Commander of the aforesaid Castle by Master *Beuerson* in the *Lyon* for *Surat*, also Master *Johnson* in the *Rose*, Master *Danis* in the *Richard*, these went for *Surat*, and the *London*, *Jonas*, *Whale*, *Dolphin* with two Prizes, each some two hundred and fiftie or neere, these fixe stayed to waite the *Persian*, for his securer landing on *Ormuz*. On the ninth of February he landed, and with small losse got possession of the Towne, for the *Portugals* retired to their Castle, and then the *Persian* began presently to intrench, and gathered daily nearer the Castle, and with our helpes made Bulwarks for Ordnance, and Sconces for securing his men. With our Ordnance we galled their Ships, forcing them to hale close vnder the Castle, and on the 24. th with foure of our Boats fired one of their Gallions, the second of March sunke another, the 17. th of March there was made a Breach by blowing vp part of the Castle wall, so the *Persian* sought to enter but repulsed with losse and hurt of most of his best Souldiers. The 19. th one Gallion more sunke, and on the 20. th and 23. th two other Gallions sunke. The 27. th the *Portugals* desired parley, the which they had but no Conclusion, so that the second of Aprill another breach was made by blowing vp the wall neere the first, and the 14. th another Flanker blowne vp. Also the 18. th another breach, on which the *Persian* made all his Forces to assault, and possesst some part of the Castle. Then on the 21. th the *Portugals* being bestraited, proffered by Parley to deliuer the Castle to the *English*, if they would saue their liues, the which was granted & performed, and in the two ships of 250. Tunnes they were shipt some 2400. of them, and some 200. left vntill we had procured shipping for their transport, which was performed. The 22. th being possesst of the Castle, there were in it 53. Pieces of Ordnance mounted, 4. Brasse Cannon, 6. Brasse Demicannon, 16. Cannon Pedro of Brasse, 9 Brasse whole Culuering, 2. Demiculuering, 3. Iron Demiculuering, 10. brasse Basses, one Iron Minion, 1. whole Culuering of Iron, and 1. Iron Cannon Pedro; also there were 92. Brasse pieces of Ordnance more vnmounted, & 7. Brasse Bastels which they had landed out of their ships that we sunke. This Castle and Ordnance were left with the *Persian*, onely 10. Pieces of the 92. on the former, we tooke

Kishme Castle.

English forced to helpe the Persian.

Kishme yeelded. Master Baffin slaine: a Mathematician and Mariner, to whom our Northerne & Northwestern Voyages are much indebted.

Ormuz besieged.

1622.

Ordnance in the Castle.

1622.

in our ships to make good what we had broken and spoyled out of our ships in their Service. I judge the Latitude 27. degrees 2. minuts, & Variation 16. deg. 34. min. So the first of September we left the Port, and on the 24. th arrived at Swalle, where we in the London laded, and so did the *Jonas & Lyon* for England; the time of our stay there was vntill the 30. th of December, there heard we of the sinking of three Caracks by the *English* and *Dutch* of the Port of *Mosambique*.

§. III.

Part of a Letter written to Sir I O H N W O S T E N H O L M E by T. W I L S O N
Chyrurgion; containyng many particulars of the Ormus warre and cause thereof; as also of the most most admirable taking of a Great Portugal Ship well manned, by a small English Pinnesse.

Right Worshipfull:

MY dutie remembred vnto you Sir, I am glad to heare of your good health and welfare, and shall be heartily glad to see you and all yours, the which I hope will be very shortly. Sir, I am very much bound vnto you, that I know not how I shall make requitall for the same, in that in my absence you haue shewed vnto me that kindnes for it which as at all other times I haue found you the best friend that I haue in the world, I doe giue you a thousand thanks, and will by Gods helpe make part requitall for the same, and I shall be ready at all times to doe any thing for you that in me lyeth, to the vttermost of my power or to any of yours. I would haue writ vnto you concerning our Voyage, but I cannot be so brieft as to send it in a Letter, but I make no doubt but you will heare more of the passages thereof, then I can certifie or at least wise haue heard already, for there were Letters sent out of *Persia* ouer land to the Company, concerning the taking of *Kishme* Castle and the Citie of *Ormus* with the Castle, with the spoiling of fise Ships and one great Galley, one ship burned and the rest sunke, the which I pray God may stand to the good liking of you all, for we had a terrible time in *Ormus*, hauing pestilentiall Feuers with sodaine deaths, and among the *Portugals* famine, and that terrible contagious heat that in my dayes I neuer felt the like, and such sentes of Dead bodies lying in the streets without heads being vnburned, and Cats & Dogs eating them, within Oast end was neuer the like scene, with infinite many Flies, and that the *Persians* would not let the dead bodies be buried. We had such mortalitie among our men, that we thought we should haue perished, all the ships before mentioned were they which fought with Captaine *Shilling*, we tooke their principall Commander prisoner, whose name was *Ruy Frera* with his Viceadmirall. This *Ruy Frera* did proffer vnto our Captaine that if he would let him goe, hee would giue him a thousand pound, although he had no money of his owne, yet he would procure it of the Clergie men, the which our Captaine refused, and sent him to *Surrat* in the *Lyon* to the President, giuing them strait command of his safe looking to. And when he came to *Surrat*, he in the Night made his escape with the Ship-boat for want of the better Watch keeping. He was a proper tall Gentleman, swarthie of colour, sterne of Countenance, few of words, and of an excellent spirit, he had liued here in *India* many yeares. Hee got Commission of their King for three seuerall Designes, the first was to haue sufficient Ships and Men with Munition, for the rooting out of the *English* out of *India*, the which he made no question to performe, and did begin with Captaine *Shillings* Fleet: but God bee thanked therein he fayled as it fell out to his great grieve and all our comforts. The second thing that he was to performe, was to erect a Castle vpon the Iland of *Kishme*, the which he did: for when we came thither he had scarce furnished it. Hee brought the frame thereof ready made in his Ships and got it a shore with great resistance, but so many as would not yeeld vnto him, hee put to the Sword, and so many as would serue him he allowed meanes. Now the place where this Castle was to be erected, was about certaine Wels of fresh water the which was for the vse of *Ormus*, because vpon that Iland there was none. Now for the building of this Castle they pulled downe a fine Towne with Churches and Tombes, onely for the Stones, some of which he burned and made Lime, and with the other he made the Castle wall of a great height and thicknesse, with halfe Moones and Flankers very artificially, which in fise moneths and a halfe hee had finished: a thing wonderfull in so short a time to be effected, and with a great deepe drie Moat round about. He had erected on the Castle 12. Pieces of great Ordnance, to the great annoyance of the *Persian* Armie, which had almost beleaguered it round; onely a small passage which they had towards the Sea, on either side of it beset with Pallesadoes for the better going to their Boates and Frigots in safetie, though scarce able without great perill. Hee meant to take the whole Iland of *Kishme* in their owne hands, being a very fruitfull place, abounding with all manner of Fruits, Beasts, and fresh Water, whereof the Iland of *Ormus* hath none. The *Portugals* when they were first situated in *Ormus*, did agree with the King of the Sea-coast vpon the mayne, which was a Kingdome of it selfe, and since hath beene Conquered of the *Persians* to pay to the aforesaid King certaine tributes or customes vpon euery head of Cattell, pots of Water and such like, which did yeerely amount

Three-fold Commission.

Kishme Castle described, occasion of the warre.

Natures cause of Indignation

mount vnto a great summe of money, which the *Portugals* haue not payed a long time, at least this thirtie yeares: and hauing been demanded it, since the *English* hath had trade heere in *Persia*, they haue refused to pay the same. Moreouer they haue gotten into their possession great quantitie of Silke, which they haue refused to pay also. For that reason the *Persians* would not let the *Portugals* haue Cattell nor refreshing from the mayne, (for it was Death vnto them that sold them any) which was the reason of building the Castle vpon the Iland of *Kishme*. Now the *Portugals* policie thought it was good to haue two strings to his bow, as this was one; the other was this at *Muskat*, a certaine place which the *Portugals* haue vpon *Arabia*. They made a great Feast and inuited the King of *Arabia* vnto the feast, and violently brought him away vnto *Ormuz*, and there made him King of the Iland, and allowed him certaine Customes ycerely for his maintenance. By this meanes they had Cattell and Water sufficient in great quantities, brought thither in *Arabian* Boates, with Fruits, Fish and all other things, which was euery day sold in the Market (by report) very plentifully. Likewise the *Arabian* Boats did fetch them water from *Kishme*, and were conducted with their Gallies and Frigots against the *Persians*. The King of *Arabia* was Prisoner in the Castle of *Ormuz*, vnto the *Persian*. The *Portugals* in these parts will not let any Commodity passe to and againe vpon the Seas, vnlesse it be first brought vnto *Ormuz*, and there to be Customed vpon losse thereof being taken by their Gallies or Frigots, whereof they haue heere great store that carrie pieces of Ordnance and other Munition: they trade to and fro in them and so are become Masters of the Seas in these parts. The Customes of *Ormuz* did yearly amount as I haue heard reported to a hundred thousand pounds, besides Rents and other Duties which they taxed the Inhabitants with. This Towne or Citie of *Ormuz*, was of great bignesse, the Houses all built of stone, and seemed a most famous thing to looke vpon from the ships with Steeples and Towres: they had faire and large Churches in it, strong & stately Buildings; the Castle of *Ormuz* was the fairest, largest and strongest that euer I saw. Towards the Towne it had three Walls one within another, and well furnished with great Ordnance of Brasse, as Cannon, Demicannon, Cannon-Pedro, whole Culuerings and Basiliskes of 22. foot long.

Now concerning the third thing which was about the fishing for Pearle, he had but little leisure, by reason of these turmoiles (and Warres in building of the Castle of *Kishme*, and the building of a Wall and a Moat about *Ormuz*, which was begun in seuerall places) he had burnt vp all the Boates both of the *Persians* and *Arabians*, by the reason they should not fish for Pearle, and burnt all the fishing Townes. Now they that had any Boats were forced to carrie them vp into the Countrey to hide them from the *Portugals*; but when the *Persians* were to goe ouer for *Ormuz*, the *Arabians* did voluntary (both they & their Boats to the quantitie of 400. Boats) carrie the *Persian* souldiers ouer to *Ormuz*, against the *Portugals*, which otherwaies had neuer got ouer; for the *Arabians* could wish all the *Portugals* throats cut by the reason of their great hindrances in burning of their Boats and Townes, and Slauery which they daily did sustaine.

I will certifie you concerning the wonderfull and strange manner of the *Richards* taking a *Portugall* ship that came from *Bumbasse*; she was a rich Prize laden with Elephants teeth, Turtle shels in Barrells, with Wax, Sea-horse teeth, and a certaine Gumme, the which I make no doubt but you haue heard already; the chiefe cause of her taking was *John Filps*, who had them be of good cheare being but thirteene Men and Boyes, and told them he would dismount their Piece presently (which they were a discharging) the which he did. Plying the two Pieces, it was his fortune to kill the chiefe Merchant, who was going to encourage his men to Fight: which the Gunner perceiuing, trauerssed another Piece of Ordnance against them: hee was no sooner espied by this *Filps*, but he made a shot at the Piece but mist it; the shot flew betweene the Gunners legs as he was going to giue fire; hee forthwith threw away his Linstocke like a man distract and full of feare, and told them it was their fortunes to be taken. But the *Richard* plied still both her Pieces, and comming neerer vnto them, this *Filps* stept vpon the Forecastle bidding them amaine, which they presently did and lowed all her sayles. So they called vnto them to bring aboard their Master, Merchant, Pilot and Boatswaine; they puld vp their Boat and did it, when they came aboard they were bound and and put into hold. There were two Merchants in this Ship, the one killed, and the other was he which came aboard, who confessed that the Elephants teeth which were in her cost 6000. pounds, at the first Penny in *Bumbasse*, which to be carried from *Goa* to *Cambaia*, would yeeld at the least 18000. pounds, besides eight Barrells of Turtle shels, which were the Merchants that was slaine, and that hee had in that ship of his owne 3000. pounds more which was in Wax, Sea-horse teeth, Gumme and *Negroes*. They sent the Boatswaine for the rest of the *Portugals* who brought fourteene more, which euery of them brought their Skreeteries and Keyes and presented them to Mr. *Danis*, who carefully layd them vp. These 14. *Portugals* remained in the Boat; they thought them to be all the *Portugals*.

This *Filps* or *Phillips* went aboard with three Men and three Boyes. They had no sooner entered the Ship and veered the Boat a sterne with the *Portugals*, but the Ship seemed to be full of people: there were in all of the *Portugals* seuentie fiue, of the *Negroes*, Men, Women and Children ninetie, likewise fortie *Chaul* men which were their Mariners, which strucke such an amazement among them being but seuen, that it daunted them much. This *Phillips* bidding

Llllllll 2.

Great Ship taken by a small small Pinnesse, hauing but two Pieces.
Filps or *Phillips* chiefe cause of her taking.

How great, how little is the heart of Man? moued onely as the shadow of the Diuine hand, which fills one, empties another of courage, as it pleaseth him.

them

The 40. Chaul
Mariners freed
to helpe the
English.

them be of good courage for hee would lessen their number presently: the which hee in two houres time effected, he placed his men vpon the poope and halfe decke, with their Peeces pruned, and their Matches cockt, if they should resist: that done, hee went with his Sword and disarmed all the *Portugals*, and caused their weapons to be layd on the poope, which were thirty Muskets ready laden and pruned, forty Rapiers besides Swords and Poniards, sixty Powder pots matched and pruned, forty Pikes and Launces, fiftene great Chambers belonging to eight peecees of Ordnance ready pruned. Then he found great store of Musket shot which he brought vp also, he tooke the Chambers and opened them, and tooke out of euery of them a good quantitie of Powder, and in the roome thereof he put in Musket shot, and ramed them vp againe. This done, he bound them fast to the decke round about him and pruned them, and causes three Linslockes to be lighted, and with his small Shot standing by him; which the *Portugals* seeing, it stricke such amazement among them, that it made them to tremble, not knowing what they did determine. Hee giuing order vnto his small Shot, that if any should resist him, they should let flie as they thought fit: he steps forth into the waile, and called the Boat-swaine vnto him, demanding of him how many of his Countrymen there were in the shippe? Who said there were forty; so hee promised them to stay, if so be they would bee willing, and to doe their best indeauours, that he would aduance their meanes, and their aduentures, rather then to diminish any part thereof: which words greatly reuiued them, and they all said, they were willing. Then presently hee called the *Blacks*, to haile vp the Boat, placing two of his men with their Muskets bent to the Boat, that none of the *Portugals* which were therein should enter the ship. Which done, he drew his Sword, and commanded all the *Portugals* vpon their liues to auoide the shippe immediatly; which they did, and happie was hee which could get into the Boat first; for some lept into the water for feare. Besides those which they tooke into the Boat to them, there were other three which hid themselves in the shippe that they knew not of, being almost starued and durst not come forth in fight for feare.

Another act
of Philips.

Bassins death.

Frigats how
furnished.

When we came to *Kishme* Castle, where out of each shippe was carried Ordnance to batter against the Castle with Powder and Shot fitting, where our Gunners and others went to trie their valorous skill, when they had beene two dayes on shoare at that exercise, Master *Bassin* being then aboard, promised he would goe ashore to make a shot or two: this *Philips* got leaue of our Captaine for the like; and seeing their worke of battering, who finding their plat-forme of the one side hollow, resting vpon a Basket within the reuerse of the Peece, which at firing caused the Peece to deliuer contrary, which when hee had perceiued, caused the plat-forme to be new cast; and the planks layd firme, he loaded the Peece himsele, and placed it to his best leuell towards a peece of Ordnance vvhich lay on the Castle vvall, vvhich the *Portugall* vvas euen ready to giue fire vnto, for they vvere at that time a leauelling, he fired his Peece so leauelled, vvhich dismounted their Peece, split the carriage, and killed sixe men, vvhich the Captaine of the Castle vvas one; vvhich the *Persians* seeing, gaue a great shout, and happy vvas he that could come to embrace him first, vvhich vvas a great credit to our Captaine, and our *English* Nation. He made but two shots, by reason there vvas no more Shot on shoare. Master *Bassin* went on shoare vwith his Geometricall Instruments, for the taking the height and distance of the Castle vvall, for the better leauelling of his Peece to make his shot: but as he vvas about the same, he receiued a small shot from the Castle into his belly, vvhich he gaue three leapes, by report, and died immediatly.

When *Ormuz* was besieged, and the *Persians* had taken the Towne with small resistance, for they fled into the Castle, and we had brought our ships on the other side of the Iland without shot of the Castle, all our *English* Boats, as Barges and Skiffes did ouer night goe and lie within Musket shot of the Castle with all the *Arabian* Boats, to keepe that no Frigats of the *Portugals* should either come in or out, either for the bringing in of Souldiers or reliefe, or the carrying away of their treasure. The *Arabians* one night being very darke, went in close vnder the wall of the Castle, and brought out two of the *Portugals* Frigats; whereof our Captaine gat one, and Captaine *Blithe* the other; and fitted as followeth, thee had one Sacar of Brasse, one great Brasse peece, which went with Chambers, and would carrie a Demi-culuering shot of stone, one other small Brasse peece, two Iron Bases, and two of the ships Murtherers, thirty Muskets, Powder and Shot munition fitting, with foure and thirty *Englishmen*, whereof five were Trumpetters and one Drumme, where our Captaine placed this *Philips* Commander, they had fifty *Blacks* to rowe and trimme their Sailes. Likewise the *Londons* Frigat was so fitted. The Frigats all the day rode at an anchor without shot of the Castle, but at night they set their watch with a vollie of small Shot, Drumme and Trumpets, which the *Portugals* might easily heare and see, and as it grew darker, they went neerer the Castle, and the *Arabian* Boats with them. The *Portugals* at the first made as if they would come forth with the ships, which was but a shew, for we waited the time, but yet they came not. They rode a pretie distance from the wal, but still vnder command of the Castle, thinking we would haue come in to them. Within three dayes they got close vnder the wall: then our Commander thought fit, that the first businesse

busineſſe ſhe that was to bee done, was for the deſtroying of thoſe ſhips, for feare of any others comming to ſuccour them: wherefore it was promiſed to our men, that they that would goe in our Barges for the firing of them, ſhould be royally rewarded for their paines. So certaine of them agreed, and got things ready that night with their fire-workes in each Barge, they went and boarded *Ruy Frera* his ſhip, & ſet her on fire which in leſſe then a quarter of an houre was all in a light flame. But in the firing of her in our Barge vnfortunatly hauing a quantitie of Powder in me of the Lockers, one of the fire-workes being flung againſt the ſhip ſtrucke againſt ſome Iron, and rebounded backe againe, and ſtrucke into his body that flung it, and tore out his ſtomacke that hee died withall, ſet the Powder in the Locker on fire, and blew one man cleane away, burning fixe others very ſhrewdly. They attempted the firing of another ſhip, hauing fixe of the Countrey Boats chained together, with Tarre, Occam, Biller of wood, ſpits, and other trumperie in them for the fire-workes, ſo to driue them thwart their Halſer; they went alſo with their Barges to caſt fire-workes into her, and one they caſt, but it fell off, being eſpied by the *Portugals*. They ſhot a ſmall ſhot thorow both the knees of one of the men in the *Whales* Barge, which is come home here in our ſhip. The Boats which were chained together were ſet on fire, and the Tide droue them cleane beſides the ſhip.

Ship fired.

Disastrous accident.

Another exploit of Philips.

Skeg is the ſlanting part of the keele a little without the ſtern-poſt. *Run* is that part of the hull vnder water which by degrees come from the ſloor-timbers to the ſtern-poſt.

The reſt and all the land-ſervice you haue in a more complete Iournall following.

Now this *Philips* ſeeing this enterpriſe rooke none effect, towards the euening came cloſe vnder the Caſtle with his Frigat (hauing an eye to the Ports of the Caſtle) and hearing that they had got the Ordnance out of their ſhips while it was yet day went in reſolutely and diſcharged his ſacar, being lowe water and the ſhips aground, ſhot one of the ſhips thorow her *Skeg* or *Run*, cloſe by the water; the *Persians* ſeing the ſhot ſtrucke againſt the wall, and when the water flowed her hold filled, the water ebbing againe ſhee cleane ouerſet, and brake all her ſafts that ſhee had on the wall, which were Cables and Hawſers. This ſhip was the Admirall that came from *Goa*, called *Todos los Santos*, ſhee was of burthen fiſteene hundred tunnes, and carried in her forty fiue peeces of Ordnance of Braſſe, the leaſt whereof was Demiculuering. This ſhip was the cauſe of the reſt ouerſetting which lie by her with their toppes in the water. Her Vice-admirall was named *Noſtra Senbera de Victoria*, being of burthen fourteene hundred tunnes with forty peeces of Ordnance. The Vice-admirall vnto *Ruy Frera* was named *Saint Martin*, which lieth ſunke by her being of the ſame burthen, and the like force *Ruy Frera* his Rere-admirall being a *Flemming*, of burthen foure hundred tunnes, with twenty two peeces of Ordnance, named *Saint Antonie de coſſo*: ſhe ſtands almoſt vpright, but bulged cloſe vnder the Caſtle wall. Then *Ruy Frera* his Admirall, which was fired, lieth three leagues from *Ormuz* at *Combrone* ſunke vnder water; her name was *Saint Pedro*, being of burthen fourteene hundred tunnes, and forty foure peeces of Ordnance. Shee had Iron peeces in her hold, and a great deale of Shot. There was alſo a Galley ſunke vnder the wall which had three peeces of Ordnance. *Ruy Frera* his Vice-admirall that was when they fought with Captaine *Shilling* was broke vp in *Ormuz*, ſhee proued ſo leake after the fight, her timbers ſerued for the building of *Kiſhne* Caſtle, &c.

§. IIII.

Relation of the late Ormuz buſineſſe, gathered out of the Iournallof Maſter EDWARD MONOXE the Agent for the Eaſt Indian Merchants trading in Perſia.

At a conſultation in *Swally Road*, the fourteenth of Nouember, 1621. comiſſion was giuen by Maſter *Thomas Raſtell* Preſident, and the Counſell of the Merchants of *Surat*, to *Richard Blithe*, and *Iohn Weddell* bound for *Iaſques* (a *Persian* Port) with fiue good ſhips and foure Pinnaces (whereof the *London*, and Pinnace *Shilling* vnder Captaine *Blithe*; the *Jonas*, *Whale*, *Dolphin*, *Lion*, with their Pinnaces the *Rose*, *Roberts*, and *Richard*, vnder command of Captaine *Weddell*) to ſet ſayle with the ſoonest opportunitie towards Port *Iaſques*, and to keepe together in ſuch ſort as they ſhould thinke fitteſt for their defence againſt the common enemy; and ſeing the *Portugals* had diſturbed their trade by the ſlaughter, mayming and imprifoning of their men, and had made ſundry assaults againſt their ſhipping, that therefore it ſhould be lawfull to them to chaſe and ſurprize whatſoeuer veſſels per- taining to the Ports, and Subiects vnder the Vice-roy of *Goa*, thereof to be accountable, &c. And if they met with any of *Decannee*, *Dabul*, *Chaul*, or any Port belonging to the *Samorin* of *Calcut*, to arreſt them vpon account of iuſt pretences for goods robbed and ſpoiled &c. without imbezelling any part thereof, that full reſtitution may be made after ſatisfaction on their parts rendered: A fixt part of goods gotten from the *Portugall* to be diſtributed, and their per- ſons to bee reſerued priſoners; that in exchange our Countrey men by them miſerably captiued may be deliuered: to haſte their lading and diſpatch at *Iaſques*, if poſſible within thirty dayes:

First Conſultation.

Ruy Frera the
Portugall Ad-
mittall.

Second consul-
tation.

Causeshewing
the English in
those parts and
Ports to assist
the Persian:
first a secret
force from the
Persian, delay-
ning the English
goods on shore
and not allow-
ing carriages
as before;
which also
would have
broken out to
an open im-
barging with
danger likely
to their per-
sons, goods
and liberties.
Secondly the
open & often
force and ho-
stilitie (where-
of the former
Voyages testi-
fie) from the
Portugall.
They made a
vertue of ne-
cessitie. of these
Articles.

Persian victorie
in Arabia.

Note.

Opposition.

and seeing the reinforced Enemy *Ruy Frera* with his Armada of fixe Galliones and other small Vessels are attending on the Persian coast, in likelihood to assault their Fleet, that therefore it should be lawfull not defensuely alone, but offensively to await all advantages, even in their owne Ports if there be apparance of performance approued by generall counsell warrantably to be vndertaken, &c.

In *Costack* Road, the fixe and twentieth of December, 1621. A consultation was holden aboard the *Ionas*, whereat were present *John Weddell*, *Richard Blithe*, *Edward Monox*, *William Baffin*, and many others. The Can or Duke of *Xiras* had by his Ministers desired the aide of their Ships against the common Enemy the *Portugall*. The Articles being translated into the Persian Tongue were dispeeded by *Xareeah* Gouvernour of the Prouince of *Mogustan* towards the said Duke who was then vpon the way towards *Mina*; the summe whereof followeth.

For so much as by severall conferences had with diuers and sundry of the Chan or Duke of *Xiras* his Ministers and chiefe Commanders in the present warres, we haue well obserued they are fully determined and resolved to require the aide of our ships and people in this intended Expedition for the vanquishing not onely the *Portugall* Armada, but likewise for the taking and surprizing of the Iland and Castle of *Ormuz*: and we are very confident they will vse their indeauours to inforce vs vnto the said seruice by imbarging our goods vpon the shoare: which we haue well vnderstood by the Governours refusall to furnish vs with Camels to bring our goods from *Mina* to the Port; *Edward Monox* late Agent propounded, whether they might vndertake that seruice or no. The proposition being well debated, and the Factors commision from *Surat* warranting to right themselves of the great losses and hinderances sustained by the *Portugall*, interrupting their peaceable Trade both in *India* and *Persia*, (the last yeeres attempt of *Ruy Frera* against Captaine *Shillings* Fleet at *Iasques*, to the losse of that worthie Commander, and other his Maiesties Subiects, being yet fresh) and for so much as the Persian now seeketh our aide (and in manner foreteth it) it is good to thinke on such conditions as may be for the publike benefit, and not to omit this opportunitie of a peaceable and profitable trade, the same to be sent vnto the Chan in these Articles.

First, In case God shall be pleased to deliuer the Iland and Castle of *Ormuz* into the hands of the Persian by our aide, the moitie of the spoile and purchase of both to remaine to the English, the other moitie to the Persian. Secondly, The Castle of *Ormuz* to be deliuered to the possession of the English, with all the Ordnance, Armes and Munition thereto belonging, and the Persian to build another for themselves at their owne charges. Thirdly, The Customes to bee equally diuided, the English to bee for euer Custome-free. Fourthly, That all Christian Captiues should be at the English disposing, the Musselmans at the Persian. Fifthly, The Persian to bee at halfe the ships charge for victuall, wages, weare and teare, and to furnish them at his charge with sufficient Powder and Shot. Diuers other Articles were concluded to be presented to the Chan; After his comming to *Mina*, Master *Bell*, and Master *Monox*, the eight of Ianuarie were sent to him and entertained with a sumptuous banquet: a great feast and triumph was also made for the ioyfull newes of the Kings taking in of a great Countrie in *Arabia*, and of *Aweiza* the chiefe Citie of that Countrie.

The next day the Duke sent his Visier accompanied with *Sabandar Sultan* and *Xareeah* with answer to the former Articles: The first was approued: For the second, the Castle should be equally possessed by both till the Kings pleasure were knowne. The third granted, provided onely, that the Kings and Dukes goods from *India* should also passe custom-free. To the fourth, they made reseruatiion of the two principall Captaines *Ruy Frera* Captaine of *Kishm* Castle, and *Simon de Mela* Captaine of the Castle of *Ormuz*, till the Kings pleasure knowne. Other Articles agreed on, and ordered also that no change of Religion should be admitted on either side; and charges of Powder and Shot to be diuided: The Duke and Master *Bell* signed, and presently the English goods were laden on the Dukes owne Camels on fire cost, which before no money could procure.

On the tenth we turned to *Costack*. We got aboard and acquainted the Commanders with the successe of our Iourney, which being diuulged and made known amongst the severall ships Companies, it seemes they consulted together with one voice to refuse the businesse; the *Londons* companie beginning, fifty or sixty appearing therein, Captaine *Blithe* taking much paines to suppress their disorder, and in the end preuayling with them, they promising to goe whither he would. The other ships in a day or two were in like opposition, alleaging it was no merchandizing businesse, nor were they hired for any such exploit, nor could hee tell whether it might not be a breach of the peace (said a fauourer of that Religion) till protests being made against each ships companie, what with feare to lose their wages, and promise of a moneths pay, they at last yeilded.

The nineteenth of Ianuarie we set sayle toward *Ormuz*, where we arriued the two and twentieth, and that night anchored in sight of the Towne, about two leagues from the Castle, in expectation that the Enemies Armada, consisting of fixe Gallions and some fiftene or twenty Frigats, would haue come forth to fight with vs. But they hailed so neere the Castle that wee could

CHAP. 9. §. 4. Kishme yeelded to the English. Ormuz taken, the Castle assaulted. 1795

could not come at them. Which we perceiuing, and vnderstanding that our vowed Enemie *Ruy Frera* was in his new erected Castle of *Kishme*, the next day wee addressed our selues towards the said Castle, where we arriued in fit time to saue both the liues and reputations of the *Portugals*, not able long to hold out against the *Persian* siege, and willing rather to yeeld to vs. The first of February they yeelded both their persons and Castle after many meetings and treaties into our possession. The fourth, we set sayle towards *Gombrone*, where we were royally feasted by the Duke, who was discontent that *Ruy Frera* was not deliuered to him, nor some of the *Moores*, contrarie to my liking, especially for the *Moores*: the Duke dissembling his discontent, in regard of further need of our helpe at *Ormuz*, and after his feast vesting all the *English* present according to their qualitie.

Kishme Castle yeelded.

Gombrone.

10 The ninth of Februarie we set sayle towards *Ormuz* with about two hundred *Persian* Boats great and small with two Frigats in our companie, and in them five and twenty hundred or three thousand *Persian* Souldiers of all sorts, and anchored that night about two leagues from the Castle. The next day before noone the *Persians* were all landed, and marched in a confused manner towards the Citie, which they entred as farre as the *Mydan* or Market place without meeting resistance. Which Market place they found barricadoed against them, and defended with Shot and Pike of the *Portugals*. But the *Persians* soone made way, and the *Portugals* like so many sheepe tooke their heeles into their Castle. One *Persian* onely which first entred was slaine with a Pike, and he which slue him lost his head in the Market place, his heeles being too heavy to carrie it away. Some eight or ten more, found scattered in seuerall houses of the

Ormuz besieged.

The Citie forsaken.

20 Citie, were in the same places executed. The *Persian* Generall named *Einam culibeg* at his first entrance into the Citie placed his Captaines and Souldiers in seuerall places of the Citie, and proclaimed vpon paine of death euery man to looke to his quarter, and none to fall on pillaging. Which some infringing were severely executed: he hanged some, cut off eares and noses of others, and others he bastonadoed euen for trifles. Yet within two or three dayes after shops and houses were broken open, and euery man wearied with carrying and recarrying spoiles all day, and sleeping so securely at night, that easily the *Portugals* in a sallie might haue slaine many. The same night we entred, I tooke possession of a very commodious house to settle a factorie there, which for conuenience of roomes I think exceeds any Factorie the Companie hath. But on the thirteenth it proued too

30 hot for me, being set on fire in the night by one of the Masters mates of the *Whale* with other his Consorts after I was in bed, carelessly with Candles romaging for pillage, and firing a roomie in which were goods giuen me by the Generall. But the winde fauoured vs, so that the house was not consumed. When I consider the strength of the Citie, and almost of euery house, being a little Castle, I cannot but maruell that the *Portugall* would so soone abandon the same. But it seemes they feared the *Persian* would haue intercepted their way to the Castle, or that the *Moores* their neighbours would haue betrayed them.

Strength of *Ormuz*.

The foure and twentieth of February our men by a stratagem of fire burned the *Saint Pedro*, quondam Admirall of *Ruy Freras* Fleet, which indangered all the rest, but the Tide carried her off to Sea; and her Reliques by the *Arabs* and other Countrie Boats were towed on shoare at

Port. Admirall burned.

40 *Gombrone*, and some Iron Ordnance and Shot taken out of her burnt Carkasse. At this exploit the Duke much reioyced. The seuenteenth of March the *Persians* hauing placed aboue forty barels of Powder in a Mine which they had made vnder one of the Flankers of the Castle, fired the same, and blew vp the corner of the wall making a faire breach, where they gaue a fierce assault till nine at night. But the *Portugals* made a manfull defence, and with Powder pots, scalding Lead, and other fiery instruments did much hurt to the assailants, burning, scalding, stoning many. *Sba Culibeg* notwithstanding, with two hundred of his most resolute men get vp into one of the Flankers, which they maintayned at least three houres, but in the end were fired out, the *Portugals* bestowing Powder pots as liberally as if they had come from Hell mouth. The same day the Citie was set on fire in diuers places, as it was reported, by the

Breach and assault.

50 nerals command, for that the *Arabs* lurked therein, and could not be gotten forth to doe any seruice. Wee lay here foure or five thousand men in a barren land which yeelds nothing but Salt of it selfe, and I knowe not what policy the Generall had to send away all the Rice, and our prouision for victuall and water wholly to depend on the Continent, so that if a Fleet of Frigats had come, as was expected, they must haue famished in the land; the Countrie Boats not daring to aduenture to and from the Maine. The raine water in Cisternes abroad daily wasted and waxed barkish, no care being taken to fill therewith the Iarres and Cisternes whiles it is good, provided almost in euery house for that purpose. The *Persians* are ignorant of the art of warre, for they entred without feare or wit and lost with shame what they might haue maintayned with honour. Other defects I obserued in the very sinewes of warre, such that I cannot

Barrennesse of *Ormuz*.

Water.

Persians ignorant of militarie arts.

Armes.

small

small Pieces, Bowes and Arrowes, Swords by their sides, and some of their chieffes haue Coates of Maile: Powder so scarce that after blowing vp the Castle they had scarcely Powder to plie their small Shot to enter the breach, and yet were furnished with twentie or fve and twentie Barrells from our Ships. They had not one scaling Ladder to helpe their entrance. Sould wee forsake them, they would soone be at a stand, and yet they haue broken Conditions with vs in seuerall things: and yet I feare when all is done, wee shall bee serued with reuerfions and what themselves please.

Portugals ships
sunke.

Till the three and twentieth, our Ordnance from the shore so galled the Vice-admirall and Reere-admirall of *Ruy Freras* Fleet, that they and the Galley are all three sunke close vnder the Castle wall; and the last night the Admirall that came last from *Goa*, yeelded her broad side to the mercy of the water, hauing learned the same of her Consort who the night before shewed her the way, and so all the *Portugall* Armado are come to ruine: These two last Ships I thinke were voluntarily lost by the Captaines policy, to leaue the *Portugals* without meanes to escape the more manfully to fight it out. Some thinke they sunke by hurts receiued from sunken Rockes in haling them so neere to the Castle to be out of danger from our Ordnance; and others, by leakes from our Shot: how euer we saw the destruction of them that were designed instruments for ours; for which great mercy of the most High towards vs most sinfull men, his holy Name be euer praised and magnified.

Portugall Trea-
tie.

March the seuen and twentieth, newes was brought me that some of the *Portugals* were come out of the Castle to treat of Peace, whereupon I made my repaire vnto the Generalls Tent to vnderstand the truth of the businesse where I found our two Commanders sitting, by whose countenance I well perceiued that my comming was not very welcome vnto them. But to requite them before our departure, both they and I perceiued that neither of our being there was acceptable to the *Persian*. Yet there we sate almost an houre in expectation of the *Portugals* comming, which was purposely deferred in hope we would haue auoyded, but Night approaching, and the *Persian* perceiuing we purposed to stay the Messengers comming, at length he was brought in. Who entring rudely without any great complement, deliuered as extravagant a Speech or Message, yet with a kind of forced voyce as though he had been the prologue to some Play. The effect of his Speech was this: His Captaine had sent him to kisse the hands of the Generall, and to know how he did, (this was his Complement) and for what cause hee moued this Warre against him, for the *Portugals* were the *Persians* friends, and so had beene for many yeeres, and now for so small a matter, onely for a Well or two of Water that so great Warre should bee made, and the ancient League and friendship which had beene betwixt their King and the King of *Persia*, and the people of both Nations should bee extinguished. Besides, his Captaine nor the Inhabitants of *Ormuz*, was not to bee blamed for what *Ruy Frera* had acted at *Kishme*, yet were they willing so farre as might stand with the Honour of their King to purchase their Peace: which they need not doe either through feare or want, for they had within their Castle one thousand able men, and provisions both of Victuals and Water to serue them for many moneths. Besides, they expected daily new succours from *Goa*. And if the *Persian* did thinke to get the Castle by force, hee would find it a hard matter to accomplish: for they were resolved to Fight it out to the last man.

Persian doub-
ting.

Cause of the
Warre, Portu-
gals intrusion
on the Persian,
by *Ruy Frera*
at *Kishme*, &c.

The later part of which speech being onely *Portugall* brauadoes, was not pleasing to the *Persian*. Wherefore the Generall willed him to declare the cause of his comming, to which hee answered, his Captaines desire was to know what the *Persian* would haue. To which the *Persian* replied he would haue their Castle, and that was it he came for. With which speech the Messenger was dismissed (without so much as being offered a cup of wine, had not I caused one to bee giuen him) but notwithstanding, what is here related, I cannot be perswaded but he came with a more substantial message then he deliuered, which he omitted by reason of our being there, whereunto he was formerly instructed by *Sha Cullibeg*, in whose house hee was at least an houre before he was brought to the Generall. Wherefore I feare some sinister dealing of the *Persian*, which in five dayes will bee discovered: the *Portugall* dismissed. Our Captaines by their Interpreters moued priuately their priuate businesse to the Generall, to which he gaue no great eare, but in conclusion his answer was, they would deferre that businesse till some other time: yet himselfe had written to them in great haste, that day to furnish him from the ships with a quantitie of powder, that night to attempt the blowing vp of the Castle: for their mines were all readie, and they wanted nothing but powder. Which request of his, our Captaines were so forward to consent vnto, that presently they brought on shoare foure and thirtie barrells of powder, for which their forwardnesse I feare the companie at home will giue them but little thanks.

Another trea-
tie.

The eight and twentieth *dito*. I went in companie of the Commanders to the Generalls Tent for that wee vnderstood two chiefe men of the *Portugals* were in *Sha Cullibeg* his house, where they had beene in conference with the *Persian* foure or fve houres; vnto which treatie none of vs were called, nor by any meanes made acquainted with it, which encreased our suspition of the *Persians* fraudulent dealing with vs. Wherefore comming vnto the Generall, wee made knowne our dislike of the manner of proceeding, for wee were partakers in this warre with you, wherein wee had hazarded our liues, ships, and Merchants goods: besides the hinderance wee sustaine by the

the losse of our Monson : and as wee were partakers and associates with them in the vnder-
 enterprise, wee ought likewise to be of Counsell with them in all treaties and proceedings, and
 therefore desired to know what they had done, or what they entented to doe, to which he answered
 they had done nothing, neither would he so much as drinke a cup of water without acquaint-
 ing vs therewith; which was a prettie complement where all his actions shewed nothing lesse.
 But we must bee content to vndergoe all with patience, yet were it not for our Merchants and
 their goods that are in the countrie, and subiect to whatsoeuer they will impose vpon them, wee
 could remedie this businesse well enough, and bring the *Persian nolens volens* vnto another recko-
 10 ning: but we are tied from that, and therefore must of necessitie be subiect to accept the measure
 they please to lay vpon vs, which I feare will proue ynnecesary ill: yet they tell vs all things
 shall be to our owne content, but howsoeuer, it is vied and must now be seene. About noone this
 present day, seeing many pike and shot, all *Arabs* in the street, which formerly I haue not seene
 so armed, desiring to know the cause, at length I perceiued they were ranged on both sides the
 street, called the *Mydan* or Market place, where shortly after passed two *Cavaliers* of the *Portu-
 gals*, attended with their Pages and Seruants, to the number of sixe or eight, whereof one carried
 a faire *Quintasol* over the two *Cavaliers*, who were accompanied by *Sha Cullabeg* and other chiefe
 men of the *Persians*, and conducted to the house of *Agariza* of *Dabul*: whither though vn-
 for, or vninuited, I also addrested my selfe, where vnexpected, I found the *Persian* Generall ac-
 20 companied with other chiefe men, his Assistants and Counsell, into whose presence I entred
 my selfe. The Generall gaue mee a kind welcome, and caused mee to sit downe next vnto him,
 which I would not refuse, for that the *Portugall* should see our Nation was in grace and fauour with
 them, where being set, hauing done my dutie to the *Persians* first, I after saluted the *Cavaliers*
 which was required with like complement; with whom I had some discourse of matters nothing
 pertaining to the present occasion, for that I would not presume to talke of that, till the *Persian*
 himselfe did first minister the occasion: which was not before wee had eaten a *Persian* collation of
Pilaw, &c. Which being done, the Generall demanded the *Portugals* what was their request or
 desire, to which they answered, the Captaine of the Castle had giuen them instructions in writing
 but his desire was they should propound the same vnto the Duke himselfe, if they might bee per-
 30 mitted to goe vnto him, who is now at *Gombrone*. To which the Generall replied, it was more
 then he durst doe without first acquainting the Duke therewith, by which I well perceiued they
 were onely delayes and distractions on both sides, and to gaine time for effecting their seuerall de-
 signes. Then the *Portugals* proceeded to their vsuall complayning against *Ruy Frera*, as if *Ruy
 Frera* as a priuate man and without order from the King his master had presumed to doe that
 which he had done, and to excuse themselues, demanded what reason or iustice it was to punish
 the Father for the Childrens offence: besides the matter in it selfe was small, onely for a Well of
 water or two, to which the *Persian* Generall replied againe, let the cause be what it would, they
 had moued warre against the King of *Persia* and his Subiects, for which their Castle of *Ormuz*
 must make satisfaction: wherefore if without more bloudshed they would surrender their Castle
 and come forth into the Citie, they should finde good quarter and bee well vsed; to which the
 40 *Portugals* made answer, they had no Commission from their Captaine to treat of any such mat-
 ter, with which they were dismissed. Notwithstanding the deniall was made to the *Portugals* re-
 quest for going to the *Chan*, yet the same night they had License and were sent vnto him to treat
 their businesse with his Excellencie. The certaintie of the Treatie I had no meanes to know, yet
 what I heard reported shall be here inserted. First, their demand was that the Duke would vouch-
 safe to withdraw his Siege from their Castle and suffer them to enioy the same as in former times,
 in consideration whereof they would giue him two hundred thousand *Tomans* in hand, and also
 the rent annually they had in former times giuen to the King of *Ormuz* out of the reuenue of the
 Custome house; which as hath bene reported vnto mee is but one hundred and fortie thousand
 Rials of eight *per annum*, but some report, they offer the *Chan* besides the two hundred thousand
 50 *Tomans* in hand, as much yeerely; and his demand was five hundred thousand *Tomans* in hand
 (which amounteth to 172413. pounds ten shillings seuen pence sterling, or thereabouts) the
 yeerely rent of two hundred thousand *Tomans*.

The second of Aprill, the *Persian* with the ayde of the *English* did blow vp two other Mines,
 with which was made a very faire and passable breach, wherein they might haue entred with-
 out any great difficultie: but there was no assault giuen thereunto at all. The passage of this
 businesse being well obserued, Captaine *Weddell* and my selfe made our repaire to the *Persian*
 Generall, to vnderstand his purpose and resolution; who to excuse the backwardnesse of his
 people in not assaulting the Breach, told vs it was very difficult and not to bee entred; of which
 we were contented to giue him the hearing, howbeit we were offered the contrarie, for that
 60 an *English* youth who is seruant to the Master of the *Jonas*, more bold then any *Persian*, went vp
 the breach to the very top of the Castle wall: who told vs the way was as easie as to goe vp a
 paire of stayres, and spacious enough for many men to goe vp a brest. Wherefore wee deman-
 ded to know his resolution for further proceeding: who told vs within three dayes he would
 be fitted for another Mine, and I beleue it well; for his mining is for Gold, not to make bre-
 ches

Note: the
 English enfor-
 ced by present
 occasions to
 engage them-
 selues in this
 warre,

Third treatie,

New breach

Bold Boy,

ches vnlesse it bee breach of promises vnto vs, which he can doe daily ; for of late they performe with vs in iust nothing, yet all this cannot warne vs to be circumspect to looke vnto our selues.

The greatest hurt the *Portugall* did vnto the *Persian* in assaulting the Castle was with Powderpots, wherewith many were scalded and burnt: for preuention whereof, the *Chan* hath now sent ouer store of Coates and Iackets made of Leather, which indeed are nothing so subiect to take fire as are their Callico Coats bumbasted with Cotton wooll. But as the English prouerbe is, *The burnt Child dreads the fire*, for notwithstanding their Leather coates, there was none so hardie to attempt the breach that is now made (albeit much more easier to enter then the last was) further then to pillage certaine balls of *Bastas* and other stufes which were fallen downe from the Baricado, the *Portugals* made for their defence against the *Persians* shot: in this aduenture one lost both his armes taken away with a great shot, by which meanes hee was faine to come backe againe without any *Bastas* or other Pillage.

Pitiful pillage

Persian powder
Portugals
wants, and mi-
series,
Fluxe how
caused.

The fifth of Aprill, newes was brought to the Generall of 100500. manes powder then arrived from *Babrine*. The twelfth ditto came a *Portugall* vnto the *Persian* Generall who escaped out of the Castle, and declared the great wants and weake estates the Souldiers were in generall, insomuch that daily did die six, seuen or eight of the Flux, which is chiefly occasioned through drinking their corrupt water. For the small quantitie of water which they haue in their Cesternes, is growne so brackish and salt, that it infects them all with the Flux, and besides the badnesse of it they are put to such strait allowance that many die with thirst. Besides for victuall, they haue onely Rice and salt Fish, two very good preparatiues to a Cup of good drinke if they had it. Notwithstanding all which the *Persian* deferres, yea I may say wasteth time in making new Mines, whereof hee hath no lesse then three in hand at this present, as if he would blow vp all the Castle wall round about before hee will make his entrie. The twelfth at night one of our Frigots namely the *Londons*, being appointed to her quarter for keeping in of the *Portugall* Frigots, that none of them should make escape riding single and alone by her selfe, the *Portugals* perceiuing it, sent off two of her Frigots which clapped her aboard but found her too hot for their handling, and therefore forsooke her; with what hurt to themselves I know not, but of the *Londons* men were slaine two outright, and seuen more hurt and wounded. And had not their blackes that rowed the Frigot forsaken them, they would haue put hard to haue surprised the surprisers.

Moores at last
deliuered ac-
cording to co-
uenant.

Persian perfidie

The fourteenth Ditto, the *Persian* sprung another of his Mines wherewith a very enterable breach was made but no assault giuen, nor yet shew of entrie made: but the troth is, hee was forced to blow vp the Mine before his time. For the *Portugall* from within the Castle was come so neere vnto him, that hee was in doubt he would haue defeated the same before he could place his powder. The fifteene Ditto, came another fugitiue from the Castle who confirmed the report of the others who came from thence in like manner before, and with all how the two Frigots which fought with our single Frigot aboue mentioned, came from *Muscate* wherein was the deceased *Don Francisco de Sosa*, late Captaine of the Castle his sonne, who came purposely to fetch away his Mother and other women that are in the Castle. Those *Moores* in the Castle of *Kishme* who yeelded themselves into our hands vpon the instant request of the Generall, were (partly with their owne consent) deliuered vnto him, whom hee promised should haue pardon for the errour they had fallen into, to serue the *Portugals* against their owne King and Countrey, and that they should also be provided for and haue employment in the then intended expedition for *Ormuz*. Which promise of his both to them and vs in their behalves, hee seemed to ratifie by vsing some of the principals in our presence and gracing them by other seeming curtesies: notwithstanding all which, the next morning hee cut off eightie of their Heads, and those which he had made so fine in new Vests to the number of fise or sixe of the principall, he sent them ouer to *Coombrone* to the Duke, by him to receiue their fatall Sentence. Which was not long deferred, but they were made to drinke of the same Cup their fellowes had formerly drunken of. *Meer Senadine* who was the chiefe Captaine of them, was executed by the hands of *Sherie Allie* Governour of *Mogustan*, who had married his Daughter, which hee performed vpon his Father in law with as much willingnesse as if he had beene his mortall Enemie.

Second assault.

The seuenteenth Ditto, they sprung another Mine adioyning to the first Mine was sprung, wherein was placed about fixtie Barrels of Powder, which tooke not the effect which was expected, for it flew out at the side and carried part of the Wall out with it, but stricke nothing at all vp vpward, whereby the first breach was very little bettered, which was the thing the *Persian* aymed at, yet was it sufficient to giue him encouragement to make his second assault, which was done with at least two thousand Souldiers, who very resolutely ranne vp the breach into a part of a Bulwarke which they might wholly haue possessed that very instant, had they not at first made such haste to runne their resolution out of breath; insomuch that onely eight or ten *Portugals* and a few *Negros*, made them onely with their Rapiers to giue ground and to retire themselves vnto the very outward skirt of the Bulwarke, where they had not roome for fortie men

men to stand in the face of their Enemie, yet there they barracadod themselves. Which before they could effect to their purpose, the *Portugall* plyed two or three Pieces of Ordnance from one of his Flankers that lay open vnto them, in such sort, that they sent some scores of them to carrie newes vnto their Prophet *Mortus Ali*, that more of his Disciples would shortly be with him. Which accordingly was effected and proceeded chiefly out of their owne ignorance and dastardly Cowardise; for had they not made their stand in that place, but entred pell-mell with the *Portugals* into the Castle, with the losse of halfe those men they lost that day, they might haue gayned the Victorie, and with much lesse paine vnto themselves, who from that
10 time the Mine was blowne vp (which was about nine of the clocke before Noone) the whole day stood flocking together in the Sunne without either meate or drinke, which was sufficient to haue killed halfe of them; notwithstanding the *Portugals* made very slender resistance. The most that was done was by the *Negroes*, whom the *Portugals* did beat forwards to throw powder Pots, with which many of the *Persians* were pittifully scalded and burnt. Had I not seene it, I should hardly haue beleueed that such had bene the grosse ignorance of the *Persian*, that hauing two breaches, the one not much inferiour to the other for his entrance, that he would apply all his Souldiers to the assault of the one and none at all to the other. Besides hauing provided at least eightie or a hundred scaling Ladders, neuer so much as brought one of them neere vnto the Castle walls. But such as their proceedings are, such is also like to be their suc-
20 cesse. For his Souldiers hang in a cluster vpon the breach iust as a swarme of Bees vpon a tree or bush that want a Hiue; or like a flocke of Sheepe at a gappe, where none is so hardie to enter, and the *Portugals* to put them out of that paine gleaneth away foure, fve, sixe, sometimes more at a shot; insomuch that I cannot but pittie them to see it.

The eighteenth *Ditto*, the *Persian* continued his assault but with more paines to himselfe then hurt vnto the *Portugals*. The last night two Captiue *Negroes* made signes vnto the *Persian* that they were desirous to come vnto them, so the *Persians* let downe ropes vnto them and so plucked them vp vnto them, who declared that the Captaine of the Castle had gotten a hurt on his head with a Stone, and how there were not about a hundred Souldiers in the Castle able to manage their Armes, their water growne scant and daily worse and worse, which also increa-
30 sed mortalitie amongst them: how there is likewise difference among themselves, being of different opinions, some holding it best to aduenture their escape by Sea with those Frigots they haue, others are contrary minded, and hold it more honour to sell their liues at the dearest rate and defend their Castle so long as they may, and when they can no longer, then to put their Women and Children with all their treasure into a house, and blow them all vp with Gunpow-
der (that the *Turkes* should neither inioy their wealth nor abuse their Wiues) which done, they would thrust themselves pell-mell with the *Persians*, and so end their dayes.

Portugals
poore estate.

Desperate
Counsels.

The nineteenth *Ditto*, at Euenbeing the third day the *Persian* that had lien resting himselfe in the breach, neuer offering to aduance himselfe, did then set forward, whereby he got himselfe better footing and possessed himselfe of all the Bulwarke, and forced the *Portugall* to forsake the same and retire himselfe further within the Castle: in which conflict many of the *Portugals*
40 were wounded and scalded with fire Pots, wherein the *Persian* is now as cunning as themselves, though many of them haue payed deare for their learning. In the said conflict were likewise foure *Portugals* slaine and their heads brought before the Generall to witnesse the same. Where- in all the *Persians* are very well seene; for I doe not thinke there is any Hangman in all *Germa- nie* that can goe beyond them in that Art; for he no sooner layeth hold on his enemie, but pre-
sently at one blow with his Sword, off goeth his head, and then with his Knife he thrusts a hole either in the Eare or through one of the Cheekes, and so thrusting his finger in at the mouth and out at the hole in the cheek, brings sometimes two, three, or foure of them before the Ge-
50 nerall together, in such sort that not a Butcher in *East-cheape* could doe it better. But if (as commonly it happeneth) that these Heads of their Enemies so taken in the warres be sent to the view of the King or *Chan*, then are they no lesse cunning to flea off the skinne of the whole head and face and stuffe the same with Straw like a football, and so send them by whole sack-
fuls together. This night one of the Frigots that came from *Muscat* for the *Donna Sosa*, made her escape and got away, no doubt very richly freighted. Her consort was chased in againe, which was likewise going: that which escaped, being haled by the *Arab* Boates, that lay in wayte to intercept their going, vsed the Watchword vsuall betwixt the *English* and *Arabs*, which was onely *Ingres Ingresses*; which Watchword hath neuer bene changed nor once alte-
red since our first attempting the businesse. Wherin both *Persians* & *English* are much to be bla-
med; for by the common vse of that one Watchword, the *Portugals* haue come to the know-
ledge of it, and haue made good vse of it to their owne benefites, which is their gayne and
60 our losse.

Quanto doctior
tanto nequior.
Yet this is the
Persian praise
that they are
good Sword-
men, the *Turks*
fearing to
come to hand-
blowes with
them.
Frigot esca-
peth.

The twentieth *Ditto* at night, the other Frigot aboue mentioned offering to escape, was ta-
ken by the *Londons* men in her Frigot and Pinnace. She was sent to carry away the *Almirante*
named *Luis de Britto*, a kinsman of the Viceroy of *Goa*, whom the Captaine of the Castle would
not suffer to depart: wherefore the *Portugals* which were taken in her, being fearefull of the
successe

One Watch-
word no
Watchword.
Frigot taken.

Parley.

success of the Castle, and that it was not able long to hold out, for safetie of their owne lines being seuen persons, held it their best course to aduenture their escape in the said Frigor, and in the night stole her away, and were taken as aboue mentioned. The one and twentieth Ditto, the *Persian* made preparation and shew, as if at once they would make short worke to possesse themselves of the rest of the Castle; but where we expected to see them put the same in execution, I perceiued that they and the *Portugals* were in parley together, wherefore I addressed my selfe to know the cause of so sodaine an alteration; and as I was fitting my selfe to goe vnto the *Persian* Generall for that purpose, I incountred a Messenger from our *English* Commanders who sent me word, that a Boat from the Castle was gone with a Flag of truce aboard their Ships, and they desired my company aboard with them to vnderstand what the businesse was; and coming aboard the *London*, found two *Portugals* with Letters from the Captaine of the Castle and from the *Almirante*, contayning, viz.

T Here hath bene such antient friendship betwixt the *Portugals* and the *English*, that considering the Warres which at this present wee haue in this place, wee ought one to vnderstand the other, for it seemeth to me when I see the *Mines* are made by the *Moores*, that onely by your ayde Warre is made against me, with which one of my *Bulwarkes* is gotten from me; wherefore your *Worships* would bee pleased to doe me the fauour to bee a meane to make Peace betwixt me and those *Moores*, if the same shall stand with their and your good liking, provided it bee in that manner, that I lose not my credit, neither your selues leaue to gaine Honour in a Time so fauourable vnto you; Thus not else our Lord keepe you, &c.

Symon de Mela Perera.

T His Fort is so beset and oppressed, that the *Moores* require vs to deliuer the same up on Composition, the which wee will not doe by any meanes, for when wee shall bee forced to make Composition wee will call your *Worships*: for it is not reason we should treat with *Moores* where you are present. For wee hold it better to deliuer our innocent Women and other vnnecessarie people, to the rigour of our Weapons, then to the clemencie of the *Moores*, and for that the knowledge hereof should not bee wanting to your *Worships*, I haue written this besides what accompanieth the same from the Captaine, and for what else you desire to know, you may informe your selues from this Messenger, to whom you may giue the same credit as vnto my owne person, and so God keepe your *Worships*, &c. The first of May 1622.

De V.S. Luis de Brito Daretto.

English Clemencie to the Portugals.

The request of the *Portugals* contayned in their seuerall Letters on the other side, being had to consideration and commiseration had of them as *Christians*, it was resolued to giue them a comfortable answer vnto their demands; which in effect was as followeth, but want of time the businesse requiring expedition, would not permit to keepe Copie of the said answers which was first vnto the Captaine *Simon de Melles*, to giue him notice of the receipt of his Letter, and whereas the chiefe point therein was, that we would bee *Terceras* for them to procure them such conditions of agreement with the *Persians*, as that might be to the sauing of the liues of so many *Christian* soules as were with him in the Castle; our answer was, that such had bene our care to provide for them, that it was in our owne power to grant that request, which we were not onely ready to doe, but likewise to shew them any other curtesie, or performe any *Christian* dutie towards them that might any way tend to their good. Therefore aduised him to set downe his Demands, and send the same vnto vs with as much breuitie as was possible, and to the like purpose and effect was our answer vnto the *Almirant* his letter, with which the two Messengers were dispeeded in one of our owne Barges, who returned with another Letter both from the Captaine and *Almirant*, that viz. The necessitie of the businesse so requiring the Commanders and my selfe, would not lose so much time to write any other answer vnto the said Letters, least the *Persian* should take aduantage of the opportunitie, and sodainly presse in vpon them and put them all to the Sword: wherefore we addressed our selues vnto the *Persian* Generall, to be suiters vnto him in the distressed *Christians* behalfe, that hee would hold his promise with them of a faithfull Truce for two dayes, in which time wee might treat with them of such Conditions as should bee as well behouefull and beneficiall for the *Persian* as for our selues, and that there might be no more effusion of blood on either side. At length my selfe and a *Persian* Gentleman with me, was appointed to goe with the *Portugals* to the Castle, and to treat the businesse with the Captaine of the Castle, &c. And also they desired that our Vice-admirall (Master *Woodcocke*) might come along with vs. So with consent of the Generall we went all three of vs to the Castle gate, but were not admitted to goe in. Where wee met with Signior *Luis de Brito* the *Almirant* of the *Portugals*, accompanied with five or sixe *Cavaliores* but did not see the Captaine, for the truth is, the vnder Captaines and Souldiers had mutined against him and detayned him as Prisoner, so that all our Conference was onely with the *Almirante*, and his speech chiefly addressed vnto Master *Woodcocke* our *Almirant* or Vice-admirall.

Mutinie in the Castle.

Men

Meer Abel Hassan, and *Pulot Beg* were after sent to the Ship (where some had imbezled some treasure) to request their company & conference from the *Chan*. Comming on shoare to the *English* house, they began with a long speech, how kindly the Duke did take the seuerall seruices and helpes we had giuen them in this their warre, and how the same in his part should neither be forgotten, nor goe vnrewarded in a larger measure, then either he had promised, or was bound vnto. The next was to make knowne the *Chans* resolution to proceede both to the inuasion of *Sware* and *Muscat*, and therefore that they should not suffer the *Portugals* to depart vnto any of those places. The third and last part of his speech was most base and very dishonourable, tending to this purpose, that we should betray into their hands, after they were vnder our protection, the

10 Captaine, and five or sixe more of the principall of the *Portugals*, alleadging that it would be much to the *Chans* honour to haue them to present vnto the *Sba Abbas*; which vilde dishonorable motion; when I heard, I absented my selfe, hating my eares for being guilty of the hearing of the same; and much more the tongue that could vtter so odious a businesse; and for my farwell, told them, I would not be guiltie of such a thing for the house full of Gold.

Persidy and honesty.

The 23. Ditto, the *Portugals* (whose meere necessity and pittifull estate wherein they were; had forced them to surrender their Castle vpon any conditions, whereby they might haue any hope at all to saue their liues, which stood then in great hazard to be spoiled by the *Persians*) sent this morning to giue notice vnto vs, they were contented to put themselves into our hands, on condition that we should giue them means to be transported either for *Muscat* or *India*, which

Portugals in Ormuz yeeld to the English.

20 was promised them and Captaine *Blith* with my selfe went as hostages into the Castle, to see the setting of them out, and the *Persian* promised that not one Souldier, or man of his, should enter the Castle till they were dispended and sent away, and how that onely three of them and three of vs, or our people should sit at the gate to see that they should carry nothing of valew with them: which on their parts was so neerely seene into, that most basely they searched and abused the very women. But the King of *Ormuz* together with his rich Vezier, their Treasure, women and seruants were all conueied ouer the wals or breach, and not an *English* man either called or suffered to see what they carried out with them: and not onely these, but all other

Persians partialitie.

30 *Moores* and *Banyans* with their Treasure and best things, conueied forth the same way: yea, whole bales of goods, Chests, and Suppetas, with God knoweth what in them, carried ouer the breaches. And no sooner were the Gates open to passe out the *Portugals*, but there was at least fortie *Persians* here and there in the Castle, yea and some of the ruder sort of the *English* also, whose comming in I may iustly feare was cause the *Persians* came in with them, iudging themselves as worthy of that liberty as our people.

Rascall-rudenesse.

The 24. Ditto before noone, the *Persians* and *English* began to pillage in such sort that I was both grieved and ashamed to see it; but could deuise no remedie at all for it: the *Persians* driving out the sicke, maimed, and burnt Christians that were not able to helpe themselves, that made

Pittifull pillaging.

40 my very heart to earne in my body to see it; and in the euening, the *Chan* in person came as it were in triumphing manner to see the Castle, and to view the great Ordnance, whereof there are neere vpon three hundred peeces of Brasse, the most of them Cannon, Demicanon, Culuarin and Demiculuarin, part whereof were Ordnance belonging to the Gallions, the rest belonging vnto the Castle; which purchase if wee can possesse, will be the greatest matter will fall to our share. This euening the Commanders and my selfe desiring to remaine in possession of the

Good Ordnance in the Castle.

Church, whither wee had conueied some quantitie of Plate and money, for the better and safer keeping thereof from being imbezelled, our motion was vtterly denied by *Pulot Beg*, who told the Commanders in plaine tearmes, they might lye without the doores: whereat they grew in choler (as they had iust cause) and so we came all three of vs out of the Castle together: the Captaines went aboard their shippes, and my selfe to the Citie; but the Sea being vp, and want of a Boate staid me at the Castle wals till it was neere midnight: at which time came no lesse then sixtie *Persians* by their owne report, sent by the *Chan* to watch that no Arabs should come and conuey away any of the Ordnance that lieth vpon the Sea strand; but I feare if the

50 truth were knowne, their comming was to cut the poore Christians throats, that lay at the Sea side for want of Boates to carrie them away, if they had not found them to be guarded by the *English*; or else to see that wee should not conuey away any of the Ordnance aforesaid: our chiefe businesse this day was to see the poore Christians dispeeded out of the Castle, the greatest number of them so weakened with seuerall sorts of maladies, but chiefly with famine, and many so noysome both to themselves and others with their putrified wounds and scaldings with Gunpowder, and so pittifull were their seuerall complaints and cries, that it would haue moued a heart of stone to pittie them; yet such was the dogged nature of the *Persians*, that they droue them and hunted them out of the Castle like so many dogges, pillaging many of them to the very

Persian inhumanity.

60 shirts. The 27. ditto at Euen, we licensed the *Portugall* to depart to the number of 2500. men, women, and children, to whom we gaue a passe to free them from molestation, in case they met with any of our ships at Sea; also our two priues the *Robert* and *Shilling* to passe them in, with victuals and water necessary to the voyage; and besides these, wee sent away vpwards a hundred persons maimed and sicke, that could not be dispeeded for want of shipping.

2600 persons sent away by the English.

The King of Ormus was poore, and liued chiefly vpon his 140000. exhibition from the King of Spaine, and some helpes from the Custome-house in reseruatiō of some pettie Customes. In romaging there amongst his Papers was found this Letter written by him to the King of Spaine; the translated Copie whereof I here present.

An excuse framed in behalfe of the Captain. You haue the story sup. l. 5. The storme was within their fearefull hearts.

Ormuz, an Iland of Salt without water.

All Captaines.

Kissme, or Quixome.

THe Letters which for three yeeres last past I haue written vnto your Maiestie, both by Sea and Land are as yet unanswered, which I daily expect; for the same doth much import this Kingdome of Ormus and seruice of your Maiestie, vnder whose protection I haue life and meanes thereof. In Iune last, 1620, arrived at this Fort the foure Galleons, of which is Captaine Generall Roy fiere Dandrada, who fitted himselfe with all things necessarye to goe and attend the comming of the English Ships at Iasques, which accordingly he did, of whose successe therein I shall not need to treat in particular, which is done by himselfe by this Post, who is sent at my charge and his; yet thus much I will say, this Gentleman laboured all that was possible to keepe the English from carrying away their silke, wherein hee performed the uttermost of his dutie, like a resolute and valiant Captaine: but by tempest and stormie weather his Ships were more separated then his enemies, by which occasion they had opportunitie to carry away their silke, which cost the life of their chiefe Commander, who was slaine in the fight, in which also died two of our Captaines.

By this occasion, and in the time, the Captaine Generall was incumbered with the English, the King of Persia commanded his Vassalls to send people into Arabia, to bring the same vnder his subiection, being without any to giue him impediment: Yet before they went I required the Captaine of this Fort, also the Veeder Dafazenda, to send some Frigats in fauour of the Arabs (who are your Maiesties Subiects) that might defend them: for without such ayde it was not possible for them to defend themselves: and for this effect came thither certain Xegues to demand succour, which was not granted them; but the most the Captaine did, was to enioyne mee to send a kinsman of the Queene my wife, whom presently I sent, spending therein more then I was able or had to spare: yet his going was to no effect for want of Frigats, which onely might hinder the Boates wherein the Persians passed ouer, for which cause this day the King of Persia is become Lord of Arabia; and I also feare that verie shortly hee will come against this Fort, because of all this Kingdome no more is left mee, save onely this Iland of Salt without water to drinke: for all things pertaining to the sustenance of mans life, come from such places as the King of Persia possesseth. The losse and overthrow of this Kingdome of Ormus proceedeth altogether from the Captaines your Maiestie placeth therein, who for their particular interest, are content to dissemble and consent that the Kingdome bee taken, without cost of bloud, or labour vnto the King of Persia his Ministers, and this is so apparent that I need not write thereof, but that which I will speake with truth is, if that your Maiestie bee pleased, that this Kingdome and Fort shall enioy either peace or meanes to subsist, you must send such Captaines as are no Merchants, because the Mariners which might serue in your Maiesties Nauie to keepe this streit, are all employed in the Captaines Ships and Frigats, which hee onely employeth in Trade of Merchandise, in which Ships serue likewise the Souldiers of the Fort, insomuch that many times it is left with very few. But so long as this continueth, there shall ever bee wanting both Mariners and Souldiers to your Nany, to defend and keepe this Iland from the power of the King of Persia, which at this day hath more then a thousand Boates, and is commander of this streit more then is your Maiestie, and all by the fault of those Captaines, which for twentie or siue and twentie yeeres past haue serued in this place. Those in former times contented themselves with the gaine of fortie or 50000. Cruzados for their three yeeres seruice, but now they are not contented with 200000. Likewise in former times they had onely two Shippes when most, but now they haue foure and as many Frigats, and there is nothing wanting vnto them; but it seemeth not iust, that to satisfie the couetousnesse of one, who aymeth at nothing but his owne profit, the weale publike should perill, and that euery one should haue but little that onely one may liue to inioy much. From hence is growne and groweth all the euills of this Kingdome, proceeding from such Ministers as are placed by your Maiestie, granting vnto them the command, which heretofore the Kings my predecessours euer held. But I am now brought so low, and such as are vnder mee, that we remaine altogether vnable to repaire the necessities that are daily offered, as appeareth by this of Arabia; by which your Maiestie will bee forced to make warre, and continuall warre by Sea against this enemy, for that by Land you haue no power to conquer him, who is not contented with the taking away the firme Land of this Kingdome altogether, with the Iles of Barem and Kishme, but further, in confidence of his great number of Boats, hauing none to resist him, hath taken from vs Arabia, which was the onely remedie of this Iland. Of the truth of what hath herein bene spoken, your Maiesties Ambassador Don Garcia de Sylua (God sending him well to your Maiestie) shall be a good witnesse, to whose report I referre mee, and to all others which goe from hence; God keepe your Maiesty. Ormuz the twelfth of February, 1621.

Mamede Xa Rey de Ormus.

To this Letter, I haue added the translated Copies of diuers other Letters, for the Readers full more satisfaction.

The

A Letter written from *Ruy frera dandrada*, and sent aboard the *lonas*,
by one of his Captaines, named *ALFONSO BORGEA*,
at our first arrivall nere the Castle of *Keshme*.

Courtesie is the daughter of Nobilitie, as ever it hath beene found in the English Caweleers, from which I inferre that in these occasions may be drawne the same example, whereby in Europe may bee made publike your valours, and unto his Maiestie may bee presented the great service unto him is done: that from the estimation thereof may arise to bee made a good peace and conformitie, which wee will all write into India to that effect, as ministers of the same, if it shall seeme good unto you. Therefore wee request you not to moue warre in fauour of the King of Persia, thereby to diminish the glory of your Nation, with which so many times they haue helped vs against the Moores, whereby wee gained Lisbone in the dayes of King Don Antonio the first, and afterwards King Don second, was aided by the Duke of Lancaster in the action of Castile: but if these obligations are small on your part, and that ours now may bee made greater, in which wee will remaine, if you will but suffer vs to prosecute our warre against the Persian, without your valorous spirits hindering what wee are able to sustaine, and thereby impeach the commerce in Spaine to the hindrance of both Nations, and to the damage both of Shippes and Merchants of which I doubt not, when his Maiesty shall bee aduised in what manner the English doe carry themselves, so that wee may reserve our dissensions for other voyages, in which by valorous contending may bee satisfied, those wrongs that cannot well bee remembered in such times as these are, and for that the same may with due interest and conformitie of both Nations English and Portugalls, I returne to put you in remembrance of the aboue written, which ought to be discoursed with good understanding, as a matter in which your Worships may amplifie and aduance the generositie of your Nation, and retaine vs as friends unto your affaires. giving vs motine to procure in acknowledgement of this benefit all peace and quietnesse, and if you shall disesteeme the same, the first wee hope for is no more then to provide our selues to die, defending that with Armes, we haue gotten by Armes, &c. the first of Febrary, 11. 1622.

Ruy Frera Dandrada.

Another Certificate of the kind vsage of the Portugalls.

VVE the Captaines, Souldiers, and Inhabitants of the Castle of Ormus, now in the possession of the English doe say and affirme for truth, that they the said English haue performed all what was promised by them, and more in giving vs shipping of their owne to transport vs for India with victualls and all things else necessary, and deliuered vs from the hands of the Turkes who sought our destruction, and also suffered vs freely to passe out of the Castle with our apparell and bedding, and needfull money in our pockets. And commanded our sicke and maymed people to be cured by their owne Surgeons, sending them daily food in great abundance, and would not suffer any of the Moores to hurt them in any case. In witnesse of the truth wee haue here under written our names: Ormus the seuenth of May, 1622.

Ioan de Mello. Costodio Pimentel. M. de Samperas
Symao de Mello.

A third Certificate.

LEt it bee graunted, that the warres and offences receiued therein prouoke a man to reuenge, notwithstanding wee cannot deny unto your Worships, and unto all the rest of your Company, how much we are indebted for the good intreatie shewed unto these which yeelded themselves unto you: and it shall for ever lue in our memories those benefits, for which when time and fortune shall minister occasion, wee will endeavour to shew our selues gratefull with other, no lesse tokens of loue due unto a Nation, which ever haue been so affectionated towards vs: and euill be to him that hath caused discord betwixt vs, for it evidently appeareth how greatly the English and Portugall Nations doe loue together, and it doth well appeare wee doe all of vs adore one onely God; for notwithstanding the warre, you doe vse so many principles by the which it is not greatly to bee marvelled at, that in you there are such good workes, and in vs such a thankfulness as may bee eternall, with a great desire that all discord may cease, and that wee may returne to the antient amitie in which I hope, and in the noble word and qualitie of your person and persons, and for that I will not bee further troublesome unto your Worships, both in curing and sustaining those poore people that are with you, I haue sent these foure Boates to fetch them away; and if it shall seeme good to your Worships, and the rest with you, to continue your former courtesies unto the end, in performing the word of Conquerours and Christians, as formerly you haue done, now at this present to giue them a guard, that they may come safe from the Moores; for that like yeelded people they haue neither Armour to defend themselves, nor yet strength to vse them, if you like noble Conquerours giue them not conuoy; in whose

whose word I am confident: Thus as your servant in what your Worships wil command mee, I rest. Soar
27. of July, 1622.

Amaro Roiz.

Powlet Beg the chiefe Commissioner, when the English expected to haue receiued 1200. Tomanes pay, hee made them more in his debt, the fruit of some Mariners priuate discourse and imbezelling. The English returned demaunds of a greater summe due from the Persian in like case. At last three moneths pay was allowed, and they shifted off from their other demands, hee forthwith, hauing no power thereto without the Cans Order. It is said, that the Portugalls not onely kept the King bare, but tooke bribes of his substitutes in other Prouinces, to protect them from their lawfull King, whereby he was vsed more like a Portugall Slaue then an Arab King.

I haue heard that the English had for this seruice of the King of Persia 20000. pounds.

After our buinesse ended, our misery began, occasioned by the vn sufferable heat, and partly by the disorders of our owne people in drinking Rack, and vsing other exercises no lesse hurtfull: whereby grew such a mortalitie, that three fourths of our men were dangerously sicke, and many died so suddenly, that they feared the plague, whereof yet no tokens appeared. This extremitie lasted but fourteene daies, in which time fixe or seuen died euery day. After which it pleased God to stay it, and the rest recovered.

This Persian businesse hath inuited, and almost enforced mee to remember our noble Persian-English Sherlies, especially the present honourable Embassadour Sir Robert Sherly, Count and Knight of the Empire, and therein aduanced to many priuiledges: of whom so much hath before bene occasionally recited. I much desired to haue obtained some Relations from his Lordship: but hauing late acquaintance, and hee much and weightie businesse, which hee hath bene forced to attend farre from the Citie, I rather thought fit to insert what by his humanitie and conference, I learned onely at one dinner with him (not knowing that I would publish what I then receiued) then not to imbellish these discourses, with so illustrious an English Trauellers Name and Memory.

CHAP. X.

A brieue Memoriall of the Trauells of the Right Hon. Sir R. O. B. SHERLY

Knight, Count and Knight of the Sacred Empire, now Embassador from the Persian King to His Maiestie and other Christian Kings.

mongst our English Trauellers, I know not whether any haue merited more respect then the Honorable, I had almost said Heroike Gentlemen, Sir Anthony & Sir Robert Sherleys. And if the Argonauts of old, and Gracian Worthies, were worthily reputed Heroricall for European exploits in Asia: what may wee thinke of the Sherley-Brethren, which not from the neerer Gracian shoares, but from beyond the European World, Et penitus toto diuisis Orbe Britannis; haue not coasted a little way (as did those) but pierced the very bowells of the Asian Seas and Lands, vnto the Persian Centre: and that not by a combination of Princes, as those former; but (God directing their priuate Genius for publike benefit) to kindle a fire betwixt the two most puissant of both Asian and Mahumetan Princes, that by their diuision and diuersion of Turkish inuasions, Christian Princes, Countries, and States might bee indebted to their priuate vndertaking: Nor hath ten yeeres detained them at one Citie, or one voyage finished their worthy indeuours, as theirs at Troy and to Colchos; but about twentie yeeres together, all Turkie hath groaned, in which shee hath lost two millions of her vnholawed Children; remoter India, Mosconia, Africa hath felt the Sherlian working, Poland, Spaine, the Emperour and Pope haue admired and adorned the English Name of Sherley. These indeed, especially Sir Robert (the subiect of our present Discourse) I shall honour for that Diuina Palladis Arte, that Ulyssian twentie yeeres trauell, and getting both Troies Palladium and Achilles his Armour; as alio for Iasonian sowing the Dragons teeth indeed (beyond Poeticall Fables) whereby Mahumetans haue killed each others, whiles Christendome might haue gotten the Golden Fleece, the vsuall fruit of peace. Let mee admire such a Traueller, which trauels not of and for some vaine discourse, or priuate gaine or skill, but still trauelleth and is deliuered of the publike good, accounting his Countrey his Garden, Christendome his Orchard, the Vniuerse his Field, for this happy seed of publike beneficence. Who euer since the beginning of things and men, hath bene so often by Royall Employment sent Embassadour to so many Princes, so distant in place, so different in rites? Two Emperours Rudolph and Ferdinand, two Popes Clement and Paul, twice the King of Spaine, twice the Polonian, the Musconite also haue given him audience. And twice also (which I last mention, as most knowne and at home, though not the least for a borne subiect to be Embassadour to his Soueraigne) His Maiestie hath heard his Embassage from the remote Persian. I omit his employment from the Emperour Rudolph with the Persian, his annuall pay of 5000. duckets, besides other Imperiall graces. Noble attempt to goe meet the Sunne! and from the West and North where he was borne, to

I haue heard Sir R. S. affirme this.

A Roble is a-
bout a Marke
English.

visit the East and South; and that both in ouerland Diameter first, and Sea circumference after, coasting the *European* and *Asian*, compassing the *African* shores, piercing the *Persian* Gulfe, and passing the *Indus* and *Indian* Continent, climbing the *Candabar* Hills, into, and ouer, and thorow and thorow *Persia*; passing the *Caspian*, and penetrating the Deserts more then *Tartarian* fortie two daies together, thorow high-troublesome grasse, without the sight of any man, but his retinue, and sixtie persons of his guard, each of which cost him a Roble a day all that time: *Extra Anni Solisque vias*, beyond, farre beyond both Tropikes, the Southerne *Soldanian*, the Northerne *Russian*, the many many *Tartar* Hoords, the *Mogoll* Emperour, the treacherous *Buloches*, the *Goan* Vice-roy, the ! but what should I read a Geographicall Lecture in one mans traueles, in one mans Embassages? *Qua regio in terris Sherly non plena laboris?* These haue seene him, 10
and hee hath seene them with Eyes more then of a Traueller, more then his owne, Himselfe being the Eyes of a mightie Monarch, which in his person visited so many Countries, Cities, and Courts.

The *Mogoll*
payeth 44. mil-
liōs of crowns
to his Army
yearly: besides
other expen-
ces, of which
see *sup.* in Cap.
Hawkins. l. 3.

The mightie *Ottoman*, terror of the Christian World, quaketh of a *Sherly-Feuer*, & giues hopes of approaching fates. The preuailing *Persian* hath learned *Sherleian* Arts of War, and he which before knew not the vse of Ordnance, hath now 500. Peeces of Brasse, & 60000. Musketers; so that they which at hand with the Sword were before dreadfull to the *Turkes*, now also in remoter blowes and sulfurian Arts are growne terrible. Hence hath the present *Abas* won from the *Turke* seuen great Prouinces, from *Derbent* to *Bagdat* inclusiuely, and still hath his eyes, mouth, and hands open to search, swallow, and acquire more. In the renowned battell with *Cigala Bassa*, of 160000. 2000 20
onely remained to flee with the Generall, who yet would not remaine after that disaster, but by poyson preuented domestike shame: and there did our Noble Countryman receiue three wounds, as a triple testimony of his loue and seruice to Christendome. Great *Abas*, great by his *Persian* Inheritance, is now made greater by *English* Merchants, Mariners, Souldiers, which aduanced his conquest of *Ormuz*, expelling those *Portugals* which had denied the *English* trade in *Persia*, from *Persian* neighbourhood; and greatest by victories against the Great *Ottoman*, moued thereto, assisted and guided therein by the *English Sherleys*. And he againe hath gratified the *Sherleyan* name with competent reciprocall greatnesse; not in titles of Honor, and honorable employments alone, but in rewards, THIS MANS BREAD IS BAKED FOR SIXTIE YEERES, being the formall words of his Royall Charter to him (which he that vnderstandeth the Easterne phrase of 30
of daily bread in his *pater noster*, knows how to interpret) with an explication added of the allowance to Him and his Assignes for that space, whether he liueth himselfe, or leaueth it to others inioying. The Great *Mogol* (whom he commendeth for the goodnesse of his disposition, of his owne naturall inclination not bloody, but humane and bountifull; and for his yearly pay to his Army of 44. millions of Crowns) entertained him liberally, offered him the pay of 400. Horse if hee would serue him; which, had not fidelity and *Persian* confidence preuented, hee had accepted; the zeale whereof, in some harsh reflection of wordes spoken somewhat too liberally against his Master, by him with like liberty retorted, ecclipsed the *Mogolls* beneuolence towards him, which otherwise might haue bene worth 50000. pounds, and neuertheless was, in Elephants, huge massie Coines (inscribed, *Consolation of Strangers*) and other gifts, not lesse valuable then eight or 9000. pounds. 40
As for other Princes Reall and Royall acknowledgements of his loyall seruice to the Christian affaires, I omit. But his high valuation with the Emperour *Rudolph*, I could not passe by, I hauing seene the Originall Imperiall Charter vnder the Great Seale, and subscribed by the Emperour himselfe. I haue seene also the Originall Breue of Pope *Paulus Quintus*, *sub annulo Piscatoris*, wherein the said Pope doth constitute him Earle of the sacred *Laterane* Palace, and Chamberlaine, with power to legitimate Bastards, for which many thousands at *Goa* were suitors to him (such is the *Portugall* dissolutenesse in those parts) the Archbishop there hauing vnder his hand acknowledged the said Grant, besides the priuiledges (allowances also annexed of so much bread, flesh, fish, a crowne a day, &c.) But the Imperiall Grant (to me of more respect and validity) I haue here deliuered *verbatim*, translated out of the Originall *Latine*, that his noble and great worth might by 50
noblest and greatest testimony bee acknowledged: the rather because I haue seene the same Title giuen him by his Maiesty, in his Letters commendatory of the said Noble Count to other Princes, and subscribed with his Royall hand and name, *Iacobus*.

Rudolphus the Second, by the Diuine mercie Elect Emperour of the *Romanos*, Alwayes Augustus, and of *Germanie*, of *Hungarie*, *Bohemia*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Sclauonia*, &c. King, Archduke of *Austria*, Duke of *Burgundie*, *Brabant*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, &c. Marquesse of *Moravia*, &c. Duke of *Lucemburge*, and of the higher and lower *Silesia*, *Wirttemberge* and *Teck*; Prince of *Suecia*, Earle of *Habsburge*, *Tirol*, *Terret*, *Kiburge* and *Goritia*. Landgrauce of *Alsacia*. Marquesse of the holy *Romane* Empire, of *Burgonie*, and of the higher and lower *Lusatia*; Lord 60
of the Marches of *Sclauonia*, the Port of *Naon* and *Salines*, &c. To the Noble and of Vs entirely beloued Count *Robert Sherley* Knight and Earle of the sacred Palace of *Laterane*, of Our *Cæsars* Court, and Imperiall Consistorie. The assigned Embassador vnto Vs of the most Renowned Lord and Prince *Abbas*, King of *Persia*, the *Medes* and *Armenia*, Our Imperiall Grace, and all

all happinesse. As the most resplendent beames of the Sunne, doe illuminate with their light the whole World, and refresh the same, giuing vigour and increase to the inferiour bodies: So the Emperour of the *Romanes* being placed in the height of dignitie by Almighty God (whose Maiestie as full of the light of honours and dignities is resplendent amongst all men) doth of himselfe spread farre and neere the beames of his bountie, especially vpon those who doe ennoble their owne worthy vertuous Race by excellent deserts of the Common-wealth and their Soueraignes: Therefore not only for this cause, that themselves may reioyce, hauing obtained by desert these honours from the Imperiall Maiestie, but that their Posteritie and others being allured and inflamed with these examples and beginnings, may apply their mindes to the most faire attempts of vertue and glory.

10 Whereupon, we by the appointment and prouidence of the most mightie God, being placed in this high top of Our Imperiall Throne, are desirous to obserue the worthy Ordinances of Our Predecessors, as well herein as in all other things, that We might entertaine with all fauour and clemencie, men excellent and famous for their vertue, and such as testifie their good will to Vs, and their singular loue and zeale towards the Sacred Empire, and Our noble houses of *Austria* and *Burgundie*.

20 Considering therefore the excellent parts of your mind, and wit wherewith you are endued. As first being born of such Parents, and such a race in *England*, who by birth themselves are noble, and besides, haue borne place and dignitie in that Kingdome: You haue from your Child-hood resolved not to degenerate from them, but by insisting and following their steps, and applying your selfe to the studie of vertue and honourable actions, that you might not only keepe and maintaine safe and sound your reputation at home, but by your owne actions and deserts, more and more adorne and aduance the same, which you haue so farre forth performed, that when you had serued by Sea and Land in sundry places for certaine yeeres, and had trauelled through many Kingdomes, and vndertooke with a couragious minde a Iourney into *Persia*, and together with your Brother *Anthony Sherley*, to the good of all Chistendome, encouraged that King to vndertake that Warre which he did against the *Turke* valiantly and resolutely, which very happily fell out for Vs in Our *Hungarian Warre*: and moreouer, since you with your said Brother *Anthony* haue procured and brought to passe, that the said King of *Persia* hath sent vnto Vs sundry Embassages, which partly the chiefe of *Persia*, partly your Brother and your selfe haue performed, and haue

30 vsed all the meanes to make a league, and procure Amitie betweene Vs and his Maiestie, and haue omitted nothing euen in your owne priuate thoughts and cares, whereby you might procure fit occasions for Our Warre from farre places: We haue thought you worthy for these commendable Seruices to bee graced by vs by some notable testimony of Our fauour, and Imperiall bountie, as We thinke may be an Ornament to your Kindred and Posteritie.

Therefore out of Our owne proper motion, out of Our owne certaine knowledge, with a deliberate minde, and out of the fulnesse of Our Imperiall Authoritie, We haue made, created, and ordained you the aboue named *Robert Sherley* a true and a lawfull Knight, and haue receiued you to the state, degree and honour of Knighthood, and haue adorned and inuested you with the Robes and Ensignes of the Girdle, Chaines, Rings, Spurres, and other Ornaments appertayning to the Order of Knighthood according to Our custome, as by the force of these presents, We doe make, create, nominate, appoint, receiue, inuest and adorne, girding you with the Sword of valour, and bestowing vpon you all Armes and Ornaments belonging to this Order, decreeing seriously and firmly by Our foresaid Imperiall Authoritie that euer hereafter you ought to bee esteemed, reputed, named, and honoured for a true and lawfull Knight. And that you may without the let and contradiction of any, in all exercises, actions and enterprises vse, possesse, and enioy Chaines, Sword, Spurres, Robes, Trappings, and what else soeuer Furniture belonging to Horses either all Gold or Gilt, also whatsoever Honours, Prerogatiues, Ensignes, Priuiledges, Freedomes, Favours, and Liberties which the rest of Our owne Knights, the Knights of the *Roman* Empire, as also the Knights of *Hierusalem* doe vse, possesse, and enioy in what manner soeuer either of right or custome, none whosoever forbidding the contrary.

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And that you may be graced with some singular testimony of Our bountie, of Our foresaid proper motion, and out of the fulnesse of Our Imperiall Authoritie with deliberate aduise, and out of our owne knowledge We haue made, created, and ordained you *Robert Sherley*, Earle of the Sacred Palace of *Laterane*, of Our *Cesars Court*, and Imperiall Consistorie, and fauourably haue honoured you with the Title of an Earle Palatine, as by the force of these presents we doe make, create, erect, aduance, entitle you, and doe take, ascribe and entertaine you into the Order and Fellowship of other Earles Palatines.

60 Decreeing, and by this our Imperiall Patent, firmly ordaining that from this time henceforth so long as you shall liue, you shall be able to enioy, vse, and possesse all and singular Priuiledges, Favours, Rights, Immunities, Honours, Exemptions, Customes, and Liberties, which other Earles of Our Sacred Palace of *Laterane* heretofore haue vsed and enjoyed, or do vse by right or custome howsoeuer. Giuing and granting to you the said *Robert Sherley* full aauthoritie and power, by which you may and shall bee able throughout the whole *Roman* Empire, and what place

place or Countrey else soever create and make publike Notaries or Registers, and ordinary Iudges, and to giue and grant the Office of Notarie or Register, and Iudge ordinarie to any persons who shall be meete and fit for the same (which we leaue to your owne conscience) and to inuest them, and euery one of them by the Pen and Penner according to the custome, in the aforesaid places. Provided that of the aforesaid publike Notaries, and Iudges ordinary by you to bee created, and of euery of them in the Name of vs, and the Sacred *Romane* Empire, and for the *Romane* Empire it selfe you take a corporall and personall Oath according to the custome in this manner. That they shall be true and faithfull vnto Vs, and to the Sacred *Romane* Empire, and to all Our Successors Emperours of the *Romanes* lawfully possessing the same, neither shall they bee present where Our danger is practised, but they shall defend and faithfully maintaine Our good and safety, and they shall auoid and put by as much as in them lyeth whatsoever may be to Our damage.

Moreover, they shall write all Instruments as well publike as priuate, Last Wils and Testaments, Enrolments, Legacies, all Decrees of Iudgement what-soeuer, and all and singular other things, which shall belong vnto them, or to any one of them to be made or written (according as the place of the said Offices shall require) iustly, sincerely and faithfully, all dissimulation, cunning, plotting, falshood, and deceit being set apart, also reade, make and pronounce the same, respecting neither hatred, money, gifts, or any passions or fauours.

Their writings which they ought to draw in publike forme, they shall write, reade, make, rehearse in faire Parchment, not in paper or sheetes torne and razed. They shall further to their power the causes of Hospitals, and of poore people, also see to Bridges and High-ways. They shall secretly, and faithfully keepe depositions and verdicts of witnesses, vntill they shall be published and approued, and they shall doe all and singular other things rightly, iustly, and sincerely, which shall any wayes appertaine to their Offices either of custome or right, and that these publike Notaries, or Registers and Iudges ordinarie to bee elected by you, may and shall bee able throughout the whole *Romane* Empire, and in all places and Countreyes else write, and publish Contracts, Decrees of Iudgements, Instruments, last Wils, also to insert Decrees and Authorities, in all Contracts whatsoever requiring the same, and to doe, publish, and exercise all other things which are knowne to belong and appertaine to the publike Office of a Notarie, or Register, or ordinary Iudge, decreeing that absolute credit be giuen to all Instruments, and writings to be written by these publike Notaries, or Registers, or Iudges ordinary, in Iudgement and without, Constitutions, Statutes, and whatsoever else shall make for the contrarie notwithstanding.

Moreover, we doe grant and giue to you, the aforesaid *Robert Sherley* full power, that you may and shall be able to legitimate Bastards of what kinde soeuer, Incestuous persons whether they be together or separated, and whosoever else of that sort, yea, though they bee Infants present or absent, already begotten or to be begotten of vnlawfull and disallowed coniunction, Males and Females, by what name soeuer they be called, whether the lawfull Sonnes be knowne or no, and no further inquirie made, whether their Parents bee liuing or dead (only the Children of great Princes, Earles and Barons excepted) and to restore them and euery one of them, to all and singular their Rights and Titles, and altogether to abolish the imputation of base birth by restoring and enabling them to all and their singular Rights of succession, Hereditaments of their Father and Mothers goods, though they died Intestate, also of their Kinsmen and Kinswomen, and to all Honours, Dignities, and all lawfull actions, as well by contract as by last Will bestowed, or howsoever else as well in Iudgement as without. Euen as if they had bene borne in lawfull Matrimonie, the obiection of Bastardie for euer resting; And we will that their legitimation made as aboue-said, may be held for good and lawfull, as well as it had bene performed with all Rites and Solemnities, the defect whereof wee will supply with our Imperiall Authoritie. Provided the legitimations of this kind bee not preiudiciall to the lawfull Sonnes and Heires, and those that are naturally and rightly borne; but those that are to be made legitimate, after they shal be legitimated, let them be thought and named; for so they ought to be named and held in all places as legitimate and lawfully borne of the House, Family, and Linage of their Parents, and that they may beare and carrie their Armes and Ensignes. Withall let them be made Noble if their Parents haue bene nobly borne. Notwithstanding certaine Lawes by which it is provided, that Naturals, Bastards and Incestuous persons, either ioyntly or seuerally or any other whosoever either already begotten, or to be gotten by vnlawfull copulation, neyther may, nor ought to be legitimated, naturall and children lawfully begotten remayning, or without the will and consent of the true and naturall Sonnes, or Kinsmen, or the Lords of their Land, and you may especially reade in the Authentike after what manner a child is naturalized. *Et quibus modis Nat. efficitur sui per totum & q. Naturales li. de fado fuerit controuers. inter Domin. & Agnat. & L. Inhemus C. de emancipat liberorum & similibus alijs.* Which Lawes and euery one of which willingly and expressly we will to be of no force. Yea notwithstanding in certaine of the aforesaid cases, the depositions of the Plaintiffes, and the last Wils of the dead, other Lawes, Statutes and Customes of other places, although they were such which ought to be expressed, or of which speciall mention here ought to be made. All which notwithstanding, and of their power being otherwise able to make of none effect, the premises onely in this case out

of our owne knowledge, and the fulnesse of our Imperiall Authoritie we will wholly that they be of no force at all.

- Hereto moreouer, we doe giue and grant vnto the aforesaid *Robert Sherley*, that you may and shall be able to confirme assistants and ouer-seers, and the same againe vpon lawfull cause to depriue & displace. Moreouer, to restore such as are notoriously infamous as wel by Fact as by Law againe to their former credit, and from them to take away all note of Infamie as well alreadie imposed vpon them, or to be hereafter layed to their charge, so that afterward ahey may be accounted meete and fit to be preferred to all and singular lawfull actions. Besides, to adopt and ordaine Children, and to make, ordaine and to confirme them as adopted, and acknowledged for lawfull;
- 20 Moreouer, to make free children legitimate, or to be made legitimate, also those that be adopted, and to giue your consent to all Adoptions, Naturallizings, and Freedomes whatsoever, of all and euery one, as well Infants as young men. And also to giue them time and yeeres if they sue vnto you, and in euery thing hereunto appertayning to interpose your authoritie. Moreouer, to make seruants free, in what kind soeuer, with or without the allegation and alienations, or transactions of their necessary maintenance, and also herein to interpose your authoritie. Also to restore the lesser Churches, and Immunities to their former vse wholly, the one part hauing beene called before in question, and to grant the whole restitution vnto them againe, or to one of them: Notwithstanding a course of Law being obserued. These aforesaid premises shal not be prejudiced by any Lawes whatsoever, Constitutions, Decrees, Customes, Ordinances, Reformatiōs, Priuiledges, Exemptions, Fauours, and Prerogatiues, by what name soeuer they be called, or of what tenour and force soeuer they be, as well made all readie, as to be made hereafter, by vs, our Predecessours, our Successors, or by what Princes soeuer, Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, Vniuersities, or others of what kind or condition soeuer, vnder what clauses or expresse words soeuer, although such things and the like should come to passe, of which it should bee needful here to make mention word for word, to those that should attempt the contrary. From all and euery of which by our Imperiall Authoritie, and out of the fulnesse of our own proper motion, and out of our own knowledge aboue rehearsed, by these presents as farre forth as they may derogate from this Our Graunt and Patent, we will the force and vigour to be taken away. Wherefore it shall be lawfull for no man of what state, degree, ranke, condition, dignitie, or preeminence he shall be, to infringe or teare this
- 30 Graunt of Our Creation, Ereccion, Allowance, Gift, Patent, Decree, Pleasure, Priuiledge, and Fauour, or contradict it by any rash attempt whatsoever.

If any man shall presume to doe it, let him know that he shall incurre *ipso facto* Our heauie displeasure, and of the whole Empire. Moreouer, the punishment of fiftie Markes of pure Gold, halfe of which shall be confiscate to Our Imperiall Treasurie, and the rest to bee employed to his or their vses that haue had the wrong without release. By the testimonie of these Our Letters subscribed with Our owne hand, and confirmed with the putting to of our Imperiall Seale.

Given at Our Court at *Prague*, the second day of the moneth of Iune. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. In the 35. yeere of Our Kingdomes of *Romanes*. Of *Hungarie* the 37. and of *Bohemiah* in like manner the 34. *Rudolph*.

This Epitaph is taken out of the said *Iacob's* life by *Alij A. ben sultan*, in *Arabike*.

* This like agreeth with Christian storries. It seemes they were Arabian Princes or Heads of Tribes before *Mahomets* time, Eighty Colledges or Schooles of Learning. One of these had a Library of 55000. Bookes; to redeeme which (for hee gaue all his goods at his death in almes) hee charged his Son to marrie 1000. Orphans giuing to each 1000. Miticals, World

CHAP. XI.

The Epitaphs on the Tombe of IACOB ALMANZOR the Saracenicall Emperour, vnder whose Reigne Spaine was subdued to the Moores, written by MAHOMET ALGAZELI a learned Arabian, and grauen in the foure stones of his sumptuous Monument.

The first Epitaph historicall.



Here lyeth buried the high and highly reuerenced King of most noble birth, famous race and linage, descended of eightie * and two Kings, *Abulgalit Miramamolim*, *Iacob Almanzor* who was worthily called the *Conquerour*, being neuer overcome; the famouslest of the Sonnes of *Nasir Abu Malique*, seeing hee wanne eightie and six battailes by Sea and by Land, and tooke fise Kings; subdued three parts of the World, *Asia*, *Afrike* and *Europe*, and gaue peace and tranquillitie to

- 60 his subjects, obseruing Iustice with benignitie and mercie. This is he that vsed Charitie and augmented his Religion hauing at his owne cost builded in his Kingdome fise hundred and six principall Mezquitas, eightie and two Hospitals with as many Royall Colledges, and endowed them with large and sumptuous Reuenues. This is he that married euery yeere at his charge a thousand Orphans, he that banished ignorance, and embraced Learning. Hee that gaue to all the

World

A. D. this agreeeth with 723.

The second Epitaph, Morall.

World examples of life in his sayings and sentences, and notable deeds of Armes. He who was our example of good and laudable customes. Hee that killed the hunger and thirst and nakednesse of his subiects with his large and liberall hands. Let immortall fame euer attend on this Sepulchre acknowledge him that lyeth therein for her King and Lord, seeing by him shee is made triumphant and victorious ouer all Ages. This great Monarch died continuing in his inuocation of the mercifull God the Creatour of Heauen and Earth without ceasing, so much as a moment vntill his last gaspe, imploring his incompreensible mercie and fearing his high Iustice. The third day of the Moone of *Rageb*, the night before Friday after the last Watch in the hundredth and second yeere of the *Hixera*. Praised bee God and blessed bee his most holy Name for euer. *Amen.*

10

O how great is the misery of men, which hath brought a King of so great power, Empire, and command to the estate wherein hee is at this present, who as yesterday was honoured, reuerenced, and beloued of his people, and is now forgotten and forsaken of them all, and remaineth solitarie in the darke Caues of the earth. He which was wont to bee clad in silke and cloth of gold and siluer, and to sleepe in the softest and sweetest beds curiously and richly decked and adorned, lieth heere buried in the hard Earth. He which vsed to goe perfumed with Muske and Amber and other excellent odours, now yeeldeth in his base estate a noy some and stinking smell. He that as yesterday did eate the choicest meates, and dranke the most delicate drinkes is heere become himselfe to be the meate of wretched and loathsome Wormes. O mortall men, let none put confidence in the delights of this life: take example of him that lyeth heere buried: who hauing possessed them, obserue how little while they continued. There is no confidence to be placed in any but in God and in things eternall: let these terrene transitorie worldly things to be forgotten for his loue and reuerence. Let vs follow good and holy workes which endure for euer, that with them through his grace and mercie we may obtaine that eternall life which endureth for euer and euer. *Amen.*

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The third Epitaph, Political, and exemplary to Kings.

Here lieth buried the terrour and feare of the *Moores*, *Christians* and *Gentiles*, that ploughed vp the Sea, and made the Land euen and plaine. Hee that subdued the Nations of the World. The example and paterne of benignitie and mercie, and the right rule of executing Iustice severely for the chastisement of those which doe not liue vertuously as the Soueraigne God commanded. Here resteth that liberall hand, that was neuer shut or closed to any that sought the reliefe thereof. The protector of the poore; the father of the Orphans; the refuge of the Widdowes; the zeale of chastitie; the mirrour of honestie and shamefastnesse accompanied with Modestie; the paterne of Princes; the modell of gouernment; the picture of puritie and cleannesse; the type of Nobilitie; the preseruer of truth in his tongue; the banisher of lies, the true louer of Learning, he that hath left a liuing fame of himselfe for the future Ages; and a worthy example of such lasting memorie as time cannot consume, which hath consumed the great deeds and exploits of Kings, Princes and Emperours burying their memory in obliuion. O yee mortall men let vs pray to our Soueraigne God, that he vouchsafe to prosper and augment his memorie for example of the Kings to come, that by imitation of him they may gouerne their Common-weales in peace, directing vs also to his holy seruice, and filling vs with his grace. *Amen.*

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The fourth Epitaph, Morally and naturally Theologicall.

Euen as gold is refined and purified in the Crucible, or placed on the fire which discouereth the finenesse therof among the flames: So a sinful man who preserues his patience in the persecutions of this life doth purifie & perfect himselfe therby. A man ought to consider that he was borne to suffer, and he may comfort himselfe in this, that all the trauels of this life shall haue an end with him at his death, and that only the good and holy workes are they which remayne for euer, being accepted and regarded of our Soueraigne God. O man, consider that he created thee for his seruice: and that thou vngratefully hast departed from him without recompence of amends. Behold, how lukewarme thy loue is towards him, and that of thy Creator towards thee is constant and true, hauing giuen thee thy being and accomplishment for his mercie. Consider with how high a prize he bought thee, and gaue thee meanes to saue thy selfe by vsing well thy libertie and freedome as he hath commended thee. And therefore doe I admonish thee that thou loose not the much for the little, the certaine for the vncertaine, for if so thou doe, thou wilt finde thy selfe deceiued. Consider how misery and pouertie consists not in the wanting of Parents, or kindred, or of temporall goods, but in the want of the fauour of God and of his benediction. Imploring therefore his mercie and grace, let vs humbly intreate him to grant vs the same, and hold vs with his hand. *Amen.*

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CHAP. XII.

Master THOMAS CORYATES travels to, and Observations in Constantinople, and other places in the way thither, and his Journey thence to Aleppo, Damasco and Ierusalem.

10 **W**E haue already seene Master Thomas Coryate in his Indian peregrination. The beginning of which his Journy we could not then give you for want of that Intelligence which since is come to my hands, namely his owne Bookes; out of which I haue presented thee his Observations of Zante, Syo, and Constantinople, with some other places in his way to Ierusalem, from whence he pierced Persia and India. Hee set forth October the twentieth, Anno 1612. and Iauuarie the thirteenth arrived in Zante. Out of his large Iournall I haue briefly presented this,

Houfes in
Zante.

- The houfes of this Towne are built with stone, such as is digged out of the Rockie side of the Mountaine. They are somewhat lower then I haue obserued in other Townes: their Roofes are somewhat flatte according to the forme of the *Italian* Building, with a prettie round stone inserted into the middle of the out-side, which maketh the House there somewhat like to the broad Thrumbe Caps, that some of the olde women of the West parts of
- 20 *England*, were wont to weare for some twentie yeeres since. Neither doth their manner of tiling differ from that of *Italy*, being made all hollow within side, which is vsed seuerally ouer all *Italie*, and many parts of *France*. I could see no glasse windowes in their houfes, but all Lattice made of Firre which I obserue to bee generally vsed amongst them. Which Lattice leaues in the Summer time they doe commonly take of, and then, seeing they are *Greekes*, and merrie *Greekes* too, they may be very properly said to keepe open houfes. Now concerning their lowe houfes, the reason why they build them so lowe is, because of the manifold Earthquakes which doe as much share this Iland as any other place in the World. The Earthquakes are so frequent with them, that sometimes they feele ten of them in a moneth. At the time of my being in the same there was a little feeling of an Earthquake, which was perceiued for some five or sixe dayes together. For which cause on Munday being the eleuenth of Iauuary, about tenne of the clocke in the morning there was a Procession about the Castle solemnized by the *Greeks* Priests that prayed to God to cease the Earthquake. Sometimes when it is any thing vehement, they vse to ring out the Bels of all their Churches. The motion of the Earth doth neuer last aboue a quarter of an houre at the most, when it continueth longest most commonly but two or three minutes; during which time it often falleth out to bee so violent, that people fearing least the houfes would fall downe then haue benee driuen out of doores, euen out of their naked beds, men in their shirts, women in their smockes, carrying their clothes with them, that they haue hastily caught vp, and haue at leisure put them on afterward. The time of the Earthquake is vncertaine, sometimes it commeth by day, and sometimes by night. The naturall cause of them is vnkowne vnto me:
- 40 though some of the *Englishmen* that dwelt in the Towne doe coniecture that it proceedeth from the hollow Canes and Cauernes that are in the bowels of the Earth. It is obserued, that their Earthquakes doe most commonly happen when there is a sudden calme in the Sea and quiet weather, and the winds which doe for the most part accompany it, or rather goe before it, and partly cause the same are West and by North and Westerly. Neither is this Iland only subiect to these Terremotes, but also the next Ile neere at hand called *Cephalonia*, which is more shaken with the same then *Zante*: which are the only two places of the whole Countrey thereabout, that are annoyed with Earthquakes. For neither *Morea* neere at hand, nor *Arcadia*, doe at any time feele these shakings, therefore the frequencie of those foresaid Earthquakes is the reason of the low building of the houfes which would the sooner fall downe with the forcible motion of the Earth, if they were very high. Howbeit as lowe as they are sometimes two or three hou-
- 50 ses haue fallen downe with the Earthquakes, being rooted out from the very foundations, and haue benee afterward reedified.

Earthquakes
oft and short.

Cephalonia.

- Now I will mention a matter of this Towne, which vnto most that shall read it will seeme almost incredible; that albeit it be no more then two miles and a halfe, or at the vttermost three miles in compasse, yet it should containe three and fortie Churches and Chappels. A thing so absolutely true that there is no contradiction to be made against it: only they are so little that a faire Towne Church of *England*, will make very neere halfe a score of them. These are the particular names of the totall number; first three in the Castle, Saint *Francis*, Saint *Katharines*, Saint *Markes*, Saint *Maries* in the Towne, in the Yard or Court of which before I came into any part
- 60 of the Church I saw a very remarkable Monument that shall not passe vnmentioned, the Sepulchre of *Marcus Tullius Cicero* and his Wife *Terentia*, but such an obscene and ignoble graue, that I could not but condole the misfortune of that famous and incomparable Orator, from the exhausted Fountaine of whose incomparable Learning, so many excellent Orators haue drawne liquor of Rhetoricall inuention, to the great garnishing and adorning of their polite lucubrations,

Churches.

Ciceros Sepulchre.

ons. For it standeth *sub dio*. in the open Aire, without any Sepulchrate or Titularie stone, that might testifie to the Reader who lieth there; which cannot but strike a kinde of veneration into any man that hath any sparke of learning. But belike the Vrne wherein his ashes were laid may remaine there, though the *Venetians* haue robbed the place of the Monument, which I know to be very true, by a certaine ancient Inscription that I read in a stone in the Quadrangle of a *Clarissimoes* house adioyning to the *Piazza* of Saint Marke in *Venice*, which I haue mentioned in my former Booke, viz. *Marco Tulli Cicero*, haue & tu *Terentia Antoniana*. These foure Churches belong to the *Italians*, all the rest (being 39.) to the *Greekes*.

Wine, Oile, &
Currans com-
modities of
Zant.

Famous is this Citie ouer most part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* for three principall Commodities which the Iland doth minister to the same, and the Citie again to many remote Countries, 10
Wine, Oile, and Currans.

Marriages.

I obserued a strange custome in this Iland the day of their Marriages: for whensoever any of the Kindred is married, all the day, all of the same consanguinity do hang out of their Windowes certaine Carpets, by which it is generally knowne in the Towne that such a one is married: and they hang out most commonly two Carpets in euery house. I haue obserued also a custome amongst their women which I neuer read or heard of amongst any other women. They ride on Asses astride; and that vpon *Morocco* Saddles, but all those that I saw ride were Gentlewomen of the better sort, attired in their Silkes or Damaskes, very seemely to behold, beeing attended by a Page that walketh along by their sides, many of them slaues that they bought with their money.

Caloieri not
Priests, but
Greeke Monks.

The first *Caloieri* that euer I saw were in this Towne of *Zante*, which are certaine *Greeke* Priests, whose names are deriued from these two *Greeke* words *καλός* and *ιερός*, that is, an honest or good Priest. They are such as haue vndertaken the Vow of single life. But there are other Priests among them that are suffered to marry, but hauing buried one Wife they may not matrimony. Their ordinarie fasting Dayes of the weeke are Wednesday and Friday, in which they will neither eat flesh nor any fish that hath any blood in it, also they obserue foure Lents euery yeere. And now we will follow our Author to *Syo*.

Syo.

Masticke Tree
described.

Out of *Syo* a great Tribute of twentie thousand Chicquins ariseth vnto the *Grand Signior*, out of a principall Commodity that this Iland yeeldeth, viz. Masticke, which groweth heere only of all the places of the World, the Tree that beareth it is a prettie kinde of shrub like vnto that *Lentiscus*, that groweth in some parts of *France* and *Italie*, this shrub groweth low by the ground and beareth crooked little boughes and leaues, they are not disperfed ouer the whole Iland, but grow only in one place of it some sixe miles from the Citie, the iuyce of it is white, and in the moneth of August they begin their *Recolta*, that is, their Masticke Haruest; the men that are set a worke about that businesse, cutting the barke of the Tree with their Iron Instruments, which are like Pix-axes, and it is almost three moneths before they end their *Recolta*, the Gum distilling incessantly for that space.

Cotton shrubs

Besides, there is another Commodity that they sell in this Iland, Cotton, which groweth very plentifully in sundry places of the same. The shrub or bush that beareth it is as low as the lowest sort of Vines, and there is a great multitude of plots of it neere to the Towne and in other parts of the Countrey. The downie or woolly substance which proceedeth from the Cod of the shrub doth yeeld that matter, of which the Ilanders doe make a certaine stuffe called Dimitie, and another called Scammatic.

Dimitie and
Scammatic.

The day before we departed from *Syo*, I rode into the Countrey vpon an Ass (according to the custome of the Iland) being accompanied with some other of my Countreymen, whereof the chiefe was one Master *Richard Southerne* that had liued a prettie while in those parts, and vsed mee passing louingly in the Towne of *Syo*, also Master *Robert Eldred*, and Master *Richard Lampin*. We tooke our Iourney to a thing very famous and worthy to be scene by euery learned Traueller, if that bee true that the Inhabitants doe report of it. Namely, the Sepulchres of the Prince of all Poets Diuine *Homer*, my Master for many yeeres since

Homers Sepul-
chre.

*A quo, seu fonte perenni
Vatum Pieris ora rigantur aquis.*

for indeed they doe confidently affirme, that hee was borne in this Iland, and buried heere also. Yet there are five Cities more doe challenge him as well as *Syo*, according to an old Distich in the Methologie of *Greeke* Poets that read long since

*Εὗτα πόλεις ἱρίζουσι περὶ ῥίζαν Ὀμήρου
Σμύρνα, Ῥόδος, Κολοφῶν, Σαλαμῖς, Χίος, Ἄρδος, Ἀδύνη.*

But our sinister fortune was to goe too late out of the Towne that we could not possibly reach thither that night ouer the dangerous precipices and difficult passages of Rocks and home againe, for it was about some twelue miles to the place. But instead of going thither (whither if wee had gone wee could not haue scene any Monument at all, but only a Vineyard that yeeldeth excellent Wine, which was once a part of the possessions of that peerelesse Poet, and in which they say his bodie lieth interred) wee went to a goodly Monasterie called *Emonia*, which is by many degrees the fairest of the whole Iland: it is inhabited by *Greeke* Monks called *Caloieri*, which

Monasterie.

which are in number two hundred, their reuenues are at the least five thousand Dollars by the yeere, which make a thousand pound Sterling. The Monasterie standeth vpon the side of an hill, and was built about sixe hundred yeeres since, by the Emperour *Constantinus Monomachus*; the Chappell is a very beautifull building, being built all round, and beautified with diuers faire Marble Pillars. There I saw the goodliest waxe Candle that euer I saw in my life, some eight foote high fastned to a wall, & so bigge as my middle, for I measured it with my girdle: the first Monke thereof was one *Nicetas*. I know not what kinde of learned men the Monkes of this place haue bin in former times, but now they are so vbleatned, that they can onely read in their owne Manuscript Greeke Bookes, but can neither vnderstand nor speake any learned Greeke, but the moderne; for I could not finde as much as one learned man of the whole two hundred. They haue a notable cistern of water in their Monastery which is alwaies full of water, to the end to serue their turne in time of necessitie, if they should be besieged by the enemy. This Monastery is famous for the Bels that are therein, in number foure, not for the greatnesse thereof, but that those Colouri onely of all the other Greekish Monkes of the whole Greekish territorie, are suffered to vse them. In this Island is the Cause of *Sibilla Hellespontia*, but the shortnesse of time bated mee of the opportunitie to see it. The whole Island is one hundred miles in compasse, and there are in it about eightie thousand soules.

Monkes vnder
learned.

Bels.

Sibilla

- From this Towne I sailed in an *English Ship*, to the *Troian* shoare, where I landed Feb. 22. with foureteene *English* men more and a *Leu* or Druggerman, all well weaponed for feare of any hostile inuasion by the *Turkes*: by the way as we were going thither, we found a bare little plot of ground, not farre from the Sea, where their Oxen trode out wheate, according to the custome of most of these *Asiaticke* Countries; we walked towards the mouldor haue of *Troy*; but before we came thither we obserued diuers antiquities worthy the relation: first on the left hand of vs we left the ruines of a goodly Fortresse; then a hillocke which was built in a round forme; there remained onely the lower part of the wall, without doubt it was a very strong fortification before it was destroyed: afterward on the right hand of vs, wee saw a peece of a wall vnder the shoare hard by the Sea side, but the breadth, height, and length of it we did so exactly behold, because we were a prettie way distant from it: likewise we saw a great many round Marble Pillars standing vpright in the ground, and dispersed in diuers parts of the lower side of the Citie that lay neere to the Sea-shoare: these Pillars are most of gray Marble, but of no such notable bignesse as I saw afterward, most of them stood in the ground which was sowe with Wheate; which ground was so couered ouer with little broken stones, that I did very much maruell how it was possible that Corne should grow in that place; as for the Pillars, we beleued that as much of euery Pillar lay buried vnder the ground, as appeared aboue the ground. Once I was about to number these Pillars, but by reason that they were so extreemely scattered, I found an extreame difficultie in it, and could not doe it truely and exactly without a longer time then was limited me, but surely I thinke there were no lesse then one hundred of them, most of them were growne very rough and scabrous, which happened by the iniurie of all manner of weather in so long antiquitie of time; only one of them in a low plot of ground neere to the Sea, was passing smooth and plaine, like a sleeking stone, and the fairest for length and compasse that I could see in the whole number: neere vnto some of these Pillars there be foure or five goodly Marble Sepulchers of a great length, one of which I measured, and found it to be nine of my fecte long. These Tombes consist of one intire Marble stone, euen of white Marble; vpon euery corner of one whereof are foure round knobs, made in the forme of little pillowes, and the middle part riseth with a sharpe line, like vnto the sharpe part of a Costlet or breast plate; likewise there was another of white Marble, on the left side whereof the whole proportion of two hands (which I coniecture to haue bin the hands of some great Lady) were so curiously expressed, that it is impossible for *Praxiteles* or any other that was the most excellent caruer in the World to surpasse it. I finde *Petrus Bellonius* his obseruations of these Sepulchers to be very true; for that which hee writeth of them is very certaine, that they are excauated, that is, made hollow in the inside, in the forme of a Chest, & that the corners doe remaine whole and entire. I finde this to be true by my ocular experience: but most of these Sepulchers lye loosely vpon the ground, as hauing bin digged from the places where they were setled, ouer the bodies which lye vnderneath them: to what end I know not, onely I thinke that some imagining there might be treasure hid vnder them, might digge them vp in hope to finde some Gold or Siluer vnder these tombes: but whosoeuer doe digge vp the Sepulchers of dead men for gaine of treasure, I wish they may be as much frustrated of their hopes as he was that in the Citie of *Babylon* did digge vp the Monument of *Ninoris*, Queene of the *Babylonians*, and the wife of King *Nebuchadnezer*, in the outside of whose Tombe stone, there was written a certaine Epitaph, by some one or other that ment to delude the Reader, for though the Epitaph promised treasure to him that should digge vp the Monument, yet after he had rooted it vp from the ground, instead of treasure he found this memorable inscription; *Nisi auri insatibilis cupiditate flagrasse, nunquam in defunctorum cadauera sanitam tuam exeruisse*. It grieved me to the heart that I could not learne either by inscriptions, or any other meanes, whose Monuments

Troy.

Oxe-trenching

Ruines of Troy.

N n n n n n n

these

these were: for it is vaine to be induced by coniectures, to say they were these or these mens; onely I hope no man will taxe me of a rash opinion, if I beleue one of them might be the Monument of King *Iliu*, the enlarger of the Citie of *Troy*; for I remember that *Homer* saith in his eleuenth *Aeneid*, that *Iliu* was buried in the open, as this was; and that another of them might be the Monument of King *Priamus*, it is not altogether vnlikely, for *Virgil* writeth in his second *Aeneid* that King *Priamus*, after the late fatall destruction of the Citie, was slaine by *Pyrhus* the Sonne of *Achilles*, neere the *Troian* shoare: for thus saith he — *iacet ingens litore truncus*. Now though mercilesse *Achilles* persecuted the dead carcase of *Hector* with that barbarous crueltie, as to dragge him starke naked at a Carts taile, three times about the wals of the Citie: yet it is likely they would so much honour the old siluer haired King *Priamus* (especially since they had now fully satisfied their furie, both by burning of the Citie and massacring of all the most Noble Citizens, and with the rest their last King) as to couer his body with some royall monument be- seeming his regall state: pardon me (gentle reader) for this my coniecture. I affirme nothing certainly, onely I gesse, as another industrious traveller would doe, that hath or shall obserue the same things that I haue done; that one of those goodly Monuments might be the Sepulcher of King *Priamus*.

From the place where these Tombes lay, we went toward the haven or mould of *Troy*, which seemeth to haue bin a notable place in former times; for there remaine worthy steps of antiquity to this day, a little on this side the water wee saw a very delicate trough of white Marble, which whether it serued for women to wash cloathes in, or for any beasts (as horses) to drinke in, I know not, the mould was in former times a conuenient harbour for little vessels, as *Carmisals* Gallies, Frigates, but I doubt whether any great Ships could securely ride at anchor there; for the water is so shallow, that I think a vessell of any great burthen will quickly touch ground, although perhaps in those daies, when the Citie did flourish, the water neere the shoare might be much deeper then it is now, by reason of the continuall scouring and clesing of the channell. There remaine certaine memorable antiquities at this mould: certaine faire gray Marble Pillars, in number ten, that appeare aboue the water, being infixed in the ground; more then the halfe of them I beleue are buried in the water: all these stand somewhat neere together, almost in a rowe. It is likely that they were heretofore placed there to this end, that Barges, Boates, and such kinde of vessels as anchored there, might by the meanes of cables, or other ropes be staied or tied there-to. There also I saw a very stately and gallant ascent from the landing place vponwards towards the Citie, a faire kinde of pile built in the water, reaching vp at the least two butlengths (according to my opinion) till it ioyneth with the land, and made in the forme of a wall: It is so broade that I beleue three Carts might easily goe together side by side vpon it: it is greatly ruined and broken downe, the stones being dissipated and scattered a sunder; onely the foundation of a part of it that ioyneth almost to the land, remaineth very entire to this day, for as I walked vp from the water towards the land by chance, I cast mine eyes vpon the left side of the mould, and found it a very notable foundation: and to the end I might the more exactly view it, I leaped downe vpon the sand to suruey the same: that part of the pile consisteth of a faire and strong white stone, squared out very artificially, and of a great length and thicknesse. As you walke vp from this mould towards the Citie, you may see the stately Pallace of the King before you, standing in a direct line opposite to your face: by the consideration of which I did the better confirme that beliefe in my selfe, that the Pallace, which I will shortly speake of, might be the place of the Kings royall residence: for it was a very delicate passage for the King, either in a Chariot or a Horse backe from this mould through a stately faire streete, to his owne Pallace, distant but a little mile from the water: from this mould wee went to a standing poole but a little remote from the shoare, being I thinke well neere a mile in compasse: which I first thought to haue bin fresh water, but when I tasted it, I found it salt, and therefore I gather that this is nothing but the inundation of the Sea, when it doth sometimes excede his bankes: hard by one side of the Poole I saw a principall relique of antiquitie, a goodly grey Marble Pillar, the fairest that euer I saw in my life till then, lying on the ground, and broken in the very midst: it was three and thirty Geometricall foot long (for I measured it very exactly with a Carpenters rule of twelue inches) and five thicke: neere to the same Pillar there is a broken fragment of Marble, lying in the water, of the same colour and proportion with the former Pillar, whereby I know that it was part of the same Pillar: this was the very head of the Pillar, being wrought with such a kinde of worke as is vied about the heads of Pillars: this part was five foot long, so that the whole Pillar was eight and thirty foot long, being of one entire stone as I thinke, though it be now broken in three peeces, which came to passe by the violent fall thereof.

But a little from this goodly Pillar, which I haue now mentioned, there is another almost as great, lying on the ground, and so couered with Brambles and Briers, that I could not perfectly obserue the length of it. Againe, about a butt length further, there is one very memorable gray Marble Pillar more, lying on the ground, some thirty foot long, foure foot thicke, and broken in the midst. As we ascended higher from the Poole towards the Pillar, wee obserued a very lamentable

mentable rubbish of stones intermingled here and there with a few little fragments of Bricks, and disperſed ouer thoſe fields that were once filled vp with houſes, ſo that I could not tread vp on any plot of ground from the mould, till I came to the Pallace, but I found round about me old broken ſtones; in ſome places whereof I ſaw greene Corne growing, whereof I did not a little wonder, becauſe I could not conceiue how they ſhould plough vp ſuch hard ſtony earth: on the left hand of vs, as we aſcended the ſide of the hill, we left the wall of the Citie, which by the ruines that remaine there to this day, ſeemeth to haue bin a moſt ſtately thing indeede. Some thinke it is at the leaſt thirty foot high, and of a great thickneſſe; it conſiſteth of faire and great aſhler ſtones of a white colour, being built with the ſame from the very foundation, till towards the top; and then are built againe vpon the ſame with certaine leſſe ſtones: ſo that the whole in one part conſiſteth of two kinde of ſtones, a great faire aſhler, and a little rough ſtone in another part of the aſhler onely: this wall runneth vp a great way into the Country, being in ſome places broken and interrupted.

In the outſide of this Wall, which wee left on the left hand, wee obſerued diuers faire buttrefſes, which were made for the ſtrengthening of the ſame, by whom thoſe wals were built: I am vncertaine, but this I haue read, that *Ilius* the fourth King of the Citie, who enlarged the ſame, built ſome part of the wals of the Citie; and that *Laomedon* finiſhed the ſame wals, which being by *Hercules* deſtroyed, King *Priamus* being reſtored into his Country, after he was carried away captiue into *Greece*, reedified them laſt of all: as we aſcended the hill, wee left a little on the left hand of vs the ruines of a faire and ſtately building, which ſeemed to be the Pallace of ſome eminent Noble man, or Gentleman of the Citie, a good part of the wall remained and was of a faire height, hauing in the outſide certaine faire peeces of white and red Marble curiouſly wrought, ſtanding in the very corner of the wall: not farre from that we found a prettie Well, hauing a white Marble Pillar, which I therefore mention, becauſe I haue read that Wells are very ſcarſe in this part of the *Troian* territory.

In our iourney to the Pallace, wee found certaine faire peeces of ſtone, as curiouſly carued and wrought with exquisite borders and workes as euer I ſaw. In one great peece, but broken, I found an inſcription, which what it ment I could not deuife, it was written in Latine characters, viz. the word *Numinid*: likewise after I found a ſtately peece of white Marble of ſome foure foot long, and two foot broad, on the which was a very ancient inſcription in Latine words written with capitall Letters, but they are ſuch exoticke characters, and ſo worne out with antiquitie, that neither I my ſelfe, nor any elſe of my whole Company could perfectly read it: againe, after that wee found the ruines of a ſtately building neere to this Towne, built in a round forme, which without all queſtion was a Temple, dedicated to one of their heathen Gods, and therefore wee coniectured it to be a Religious Houſe, becauſe the manner of the ſtructure thereof differed much from the forme of all the other buildings that we ſaw there: in the inſide a little vnder the higher part of the wall, we perceiued ſome ſiue or ſixe peeces of white Marble ſtanding round in a rowe, and very artificially wrought.

A little from this Temple wee found a vault in the ground, which I thinke in former times had bin a large thing, and of a goodly length, but now it is almoſt ſtopped vp. I with ſome few more of our Company entred this vault, and found it full of ordure and dung of Cattle. Againe a little aboue this we came into another vault built with faire free ſtone, and ſtately arched this vault, was of a goodly height and length, and diſtinguiſhed with many arches throughout the whole length thereof: all our company entered it at one end, and went forth at another: here alſo wee ſaw abundance of ordure wherewith the bottoome of the vault was filled from one end to the other; the reaſon of it is becauſe the poore Heardſmen doe oftentimes in the winter put their Cattle all the night in theſe places: after that wee ſaw two more vaults vnder the ground, but entred neither: being now come ſomething neere to the Pallace, wee left on the right hand a ruined Caſtle or Fortreſſe, built vpon a Mount, about the lower part whereof were ſundry arches; this Fort (forſo I take it to haue bin) was built round, and thoſe arches ſtand in a faire row round about the ſame, an ornament paſſing faire to the building when it was entire: a great part of the ground betwixt the mould and the Pallace is beſet with certaine Trees of diuers kindes, as Mulberry trees, Figge trees, Boxe trees, Oliue trees, Liue Oake trees, Almond trees, whereof ſome wee ſaw beare bloſſomes when wee were there: alſo it beareth Broome of a great height, and ſuch as yeeldeth a prettie kinde of ſent: the next thing of remarque that preſented it ſelfe vnto vs, immediately before wee entered the Pallace, was a certaine heape of ſtones vpon the top of a Mount neere to the foote of the Caſtle, and diſperſed about the ſides of the ſame Mount: theſe are free ſtones, many whereof preſented a blackiſh hewe, and were cunningly ſquared out, as our aſhler ſtones of *England* for building. I neuer ſaw fairer ſtones in my liſe to adorne the frontiſpice of any Pallace then theſe were, and being ſo neere vnto the Pallace, I am perſwaded they are the ruines of ſome part thereof.

Hauing now beheld theſe foreſaid ſquare ſtones, we approached neere to the foot of the Pallace

Nnnnnnn 2

which

Let the Reader pardon this long deſcription of *Troies* Ruines (ſome digreſſions I haue cut off) for I would at once preſent *Troy* acted by a *Troian* ſpirit, which may both profit the ſtudiouſ anti-quarie, and ſerue to reſolue and thaw the moſt frozen ſpirit of ſeuere grauity, or ſtupideſt ſtoike; melting ſome delights, if not extorting laughter from him.

which I thinke was by the ancient Poets both *Greeke* and *Latine* called *Pergamum*, by which word, whether they vnderstood the principall Castle of the Citie, or the Palace wherein the ancient Kings kept their Court, I cannot certainly affirme. The whole Frontispice consisted of a most beautiful white stone, cut square like our Azure stones in *England*, the fairest for the breadth, length, and thicknesse that euer I saw; though now through Antiquitie of time the beautifull grace of the stone is somewhat diminished. The whole front of the Palace sauing a little at the top consisteth of such square stones. Euery stone hath in the middle part of the front thereof a certaine little hole, which to what end it serued I know not. This front for a piece of plaine stone Worke doth yeeld the fairest shew that euer I saw in any Palace in my life. And though I thinke it is as ancient as the Citie of *Troy*, yet to strangers that saile vpon the Channell neere at hand it presenteth such a faire white shew, that the first time I looked vpon it without the helpe of an Opticke Glasse, I thought it had beene some new Building raised within these few yeeres.

The front is beautified with three Arches, whereof that in the rundle (which I thinke serued for a Gate) is farre the fairest, the other two standing in the same row, each on each side of the middle Arch, are by halfe lesser then that in the middle, which for height and breadth is by many degrees, the most magnificent that euer I saw, fairer not only then the goodliest Palace Gate that euer presented it selfe to mine eyes till then, but also then the greatest Gate of any Church that euer I beheld, which doth argue the incomparable magnificence of the Palace, when it flourished in his glory. It is some fortie Geometricall foote broad, and fixe and thirtie foot high, but from the very top of the Frontispice from the ground, I take it to bee eightie foot high, for I tooke the Altitude and Latitude of it by a Mathematicall Instrument. Now in that I call it a Gate, you must conceiue (I meane) not the Instrument of a Gate which serueth to shut and open (for there remaines not the least step of any such thing) but a voide and open space which (as it is credible) was once furnished with a stately Gate, which Gate now it is probable, consisted of two leapes. Neither of those leapes if it were strengthened with great barres of Iron and Nailes correspondent to the proportion of such a Gate (as goodly Gates are now adayes) I beleeeue could hardly bee opened or shut without the maine strength of ten exceeding strong men. The most entire and solid piece of Worke that I saw standing amongst all the ruines of *Troy*, was this front of the Palace, which standeth so perfectly, that I could not perceiue the least blemish or cracke in the whole Frontispice sauing in the vpper part thereof, about the top which consisteth of Bricke, and is built in a bending forme. Besides, there is one little defect more for certaine stones of white Marble, which are pretily contriued in a row aboue the top of the Gate, and curiously wrought, are somewhat broken. At the corners of the middle Arch there are two pieces of white Marble very exquisitely carued with curious Borders and Workes expressed therein, the like also is in the further corner of the wall of this stone, from the which I brake of certaine stones to carrie with mee into my Countrey, and to reserue them in my safe custodie for memorable Antiquities while I liue at the top of the middle Arch, there are two prettie holes in which Bees doe breed honey at a certaine season of the yeere, as a certaine *Turke* that shewed vs these Antiquities did inforce vs. Halfe of the middle Arch is now stopped vp with the like kinde of great stones as are compacted into the Frontispice: and in the other halfe which is partly open, there remaines diuers confused heapes of the like stones. It happened that when wee had thoroughly satiated our eyes, with contemplation of these ancient ruines, the Chiefetaine of the company, a sworne Brother of mine, whom I haue often named before in this my Booke,

Master *Robert Rugge* obseruing that I had taken paines for some few houres in searching out the most notable Antiquities of this the worthiest part of *Troy* to yeeld mee some kinde of guerdon or renumeration for my paines, in a merrie humour drew his Sword out of his Scabbard, and ascending to one of those great stones that lye in the open part of this middle Gate Knighted mee, that kneeled vpon another stone on my right knee, by the name of the first English Knight of *Troy*, and at the Knighting of mee, pronounced those wittie Verses *ex tempore*.

Master *Coryats*
Knighthood.

Coryate no more, but now a Knight of Troy,

Odcombe no more, but henceforth Englands Joy.

Brave Bruce of our best English wits commended,

True Troiane from Aeneas race descended.

Rise top of wit, the honour of our Nation,

And to old Illium make a new Oration.

Two poore *Turkes* that stood but a little way from vs when hee drew his naked Sword, thought verily hee meant to haue cut off my head for some notorious villany that I had perpetrated. Those Verses I answered *ex tempore*, also our Musketeeres discharged two volleys of shot for ioy of my Knighthood.

His Verses.

Loe heere with prostrate knee I doe embrace

The gallant title of a Troiane Knight.

In Priams Court which time shall nere deface;

A grace unknowne to any Brittish Wight.

This noble Knighthood shall Fames Trumpe resound,

To Odcombes honour maugre Enuie fell,

O're famous Albion throughout that Island round,

Till that my mournfull friends shall ring my knell.

Withall I pronounced this extemporall Oration standing vpon a high stone at the entrance of the great Gate, calling my Countrimen my *Commilitones*, because I was at that time their Captaine and Leader next to the Chiefetaine. By *Commilitones*, I vnderstand fellow Souldiers, which terme *Linie* doth often vse in his feigned Orations, that hee bringeth Captaines in speaking to their Souldiers.

Master CORIAT'S Oration. Purus, putus CORIATVS.

Quintessence of CORIAT.

MY worthy *Commilitones*, that which in the whole race of my life heretofore I neither wished nor hoped for, much lesse expected, loe now by the decree and ordinance of the Fates hath most fortunately hapned vnto mee. I am arrined (with the rest of my deere Countrimen) after so many bitter stormes, and cruell conflicts of the winds, in the most renowned place of the whole World (only Gods sacred Citie of Ierusalem excepted) ancient Troy, old decayed Ilum, the Ladie or rather Queene of all Asia; yea the principall and most noble part thereof, is the most Noble place which our Brittish feete doe now tread vpon. Me thinks, we being conducted hither by our good Genius haue euen aspired to the eminent degree of happinesse which thousands of our Countrimen that haue passed alongst this Coast, being carried away with a prosperous gale of wind haue wished to attaine vnto, but haue bene frustrated of opportunity to enioy these noble ruines that you here see haue had the attractiue vertue like the Adamant or Loadstone to draw hither some of the most famous persons of the World to contemplate the same. Hither came the greatest and most victorious Monarch that euer lined Alexander the Great who hauing erected an Altar to the honour of Achilles from whose stocke he was lineally descended by his Mother Olympias, to the end to offer Sacrifice vpon it to his Ghost hard by his Tombe, which to this day remaines, hee pronounced him happie, for that after his death he had gotten so Noble a Poet as Homer to emblason and celebrate his inuincible courage. Hither came the Learned Emperour Adrian; Our Emperour Septimius Seuerus after he had destroyed Byzantium, his Sonne and Successour in the Empire Antonius Bassianus Caracalla with many thousand worthy Peeres (I dare confidently affirme) that from time to time to come hither to suruey these (that I may speake with the Prince of Latine Poets)

Campos ubi Troia fuit.

behold (my louing *Commilitones*) that lamentable rubbish of stones which hath bene honoured by the most elegant and singular Poets that euer handled Quill. This ruinous Palace which you see heere was the place without all question of the Royall Court of the most ancient Troiane Kings (as by the magnificence of these Arches, goodly squared stones and other remarkable steps of venerable antiquitie is very infallibly to be gathered) namely King Ilus, whom I take to be the first Founder thereof, Laomedon and his unfortunate Sonne Priamus the last Troiane King. There you see those loftie and stately walls, which though they were for thousands of yeeres since subuerted first by Hercules, and afterward by the hostile force of the warlike Græcians: yet you see the foundations thereof were not rooted vp from the ground, but that to this day most notable ruines thereof (observe I pray you with an exact and accurate view the thickenesse, the height of them, the goodlinesse of the squared stones) doe present themselves as wofull spectacles to all strangers, and are objects of sympathy and commiseration to the most Adamantine heart in the World: there you may see decayed Castles and Fortifications: there also in another place subterranean Crypts and Vaults, which I beleene, serued partly for Granaries and Magazines of Corne in the time of the decennall siege of the Citie, and partly to containe Cisternes of water for the publike vse of the Citizens. Beneath also you may see a great multitude of broken Marble Pillars standing vpon the ground, and dispersed ouer many parts of the old Citie. Cast your eyes againe vpon some other parts, where you may behold Greene Wheate growing amidst the old fragments of stones, and then remember the notable speech of the Poet Ouid, *Iam seges est ubi Troia fuit*, &c. by all these pitifull rudera, I find that memorable sentence of the Greeke Poet Heliod to be verified.

τὴν Ἰσθμὸν ὅπου ἦν ἡ Τροία
Ζεὺς ὤλεσε πάντα.

That is, Thunder thumping Ioue can make the loftiest matters the most low and despicable! Alas (my *Commilitones*) can you behold these things with irrelenting and dry eyes; let mee tell you as the wandering Prince of Troy Noble Eneas told the Punicke Queene Dido in his Harangue vnto her concerning the destruction of this Citie

Quis talia fando

Myrmidonum, Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlysses,

Temperet à lachrymis?

Risum teneatis
amici?

Certainly, the consideration of this grievous desolation may iustly draw both sorrow from the hearts and teares from the eyes of all such as are endued with a true instinct of humanitie, for what more Tragical example can you find in the whole Vniuersa of the inconstancie and mutabilitie of fortune then in this quondam gallant Citie? it flourished once in as great glorie as any Citie vpon the Earth did in her time, and her glorie was untainted and unstained for the space of three hundred yeeres wanting one, being gouerned by six potent Kings, the first of which being Dardanus, reigned sixe and thirty yeeres, Eriethonius, seuentie fine; Tros, sixtie; Ilus, a great amplifier and enlarger of the City 55. Laomedon sixe and thirtie. Priamus the last Prince fortie: in all which time Fortune shined as merrily vpon her as vpon any other Citie then extant in the world, sauing for the ten yeeres of Priamus, in which it was besieged by the Greekes. But at last after the reuolution and period of that ten yeeres siege, it suffered such a rufull demastation by the meanes of that fatall Horse of armed men, that was conueyed within the walls of the Citie, the mercilesse rage of the fire that was scattered euery where by the hostile hand, and carried to and fro by the wings of the wind, spoiling and depopulating all it met with all, that after that time neuer was there found any man that would reedifie any part thereof. This happened 1183. yeeres before the Incarnation of Christ, and 430. yeeres before the founding of Rome by Romulus, and in the time that Iephtha iudged Israel. The like elsewhere hath happened to many other ancient and noble Cities that now lie buried in their owne ruines: as to Niniue, Babylon, Tyrus, Carthage, Sanguntion, and Numantia in Spaine; Athens, Thebes, Lacedemon and Corinth in Greece; Ptolemais now called Acon in Syria, and diuers other notable Cities; none of which I beleene doe yeeld those stately ruines that you now behold in this part of the Troiane Territorie.

You may also obserue as in a cleere Looking-glasse one of the most pregnant examples of Luxurie, that euer was in the World in these confused heapes of stones, that lie before your eyes. For Adulterie was the principall cause of the ruines of this Citie, which is well knowne to all those that haue a superficial skill in Historie, by the remembrance whereof I will now take occasion to wish one charitable wish to the Metropolitane Citie of mine owne Countrie, and with the same as with an Epilogue conclude my speech, that as Luxurie destroyed this Citie of old Troy, to which most ardent petitions vpon my prostrate knee, I beseech the great Iehoua, which is the rewarder of Chastitie, and seuerer punisher of Incontinence, to avert the punishment from our new Troy, (for indeed London was in former times called Troynouant) which I thinke is as much polluted and contaminated with extrauagant lusts, as euer was this old Troy.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula contum.

Directly beyond this forelaid middle gate as you goe forward into the inward part of the Palace, there standeth another stately Arch, which (I thinke in former times was garnished with a Gate also: this Arch is almost as large as the greatest at comming into the Palace, likewise on each side of them both on the right hand and left hand, as you goe betwixt the middle Arch at the entrance of the Palace, and the opposite Arch which I haue last mentioned, there is another stately Arch which, I thinke, serued for an entrance into the same of the principall parts of the Palace. After this we saw another part of the Palace, which is very worthy the mention, tenne stately Arches standing in a row ioyntly together. These stand intire without any diminution or impayring, euen on the left hand of the Palace, and make a beautifull shew. These are foureene foot high, and ten foot and a halfe thicke, and are built with the like hard stone as the wals of the Citie. There are three Arches more about the same, halfe buried in the ground. Then at the very corners about the last of these three Arches there standeth the ruine of another most magnificent Arch raised to a very loftie height, but broken about the top, at which Arch there beganne the South wall of the Palace, betwixt that goodly Arch and another iust correspondent to the same in symmetry of workmanship. There are sixe more of a lesser quantitie, but much more ruined then the ten intire Arches that I haue already mentioned. Againe there ranne on in the same series of building betwixt the middle great arch, and another of the same quantitie, that standeth at the farther corner, sixe Arches more like the former, so that in that row there are twelue Arches, and three more of a very sumptuous and goodly Architecture, which when they all stood intire beautified with their seuerall ornaments, which are now abolished, presented to the beholder, without all doubt, a most stately shew. Againe, on the right hand of the Palace, but a little distant from the same, there remayneth the ruine of a very ancient Building, which wee coniectured to haue beene some Temple dedicated to the Ethnike Gods. From the Palace wee were conducted by our Turkish guides, to another old ruined Building some quarter of a mile off; very little whereof doth appeare about the ground, but if you descend into certaine Vaults vnder the ground, you may obserue many memorable ruines. Diuers stately Arches standing intirely, wonderfull thicke wals, arched roofes made by Geometrical worke, as (I suppose) without any Iron or Timber. The Turkes told vs that this was once a passing faire Palace, the other parts of the Building being cleane defaced and demolished, so that not so much as any little ruines thereof are left, the stones, Marble Pillers and other ornaments beeing carried away into other Countries. For diuers of these Troiane ruines haue beene transferred to many of the Neighbour Countries to serue for their publike and priuate Buildings, as to Constantinople, Lemnos, Lesbos, Natolia, Syo, and diuers other parts. Yea the Turkes from some part or other of the Troiane Territories doe daily carry away stones in their Gallies. Moreouer, they told vs that this Palace ser-

ued for the *Troian* Queene to inhabite and keepe her Court in. Heere at this ruine they shewed vs a certaine Vault vnder the ground, wherein there was found great Treasure within these few yeeres, by certaine men that searched it out very diligently with Candles and Torches in their hands, and the same Treasure was put into the Coffers of the present Great *Turke* that liueth now, *Sultan Achmet*.

Having seene all these things, wee went towards the Sea-side to take Boat and to goe backe to our Ship, but betwixt the Palace and the Ship we obserued these three things worthy relation; first a stately Arch standing alone by it selfe, which heretofore serued for a Spring or Fountaine, but I could not see the least drop of water about the Arch, for the Spring is utterly dried vp, onely there is a Well neere to the same. Secondly, the ruines of a Wall that runneth vp into the Southerne part of the land, which is of such a marueilous thicknesse that vnto most of the readers it will seeme perhaps incredible. For it was at the least thirtie Geometrical foot thicke, for I measured it very exactly. The stones of which it was built were rough and hard, but a little further vp in the Countrey we obserued some other part of the same Wall to stand more intirely, and to be built with such goodly square Ashler stone as is in the great wall before mentioned. Thirdly, a ruined old Castle or Fortification erected vpon a Mount, a Fort of great strength and beaurie in ancient times: now it is onely a Shepheards habitation. We perceiuing that it was Inhabited by some people went into it, hoping to haue bought some Wine for the refreshing of our selues.

20 But when wee entred the same, in stead of people wee found onely the excrements of Cat-
tell, and a place where some Shepheard or Heardsmen had reposed himselte. Also wee ob-
served a very miserable rubbish of Stones that were dissipated and scattered ouer the face
of the whole ground euery where within and without the Walles, after that I went to a plot
of arable Ground, where I saw a Plough-man hold the Plough, and my selfe and one Master
Francis Flyer did the like one after another, that if wee liue to be Old men we may say in our
old age, we had once holden the Plough in the *Troiane* Territorie, especially in that part we saw
the Citie stood. After this we saw Mount *Ida*, being by my estimation some two miles distant
from that place, but we had not the opportunitie to goe so neere to it as to view it exactly. I
wonder that the Epithets of *Nemorosa* should be giuen to it by the Poets, for I could perceiue
no Tree at all growing about it, and doubt whether any grew vpon it in former times, by
30 reason of the rockie and stonie matter it consisteth of, wee onely discerned the loftie toppe
of it called by the antient Poets, both *Gargarus* and *Dyndima*, vpon which *Cybels* Priests
were called *Idai*, *Dactyli*, *Galli*, and *Curetes*, did celebrate their Sacrifices in honour of her,
being the Mother of the Gods. I vnderstand that store of Turpentine doth grow vpon the
Hill and the sides of it.

These notable things that I haue seen in *Troy* are so worthy the obseruation, that I would not for five hundred pounds but I had seene them, and had I not seene them now, I thinke I should haue taken a journey out of *England* of purpose to see the same. Therefore let me aduise all my Country-men that meane to trauell into the world for obseruation, to see this famous place in their Trauels, as being farre the most worthiest of all the ruined places in the world that are not Inhabited.

At last when wee came to the shoare side to enter our Boat before wee left the land, we ascended a little Mount situate hard by the Sea, which, it is likely to haue beene made by the Art of man and not by Nature, and that in the time of the tenne yeares Warres betwixt the *Grecians* and *Troians*. Another artificiall Mount of the same kind I obserued beyond that also. By whom (whether by the *Grecians* or by the *Troians*) and to what end they were raised, I doe not know. Onely I coniecture they were made by the *Troians*, to the end that from the same they might looke over the Walls, which I thinke were built alongst the Sea-coast, and so by Darts, Slings, Stones, Arrowes, and such other war-like Instruments to annoy the *Greekes* riding at Anchor neere to the shoare.

50 Besides the fruitfull Valley that I haue mentioned, which lyeth at the backside of the Promontorie *Sygeum*, through which runneth the Riuer *Simois*, there is another most fertile and delicious Valley, that lyeth by the Sea-side opposite to *Tenedos*, which I thinke is as pleasant and far a Valley as any in the world, being extended at the least a dozen miles in length alongst the Sea-coast, and some ten miles as I coniecture in breadth, the ground being as fruitfull to produce all manner of Commodities as any plot of ground vnder the Sunne, but by reason that the Inhabitants of the Countrey are oftentimes infested by Pirats and men of Warre, which take away from them what they list, they cannot find any secure place of habitation in all that tract: by meanes whereof it commeth to passe, that there are few dwelling Houses there; and so consequently the Coast is more vntilled and vnmanned then otherwise it would bee. Notwith-
60 standing there are diuers goodly plots of Corne, onely Wheat to be seene in sundry parts of the Valley neere to the Sea-side, but the other parts of the Valley further in the Countrey seeme vnto those that behold it a farre off vpon the Sea, to bee couered wholly with Wood, which consisteth especially of liue Oake-trees. By a liue Oake-tree, I meane a strange kind of Oake which

groweth in diuers parts of *Asia* as well as heere, that differeth much from our *English* Oake, the body or trunke of it is much lesser then of our *Forrest* Oakes, that are but of an ordinarie size, also they are much lower then ours. As for the wood of this Tree it seemeth to be of an impenetrable hardnesse, such as no Axe can cleaue or deuide a sunder without a great deale of difficultie when it is dry, but being greene it is easily hewed downe. It beareth a kind of Fruit or Acorne somewhat differing from ours, which is called *Valania*, which serueth for diuers vses. For besides that, it feedeth and fatneth Hogges making the flesh eate passing sweetly, they canne their Leather with it, moreouer most of the *Turkish* Ships are made of this Wood, but it lyeth a long time in the water before they cleaue it and worke it for the Ship timber.

But me thinkes I heare some *Troian* complaine of another tedious ten-yeeres Siege: I will therefore abruptly breake off the rest, with his comming to Constantinople, Entertainment there, his Oration to the Lord Ambassadour, Sir Paul Pinder, and manifold kindneses from him, and other Constantinopolitan English: I will suddenly bring you in vpon him in a *Franciscan* Frierie, beholding a Superstitious Tragedie, which you shall heare from himselfe, with other Relations of that Citie.

Master CORYATS Constantinopolitan Observations abridged.

Self-whipping.
Penitentia penitenda. Herein we will allow the *Popish* Doctrine of merit. But these hypocrites which will doe Penance by others must goe to Heauen by *proxie* too.

Master Coryats Fortune: but it is fortun'd to proue a lie: the more the pitie, not for *Oedombes* sake so much and the *Syrenicall* crue, as for the curious diligence of many his obseruations, which might to the wisest haue proued profitable.

THE first of Aprill being Thursday, and the day immediatly before Good-friday, I with diuers of my COUNTRYMEN went about midnight to the Monastery of the *Franciscan* Friers, where within a little after I came thither, I obserued a very rigorous and austere kind of Discipline, whereof indeed I had often heard before that time, but neuer saw till then. Iust about the point of Midnight a little after Masse was begun, certaine fellowes prostrating themselves in the middle of the Quire of the Church, directly before the high Altar, Whipped themselves verely cruelly, and continued in the mercilesse punishment of themselves at the least an houre and a halfe. At the first I thought they had beene some of the Friers themselves but therein I erred, for they loue to spare their flesh though it be otherwise reported of them. There were of those some foure or fise and were indeed certaine Galley Slaues, that in lieu of the punishment which they did vndergoe for other men, that against Easter had confessed their sinnes, and were enioyned a certaine for their offences, were to be released from the Gallies. This I vnderstand to bee the Custome every yeere, that the richer sort of people hauing confessed their sinnes to the Priest, and thereupon required to performe such a Penance, doe procure these kind of Slaues vpon condition of Libertie to vndertake this punishment for them. The poore Villaines did endure such bitter chastisement which they inflicted vpon themselves, that I could scarce behold them with drie eyes: their Faces were couered with Canuasse vayles so that no man could perceiue any of them, and all the middle part of their backe was naked which they lashed with certaine Napkins, at the ends whereof were Sisters, and againe at the end of those Sisters were inclosed certaine litle sharp peeces of Iron, made like the straight part of the rowell of a Spurre, which at the very first blow that it layd vpon the skinnie did easily draw blood. They kept a certaine order in laying on their blowes, now on the right shoulder, & after ouer the left, in the space of a quarter of an houre, I saw one of them that dealt somewhat roughly with himselfe by redoubling his blowes a little faster then the rest, did fetch off all the skin from the middle part of his backe, which was a very dolefull and tragicall Spectacle, and when hee had very bitterly whipped himselfe, there came a certaine fellow with a Cloth in his hand steeped in Vineger, with which he wiped away the blood that it should not rankle. After which the Slave continued whipping of himselfe after a very terrible and cruell manner, but most of the rest fauoured themselves much more then this man did. Amongst diuers others Gentlemen of qualitie that came thither to behold this spectacle, the *French* Ambassadour presented himselfe with great Deuotion. This seuer Discipline being now ended, one of the Friers ascended the Pulpit and made a Sermon in the *Italian* Tongue concerning the Passion of Christ.

The Tuesday in the Easter weeke my Lord went to the Captaine *Bashawes*, and my selfe attended vpon him. At his returne from the *Bashawes* Palace, his Lordship espying a certaine *Turkish* Fortune-teller called *Rama*, Fishing vnder the wall of the *Seraglio* neere to a holy Well, the water whereof is good (He was Fortune-teller to the *Grand Signior* himselfe) one that was a kinsman of *Mahomet*s, for hee ware a Turbet of a very deepe green die. Vnto him my Lord sent me with Master *Edward Cannock* his Secretary and one of his Druggermen, to the end he should tell me my Fortune, whereupon he deliuered vnto me two Dice, and willed them to cast them vpon a certaine smooth greene Stone that lay before him, which when I had done, hee wrote with his Pen certaine *Turkish* Characters vpon the same stone, by vertue whereof he Prognosticated my Fortune and presaged to this effect, as the Druggerman interpreted his speech, viz. That I was a man desirous to Trauell into remote Regions, that according to my desire I should trauell farre, and should be in danger for my Religion sake, and should also escape that danger, after that I should come to a great Citie (perhaps he meant *London*) where many would flocke about

about me to heare me Discourse of those things that I had seene and done in my Trauels. At last Master Secretary gaue him certaine Aspers for a gratuitie: hee said also that I should write a Booke of my Trauels, and publish it to the benefit of my Countrymen, and many thousands besides.

There is a Colledge of *Turkish* Monkes in *Galata*, that are called *Daruises*, neere to one of their publike Buriall places, who euery Tuesday and Friday (which is the *Turkish* Sabbath) doe performe the strangest exercise of Deuotion that euer I saw or heard of. It was my chance to see it the ninth of Aprill, with some other *English*-men that went thither to obserue the same, and therefore I will write a little of it according to mine owne experience. About halfe an
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Daruises, a kind of *Turkish* Friars.

Fashion of their Habite.

Mahometan Holies.

Daruises strange turnings.

The whole company of them being now seled in their places, and holding their *Turkish* manuscript Bookes in their hands, a certaine Singing-man sitting a part in an vpper roome began to sing certaine Hymnes, but with the most vnpleasant and harsh notes that euer I heard, exceedingly differing from our *Christian* Church singing, for the yelling and disorderly squeaking of them did euen grate mine eares. Whensoever hee pronounced the Name of *Mahomet*, all of them did cast downe their Heads to their knees. After hee had done, the Interpreter of the Law ascended into a Chaire, and read a certaine *Turkish* Booke for some halfe houre to the Assembly, which containd the *Mahometane* Doctrine, but when hee named him they fell prostrate vpon their Faces and kissed the ground. Almost a quarter of an houre before he had done, three Pipers sitting in the roome with the Singer, began to play vpon certaine long Pipes not vnlike Tabors, which yeelded a very ridiculous and foolish Musicke, and continued so very neere a quarter of an houre after the Clergie man had ended his Lecture: and with them there played another, that stricke with his hands a strange kind of Instrument made of Mettall, in the forme of a kind of Bason. Hauing played very neere a quarter of an houre, vpon a sodaine they sounded much louder then ordinarie, whereupon some five and twentie of the two and fiftie *Daruises*, suddainly rose vp bare legged and bare-footed, and casting aside their vpper Garment some of them hauing their their breasts all vncovered, they began by little and little to turne about the Interpreter of the Law turning gently in the middelt of them all, afterward they redoubled their force and turned with such incredible swiftnesse, that I could not chuse but admire it. Amongst the rest, there was one little Boy of some twelue yeares of age, that turning in a corner of the roome stricke no small admiration in all the Spectators that were Strangers. This turning they kept for the space of one whole houre at the least: during which time, sometimes they turned exceeding swiftly, sometimes very gently. After they had halfe done, the Singer in the vpper roome began to sing againe, at the pronounciation of some of whose words, the *Daruises* sodainly mumbled out certaine strange termes, with a most hideous kind of murmuring that did in a manner terrifie and astonish vs that were meere Strangers to these Ceremonies. This they did three or foure severall times with an acclamation of all the *Turks* that stood by. The forme of their Dauncing is as strange as the continuance of their swiftnesse, for sometimes they stretch out their Armes as farre as they can in length, sometimes they contract them in a lesser compasse, sometimes they hold them about their Heads, sometimes againe they performe certaine merry gestures, as if they were drawing a Bow and shooting forth an Arrow. Likewise some of them did continue turning during the whole time in one and the selfe same place, and others more forward from one corner to another. This exercise now driuing to an end, one of the *Daruises* beginneth some Prayer in *Arabique*, and continually turning about with

with the rest of the Company, pronounceth it with a very audible voyce, and his Prayer being ended there is an vpsshot of this ridiculous and Ethnike deuotion for this time, after it had continued almost an houre and a halfe. The violence of their turning is so great, that I haue heard some of them haue fallen downe dead in the place, through the extremitie of their swift Circumgyration, and whosoeuer hee is that doth so, is esteemed for a Saint. These Feasts are like those *Trietericall Orgia* that were performed by the furious *Myrmalores* the Priests of *Bacchus*, to the honour of their drunken God, vpon the Mountaines of *Cithaeron* in *Beotia*.

These *Daruises* though they are Religious men haue no lands to maintaine them as the *Christian* Monasteries haue, but a certaine stipend payed them euery day, partly by the *Grand Signior*, and partly by certaine *Bashawes*, and it is esteemed for so Holy an order, that diuers *Bashawes* haue renounced their Dignitie and pompe of the world, and entred themselves into this Order for the better saluation of their soules. And at this day the *Grand Signior* hath a Brother of this Socitie that lieth in the *Seraglia*, whom he hath often intended to put to Death, according to the old principle of State that hath bene these many yeares obserued amongst the *Turkish* Emperours, but hee hath hapned to fall into some bitter Disease whensoever he hath thought vpon any such matter, which is the reason that he yet suffereth him to liue.

The twentieth of Aprill, there began a Fire in *Constantinople* about midnight, which was like to haue done much hurt, if it had not bene prevented by the care and industrie of the Captaine *Bashaw*. For hee came thither a little after it began with a great multitude of men to repress the furie of the flame as much as in them lay. Hee was so furious at that time, that with a certaine war-like Instrument called in the *Turkish* Tongue a *Capoock*, which is somewhat like a Mace, he stricke a *Ianizarie* that he saw rifling of a House, so fiercely vpon the head, that immediatly he fell downe dead in the place: and had done the like to some other *Ianizaries* that were the adherents of the other, in his enterprize of ransacking other mens goods, if they had not sodainly escaped by flight. For indeed it doth happen that *Ianizaries* doe of purpose set Houses on fire, euen to the great endangering of the Citie for prey and spoyle sake, especially the houses of *Jewes*. For which cause the *Jewes* within these few yeares, haue both made their Houses stronger then they were wont to be, and also haue made Vaults vnder their houses, into the which they may conueigh their Goods, whensoever there chanceth any sodaine Fire. At the time of this Fire there came the *Bustan* which is a great man of the *Grand Signiors*, with two thousand men out of the *Seraglia*, for the helping of the *Bashaw*. For indeed it behoued the *Bashaw* to looke to the maine chance for the quenching of the Fire, in the time of the *Grand Signiors* absence, least if there should haue bene any great hurt done, perhaps he might haue lost his Head after the Kings returne to the Citie, but the hurt was not so great as it was feared to haue bene, for there were not aboue fiftie Houses burnt. It is the Custome that whensoever any Fire riseth in the Citie, to Hang vp him in whose House it beginneth, as now a Cooke in whose house it began was Hanged presently after the Fire ceased. The like kinde of Fires and much more furious haue bene often seene in this Citie, as they are mentioned by the antient Historiographers, which haue wasted not only the priuate Houses of the Inhabitants, but also Temples, Statues, Pillers and other beautifull Ornaments of the Citie.

The one and twentieth of Aprill about fixe of the clocke at night, I saw the most resplendent and glittering shew that euer I did in my life. For the *Turkes* hanged all their *Turkish Mosquies* both of *Constantinople* and *Galbata* with Lampes; which stood in a very decent and comely order round about the circle of their slender Towers, where the Priest doth vse to call the people to Prayers at certaine houres limited with a very loude voyce. Some of these Towers haue two and some three Circles in them, each aboue another, the shew at the first hanging out of the Lampes seemed strange vnto me, that neuer had seene the like before; but about Mid-night when it was much darker, then when they were first hanged out, they yeilded a passing glorious and refulgent Spectacle, for it was my hap to see them againe. Aboue all the rest of the Towers those foure that belong to the Temple of *Solyman* the magnificent, made a most incomparable bright shew, for two of the foure being adorned with three Circles had three rowes of Lampes hanged out, and the other two with two Circles had two more; the Towers of which Temple made the brauest shew of all the Towers of the whole Citie. These Lampes hanged till foure of the clocke in the Morning, and were then taken downe. The occasion of the hanging out of them, was because that Night *Mahomet* was borne in the Citie of *Medina* in *Arabia*. These kind of Lampes they hang out at foure times of the yeare besides; as in the time of *Ramazan*, which is their Lent and lasteth thirtie dayes, during which time, it is not lawfull for any *Turke* to eat or drinke before Night, and then they vse to recompence their day Abstinence with their night Gluttonie. Also in that space *Ianizaries* commit insolencies against *Christians*, taking money from whomsoever they meet by the way. The second beginneth in December and lasteth three dayes, and is called *Hodglar-byram*, &c.

Mustapha, since this, twice Emperour, and thrice Religious or *Daruise*.

Great Fire,

Lampes.

The eight and twentieth of April, being Wednesday, about five of the clocke in the morning, my Lord and his Company (whereof my selfe was one) went into *Adrinople* street in *Constantinople* neere to the gate of *Adrinople*, to see the Grand Signior come into the Citie from *Adrinople*, whether hee went vpon the one and twentieth day of December last; the pompe of it was so gallant that I neuer saw the like in my life; neither doe I thinke that the like hath beene vsed amongst any Princes of the world saving these *Musulmen*, since the time of the triumphs of the *Romane* Emperours, when they went to the Capitol, after the conquering of some famous Countrey: the place where hence he came that morning is called *Dome Baban*, a place standing by it self in the Countrey some three miles from *Constantinople*; the people that attended vpon his person at that time, were said to amount to the number of 15000. First rode the Subbathaw of *Constantinople* and *Galata*, with one hundred men on horsebacke, and other seruants also they had which went a foot, carrying certaine Muskets in their hands. Next followed French Souldiers, a company of fugitiue Rogues, that to get a large pay somewhat more then they haue, either in their owne Countrey, or could get in the Low Countries, fled to *Constantinople* to bee entertained by the Grand Signior, of whom the greatest part of them doth receiue halfe a Doller a day for their pay: their Collonell rode with some twentie of his principall men, and all the rest to the number of one hundred with Muskets on foot; after them the Officers of the Arsenall a foot, with the chiefe of them a horsebacke, certaine of them carrying a Gallie with a man in it, a verie strange and ridiculous conceit: for indeede euerie one laughed heartily at it; after them came Squibsters, but how many in number I could not vnderstand; then came a great multitude of Gemiglandes all on foot, whereof one had a feather sticking in his flesh, euen in his face somewhat neere to his right eye: then a Coach couered with cloth of Gold, which serued for the Grand Signiors riding; wherein himselfe and his Sultana did vse to ride: then a Delee, that is a foole with a Bears skinne vpon his backe, then Chausers on horsebacke, with Brasse and Iron Maces in their hands, which they carried vpon their right shoulderts, these were in number 200. and their seruants a foot sixe hundred, and after them seuen Coaches, then came Ianizaries on foot foure thousand with Muskets; some of these weare Beares skinnies; and after them other Ianizaries on horsebacke, euerie one hauing a Speare in his hand, with a little Flag in the same; after them againe other kind of Ianizaries that weare leather Cappes, on the top of which were great white Ostriches feathers: then came certaine Horses driuen by men of purpose, that carried water in Leather Bottles for men to drinke in: then certaine Turkish Saints with verie long haire, and ragged clothes. Next followed a black Elephant, after them Ladies, hundred & twelue on horsebacke, with three hundred men attending on them, and the Mustie: then head Visiers, being eight or nine of the most principall of *Turkie*, with one hundred Chausers their attendants; then squeaking Musicke both Vocall and Instrumentall. The Daruises a foot vsing a ridiculous shooting and elevation of their voyce. Then some one hundred Pikemen a foot, who besides their Pikes carried also Bowes and Arrowes. Then *Mahomets* kinsmen a horsebacke, with greene Halberts. Then Vice Cadies on horsebacke, then Ladies againe; then nine goodly Horses of the Kings led by Chausers, verie richly adorned with Saddles and Horse clothes of great price, a meruellous rich Target, being hanged at the Pomell of the Saddle of each Horse made of massie beaten Gold, and garnished with varietie of precious Stones, each of these Horses is saide to be worth two hundred pound sterling. Next the Kings Grey-hounds, being ledde and clothed with coverings of Cloth of Gold: of these there were at the least one hundred. Then came Chausers on horsebacke, namely twentie to attend the Kings person, and had fiftie seruants more attending vpon them: then rode one with a Streamer of greene Taffata, wherein was an *Arabian* Inscription in very great Letters; this is said to haue beene vsed by *Mahomet* himselfe their Prophet, in his warres with *Cosroes* King of *Persia* and others also. Neere vnto this Ensigne, was carried another Ensigne (which is the common Standard that they vse in their warres, as heeretofore the *Romans* vsed the Eagle) that is the taile of the Horse fastened vpon the toppe of a long Staffe. Next went his Archers, called Solackes, with Bowes and Arrowes attired in fine linnen shirts that reached to the calfe of their legges and long sleeves curiously wrought with delicate seames of Needle Worke. Also they had coverings for their head (Hattes I cannot fitly call them) which consisted of Siluer fairely gilt, with long feathers, &c. The one and twentieth of May happened a terrible fire: three great fiers had fallen out betwixt the twentieth of April, and the one and twentieth of May.

Grasshoppers sometimes doe fall so thicke in *Constantinople*, and the Territories about the Citie in the Summer time, and that especially in Iune or Iuly, being brought in with an Easterne wind, that a man cannot passe in the streets of *Constantinople* or *Galata*, but hee shall euerie where tread vpon them. Also they flie so thicke vpon the tops of houses, that they doe euen couer the tiles: and in Medowes, Pastures, and vpon Hills, lie in such infinite and innumerable multitudes, that they seeme to couer the grasse, and in the high-ways horses that goe tread vpon them and kill them in their iourney; likewise vpon trees of all sorts, Vines, Corne, &c. they fall in such abundance, that sometimes they annoy and spoile great store of Fruit; besides they are much greater then ours are in the West parts of *Europe*.

- Butterflies great. to equivo. I observed in *Constantinople* in the moneth of May, certaine Butterflies as great as Reare-mise with foure wings, each whereof distinguished with a round spot made circularly, consisting of two colours Purple and Blacke, and two Hornes in their head made in the forme of branches of a Tree, they spawne thirtie or fortie Spawnes in a night.
- Sodomie. All the Turkes and others, that doe ride in *Constantinople* or *Galata*, doe couer the backe and buttocks of the Horse with a faire cloth. The Turkes are exceedingly giuen to Sodomie, and therefore diuers keep prettie boyes to abuse them by preposterous venerie. A Cock and Hen of Pheasants sold for sixtie Aspers, and Partridges for twentie Aspers a paire. Hawkes called Fawls cons so cheape, that a man may buy one young for twentie Aspers, being bred within five or sixe miles of the Citie.
- Cheapnesse.
- Fiery Flies. In the Moneth of May and Iuly, I observed euery euening in *Constantinople* about Ieuens of the clocke, certaine little Flies flying abroad in the aire with fiery tailes, which seemed to mee the first time that I saw them, certaine little sparkes of fire flying to and fro in the aire. Afterward hauing taken one of them and opened his bellie, I found a certaine bright and glistering sparke of fire in his taile, which I neuer saw before. These kinde of Flies doe much vse to flie abroad in the Summer time in *Constantinople*, onely in the euening, which a stranger that neuer saw them before, would take to be true flakes of fire. There are in the Turkish Empire two men of great authoritie, like the Lord Chancellors, called *Cadileskeers*, the one of *Romalia*, the other of *Natolia*; hee of *Romalia* hath the authoritie to remoue *Cadys* from their places in *Romalia*, and to substitute others in their roomes, the like hath hee of *Natolia*. Also they are to sit in the *Dinan* with the *Visiers* and *Bashawes*, to giue their verdict in cases of Iustice; without whose opinion and sentence nothing can be certainly determined.
- Cadileskeers.
- Cimices. The Turkes will not suffer these three things to be medled withall by a Christian or Iew, viz. his Religion, his Women, his Slaue. Those kind of Flies that troubled me in *Italy*, did in the night time as much infect mee in *Constantinople*, as being as familiar to *Thrace* as to *Italy*; I meane the *Cimices*, after that being once taken and bruised vpon the naile of a man, doth couer the whole naile with bloud and stinke. The Turke doth neuer at the saluting of his friend at any time of the day, or when hee drinketh to him at dinner or supper, put off his Turbant (as wee Christians doe our Hats one to another) but boweth his head and putteth his right hand vpon his brest, so that hee vtterly disliketh the fashion that is vsed amongst vs of putting off our Hattes, therefore when hee wisheth any ill to his Enemie, he prayeth God to send him no more rest then to a Christians Hat.
- Courtesie.
- Phlebotomie. The Turkes, as they shauie publikely in the streets, likewise they let bloud oftentimes in the streets, but so indiscreetly, that they suffer sometimes a man to bleed at the least two or three pounds of bloud, to the extreme weakning of their bodies; whereas few of our men suffer their Patient to bleed aboue halfe a pound. The true *Musulman* wil scarce kill a louse, if he find him in his apparell, but throwes him away, affirming, that it is contrary to the rules of charitie to kill him, or any thing else that hath life in it, except those things that they kill for their sustenance. And as for Birds that they see inclosed in a Cage, they will buy them for some money of the owner, and after let them flie out of the cage, for they thinke that there is iniurie done to them to debar them of their libertie. After the moneth of May, you shall scarce see till the end of September, any green grasse growing abroad in the Medowes or Fields, because after that time it is all scorched away with the heat of the Sunne. So it falleth out in most of those Easterne Countries, otherwise then it doth here in *England*.
- Superstition.
- Pride. The pride of the Turkish *Visiers* or *Bashawes* is so great, that when a Christian Ambassador doth either bring them or send them a Present of great worth, they haue not the honestie as to thanke him. Whensoever the Turkes or Greeks fall to buffets, they neither strike one another with their fists, but altogether with the palme of their hands, which I haue often obserued amongst them. In *England* onely our women, and those gentle doe carry Fannes in their hands made of Ostrich feathers, blacke, blue, red, yellow, &c. but no Gentlemen whatsoever; but here in *Constantinople* I haue obserued the contrary, that onely men, and those Turkes, Greekes, and Franks doe carry these kind of Fannes, and neuer any women that I could perceiue.
- Boxing.
- Fannes.
- Amis an English Iew. The seuenth of August being Saturday, my courteous friend Master *William Pearce* being desirous to gratifie mee in a matter for the which I had often before solicited him, inuited mee and Master *William Ford*, Preacher to our Nation, to the house of a certaine English Iew, called *Amis*, borne in the *Groatched Friars* in *London*, who hath two sisters more of his owne Iewish Religion, Commorant in *Galata*, who were likewise borne in the same place; to this mans house I say wee came, the foresaid day about nine of the clocke in the morning to see a matter, which in my former trauels I wished to haue scene, especially in *Venice*, but neuer till then had the opportunitie to attaine vnto, namely a circumcision. It was done in a priuate house, according to the custome of the Iewes resident in *Constantinople*, and not in a Synagogue as it is with the Iewes in other Countries. This foresaid *Amis*, for the loue hee bore to our English Nation, in the which hee liued till hee was thirtie yeeres of age, being at the time of my residence in *Constantinople* sixtie, as also for his good will sake, which hee bore to my foresaid friend Master *William Pearce*, receiued vs with
- Rites of Circumcision.

with very courteous entertainment, presenting vnto vs at a Table in a fine little roome where he placed vs, diuers delicate dishes and fruits with a cup of most excellent Wine, often welcoming vs with many heartie and wel-wishing speeches. While wee were at breakfast, diuers Jewes came into the roome, and sung certaine *Hebrew* Songs; after which the child was brought to his Father, who sate downe in a chaire, and placed the child being now eight dayes old in his lap. The whole company being desirous that we Christians should obserue their ceremonie, called vs to approach neere to the child. And when we came, a certaine other Jew drawing forth a little Instrument made not vnlike those smal Cissers that our Ladies and Gentlewomen doe much vse, did with the same cut off the Prepuce or fore-skinne of the child, and after a very strange manner vnused (I beleue) of the ancient *Hebrewes*, did put his mouth to the childs yard, and sucked vp the blood. All his Priuities (before hee came into the roome) were besprinkled with a kind of powder, which after the Circumciser had done his businesse, was blowed away by him, and another powder cast on immediately. After he had dispatched his worke, the same also after his worke was done, tooke a little strong Wine that was held in a Goblet by a fellow that stood neere him, and powred it into the childs mouth to comfort him in the midst of his paines, who cried out very bitterly. The paine being for the time very bitter indeed, though it will be (as they told me) cured in the space of foure and twentie houres. But those of any riper yeeres that are circumcised (as it too often cometh to passe, that Christians which turne Turkes) as at fortie or fiftie yeeres of age, doe suffer great paine for the space of a moneth, the Prepuce that was cut off was carried to the Mother, who keepeth it very precious as a thing of worth.

The twelfth of August being Thursday, the Turkes about eight of the clocke at night, illuminated the steeples of their Moskie, with abundance of Lampes ouer all *Constantinople* and *Galata*, (as they did vpon *Mahomets* birth day before mentioned by mee) as being the Eue of their first Sabbath in the Moneth or Moone of *Regepf*, by way of preparation for their great Feast of *Ramazan*, which followed afterward, which custome they obserue euery yeere vpon the foresaid day.

The eleuenth of September, some of the learned Turkes that were skilfull in their Law, obseruing that the contagion of the Plague was lately disperfed ouer diuers places of the Citie, had recourse to some of their *Musulman* Bookes, to the end they might informe themselves of some conuenient and discreet course to be taken for the preuention of the sicknesse, and finding in one of them, that some thirtie yeeres since there was made an Edict for the banishing of all the Dogs out of the Towne, as being principall Instruments of scattering the Plague, by reason of their free passing vp and downe from one house to another, they held it meet to imitate that example, and to doe the like. So that the matter being now propounded to the *Grand Signior*, it was at last determined, that the Dogges should be banished, and for the better performance of the matter, finally, they concluded thus, that euery Christian and Jew dwelling in *Constantinople* should by a day limited (vnder the paine of forfeiting foure Chiquins) present a Dogge to the *Cadie*, and taking of him a *Teskeria* (this is a *Turkish* word that signifieth a Certificate written vnder his hand) for a testimonie of performance of the same should afterward bring him to the water side, and see him imbarked for *Saitan*: for there were certaine vessels not much vnlike our lighters at *London*, assigned only for transporting the Dogges, the Naulum or passage being an Asper for euery Dogge: by meanes whereof it came to passe that within one weeke there were no lesse then twentie thousand Dogges euen a great Armie of them carried ouer to *Saitan*: and whereas the Citie did not yeeld Dogges enough for the seuerall Families of Christians and Jewes to present to the *Cadie*, those of *Galata* bought Dogges at a deere rate to transport them ouer to *Constantinople*, and to sell them there much deerer. Mungrels and masterlesse Curres that before strayed vp and downe the Citie, being now worth twenty or thirty Aspers. Now whereas the *Grand Signior* held it fit that they should be all killed when they came to the *Saitanicall* shoare, the *Musie* who is the *Turkish* Oracle, would not giue his consent to that, affirming, that it would be a very vncharitable action.

The twentieth of September, three of the *Vifiers* sonnes Rod vp and downe in the Citie in great pompe being accompanied with many *Spabies* mounted vpon their goodly Palfreyes that were richly furnished. And the same three were that day circumcised, the custome being such, that when the Sonnes of any eminent Turke is circumcised, a little before they performe the act vpon him, he rideth vp and downe the City with great solemnity with diuers Jewels of great prize in his Turbant, his long lock hanging downe behind his back artificially wouen and wrought in with curious pleites and tresses, and adorned with Diamonds and other sparkling stones of great value. Likewise they haue two long Pendants made of Gold Plate, that hang downe in the like manner ouer their backe. In their Turbant besides their Jewels they weare blacke Ostridge-feathers. Some of them weare vpper Vests of Cloth of Gold, and Cimeters by their sides with a maruellous rich handle and scabberd: their horses very lustie, worth sometimes a hundred pounds sterling a Horse, garnished with most rich Furniture, the forepart and hinder of the Saddle being of massie Silver Plate double gilded; the headstall of his Bridle and Pithell consisting of the like silver double gilded; a Horse-cloth couering all the buttockes of the Horse, worth

Lampes

Dogs banished to prevent pestilence.

Dogged Charitie.

The Vifiers sonnes circumcised.

perhaps some two hundred Dollers. Before the youths certaine *Gemilands* walke afoot, carrying certaine strange deuices of a prettie height in their hands, made partly of litle shreds of Paper, and partly of thinne Silver Plate with round Figures made in the forme of the World. Likewise neere to them goe certaine Flutes that yeeld a very ridiculous and squeaking Musicke with their Flutes. The Horsemen rode very orderly in their ranks, two and two together. After all this, returning to their Fathers House, they are feasted with much good cheere.

Fire workes.

This day did these youths present themselves to the *Grand Signior* to kisse his hand, who bestowed vpon each of them two vpper Vests of Cloth of Gold, two Jewels and two rich Goblets. The same day about seuen of the clocke at night, their Father the *Visier* made notable shewes vpon the water before the *Grand Signior* with fire-workes. For there were sixteene Boates that serued for the same purpose, wherein prettie Castles were contriued, the people in which skirmished together at the least an houre, spending such abundance of Powder in their fire-workes, that I neuer saw the like before, sending vp diuers of their flashes in the Aire, as high as the highest Steeple in *Constantinople*; a sight most notable to obserue so many Boats with their fire-workes encounter so long together, in which space there was no cessation or intermission, but that you should sometimes see foure, sometimes fixe fierie Steeples ascending into the Aire together with many burning lines passing too and fro vpon the water in diuers seuerall formes. Amongst the rest of these fire-workes I obserued some made vpon the very shoare it selfe with singular cunning resembling the shape of Cypresse-trees; a very pleasing and delectable object to behold.

Iewish feast of
Tabernacles,
nine dayes.

The twentieth of September being Munday, the *Jewes* of *Constantinople* and *Galata*, beganne their Feast of Tabernacles which lasted till the eight and twentieth of the same month, that is iust nine dayes in which they differ from the ancient *Jewes* who were commanded by Almighty God to spend only eight dayes in the celebration of their Feast. I talked with a *Jew* concerning the reason of this their difference, who told me that it was because being so farre from *Ierusalem*, as in *Constantinople* they did not altogether so certainly know the first day according to the course of the Moone, as those *Jewes* that liue in *Ierusalem*, and therefore for the better assurance of this matter, they adde a day to the number that God limited and appointed their forefathers, whereas the *Jewes* that liue in *Ierusalem*, and the parts of the Holy Land, neere thereabout, by the course of the Moone more certainly knowing the precise time of the beginning doe spend only eight dayes in their Feast and no more. Again, they do in another respect differ from Gods Institution. For he commanded only two dayes to bee more solemnely celebrated then the rest, that is, the first and the last, but they celebrate two at the beginning, and two also at the last. But as of the former two, the first day is the chiefest, being kept with more solemnitie then the second: so also of the two later, the last of all is more ceremoniously obserued then the former. In this space they are much giuen to holinesse, resting from all labour during the whole nine dayes, and they sometimes eate and drinke in their Tabernacles, which are made partly in their private Houses, or the corner of some Gallerie belonging thereto, at the least if they haue any, and partly neere to their Synagogues. They make the sides of their Tabernacles of Reeds of Bulrushes, and couer them at the top with Bayes. It was my hap to bee in one of them that was made neere to a Synagogue. Also the ninth day which was the last of their Feast about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, I was at their Lyturgie in one of their Synagogues, being admitted to sit downe among them. I find the irreuerence of the *Jewes* in *Venice*, & of those of *Constantinople* to be like in the seruice of God. They neither vncover nor kneele the whole time of their Prayer, sometimes they stand altogether, & sometimes they sit altogether. For some quarter of an houre after the beginning of the reading of their Law, they weare nothing ouer their backe, but their ordinary apparell, but then all of them put on their Ephod both men and children; which Ephod is made of the same white stuffe, as the *Turkish* Turbants are, these hang ouer their backs and reach downe to the middle part of their bodies, after a looser manner then I thinke the ancient *Jewes* were wont to weare them, for I read in the 2. *Sam.* the 6. Chapter, and 14. Verse, that King *Dauid* girt it about his middle when he danced before the Arke: but they hang it loose about their bodies. This Ephod many of them carried in a little scrip from their houses, and backe againe after the end of their Lyturgie. When they sat at their deuotion they vsed a most ridiculous and vnseemely gesture; for they alwayes mooued their bodies vp and downe very strangely, the head being in a continuall motion without any cessation. After that they moue their right side then their left, and lastly their forepart forward; which kind of wagging of their bodies by interchangeable turnes they vse during the whole time of their seruice.

Synagogue.
Lyturgie.
Irreuerence.

Ephod.

Synagogue.

The forme of their Synagogue is built foure square, hauing abundance of little Glasses hanging round about, that serue to containe Lampes, and some also of silver. The Priest beeing in the middle roome, which is made in the same forme as those of *Venice*. That I saw described in my former Booke bellowed like an Oxe with a very hideous and roaring exaltation of his voyce at their seruice, they sung in *Hebrew* (in which Language their whole Seruice is said) the nine and twentieth Psalme, though nothing at all pertinent to their Feast, at the vpper end of their Synagogue they haue three distinct places drawne ouer with branched Vel-

10 uet in the middle whereof was placed their Law, which consisted of tenne distinct par-
 eels, each part containning the selfe same matter written therein that the other doe, beeing
 folded vp with two Siluer handles at the ends; at the top of each whereof is a Siluer Pomegra-
 nate, with many Bels hanging round about the same: within the which their Law is written
 in a Roll of Parchment. One of these parcells consisted of a goodly Plate of Siluer of no small
 price, all which tenne were carried in the middest of their Lyturgie round about the inside of
 the Synagogue, the *Cochan* (which is their Priest) being the Ringleader of the company, be-
 fore whom diuers of the *Iewes* in a merrie manner went dancing as they also did that car-
 ried the said parcells. The Rose-water that was spirted by little young *Iewes*, out of Sil-
 uer Vessels vpon all those that carried about the Law was so much, that the Christian Specta-
 tors thought that they would haue halfe drowned them in Rose-water. The ceremonie was
 such at that time, that a little after our company departed thence, our Emperours Ambassa-
 dour came to see their fashions.

Sprinkling of
Rose-water

20 That day in which the *Iewes* by night should haue taken downe their Tabernacles, that is,
 the Munday being the eighth day, after the beginning of their Feast (which was wont to bee
 the last day) the Christians of the Countrey beganne to erect their Tabernacles or Paulions for
 their Vintage in all their Vineyards about *Pera*, and on both sides of the *Bosphorus* towards the
 blacke Sea, which Vintage lasted sixe dayes. In each of these dayes you might haue seene the
 greatest part of the way betwixt the farther end of *Pera*, and the Vineyards full of Horses
 that went to and fro from morning to night, to carrie away into the Towne the Grapes in cer-
 taine deepe wooden pots after they were cut in the Vineyard: likewise the owners of the
 Vineyards with their Families going and comming. And in these Paulions was much solace a-
 mongst the Christians for this time with good cheere, Musicke, &c. During the time of their
Raccolta, whatsoever strangers came into their Vineyard might freely take as many Grapes as
 they were able to eate, which at another time they could not doe, for if before that they should be
 apprehended stealing Grapes in a Vineyard by any *Ianizaries*, and carried to the *Sabbashaw* of
Galata, perhaps he might haue twentie or fortie blowes vpon the feet. Besides an imposition of
 a thousand Aspers. Of those Vineyards many belonged to *Turkes*, to whom it was lawfull to
 drinke Wine only at that time, while it was Must, but not else. I found not small recreation in
 30 expatiating abroad sometimes in the time of their Vintage to their Vineyards, where for exer-
 cise sake I holpe the poore *Greeks* both to gather their Grapes and to stampe some of their wine.
 For in certaine Buts and other lesser Vessels they braised many of their Grapes in the Vineyards
 themselves, and afterward in their priuate houses finished the making of their Wine. Their vines
 grow not as in *France* and *Germany*, being vnderpropped, with little stalkes but rather as little
 small shrubs which grow so stiff, that they need not any stakes to support them.

Turkes distin-
ction for wine.

Greeke Vines.

40 The third of October being Sunday, my Lord being accompanied with the greatest part of
 our *English* Nation resident in *Galata*, ouer and aboue his owne retinue went to congratulate
 the *Polonian* Ambassadors prosperous arriual in *Constantinople*, who with much courtesie gaue
 him an *Accoglienza* speaking only in the *Latine* Tongue; and vsing sometimes in his dis-
 course a certaine word that was neuer yet allowed by the Criticall censures of our time, name-
 ly *Illustritas*.

50 There happened one very memorable thing this Summer in *Galata*, which shall not escape
 my pen. A certaine Iew turned Turke, and after his conversion to that Religion, buying once an
 Aspers worth of Fruit of a certaine poore Turke, because he obserued that the Turke did not de-
 liuer him so much as did counteruaile his Asper, the Iewish Turke strooke the other about the
 face with some Instrument that he held in his hand, which gaue him such a sound blow that hee
 brake his face, insomuch that the blood ran verie swiftly downe his face: another Iew that well
 knew this foresaid Iewish Turke, and saw the blow given by him to the poore Turke, came to the
 Turke, and demanded of him why hee did so patiently suffer that man to abuse him so outrage-
 ously, encouraging him to giue him a blow, because otherwise euerie one that saw him put vp
 that wrong so lightly, would take him for a ranke coward. I do not at all regard this blow (quoth
 the poore Turke) because it is giuen mee by one that is late made a Musulman, and I will not dis-
 hearten him by giuing another for the same; but will as quietly take as much at his hands, as I
 haue already receiued, if hee thinke fit to strike mee once more: yea I tell the Iew (quoth
 hee) that I will giue thee leaue to draw as much blood from mee as hee hath done,
 without offering any reuenge at all, if thou also wilt turne Musulman: a notable example if it
 bee well considered.

Turkish milde-
zeale and zeal-
ous mildnesse

60 The fourth of October, being Munday, the Turkish lent called *Ramazan* began which conti-
 nueth till the fourth day of Nouember, at which time they hanged out Lamps about their Stree-
 ples, in the manner as they did twice before, that since the time of my arriual in *Constantinople*
 which burned till foure of the clocke in the morning, euen till that time when the *Turke* cryeth
 with a loud voice, &c. but it happened that their Lamps were hanged out much later this night
 then I haue obserued at other times. For before, they vied to hang them out about the closing of
 the Euening, euen about Sun-set. But this night they did not before midnight, which came to

Ramazan or
Turkish Lent.
Lamps.

passe by reason that they could not see the Moone, notwithstanding the Grand Signior being ad-
 uertised by his expert Astronomers about ten of the clocke at night, that it was very likely the
 Moone was risen, though being darkened by clouds it did not shine, commanded that there should
 bee an expresse order giuen forthwith that they should hang forth their Lamps; whereupon
 within the space of two houres, the Steeples belonging to all the Moskie in *Constantinople* and
Galata shined suddenly with Lamps, a shew indeed very glorious and refulgent, some of their
 Steeples hauing onely one row of Lampes, which contained some fiftie particulars; some three
 rowes which make a very beautifull shew, yea each of the foure Steeples belonging to the Moskee
 of *Sultan Solymán*, had not onely three distinct rowes of Lampes, which hanged about as many
 feuerall pertitions in each Tower; but also three subdiuided rowes or series that pertained to the
 said feuerall pertition, which Lampes were couered with certaine wooden Boxes to the end to
 keepe out the raine and the wind that they may not be blowne out; these Lampes were hanged
 out euery night. After the first, about the setting of the Sunne, before which time it was not law-
 full for any man to eat or drinke, only sick folke and little children excepted that are not circum-
 cised. If in the space of this *Ramaza* any Turke should bee found drunke hee is punished with
 death, as it happened to one when I was in *Constantinople*, who by the expresse commande-
 ment of the Visier had hote burning Lead powred into his mouth and eares: and as for
 those that by reason of sicknesse haue beene constrained to violate this fast, looke how ma-
 ny dayes they haue eaten in the *Ramazan*, they are to fast as many afterwarde to re-
 compence the same. This manner of fast betwixt sunne and sunne was instituted by *Ma-
 homet* himselfe. Immediately after the Lampes are hanged out, and the Talisman bath
 cryed out, it is lawfull for people to eat, but not before: for though it bee not death
 for any one that shall bee found eating or drinking (saue onely for Wine, for that
 is death without redemption) yet there is a certaine seuerer punishment to bee inflicted
 vpon him.

Strict fast.

Drunkennesse
seuerely puni-
shed.

Slutish Butter

There is great quantitie of Butter made in *Turkie*, but the most filthy and vnsauorie that
 is made in any other part of the world; for besides that it is defiled with many haire, it is al-
 so stained with many colours, as blue, redde, Greene, and all the other colours of the Raine-bow.
 It is made commonly in *Moldania*, *Walachia*, *Mengrelia*, and in some parts of *Asia*. Those
 that buy it in *Constantinople* refine it by setting it ouer the fire, and letting it settle, in mel-
 ting whereof there is a most noysome and distastefull smell; then they poure out the cleere sub-
 stance, and the eight part remaineth as a muddy foot, or settling in the bottome. This Butter,
 though it bee so filthy, yet they preferred it before the best Butter that any of our Christians
 doe bring to the Citie. Againe, whereas wee make our Butter in all parts of Christendome with
 churning, they neuer doe so, but in this manner they make it. They set the Creame ouer the
 fire, and so the grosse substance descendeth to the bottome, and the Butter swimmeth to the top,
 which they skimme with a Ladle, and after poure it into the Hide of a Buffallo or an Oxe. This
 being cold looketh rather like Grease then Butter. They bring it to *Constantinople* in Buffallo
 Hides, which when they transport from *Galata* to *Constantinople*, they throw it downe into
 the water and dragge it at a Boates taile through the Sea and before they put it out at the
 shoare of *Constantinople*, they dragge it also through a great deale of mud. One of these Hides
 is so great that when it is carried into the Citie eight men doe vsually carrie it vpon their
 backes by the helpe of Leuers and Ropes. The vse of this Butter is verie frequent, by rea-
 son of the abundance of *Pillawe* that is eaten in *Constantinople*, and in most places of *Turkie*.
 When they sell this Butter in their Shops, they hang it vp in the verie same Buffallo skinnies
 wherein they first brought it: and cut open the bellie, where they discouer the foresaid co-
 lours. Their Butter hath little Salt mingled with it, which is the cause of the ranke sa-
 uour thereof. Their Cheese likewise is brought in lesser skinnies, as of Goates and Sheepe to the
 Citie, not pressed as our Cheese is, but in crumbles. It is verie leane and drie, but fierie
 salt. But one Prison in all *Constantinople*, where there are but a few prisoners, be-
 cause whensoever a man is committed to prison for any offence, hee is quickly brought
 to his triall.

Cheese.

Patriarch of
Constantinople.

The seuenth of Ianuary, being Thursday, I went with a worthy Greeke, *Michael Canacco* to
Timothew the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, whose house is in that part of *Constantinople*, which is
 called *Phariaria*, he is a man vnlearned and verie vnworthy of the place. When wee came to the
 doore of his Conclau, wee did put off our shooes, and leauing them without the doore went in to
 him; and sate vpon our tailes crosse-legged as the Turkes doe vpon certaine Carpets, without
 either Chaire, Stoole, or Forme to sit on, he himselfe sate in the like manner, clad in a black broad
 cloth Gowne that was furred, and a blacke habit of Say ouer his head like to the Coloires; his re-
 uenue is one yeere with another at the least 6000. Chicquins. Neere to his house is a Church of
 the Greekes, in which the foresaid Greeke *Michael* shewed me a certaine piece of a blacke Mar-
 ble Pillar some fise foot long, that he said was brought from *Ierusalem*, and that our Saviour was
 tied to the same when he was scourged. Hee told mee that the Greekes doe esteeme it so deere-
 ly, that though the Duke of *Florence* did offer foure thousand Chicquins for the same, they
 will

will not leaue it. It standeth in a corner of the Church, on the right hand as you goe into their Chancell.

On Saturday, being the ninth of Ianuary, was presented to my Lord, about five of the clocke in the afternoone, the strangest Bird that euer I saw in my life, a Pellican killed in the Sea by a seruant of our *English* Councel, Master *Abbot* with a Musket: it was white and much greater then any Bird that euer I saw before. His wings being stretched out were so long, that betwixt the extremitie of them both there was at the least nine foot distance, each wing contained forrie great feathers, which feathers yeelded so great a quill, that it was almost as great as an ordinarie finger: but the strangest thing in him was his beake, which yeelded two matters worthy the obseruation; first the length, which was not so little as a Geometricall foot, and a quarter long, the top of the vpper part of which bill was hooked like to the bill of an Eagle, and couered cleane ouer the lower parts of the beake. Secondly, the greatnesse of the jaw or chap in the lower part of the beake, being a kind of thinne fleshie substance, which indeed was so large that I saw a dogge of a prettie bignesse put within it, and it contained the whole bodie thereof. I heard that it would containe very neere a pecke of wheat, he is a great deuourer of fish, and hauing once got it within this jaw, his prey is certainly become his owne. Great plentie of these Birds are in the *Propontis* and *Hellepont*, and doe liue partly vpon the Land, and partly vpon the Sea, but most vpon the Sea.

A Pellican described:

In *Constantinople*, *Peru*, and *Galata* there are five thousand and seven hundred and fiftie Parishes, of the Turkes Turkish Muskies great and little seven hundred and seuentie: *Karabassaries* or *Xenodochia* foure hundred and eighteen; publike Fountaines or Wells six hundred and fiftie, priuate foure hundred and ninetie eight; Ouens or Bake-houses three hundred and eightie five; horse-mills five hundred and eightie three; Christian Churches an hundred and fiftie; Synagogues thirtie fixe; a hundred thousand Houses, and amongst them five thousand Shops. As for the Bird before mentioned, the Turkes say that when *Mecca* was building, these to helpe forward the worke brought stones in their bills, that serued for the building of the Walles of the Citie: the Grand Signior is of the company of the Archers, as most of the Sultans of the *Ottoman* Familie haue beene free of some company or other. His Father *Mahomet* was of the Company of the Ring-makers, those I meane that make Rings of the teeth of a certaine Sea-fish, which Rings are very commonly worne by the Turkes. They hold it a bad omen, when the Grand Signior on any occasion goeth out of *Constantinople* to meet in his way a Christian, for which onely fault one of *Sir Thomas Glouers* men, was taken and had so many blowes on his buttockes (his breeches betwixt) that he died thereof within few daies after. The Greekes that cannot pay their debts are deliuered to a Turk, who leads him with a chaine about his neck, the other end fastned to the Keepers middle to begge till he hath paid. Sometimes at the great *Bayram*, the Sultan, or Visier, or *Bassas* will pay halfe the debts.

Parishes and Churches. Hospitals.

Tale:

G.S. trades

The Turkish Boyes that learne the first Alphabet, obserue the strangest custome that euer I saw, for sitting crosse-legged as their father doe, and holding their festers in their hands, they moue themselves vp and downe towards their booke that lieth before them, a motion so quaint that I could not chuse but laugh at them, and so did many other Christians beside my selfe. This I saw to be obserued by the Turkish boyes of *Constantinople*, *Gallipoli* and *Syo*, and I thinke it is vsed in all parts of the Turkish Dominion. I departed from *Constantinople* towards *Ierusalem*, in an *English* Ship, called the *Great Defince*, which about a month before came from *Syo* to *Constantinople*, which are at the least eighty leagues asunder, in the space of forty two houres, a thing that I name for the raritie thereof, because there are few Ships that performe it in so short a space, for the Ship in the which I went, being called the *Samaritane*, was almost fixe weekes performing it. I departed I say there hence, the one and twentieth of Ianuary being Friday, about eight of the clocke in the morning, in as tempestuous and extreame a season as euer I trauelled in my life, either by Land or water, for the snow which fell incessantly for the space of almost two dayes and two nights, bred such a rigid cold that some of vs were euen benumbed. Besides, the contrarie winds so crossed our passage, that we found it a very fastidious and tedious voyage. Notwithstanding the aduerse windes when we came within three or foure miles of *Gallipoli*, by tacking about and turning to windward, as they call it (those are nauticall words) by the which is meant sailing against the winde; with some kind of difficultie we entred into the Port. After we were come in, a certaine Jew that was in our Ship perceiuing that wee sailed so brauely against the winds, told me that the *Englishmen* by reason of their dexteritie in sailing, might bee not improperly called the fishes of the Sea: there we tarried three dayes, partly for the dispatch of our businesse with the Turkish Magistrates of the Towne, and partly by a thicke mist vpon the Sea, during which wee could not securely goe forward for feare of falling into shallow parts of the Sea. This *Gallipoli* is some

Gallipoli.

ninetie leagues distant from *Constantinople*: there endeth the *Propontis* and beginneth the *Hellepont*.

The fourteenth of Februarie wee went ashore at *Lesbos*, now called *Mitylene*: it is very mountainous and rough. The Sheepe bare the coursest Wooll that euer I saw, like Goats haire. The people flocked about vs, many of them women, the vglyest sluts that euer I saw, sauing the

Armenian

Scanderone.

Iackalls.

Poole of Giab-
bul, or Salt.
Deceptio visus.Damasco, or
Sham.Armenian B.
Patriarch.Arabian wo-
men.

Armenian trulls of *Constantinople*. Februarie eightene we came to *Syo*. On the twentieth say-
ling by the *Sanyan Coast* wee discerned *Pathmos*, and passed neere *Cos* the birthplace of *Hippo-
crates*. On the twentieth three, wee espied the tops of *Ararat* laid to bee eightie leagues within
Land, and wee fourteene from shoare. On the twentieth foure we landed at *Scanderone*, infamous
for the infectious aire caused by foggie clouds after Sun-set, and till nine in the morning hovering
about the mountaines, and letting fall an ynwolsome dew, the waters being also pestiferous;
which cause many to leaue their carkasses there to be deuoured of the *Iackals*, which scrape the out
of their graues. I saw one, somewhat like a Mastiue Dog, but somewhat lesse, his taile as long as
of a Foxe. They are therefore forced to fetch their water from a Fountaine sixe miles off. *Scan-
derone* hath about fortie Houses, the poorest Cotages that euer I saw, being but a few boards
weakly compact and couered with Reeds. Our iourney thence to *Scandarone* is about fiftie sixe
miles. The first day wee rode twelue; the second sixteene; the third sixteene; the fourth ten.
The Right Worshipfull Consull of the *English Nation*, Commorant in *Aleppo*, Master *Bart. Hag-
gar* my worthy Countryman borne in *Summerseishire* at *Welles*, amongst other fauours rode with
mee to the *Vallie of Salt* mentioned, 2. *Sam.* 8. 13. In the way wee seemed to see a Towne stan-
ding like an Iland in water, and when wee came thither found no waters, but a kind of shrub like
wild withered Time, which couering the Mountaine made with the white sprigs a shew of wa-
ter a farre off. The Villages in the way are inhabited with *Bedwines*. The Poole where the Salt
is made is twentie miles long, and two broad, exceedingly frequented with plentie and va-
riety of Fowle. The water continueth all the yeere sauing Iuly, August, September, at which
time it is quite dried vp, beginning to walt (or to change into Salt) in Iuly; and then is there no-
thing but a hard massie Salt, which appeareth like hard Ice digged thence with Mattocks, heaped
hillocks & carried to *Giabbul* a village, on Camels and Asses, and there custumed. It is as fine & ex-
cellent as any in the world. In Oct. it beginneth again to break out of certain Springs with much
vehemency, & after one month inundateth the whole place. It yeelds 20000. dollars yearly to the
Grand Signior. March, 15. 1613. I and my countryman *Henry Allard* of *Kent*, began our Pilgri-
mage a foot to the holy Citie of *Ierusalem*. The 26. in *Damasco* I saw *Roses*——— but wee haue
trauelled with so many Travellers to *Damasco*, and thence to *Ierusalem*, and obserued so much on those
parts, that I dare not to obtrude Master *Coryats* prolixitie on the patientest Reader. He was indeed a cu-
rious viewer of so much as his bodily eyes could comprehend, to which he added (not so faithfull intelli-
gence of) his inquisitiue eares; for mysteries of State and Religion hee would bee a safe traveller, and
free from suspicion. I confesse I found much pleasure in walking with him in his tenn dayes iourney
to *Damasco*, and spending a little while to view his foure dayes view of *Damasco*, *Abana* and *Phar-
phar* flowing from the Hill on which, part of the Towne standeth, to the Houses whereof aboue one
thousand Conduits of most pure waters are thence conueyed; the *Darufes Monastery*, garden and tur-
nings; the buildings, of which the chiefe *Moskee* (before *Saint Zacharies Temple*) hath one thou-
sand unglased Windowes, and as many Pillars as are dayes in the yeere, with fine brazen Gates, one fortie
foot high; the Cloister, *Bazestans Castle*, and other *Moskees*, shady penthoused Streets, all superlatiue;
ten Gates, 100000. Inhabitants, Fruits innumerable and delicious, victuals so cheap that at a Cookes,
he and his companion dined well for three farthings a man, and all things conspiring to an earthly Para-
dise: for which cause it is said the Grand Signior may not reside there, least he should forfeit his hopes of a
future Paradise: his further iourney to *Iordans* swift and sounding streame, to *Tabor*s Holies, *Samarias*
Well, and the centre of Earthly sanctitie, *Ierusalem*; his companie of *Armenians*, with there Patriarch
or Bishop, with a Crozier in his hand of an ordinary peece of Hasill, with a little crooke at the end of the
same peece of Wood, with a Turbant of white and blue on his head; their cruell vsage by the *Moors* the
Bedwine sluts painted under the nostrills and ringed on the right nostrill unto the spoyle of kissing,
the *Sugar loafed Houses*, and other rarities, in as rare a stile of big-swolne strange-tired travelling words
expressed: all this and the rest of Master *Coryats* long long iourney I dare not bither adde for feare you
grow weary of him and mee. Yet I will adde a little of *Ierusalem* that yee may know hee was there. Hee
entred it the twelfth of April, 1614. Besides the Holies obserued in *Sandys*, *Sanderson*, *Timberley*,
Biddulph, and others, hee lay in the Temple on *Palmesunday* euen, in the upper Gallery, where hee
was roused out of sleepe by the turbulent cries of the *Greekes*, who came forth of their Quire with a
very clamorous noyse, hauing eleuen Banners of Silke and cloth of Gold carried before them, each of
which had three Streamers, and on the top of the Staffe a gilded Crosse. A world of Lamps was carried
before and behind them, men, women, children confusedly, crying, *Kyrie eleeson*. The next day
the other Nations ioyned with them, displaying their Banners also, viz. the *Armenians*, *Maronites*, *Ia-
cobites*, *Cophites*, and *Abassines*. The *Armenians* made the brauest shew. Their Patriarch wore a
cope of cloth of Gold, a Miter of like cloth on his head beautified with many rich stones, with a Crucifix in
his hand beset with Diamonds, Rubies, Amethysts, Sapphires, and other Stones of great worth; his
Priests also sumptuously attired, wearing imbroidered Caps of Velvet and Sattin with Crosse on the
tops. Some carried Olive boughes in their hands, with burning Waxe Candles therein, and one a
branch of *Palme-tree*. Some of the Priests went before, the Patriarch backward perfuming him.
Some carried Drums on their shoulders, which others behinde them did strike vpon. The *Cophites* and
Abassines had also certaine clappers of Brasse and Wood, which made strange Musicke. They continued

four hours their circumgyration about the Sepulchre, which vociferations such as did amaze the beholders: the people ready to goe together by the eares for these holy branches.

- The eight and twentieth he went to visite Iordan, when they were some fiftene miles from Ierusalem in the way, the stones of that soile put together burne being kindled as wood, and the combustible matter in them being spent, are blacke and not consumed to ashes, the smell is like brimstone, as neere to Gomorha. Twenty of these fires were made on a hill. At Iordan all made great applause; men, women and children stripped themselves starke naked, having opinion that that water washeth away all their sinnes. It is very muddy, and he was up to the middle in mud neere the banks. There grow abundance of tamarikes of which they make wands which they carry into their Countries. The River there is scarcely one hundred
 10 foot broad, but in the middle said to be twenty foot deepe. Halfe a mile beyond are the Arabian hills. They passed within halfe a mile of the Lake Asphaltitis, environed on both sides with high hills. On the hither side is the Pillar of Lots wife in Salt with her childe in her armes, and a pretty Dogge also in Salt by her, about a bow shot from the water. The Interpreter said his father fiftie yeere before, when some of his company had broken off a peece, saw it growne up againe miraculously as if it had not beene touched. He tooke notice of two things, the slow motion of the water, or rather none, standing like a quagmire; and the foggie, cloudie matter upon it, yeelding an unholosome smell. The Vallie which they passed is sterile as ever hee passed any Country, a chalkie soile utterly destitute of plants, not to be bettered by industry of man. The two
 20 and twentieth of Aprill he went the third time into the Temple, in which were then assembled 1000. Armenians, as many as of all the other Nations, 2000. in all. Here was buying and selling in the Temple of girdles, garters, bread, &c. they then remaining there eight and forty houres; yea, they defiled it with their excrementes, and made it a metamorphosis of Ajax, and that not for want of necessarie places, which there were publike and common, but through meere beastlinesse in superlatiue degrees. Their meeting then is, with banners, flags, crucifixes, muscalle instruments, and fervent prayers to bring the holy Ghost from heaven in visible forme of fire. The Latins herein dissent from all the other sects, and count it an imposture. The other six companies meet on saturday at eleven of the clock and lock and bolt the doore of the Sepulcher. They walke round about till five of the clock in the afternoone without intermission, most of them carrying a bundle of white wax candle in their right hands, bound about with the holy thred or garters which have touched
 30 holy places, about forty in a bundle lifted over their heads, innocating the holy Ghost, the Greekes crying *κρίελεῖσθον*, the rest in Arabian, with such stentorean outcries, for that six houres procession, thinking thereof with to pierce the heavens as hath not elsewhere beene heard. About three quarters of an houre after foure, the doore was unlocked, and the Patriarks of the Greekes & Armenians went in, with an Abassine. This last entred into the grotta and there in hugger mugger contriveth his businesse, and having bene there a quarter of an houre, cometh forth with his bundle of lights lighted, and leaping furiously forth is caught by the zealous people ravished with ioy at this appearance, the Priest in danger of stifling whiles each strives to light his candle first. All were kindled in a quarter of an houre. Ierusalem is but meanly peopled, there being scarce 10000. so few walking in the streets as except in Padua he hath not seene in any Citie. The soyle is stonie or rather chalkie, and fertile; it is plentifull of provisions, corne growing there in reasonable quantitie, but not so high, nor so thicke as in fruitfull places of England. Girdles & garters are there made and thence carried to all places. The ancient forme of building there, & in Samaria, of most of their streets
 40 is fornicato opere, with vaulted roofes. Betwixt April and October it seldome raineth. No lew may appeare neere the Sepulcher, for any Christian may stone him, or bring him to the Officer to be executed. 347 lamps ordinarily burne in the Temple (besides at Easter) thorow the yeere. Their woddren Keyes in this Country, and other his obseruations very very many I omit. His iourney from thence to Aleppo and thence into Mesopotamia, Persia, India, you have before related in his owne Epistles.

* He saw not this, but took the report of another, and seemeth by this childe and dog to be a falsehood in word or in deed.

I related of this to you

Sup. l. 4. 6.

CHAP. XIII.

Relations of the Travels of W. LITHGOW a Scot, in Candy, Greece, the Holy-land, Egypt, and other parts of the East.

- 50 **V**Pon the fortieth day after my departure from Paris, I arriued at Rome, of the which I will memorize, some rarest things, and so proceede. This Citie of Rome, now extant, is not that old Rome, which Romulus founded; for after the Monarchy of the Romans had attained to the full height, the Gothes, a base and vnkowne
 60 people, displaying their banner against this glorious and imperiall Citie, in the end razed, and subuerted their Pallaces, equalizing the wals with the ground. After the which detriment, and ouerthrow (the late subdued Romans, recouering their ruinous habitation) were inforced, to withdraw the situation of the Towne, a little more downward, neare the banks of Tiberis: And transported the stones, of these ransacked buildings, to reedifie their new dwelling places:

Hic ubi nunc Roma est, olim fuit ardua silua,

Tantaq, res paucis, pascua bobus erat.

Many haue wrote, of the singularities of old Rome, and I will also recite some decaied Monuments thereof, which I haue seene: The speciall obiect of Antiquitie I saw, being neuer a whit
 decaied

A briefe description of Rome.

Monuments
of Antiquity.

decaied to this day, is the *Templum omnium Deorum*, but now, *omnium sanctorum*, builded in a *rotundo*, and open at the top, with a large round, like to the quire of the holy graue, And a pretty way from this, are the remainants of that ancient Amphitheatre beautified with great Columns, of a wonderfull bignesse and height; the reason why it was first deuised, the ghosts of the slaughtered *Sabines* may testifie. To be brieft, I saw the decaied house of worthy *Cicero*, the high Capitoll, the Pallace of cruell *Nero*, the Statues of *Marcus Aurelius*, *Alexander*, and his horse *Bucephalus*. The greene hill like vnto Mount *Canallo*, that was made of the Pottars shards at one time, which brought the tributarie Gold to this imperiall seat, the seuen hills whereon she stands, and their seuen Pyramides, the Castell Saint *Angelo*, which *Adrian* first founded, and their doubtfull transported Reliques from *Ierusalem*, with many other things I diligently remarked, some whereof were friuolous, some ambiguous, and some famous. Besides all these I saw one most sight-worthy-spectacle, which was the Library of the ancient *Romans*, being licenciated to enter with two Gentlemen, Sir *William Kerre*, and *James Aughermty* my Countrey-men, where when I was come, I beheld a word of old Bookes, the first whereof, was an infinite number of Greeke Bibles subcribed with the hands of these holy Fathers, who (as they say) translated them out of the Hebrew tongue.

The originall
Copies (as
they say) of famous
Authors.

I saw also the Academies of *Aristotle*, wherein he treateth of the Soule, health, life, nature, and qualities of men, with the Medicaments of *Galen*, for the diseases and infirmities of man: The familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, the *Aeneidos* of *Virgil*, the *Saphicke* Verses of that *Lesbian Sapho*, the Workes of *Ouid*, *Plinie*, *Plutarke*, *Titus Liuius*, *Horatius*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Homer*, *Terentius*, *Cato*, *Hippocrates*, *Iosephus*, *Pythagoras*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Eusebius*, Saint *Augustine*, Saint *Ambrose*, Saint *Cyprian*, Saint *Gregory*, and likewise the workes of other excellent Philosophers, Diuines, and Poets: all wrote with their owne hands, and sealed with their names, and manuall subscriptions. I saw also the forme of the first ancient Writing, which was vpon leaues of trees, cakes of lead, with their fingers on ashes, barks of trees, with strange figures, and vnknowne Letters, that was brought from *Egypt*: for the *Egyptians* first deuised the vse thereof, and the sight of infinitie Obligatorie Writings, of Emperours, Kings, and Princes, which I omit to relate, referring the same to the registred, by the next beholder.

The brasen Image of Saint
Peter.

Bidding adew to my Company, and this Library, I longed to view the gorgeous Mosaicall worke of Saint *Peters* Church: The matter was no sooner conceiued, but I went to the doore, yet afraid to enter, because I was not accustomed, with the carriage, and ceremonies of such a *Sanctum Sanctorum*. But at the last, abandoning all scrupulositie, I came in boldly, and on my right hand, as I entred within the doore, I espied the portraied image of Saint *Peter*, erected of pure Brasse, and sitting on a brasen Chaire. The fashion of the people is this, entring the Church, they goe strait to this Idoll, and saluting with many crosses his senselesse body, kisse his feete, and euery one of his seuerall toes: next, they lay their heads vnder the soale of his right foot, and arising, rub their Beads on his hard costed belly: thus adoring that breathlesse masse of mettall, more then though it were a liuing creature.

The period of Time, after eight and twenty dayes abode, wishing my departure, I hardly escaped from the hunting of these bloud-sucking Inquilitors, of whom the most part were mine owne Countymen; for I may iustly affirme it, man hath no worser Enemie then his owne supposed friend. And the *Italian* saith in his Prouerbe; *God keepe me from the hurt of my friends, for I know well how to keepe me from mine Enemies*. From thence bound Eastward, I visited *Naples*, the commendation of which, I onely reuolue in this Verse:

Inclita Parthenope gignit Comitesq; Ducesq;

Among many other remarkeable things, neare to this Citie (as *Lacus Auernus*, *Sibillae* Caeue, *Puteoli*; the *Sulphurean* Mountaine, *Capua* and *Cuma*, where banished *Aeneas* from *Troy*, and *Carthage* arriued) I saw the Monument of *Virgil*s buriall.

Lady of Loretto returned, addressing my selfe to *Venice* for transportation. But by your leaue, let me lay down before your eyes, some notable illusions of *Madonna di Loretta*.

Four Roman
Pilgrimes.

Before I came neere to *Loretta*, by ten miles, I ouertooke a Caroch, wherein were two Gentlemen of *Rome*, and their two Concubines: Who, when they espied me, saluted me kindly, enquiring of what Nation I was? whither I was bound? and what pleasure I had to trauell alone? After I had to these demands giuen satisfaction, they intreated me to come vp to the Caroch, but I thankfully refused, and would not, replying the way was faire, the weather seasonable, and my body vnwearied. At last they perceiuing my absolute refusall, presently dismounted on the ground, to recreate themselues in my company: and incontinently, the two yong vnmarried Dames, came forth also, and would by no perswasion of me, nor their familiars, mount againe; saying, *They were all Pilgrimes, and bound to Loretta (for deuotions sake) in pilgrimage, and for the penance enioyned to them by their Father Confessor*. Truly, so farre as I could iudge, their penance was small, being carried with horses, and the appearance of deuotion much lesse: for lodging at *Rignati*, after supper, each youth led captiue his dearest Darling to an vn sanctified bed, and left me to my accustomed repose.

When

When the morning Starre appeared, wee embraced the way marching toward *Loretta*, and these Vermilion Nymphs, to let me vnderstand they trauelled with a cheerefull stomacke, would oft run races, skipping like wanton Lambes on grassie Mountaines, and quenching their follies in a Sea of vnquenchable fantasies. Approaching neere the gate of the Village, they pulled off their shooes and stockings, walking bare-footed through the streeces, to this ten thousand times polluted Chappell, mumbling *Pater nosters*, and *Aue Marias* on their Beades. When they entered the Church, wherein the Chappell standeth, I stood at the entrie beholding many hundreds of bare-footed blinded bodies, creeping on their knees and hands: Thinking themselves not worthy to goe on foot to this idely supposed *Nazareth* House, like to this saying,

10 *Lauretum nudis pedibus, plebs crebra frequentat,
Quam mouet interius religionis amor.*

Vnto this falsly patronized Chappell, they offer yeerely many rich gifts, amounting to an vn-
speakable value, as Chaines, and Rings of Gold and Siluer, Rubies, Diamonds, silken Tapestries,
and such like. The Iesuiticall and Poenitentiall Fathers receiue all, but who so inioy all, let *Ca-*
mera reuerenda Romana, grant certification to this *Loretan* auariciousnesse, who fill their coffers
twice in the yeere therewith. My foure Pilgrimes hauing performed their ceremoniall customes,
came backe laughing, and asked why I did not enter? But I as vnwilling to shew them any fur-
ther reason, demanded what the matter was? O (said the *Italians*) *Inrando per il Cielo e l'adio Sa-*
cratissimo; This is the House wherein the Virgin *Mary* dwelt in *Galile*: and to the confirmation

20 of these words shewed me a Booke, out of which I extracted these Annotations.

This Chappell, they hold it to be the house, in which *Mary* was annunced by *Gabriel*, and
wherein she conceived *Iesus*, by operation of the holy-Ghost. And in the meane time, that deuo-
tion waxed scant, amongst the Christians of the Primitive Church, in the Holy Land: Many
strangers tyrannizing ouer the territories of *Canaan*, as *Heraclius*, *Costroes* King of *Persia*, *Sarazens*,
and *Harancoue* King of *Egypt*; it came to passe in the yeere of our Lord 1291. and in the time of
Pope *Nicholas* the fourth, that it being shaken off the foundation, was transported miraculously
by Angels in the night, from *Nazareth* in *Galile*, to *Torsalto* in *Stauonia*. And in the morning,
Sheepheards comming to the place of pastorage, found this house, wherewith being astonished,
they returned in haste, and told *S. George Allesandro*, the Prior of *Torsalto*, who in that meane
30 while was lying sicke. He being stricken in admiration with these newes, caused himselfe to be
borne thither, and laid before the Altar, and falling in a maruellous trance, the Virgin *Mary* by a
heauenly Vision appeared to him, saying after this manner:

Behold, thou hast often pierced the heauens, with inuocations for thy reliefe, and now I am come, not
onely to restore thee to thy health, but also to certifie thee, that thou doubt nothing of this House; for it is
boly in respect of me, the chaste immaculate Virgin, ordained before all eternitie, to be the Mother of the
most High. It was in this Chamber my Mother *Anna* conceived me, nourished me, and brought me vp,
in singing *Psalmes*, *Hymns*, & *Praises* to the glory of God: and also I kept in this roome the blessed infant
Iesus, very God, and very Man, without any grienace or paine, brought him up with all diligent obserua-
tion: And when cruell *Herod* sought the babes life, by the aduertisement of the Angell, I, and my hus-
40 band *Ioseph*, who neuer knew my body, fled with him downe to *Egypt*. And after his passion, doath, and as-
cension to Heauen, to make a reconciliation of humane nature, with the Court Celestiall: I staid in this
house with *Iohn*, and the other Disciples: who considering after my death, what high mysteries had bene
done into it, consecrated and conuerted the same to a Temple, for a commemoration of *Christs* sufferings,
the chiefe of Martyrs. Also that resplending Image thou seest, was made by *S. Luke* (my familiar) for e-
ternizing the memory of my portraiture as I was a line, by the commandement of him, who doth all things,
and shall conserue this sacred Image to the worlds end: That Crosse of Cedar, which standeth at the side of
the little westerne window, was made by the Apostles: These Cinders in the Chimney touch not, because
they are the fragments of the last fire I made on earth: And that Shelfe whereon my linnen cloathes,
and prayer Bookes lay, Let no person come neere it; for all these places are sanctified and boly. Wherefore
50 my Son, I tell thee, Awake, and goe, recite the same which I haue told thee vnto others; and to confirme thy
beliefe therein, the Queene of Heauen giueth thee freely thy health.

Frier *Alexander*, being rauished (say they) with this Vision, went and reported it to *Nicholas*
Frangipano, Lord of that Country. And incontinently he sent this Prior and other foure Friers
to *Nazareth*, whereby he might know the truth thereof, but in that journey they died. The Vir-
gin *Mary* perceiuing their incredulitie, caused Angels the second time to transport the house ouer
the gulfe of *Venice*, to a great wood neere by the Sea side, in the territory of *Riginati*. Which, when
the Countrimen had found, and remarking the splendor of the illuminating Image, dispersed these
newes abroad. And the Citizens of *Riginati*, hauing seene what great miracles were daily done, by
the vertue of this Chappell, imposed to it this name, *Madonna di Loretta*. A little while after the
60 people resorting to it with rich gifts, there hanted in the wood many theeves, and cut-throates,
who robd and murdered the Pilgrims. Which innocent spilt bloud, pricking her to the heart, shee
made the Angels transport it the third time, & set it on the top of a little Mountain, belonging to
two brethren in heritage: But they vpon a day quarrelling, & discording, about the vtility of the
offerings to this house, the Angels did remoue it the fourth time, & placed it in a high broad way,
where

Turselline the
Ieluite hath
written five
Bookes of the
Loretan holies
and miracles,
which some su-
perstitious ze-
lore hath trans-
lated into Eng-
lish.

Damnable il-
lusions of *Lore-
reta*.

A false asser-
tion.

A Simonaicall
Vision.

A Papisticall
dream'd of O-
ration.

The shamefull
opinions of the
Papists concer-
ning *Loretta*.

Foure times
transported.

A confirmati-
on by the Popes

* Borne at St.
Andrew in
Scotland.

where it standeth vnremoued to this day. This was confirmed by the Papall Authoritie to bee of an vndoubted truth, after a hundred and fiftie three yeeres deliberation. I haue added nothing to the Authors description, but onely collected these speciall Warrants.

I imbarqued at *Ancona*, in a *Frigata*; and by accident I heere encountred with a most courteous and discreet Gentleman *James Arthur**, whose companie was to me most acceptable, wee arrived at *Saint Markes place* in *Venice*.

After foure and twentie dayes attendance, and expecting for passage, I imbarqued in a *Carmoesalo*, being bound to *Zara Noua* in *Dalmatia*.

Zara is the Capitall Citie of *Dalmatia*, called of old *Iadara*: the Inhabitants are gouerned by a *Camarlingo*, in the behalfe of *Venice*. The walls whereof, are strongly rampired with earth; surpassing the tops of the stone worke: and fortified also with high Bulwarkes, and planted Cannons on eleuated rampires of earth: which are aboue forrie Cubites higher then the walls and Bulwarkes, standing in the foure seuerall corners of the Citie.

From *Zara* I imbarqued in a small *Frigot* bound for *Lefina*, with five *Slauonian* Marriners, who sometimes sayled, and sometimes rowed with Oares: In our way wee passed by the Ile of *Brazza*, which is of no great quantitie, but fertile enough for the Inhabitants, and kept by a Gentleman of *Venice*. It lyeth in the mouth of the Gulfe *Narento*, that diuideh *Dalmatia* from *Slauonia*. Many conceiue in effect that these two Kingdomes are all one, but I hold the contrary opinion, both by experience and by antient Authors. Having passed *Cape di Costa*, which is the beginning of *Slauonia*. I saw vpon my right hand, a round Rocke of a great height, 20 in forme of a Pyramide.

A little beyond that Rocke, I saw the three Iles *Tremiti*: The chieft whereof is called *Tencria*, but they are vulgarly called the Iles of *Diomedes*, who was King of *Etolia*. They are right opposite to Mount *Gargana*, now called *Saint Angelo*, and distant from the maine land of *Pulia* in *Italie* about nine miles.

The poore *Slauonians* being fatigated in their hunger-staruing Boat, with extraordinary paines (for we had three dayes calme, which is not vsually seene in these Seas) were inforced to repose all night, at the barren Ile of *Saint Andrew*. This Ile is of Circuit foure miles but not inhabited: the excessive Raine that fell in the Euening made vs goe on shoar, to seeke the co- uerture of some Rocke; which found, wee lay all night on hard stones, and with hungry bellies: 30 for our prouision was spent. The breach of day giuing comfort to our distressed bodies, with fauourable windes at the *Garbae penente*, we set forward, and about midday wee arrived in the Port of *Lefina*, of which the Ile taketh the the name.

This Ile of *Lefina* is of Circuit, a hundred and fiftie miles, and is the biggest Iland in the *A- driaticke* Sea. It is exceeding fertile and yeeldeth all things plentifully, that is requisite for the sustenance of man. The Citie is vnwalled, and of no great quantitie, but they haue a strong fortresse, which defendeth the Towne, the Hauyn, and the vessels in the rode. The Gouverneur who was a *Venetian*, after he had enquired of my intended Voyage, most courteously inuited me three times to his Table, in the time of my five dayes staying there. And at the last meeting, he reported the storie of a maruellous mishapen Creature borne in the Iland, asking, if I would goe thither to see it: Wherewith (when I persitely vnderstood the matter) I was contented: The Gentleman honoured me also with his company, and a Horse to ride on, where when we came, the Captaine called for the Father of that Monster, to bring him forth before vs. Which vnna- 40 torall Child being brought, I was amazed in that sight, to behold the deformitie of Nature; for below the middle part there was but one Bodie, and aboue the middle there was two living Soules, each one seperated from another with seuerall members. Their heads were both of one bignesse, but different in Phisnomie: The belly of the one ioyned with the posterioir part of the other, and their faces looked both one way, as if the one had carried the other on his back, and often before our eyes, hee that was behind, would lay his hands about the necke of the formost. Their eyes were exceeding big, and their hands greater then an Infant of three times 50 their age. The excrements of both Creatures, issued forth at one place, and their thighs and legges of a great growth, not semblable to their Age, being but fixe and thirtie dayes old; and their feet were proportionably made like to the foot of a Camell, round, and clouen in the middest. They receiued their food with an insatiable desire, and continually mourned with a pitifull noise; that sorrowfull man told vs, that when the one slept, the other awaked, which was a strange disagreement in Nature. The Mother of them bought deerly that birth, with the losse of her owne life; and as her Husband reported, vspeakable was that torment shee endu- red, in that woful-wrestling paine. I was also informed afterwards, that this one or rather two- fold wretch liued but a short while.

I hired a Fisher-boat to goe ouer to *Clissa*, being twelue miles distant. This Ile of *Clissa* is of length twentie, and of circuit three score miles: It is beautified with two profitable Sea-ports, and vnder the Signiorie of *Venice*. Vpon the South-side of this Iland lyeth the Ile *Pelausa*.

Departing from thence in a *Carmoesalo* bound to *Ragusa*, wee sayled by the three Iles *Brisca*, 60 *Placa*,

The Ile of
Brazza
Pomo

The Ile of
Brazza
Pomo

The Ile of
Brazza
Pomo

The Ile of
Brazza
Pomo

The Ile of
Brazza
Pomo

The Ile of
Brazza
Pomo

A Monster
borne in *Lefina*
Clyssa.

Placa, Igezi; And when we entred into the Gulfe of *Catara*, we fetched vp the sight of the Ile *Melida*, called of old *Meligna*. Before wee could attaine vnto the Hauen, wherein our purpose was to stay all night, we were assailed on a sodaine with a deadly storme: Insomuch, that euery swallowing waue threatened our death, and bred in our breasts an intermingled sorrow of feare and hope. The winds becomming calme, and our desired safetie enioyed, we set forward in the Gulfe of *Catara*, and sayled by the Ile *Curzola*. In this Iland I saw a walled Towne called *Curzola*, which hath two strong Fortresses to guard it. It is both commodious for the traffique of Merchandise they haue, and also for the fine Wood that groweth there, whereof the *Venetian* Ships and Gallies are made: An Iland no lesse delightfull then profitable; and the two Governours thereof, are changed euery eighteene moneths, by the State of *Venice*.

Melida.

Curzola.

10 It was of old called, *Curcura*, *Melana*, and of some *Concira nigra*, but by the Modernes, *Curzola*. Continuing our course, we passed by the Iles *Sabionzello*, *Torquolla*, and *Casza Augusta*, appertaining to the Republike of *Ragusa*. They are all three well inhabited, and fruitfull, yeelding Cornes, Wines, and certaine rare kindes of excellent Fruits. It is dangerous for great Vessels to comeneare their Coasts, because of the hidden shelues that lie off in the Sea, called *Augustini*, where diuers ships haue beene cast away in foule weather; vpon the second day after our loosing from *Cliffa*, we arriued at *Ragusa*.

Ragusa.

20 *Ragusa* is a Common-weale gouerned by Senators, and a Senate Counsell: It is wonderfull strong, and also well guarded, being scituate by the Sea-side, it hath a fine Hauen and many goodly shippes thereunto belonging. The greatest Traffique they haue, is with the *Genueses*. Their Territorie in the firme land is not much, in respect of the neighbouring *Turkes*, but they haue certaine commodious Ilands, which to them are profitable. And notwithstanding of the great strength and riches they possesse, yet for their better safeguard and liberty, they pay a yeerely tribute vnto the great *Turke*, amounting to fourteene thousand *Chickenes* of Gold: yea, and also they pay yeerely a tributarie pension vnto the *Venetians*, for the Iles reserued by them in the *Adriaticall* Gulfe. The most part of the ciuill Citizens, haue but the halfe of their heads bare, but the baser sort are all shauen.

30 This Citie is the Metropolitan of the Kingdome of *Slauonia*. *Slauonia* was first called *Liburnia*, next *Iliria*, of *Ilirio* the sonne of *Cadmus*: But lastly, named *Slauonia*, of certaine Slaues, that came from *Sarmatia* passing the Riuer *Danubio*, in the time of the Emperour *Iustinian*. So much as is called *Slauonia*, extendeth from the Riuer *Arsa* in the West, the Riuer *Drino* in the East, on the South bordereth with the Gulfe of *Venice*, and on the North with the Mountaines of *Croatia*: These Mountaines diuide also *Ragusa* from *Bosna*.

Slauonia.

The next two speciall Citie in that Kingdome, are *Sabenica* and *Salona*. The *Slauonians* are of a robust Nature, Martiall, and valiant fellowes, and a great helpe to maintaine the right and libertie of the *Venetian* state. From *Ragusa* I embarked in a *Tartareta*, loaden with Cornes, and bound to *Corfu*, being three hundred miles distant.

40 In all this way we found no Iland, but sayled along the maine land of the *Ilirian* shoare: hauing passed the Gulfe of *Catara*, and *Capo di Fortuna*, I saw *Castellonovo*, which is a strong Fortresse, scituate on the top of a Rocke: wherein one *Barbarisso*, the Captaine of *Solyman*, starued to death foure thousand *Spaniards*. Hauing left *Iliria* and *Valona* behind vs, wee sayled by *Capo di Palone*. This high land is the furthest part of the Gulfe of *Venice*, and opposite against *Capo di Sancta Maria*, in *Pulia*, each one in sight of another, and foure leagues distant. Continuing our Nauigation, we entred into the Sea *Ionium*, and sayled along the Coast of *Epire*, which was the famous Kingdome of the *Epirotes*. This is the first land of *Greece*, and vpon the fixt day after our deprtture from *Ragusa*, we arriued at *Corfu*.

50 *Corfu* is an Iland, no lesse beautifull then inuincible: it lyeth in the Sea *Ionian*, the Inhabitants are *Greekes*, and the Governours *Venetians*. This Ile was much honoured by *Homer*, for the pleasant Gardens of *Alcino*, which were in his time: it is of Circuit one hundred and twentie, and fiftie miles in bredth. The Citie *Corfu*, from which the Ile hath the name, is scituate at the foot of a Mountaine, whereupon are builded two strong Fortresses, and inuironed with a naturall Rocke: the one is called *Fortezza noua*, and the other *Fortezza uechia*: they are well gouerned and circumspectly kept, least by the instigation of the one Captaine, the other should commit some treasonable effects: and for the same purpose, the Governours of both Castles, at their Election, before the Senators of *Venice* are sworne; neither priuately nor openly to haue mutuall Conference; nor to write one to another for the space of two yeares, which is the time of their Gouernment. These Castles are madeffable and vnconquerable, if that the Keepers be loyall, and provided with Naturall and Martiall furniture. They are vulgarly called, *The Ports of Christendome*, by the *Greekes*; but more lustily, *The strength of Venice*: for if these Castles were taken by the *Turkes*, the Trade of the *Plavina* Merchants would bee of none account; yea, the very meane to nourish *Venice* it selfe.

Corfu.

Two strong Castles in the Ile *Corfu*.

60 From thence, I embarked in a *Greekish Carmioesalo*, with a great number of passengers, *Greekes*, *Slauonians*, *Italians*, *Armenians* and *Iewes*, that were all mindfull to *Zante*.

Biding farewell to *Zante*, I embarked in a *Frigate* going to *Petrasso* in *Morea*, which is called

led Peloponnesus: and by the way in the Gulfe Lepanto (which diuiderh Etolia and Morea: the chiefest Citie in Etolia is called Lepanto: from thence Westward by the Sea-side, is Delphos, famous for the Oracle of Apollo) wee sayled by the Iles Echinidi, but by Moderne Writers, Curzolari: where the Christians obtained the Victorie against the Turkes, for there did they fight, after this manner.

The Battell
betweene the
Christians and
Turkes at Le-
panto.

In the yeere 1571. and the sixth of October, Iohn Duke of Austria, Generall for the Spanish Gallies, Marco Antonio Colonna, for Pope Pio Quinto; and Sebastiano Veniero, for the Venetian Armie, conuened altogether in Largostolo at Cephalonia: hauing of all two hundred and eight Gallies, sixe Galliaffes, and five and twentie Frigots. After a most resolute deliberation, these three Generals went with a valiant courage to encounter with the Turkish Armado, on the Sunday morning the seuenth of October: who in the end through the helpe of Christ, obtrayned a glorious Victorie. In that Fight there was taken and Drowned one hundred and eightie of Turkish Gallies; and there escaped about the number of sixe hundred and fiftie Ships, Gallies, Galeotes, and other Vessels: there was fiftene thousand Turkes killed, and foure thousand taken Prisoners, and twelue thousand Christians deliuered from their slavish Bondage. In all, the Christians but loosed eleuen Gallies, and five thousand slaine. At their returne to Largostolo, after this victorious Battell, the three Generals diuided innumerable spoyles, to their well-deseruing Captaines and worthy Souldiers.

HONDIVS his Map of Morea.



After my arriual in Peterasso, the Metropolitan of Peloponnesus, I left the turmoiling dangers of the intricate Iles of the Ionean and Adriaticall Seas, and aduised to trauell in the firme Land of Greec, with a Carauan of Greekes that was bound for Athens. But before hee admitted me into his companie, he was wonderfull inquisitiue, for what cause I trauelled alone? and of what Nation I was? To whom I soberly excused, and discovered my selfe with modest answers. Which pacified his curiositie; but not his avaritious minde: for vnder a pretended protection he had of me, hee extorted the most part of my money from my purse, without any regard of Conscience.

In the first, second, and third daies Journeying, we had faire way, hard lodging, but good cheere, and kind entertainment for our money: But on the fourth day, when wee entered in the Hilly and barren Countrie of *Arcadia*; for a daies Iournie we had no Village, but saw abundance of Cartell without Keepers. In this Desart way, I beheld many singular Monuments, and ruinous Castles; whose names I knew not, because I had an ignorant Guide: But this I remember, amongst these Rockes my belly was pinched, and wearied was my bodie, with the climbing of fastidious Mountaines, which bred no small grieve to my breast. Yet notwithstanding of my distresse, the remembrance of these sweet seasoned Songs of *Arcadian* Shepherds, which pregnant Poets haue so well penned, did recreate my fatigated corps, with many sugred suppositions. These sterile bounds being past, we entered in the Easterne Plaine of *Morea*, called anciently *Sparta*, where, that sometimes famous Citie of *Lacedemon* flourished, but now sacked, and the lumps of ruines and memorie onely remaynes. Marching thus, wee left *Modena*, and *Napoli* on our right hand, toward the Sea side, and on the sixth day at night, we pitched our Tents, in the disinhabited Villages of *Argo* and *Micene*, from the which unhappie *Helene* was rauished. Heere I had the ground to be a Pillow, and the World-wide-fields to bee a Chamber, the whirling-windy-skies, to be a roose to my Winter-blasted lodging, and the humide vapours of cold *Nocturna*, to accompany the vnwished-for-bed of my repose.

Although *Arcadia* in former times was pleasant, yet it is now for the most part wast and disinhabited.

Lacedemon in *Sparta*.

In all this Countrie I could find nothing, to answer the famous Relations, given by ancient Authors, of the excellencie of that Land, but the name onely; the barbarousnesse of *Turkes* and Time, hauing defaced all the Monuments of Antiquitie: No shew of honour, no habitation of men in a honest fashion, nor possors of the Countrie in a Principallitie. But rather Prisoners shut vp in Prisons, or addicted slaves to cruell and tyrannicall Masters.

Departing from *Argo*, vpon the seventh day wee arrived at *Athens*: *Athens* is still inhabited, standing in the East part of *Peloponnesus*, neere to the Frontiers of *Macedon*: It was first called *Cecropia*, and lastly *Athens* of *Minerva*. This Citie was the Mother and Wel-spring of all Liberall Arts and Sciences, but now altogether decayed: The circuit of old *Athens* hath beene according to the fundamentall Walls yet extant about fixe *Italian* miles, but now of no great quantitie, nor many dwelling Houses therein. They haue abundance of all things, requisite for the sustenance of humane life, of which I had no small prooffe: for these *Athenians* or *Greekes*, exceeding kindly banqueted me foure daies, and furnisht mee with necessarie prouision for my Voyage to *Creta*. And also transported mee by Sea in a Brigandino freely to *Serigo*, being foure and fortie miles distant.

Athens. See of it my Pilgrimage l. 3 c. 14. *Simdor Cabasidas* writes that there are 70. Dialects of Moderne *Greece*, the worst of which is that of *Athens*. Kind *Athenians*

Serigo is an Island in the Sea *Cretico*, It was anciently called *Cythera*. It is of circuit sixtie miles, hauing but one Castle called *Capsallo*: which is kept by a *Venetian* Captaine: here it is said that *Venus* did first inhabit, and I saw the ruines of her demolished Temple on the side of a Mountaine yet extant. A little more downward below this Temple of *Venus*, are the reliques of that Palace, wherein *Menelaus* did dwell, who was King of *Sparta*, and Lord of this Ile. The *Greekes* of the Ile told me there were wild Asses there, who had a stone in their heads, which was a souereigne remedie for the Falling-sicknesse, and good to make a woman be quickly deliuered of her birth.

Wild Asses.

The Ile of *Candy* was called *Creta*: It is a most famous and ancient Kingdome: By moderne Writers, it is called Queene of the Iles *Mediterrane*: It had of old a hundred Cities, whereof it had the name *Hecatompolis*, but now onely foure, *Candia*, *Canea*, *Rethimos*, and *Scythia*; the rest are but Villages and Bourges. It is of length, to wit, from *Capo Ermico*, in the West, called by *Plinie*, *Frons arietis*, and *Capo Salomone* in the East, two hundred and fortie miles, large threescore, and of circuite fixe hundred and fiftie miles. This is the chiefeft Dominion, belonging to the *Venetian* Republike: In euery one of these foure Cities there is a Gouvernour, and two Counsellors, sent from *Venice* euery two yeeres. The Countrey is diuided into foure parts, vnder the iurisdiction of the foure Cities, for the better administration of Iustice: and they haue a Generall, who commonly remayneth in the Citie of *Candia* (like to a Vice-roy) who deposeth or imposeth Magistrates, Capitaines, Souldiers, Officers, and others whatsoeuer, in the behalfe of Saint *Marke*, or Duke of *Venice*. The *Venetians* detaine continually a strong Guard, diuided in Companies, Squadrons, and Garrisons, in the Cities and Fortresses of the Island: which doe extend to the number of twelue thousand Souldiers kept, not only for the incursion of *Turkes*, but also for feare of the *Cretans* or Inhabitants, who would rather if they could (as some say) render to the *Turke*, then to liue vnder the subiection of *Venice*. This Ile produceth the best *Maluofey*, *Muscadine*, and *Leaticke*, that supposedly are in the World. It yeeldeth Orenge, Limons, Melons, Citrons Grenadiers, *Adams* Apples, Raisins, Oliues, Dates, Honey, Sugar, *Vua di tre Volte*, and all other kinds of fruit in abundance. But the most part of their Cornes are brought yeerely from *Archipelago* and *Greece*. This much of the Ile in generall; and now in respect of my travelling two times through the bounds of the whole Kingdome, which was neuer before achieved by any Traveller of *Christendome*; I will as briefly as I can in particular relate a few of these miseries indured by me in this Land, with the nature and qualitie of the people.

A description of *Candie*. See the Map. sup. pag. 1384.

PPPPPPPP

This

The old and
famous Citie
of *Lanerke*.

A happie deli-
uerance from
Theenes.

Canea.

Foure strong
Cities.

Retimios.

Minos.

Saturne.

Labyrinth of
Crete.

This aforelaid *Carabusa*, is the principall Fortresse of *Creta*, being of it selfe invincible, and is not vnlike to the Castle of *Dunbertan*, which standeth at the mouth of *Chyd*; vpon which Ri-
uer the most worthy renoumed, and anciently ennobled Citie of *Lanerke* is situated: For it is
enuironed with a Rocke higher then the wals, and ioyneth with *Capo Ermico*: hauing learned of
the Theeuish way, I had to *Canea*, I aduised to put my money in exchange, which the Captaine of
that strength, very courteously performed; And would also haue diswaded mee from my purpose,
but I by no perswasion of him would stay. From thence departing, scarcely was I aduanced
twelue miles in my way, when I was beset on the skirt of a Rockie Mountaine, with three
Greeke Renegadoes, and an *Italian Bandido*: who laying hands on me, beat me most cruelly, rob-
bed me of all my clothes, and stripped me naked, vsing many inuectiue speeches. At last, the *Ita-*
lian perceiuing I was a stranger, and could not speake the *Cretan* Tongue, began to aske mee in
his owne Language, where was my money? To whom I soberly answered, I had no more then
he saw, which was eightie Bagantines: But he not giuing credit to these words, searched all my
clothes, and *Budgeto*, yet found nothing except my Linnen, and Letters of recommendation, I
had from diuers Princes of Christendome: Which when he saw, did moue him to compassion,
and earnestly entreated the other three Theeues to grant me mercie, and saue my life: A long de-
liberation being ended, they restored backe againe my Pilgrimes clothes, and Letters, but my
blue Gowne and Bagantines they kept: Such also was their theeuish courtesie toward mee, that
for my better safegard in the way, they gaue me a stamped piece of Clay, as a token to shew any
of their companions, if I encountred with them; for they were about twentie Rascals of a con-
federate band, that lay in this Desert passage. Leauing them with many counterfeit thanks, I
trauelled that day seuen and thirtie miles, and at night attained to the vnhappy Village of *Pick-*
horno: where I could haue neither meate, drinke, lodging, nor any refreshment to my wearied bo-
die. These desperate *Candiots* thronged about mee gazing (as though astonished) to see mee both
want companie, and their Language, and by their cruell lookes, they seemed to bee a barbarous
and vnciuill people. For all these High-landers of *Candie*, are tyrannicall, bloud-thirstie, and de-
ceitfull. The consideration of which, made me to shun their villanie, and priuately sought for a
secure place of repose in a darke Caue by the Seaside; in which I lay till morning with a crazed bo-
die, and hungrie belly,

Vpon the appearing of the next *Aurora* I embraced my vknown way, and about midday
came to *Canea*: *Canea* is the second Citie of *Crete*, exceeding populous, well walled, and for-
tified with Bulwarkes: It hath a large Castle, contayning ninety seuen Palaces, in which the
Rector and other *Venetian* Gentlemen dwell. There lie continually in it seuen Companies of
Souldiers, who keepe Centinell on the wals, guard the Gates, and Market places of the Cities:
Neither in this Towne nor *Candia*, may any Countrey Peasant enter with weapons (especial-
ly Harquebuzes) for that conceived feare they haue of Treason. Truly this Citie may equall in
strength, either *Zara* in *Dalmatia*, or *Luka*, or *Ligorne*, both in *Tuscania*: for these foure Cities
are so strong, that in all my trauels I neuer saw them matched. They are all well prouided with
Artillery, and all necessary things for their defence, especially *Luka*, which continually re-
serues in store prouision of victuals for twelue yeeres siege. Being here disappointed of transpor-
tation to *Archipelago*, I aduised to visit *Candie*: and in my way I saw the large Hauen of *Suda*,
which hath no Towne or Village, saue onely a Castle, situated on a Rocke in the Sea, at the en-
try of the Bay: the bounds of that Harbour may receiue at one time aboue two thousand ships
and Gallies, and is the onely Key of the Iland: for the which place, the King of *Spaine* hath oft
offered an infinite deale of money to the *Venetians*, whereby his Nauie which sometimes re-
sort in the *Leuante*, might haue access and reliefe; but they would neuer grant him his re-
quest.

Vpon the third dayes iourney from *Canea*, I came to *Retimios*: This Citie is somewhat rui-
nous, and vnwalled, but the Citizens haue newly builded a strong Fortresse, which defendeth
them from the inuasion of Pirates: it standeth by the Sea side, and in the yeere 1597. it was mi-
serably sacked, and burned with *Turkes*. Continuing my Voyage, I passed along the skirt of
Mount *Ida*, accompanied with *Greekes* who could speake the *Italian* Tongue, on which, first they
shewed me the Caue of King *Minos*, but some hold it to be the Sepulchre of *Iupiter*. That Grotto
is of length eightie paces, and eight large: This *Minos* was said to be the Brother of *Radaman-*
thius, and *Sarpedon*; who, after their succession to the Kingdome, established such equitable lawes,
that by Poets they are feigned to be the Iudges of Hell. I saw also there, the place where *Jupi-*
ter (as they say) was nourished by *Amalthea*, which by *Greekes* is recited, as well as *Latine* Poets.
Thirdly, they shewed me the Temple of *Saturne*, which is a worke to be admired, of such Anti-
quitie, and as yet vndecayed; who (say they) was the first King that inhabited there. And
neere to it, is the demolished Temple of *Matelia*, hauing this superscription aboue the doore, yet
to be seene *Make cleane your feet, wash your head and enter*. Fourthly, I saw the entrie to the La-
byrinth of *Dedalus*, which I would gladly haue better viewed, but because wee had no Candle-
light, we durst not enter: for there are many hollow places within it; so that if a man stumble,
or fall, he can hardly be rescued: It is cut forth with many intricating wayes, on the face of a
little hill, ioyning with Mount *Ida*.

Mount *Ida* is the highest Mountaine in *Creta*, and by the computation of Shepherds feete, amounteth to fixe miles of height: It is ouer-clad euen to the top with Cypresse trees, and good store of medicinable herbs: insomuch that the beasts which feed thereupon, haue their teeth gilded, like to the colour of Gold: It is said by some Historians, that no venemous animall can liue in this Ile; but I saw the contrarie: for I kild vpon one day two Serpents and a Viper: Wherefore many build vpon false reports, but experience teacheth men the truth. Descending from this Mountaine, I entred in a faire Plaine beautified with many Villages; in one of which I found a *Grecian* Bishop, who kindly presented me with Grapes of *Maluasie*, and other things, for it was in the time of their Vantage. To carrie these things hee had giuen mee, hee caused to make readie an Ass, and a Seruant, who went with mee to *Candie*, which was more then fiftene miles from his House. True it is, that the best sort of *Greekes*, in visiting other, doe not vse to come emptie handed, neither will they suffer a stranger to depart, without both gifts and Conuoy!

Candie is a large and famous Citie, situated on a Plaine by the Sea side, hauing a goodly Harbour for ships, and a faire Arsenall wherein are six and thirtie Gallies. It is exceeding strong, and daily guarded with two thousand Souldiers, and the Walls in compasse are about three leagues: *Candie* is distant from *Venice* thirteene thousand miles, from *Constantinople* seuen hundred, from *Famagosta* in *Cyprus* fixe hundred, from *Alexandria* in *Egypt* five hundred, and from the Citie of *Ierusalem* nine hundred miles. The *Candians* through all the Ile, make Mustars euery eighth day, before the Seriant Maiors, or Officers of the Generall, and are well prouided with all sorts of Armour; yea, and the most valorous people that hight the name of *Greekes*. It was told me by the Rector of *Candie*, that they may raise in Armes of the Inhabitants (not reckoning the Garrisons) about sixtie thousand men, all able for Warres, with fiftie foure Gallies, and twentie foure Gallies for the Sea. In all my trauels through this Realme, I neuer could see a *Greeke* come forth of his house vnarmed: and after such a martiall manner, that on his head hee weareth a bare Steele Cap; a Bow in his hand, a long Sword by his side, a broad Poynard ouerthwart his belly, and a round Target hanging at his Girdle. They are not costly in Apparell, for they weare but Linnen Clothes, and vse no Shooes, but Bootes of white Leather: by nature they are craftie and subtile, as *Paul* mentioneth, *Titus* 1. 12. Their Haruest is our Spring: for they manure the ground, and sow the Seed in October, which is reaped in March and April. Being frustrate of my intention at *Candie*, I was forced to returne to *Canea*, where I stayed five and twentie dayes before I could get passage, for I purposed to view *Constantinople*. I trauelled on foot in this Ile more then foure hundred miles, and vpon the fiftie day after my first coming to *Carabusa*, I embarked in a Fisher-boate that belonged to *Milo*, being a hundred miles distant, which had bene violently driuen thither with stormie weather.

Milo was called by *Aristotle*, *Melada*; and by others, *Mimalida*, *Melos*: And lastly, *Milo*; because of the fine Mil-stones that are got there, which are transported to *Constantinople*, *Greece*, and *Natolia*. This Ile is one of the Iles *Cyclades*, or *Sporades*, but more commonly *Archipelago*, or the Arch-Ilands, and standeth in the beginning of the *Aegean* Sea: The Inhabitants are *Greekes*, but slaues to the *Turke*, and so are all the fifty three Iles of the *Cyclades*, saue onely *Timo*, which holdeth of the *Venetians*.

From *Milo* I came to *Zephano*, an Ile of circuit about twentie miles: The Inhabitants are poore, yet kind people: There are an infinite number of Partridges within this Ile, of a reddish colour, and bigger then ours in *Britaine*: They are wild, and onely killed by small shot; but I haue seene in other Ilands flocks of them feeding in the fields, and vially kept by Children: Some others I haue seene in the streets of Villages, without any Keeper, euen as our Hens doe with vs. I saw Fountaines heere, that naturally yeeld fine Oyle which is the greatest advantage the Ilanders haue.

From thence I embarked, and arriued at *Angusa*, in *Parir*: This Ile is fortie miles long, and fixe miles broad: being plentifull enough in all necessary things for the vse of man: In *Angusa* I stayed sixteene dayes, stormested with Northerly winds; and in all that time I neuer came in bed: for my lodging was in a little Church without the Village, on hard stones; where I also had a fire, and dressed my meate. The *Greekes* visited me oftentimes, and intreated me about all things, I should not enter within the bounds of their Sanctuarie; because I was not of their Religion. These miserable Ilanders, are a kind of silly poore people; which in their behauiour, shewed the necessitie they had to liue, rather then any pleasure in their liuing. From thence I arriued in the Ile of *Mecano*, where I but onely dined, and so set forward to *Zea*. *Symonides* the Poet, and *Eristato* the excellent Physician, were borne in it. The next Ile of any note we touched at, was *Timo*: This Ile is vnder the Signorie of *Venice*, and was sometimes beautified with the Temple of *Neptune*. By *Aristotle* it was called *Idrusa*; of *Demosthenes* and *Aeschines*, *Erusea*: It hath an impregnable Castle, builded on the top of a high Rocke; so that the *Turkes* by no meanes can conquer it.

From this Ile I came to *Palmosa*, sometime *Pathmos*, which is a Mountaynous and barren Ile: It was heere that Saint *Iohn* wrote the *Reuelation* after hee was banished by *Domitianus*

Nicaria.

Greekes taken
Captiues.

Icarus.

Shipwrack.

The Tombe of
Homer.The pride of
Greekeish
Whoores.

the Emperour. Thence I embarked to *Nicaria*, and sailed by the *Ile Scyro*; which of olde was the Signiory of *Licomedes*, and in the Habit of a Woman, was *Achilles* brought vp heere: who in that time, begot *Pyrrhus* vpon *Deidamia*, the Daughter of *Licomedes*, and where the crafty *Klysses* did discover this fatall Prince to *Troy*. As we fetched vp the sight of *Nicaria*, wee espied two *Turkish* Galliot, who gaue vs the Chace, and pursued vs straight vnto a Bay, betwixt two Mountaines, where we left the loaden Boat, and fled to the Rockes: But in our flying, the Master was taken, and other two old men; whom they made Captiues and Slaues: and also seized vpon the Boat, and all their goods: The number that escaped, were nine persons. This *Ile Nicaria*, was anciently called *Doliche*, and *Ithiosa*, and is somewhat barren; hauing no Sea-port at all: It was here, the Poets feigned, that *Icarus* the Sonne of *Dedalus* fell, when as hee tooke flight from *Creta*, with his borrowed wings, of whom it hath the name. Expecting certaine dayes here, in a Village called *Laphantos*, for passage to *Sio*, at last I found a Brigandino bound thither, that was come from the fruitfull *Ile of Stalimene*, of old *Lemnons*, wherein I embarked, and sailed by the *Ile Samos*, which is opposite to *Caria*, in *Asia Minor*: It is of circuit one hundred and sixtie, and of length fortie miles: It was of old named *Drusfa*, and *Melanphilo*, in which was *Pythagoras* the Philosopher, and *Lycaon* the excellent Musitioner borne.

As we left the *Ile Veneco* on our left hand, and entred the Gulfe betweene *Sio* and *Eolida*, there fell downe a deadly storme, at the *Greco è Levante*, which split our Mast, carrying Sailes and all ouer-boord: Whereupon euery man looked (as it were) with the stampe of death in his pale visage. The tempest continuing (our Boat not being able to keepe the Seas) wee were constrained to seeke into a Creeke betwixt two Rockes, for safetie of our liues; where, when wee entred, there was no likelihood of reliefe: for we had a shelfie shoare, and giuing ground to the Anchors, they came both home. The sorrowfull Master seeing nothing but shipwracke, tooke the Helme in hand, directing his course to rush vpon the face of a low Rocke, whereupon the Sea most fearefully broke. As wee touched, the Mariners contending who should first leape out, some fell ouerboord, and those that got Land, were pulled backe by the reciprocating waues: Neither in all this time durst I once moue; for they had formerly sworne, if I pressed to escape, before the rest were first forth, they would throw me head-long into the Sea: So being two wayes in danger of death, I patiently offered vp my Prayers to God.

At our first incounter with the Rockes (our fore-deckes, and Boates Gallerie being broke, and a great Lake made) the recoyling waues brought vs backe from the shelles a great way; which the poore Master perceiuing, and that there were seven men drowned, and eleuen persons alieue, cried with a loud voice: Be of good courage, take vp Oares, and row hastily; it may bee, before the Barke sinke, we shall attaine to yonder Caue. Euery man working for his owne deliuerance (as it pleased God) we got the same with good fortune: for no sooner were we disembarked, but the Boat immediately sunke. There was nothing saued but my *Coffino*, which I kept alwaies in my armes; for the which safetie of my things, the *Greekes* were in admiration. In this Caue, which was thirtie paces long, within the Mountaine, we abode three daies, without both meate and drinke: vpon the fourth day at morne, the tempest ceasing, there came Fisher-boates to relieue vs, who found the ten *Greekes* almost famished for lacke of food.

The dead men being found on shoare, we buried them; and I learned at that instant time, there were seuentene Boats cast away on the Coast of this Iland, and neuer a man saued: in this place the *Greekes* set vp a stone Crosse in the memoriall of such a wofull mischance, and mourned heauily, fasting and praying. I reioycing, and thanking God for my safetie (leauing them sorrowing for their friends and goods) tooke Iourney through the Iland to *Sio*: for so is the Citie called. In my way I past by an old Castle standing on a little Hill, named *Gasbos*, or *Helias*; where (as I was informed by two *Greekes* in my company) the Sepulchre of *Homer* was yet extant: for this is one of the seven Iles that contended for his birth: and I willing to see it, entreated them to accompany me thither; where, when we came, we descended by fixteene degrees into a darke Cell; and passing that, we entred in another foure squared Roome, in which I saw an ancient Tombe, whereon were ingrauen *Greeke* Letters, which we could not vnderstand for their Antiquitie; but whether it was this Tombe or not, I doe not know, but this they related.

The Women of the Citie *Sio*, are the most beautifull Dames, of all the *Greekes* in the World, and greatly giuen to Venerie: They are for the most part exceeding proud, and sumptuous in apparell, and commonly goe (euen Artificers Wiues) in Gownes of Sattin and Taffetay; yea of Cloth of Siluer and Gold, and are adorned with Precious Stones and Gemmes, and Iewels about their neckes and hands. Their Husbands are their Pandors, and when they see any stranger arriue, they will presently demand of him, if hee would haue a Mistris: and so they make Whoores of their owne wiues, and are contented for a little gaine, to weare Hornes: such are the base mindes of ignominious Cuckolds: After some certaine dayes attendance, I embarked in a Carmoesalo, bound for *Nigroponti*, which was forth of my way to *Constantinople*; but because I would galdly haue seene *Macedonia*, I followed that determination: In our way wee sayled by *Mytelene*, an Iland of olde called *Isa*: next *Lesbos*: and lastly *Mytelene*, of Milet the Sonne of *Phaebus*.

Nigroponti is separated from the firme Land of *Thessalia*, with a narrow channell; ouer the which in one part there is a bridge that passeth betweene the Ile and the mayne continent, and vnder it runneth a maruellous swift current or tyde: Within halfe a mile of the Bridge I saw a Marble columnne standing on the toppe of a little Rocke, whence (as the Ilanders tolde mee) *Aristotle* leaped in, and drowned himselfe, after that hee could not conceiue the reason why this Channell so ebbd and flowed. This Ile bringeth forth in abundance, all things requisite for humane life, and decored with many goodly Villages. From thence I arriued at a Towne in *Macedonia*, called *Salonica*, but of olde *Thessalonica*, where I staid fve daies, and was much made of by the Inhabitants: It is a Citie full of rich commodities, and is the principall place of *Thessalie*, which is a Prouince of *Macedon*, together with *Achaia* and *Myrmedon*, which are two Prouinces of the same. There is an Vniuersitie of Iewes here, who professe onely the *Hebrew* Tongue. About this Citie is the most fertile Countrey in all *Greece*.

Salonica

Iewish Vniuersity

Pernassus described

In *Salonica* I found a *Germe* bound for *Tenedos*, in the which I embarked: As we sailed along the *Thessalonian* Shoare, I saw the two topped Hill *Pernassus*, where it was said the nine Muses haunted: but as for the fountaine *Helicon*, I leaue that to be searched, and seene by the imagination of Poets; for if it had beene objected to my sight, like an insatiable drunkard, I should haue drunke vp the streames of Poesie, to haue enlarged my poore poetickall veine. The Mountaine it selfe is somewhat steepe and sterile, especially the two toppes, the one wherof is drie and sandie, signifying that Poets are alwayes poore and needie: The other top is barren and rockie, resembling the ingratitude of wretched and niggardly Patrons: the vale betweene the tops is pleasant and profitable, denoting the fruitfull and delightful soile, which painefull Poets, the Muses plowmen so industriously manure. A little more Eastward, as we fetcht vp the Coast of *Achaia*, the Master of the vessell shewed mee a ruinous Village and Castle; where hee said the admired Citie of *Thebes* had beene.

Thebes

Tenedos

Vpon the third day from *Salonica*, wee arriued in the Road of *Tenedos*, which is an Island in the *Sea Pontus* or *Propontis*: it hath a Citie called *Tenedos*, built by *Tenes*, which is a gallant place, hauing a Castle and a faire Hauen for all sorts of Vessells: it produceth good store of Wines, and the best supposed to be in all the Southeast parts of *Europe*.

In *Tenedos* I met by accident, two *French* Merchants of *Marseills*, intending for *Constantinople*, who had lost their Ship at *Sio*, when they were busie at venereall tilting with their new elected Mistresses, and so a second remedie were glad to come thither in a Turkish *Carmoesalo*. The like of this I haue seene fall out with Sea-faring men, Merchants and Passengers, who buy sometimes their too much folly with too deare repentance. They and I resolving to view *Troy*, did hire a *Ianizarie* to be our conductor & protector, & a *Greeke* to be our Interpreter. Where when we landed, we saw here & there many relicts of old walls, as we trauelled through these famous bounds. And as we were aduanced toward the East part of *Troy*, our *Greeke* brought vs to many Tombes which were mightie ruinous, and pointed vs particularly to the Tombes of *Hector*, *Ajax*, *Achilles*, *Troilus*, & many other valiant Champions, with the Tombes also of *Hecuba*, *Cressida*, and other *Troiane* Dames: Well I wote, I saw infinite old Sepulchres, but for their particular names and nomination of them I suspend, neither could I beleue my Interpreter, sich it is more then three thousand and odde yeeres agoe that *Troy* was destroyed: Hee shewed vs also the ruines of King *Priams* Palace, and where *Anchises* the father of *Aeneas* dwelt. At the North-east corner of *Troy*, which is in sight of the Castles of *Hellesponte*, there is a Gate yet standing, and a piece of a reasonable high Wall; vpon which I found three pieces of rusted mony, which afterwards I gaue to the two younger brethren of the Duke of *Florence*.

The Tombes of Troians

A description of Troy

Where the pride of *Phrygia* stood, it is a most delectable Plaine, abounding now in Cornes, Fruits, and Wines, and may be called the Garden of *Natolia*: yet not populous, for there are but only fve scattered Villages in all that bounds: The length of *Troy* hath been, as may be discerned, by the fundamentall Walls yet extant about twenty miles: the ruines of which are come to that Poeticall Prouerbe: *Nunc seges est ubi Troia fuit*.

Leaving the Fields of noble *Ilium*, we crossed the Riuer of *Simois*, and dined at a village named *Extetash*: I remember, discharging our couenant with the *Ianizarie*, who was not contented with the former condition, the *Frenchmen* making obstacle to pay that which I had giuen, the wrathful *Ianizary* belaboured them both with a cudgel, til the blood sprung from their heads, & compelled them to double his wages. This is one true note to a trauelier (wherof I had the ful experience afterward) that if he cannot make his own part good, he must alwaies at the first motion content these Raskalls; otherwise he will be constrained doubtlesse with strokes to pay twice as much: for they make no account of conscience, nor are ruled by the Law of compassion, neither regard they a Christian more then a dog: but whatsoever extortion or iniurie they vse against him, he must bee *French* like contented, bowing his head, and making a counterfeite shew of thanks, and happy too oftentimes, if so he escape. Hence we arriued at the Castles, called of old *Sestos* and *Abydos*, which are two Fortresses opposite to other, the one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, being a mile distant: They stand at the beginning of *Hellesponte*, and were also cognominate the Castles of *Hero* and

Note

Sestos and Abydos

Constantinople
hath so often
bin presented
on this Stage,
that now we
will passe by it.

Smyrna.

Ephesus.

Hippocrates.
Appelles.

Nixa.

Rhodes.

The great
Colosse.

Tarsus, a de-
cayed Citie in
Cilicia, where
Saint Paul was
borne, is the
chiefest seat of
that country.
Cyprus.
Nicoſia.

Leander, which were erected in a commemoration of their admirable fidelitie in loue. But now they are commonly called the Castles of *Gallipoly*, yea, or rather the strength of *Constantinople*, betweene which no Ship may enter without knowledge of the Captains: And at their returne they must stay three dayes before they are permitted to goe through. Betwixt the Castles and *Constantinople* is about fortie leagues: Here I left the two *Frenchmen* with a *Greeke* Barbour, and embarked for *Constantinople* in a *Turkish* Frigate. The first place of any note I saw within these narrow Seas, was the ancient Citie of *Gallipolis*. After we had fetcht vp the famous Citie of *Calcedon* in *Bithinia* on our right hand; I beheld on our left, the prospect of that little world, the great Citie of *Constantinople*; which indeed yeeldeth such an outward splendor, to the amazed beholder, of goodly Churches, stately Towers, gallant Steeples, and other such things, whereof now the world make so great account, that the whole earth cannot equall it. Beholding these delectable objects, we entred into the channel of *Bosphorus*, which diuideth *Perah* from *Constantinople*. And arriuing at *Tapanan*, where all the Munition of the Great *Turke* lieth, I bade farewell to my company, and went to a lodging to refresh my selfe till morning.

Departing from *Constantinople*, I came to *Cenchrea*, being three hundred miles distant, where *Saint Paul* cut his haire, after his vow was performed, *Act. 18. 18.* from thence I went to *Smyrna* in *Carmania*, a famous Kingdome in *Asia* the Lesser: This Citie was one of the seuen Churches mentioned *Rauelat. 2. 8.* It is a goodly place, hauing a faire Hauen for Ships: They haue great traffike with all Nations, especially for the fine Silke, Cotten-wool, and dimmetie brought to it by the Country Peasants, which strangers buy from them. Truly neere vnto this Citie I saw such a long continuing Plaine, abounding in Corne, Wines, and all sorts of fruitfull herbage, and so infinitely peopled, that me thought Nature seemed with the peoples industrie to contend, the one by propagating creatures, the other by admirable agriculture. *Thiatyra*, now called *Tiria*, one also of the seuen Churches is not farre hence.

From this Citie I embarked in a *Turkish* Carmoesalo, bound for *Rhodes*. In our sayling along the Coast of *Asia Minor*, the first place of any note I saw, was the ruinous Citie of *Ephesus*; yet somewhat inhabited, and pleasantly adorned with Gardens, faire Fieldes, and greene Woods of Oliue trees, which on the Sea doe yeeld a delectable prospect: It was one of the seuen Churches, *Rauel. 2. 1.* Ouer-against this Citie is the Ile *Lango*, anciently called *Cool*, wherein the great *Hippocrates* was borne, and *Appelles*, the Painter most excellent. It is both fertile and populous, and of circuit about 80. miles. There is a kind of Serpent said to be in it so friendly vnto the Inhabitants, that when the men are sleeping vnder the shadow of Trees they come crawling, and will linke or claspe themselves about their neckes and bodies, without doing any harme, neither when they awake are the beasts afraid. And neere to *Lango* is the Ile *Nixa*, of old *Strangoli*; and by some called *Dionisa* and *Naxos*; an Iland both fruitfull and delightfull. As we sailed by the West part of the Ile, a *Greeke* Passenger shewed mee the place, where (as hee said) *Ariadne* was deceived of *Theseus*, which is not farre from the irriguate Plaine of *Darmille*. Continuing our Nauigation I saw a little Ile called *Ephdosh*, where the *Turks* told me, that al the Ilanders were naturally good swimmers, paying no more tribute to their Great Lord the *Turke*, saue only once in the yere, there are certaine men and women chosen by a *Turkish* Captaine, who must swim a whole league right out in the Sea, and go downe to the bottome of the waters to fetch thence some token they haue got ground: And if they shall happen to faile in this this, the Iland will bee reduced againe to pay him yeerely rent. This I saw with mine eyes, whiles wee being calmed, there came a man and two women swimming to vs more then a mile of way, carrying with them (drie about the water) baskets of Fruit to sell, the which made mee not a little to wonder. Contenting them for their ware, vpon the ninth day after our departure from *Smyrna*, wee arriued at the Citie of *Rhodes*, so called of the Iland wherein it standeth.

Rhodes lieth in the *Carpathian* Sea; It was of old called *Ibrea*, *Telchino* and *Phinla*: *Plinie* saith it was called *Rhodes*, because there were certaine Fields of Roses in it; for *Rhodes* in the *Greeke* tongue signifieth a *Floure*: Not farre from the Citie I saw the reliſts of that huge and admiredly-erected Idoll, named *Collossus*. This Ile of *Rhodes* was lost by the *Maltazes*, Anno Dom. 1522. and euer since is in the fruition of *Turks*: The Fortresse of *Rhodes*, and that Fortresse *Famogostain* *Cyprus*, are the two strongest Holds in all the Empire of the Great *Turke*.

After I had contented the Master for my fraught and victuals (who, as hee was an Infidell, yfed mee with an extraordinarie exaction) I found a Barke of the *Archos* purposed to *Cyprus*, with which I embarked, being foure hundred miles distant. Hauing past the Gulfe of *Sattolia*, we boorded close along the firme Land of fruitfull *Pamphilia*, and on the fifth day thereafter, we fetched vp the Coast of *Cilicia*, sustaining many great dangers, both of tempestuous stormes, and inuasions of damnable Pirats.

Twelue dayes was betweene *Rhodes* and *Limisso* in *Cyprus*: where arriued, I receiued more gracious demonstrations from the Ilanders, then I could hope for or wish; being far beyond my merit or expectation; onely contenting my curiositie with a quiet mind, I renderd thanks for my imbraced courtesies. The second day after my arriual, I tooke with me an Interpreter, and went

to see *Nicosia*, which is placed in the midst of the Kingdome. But in my iourney thither, extream was the heat and thirst I endured; both in respect of the season, and also want of water: And although I had with mee sufficiencie of wine, yet durst I drinke none thereof, being so strong, and withall hath a taste of pitch; and that is, because they haue no Barrells, but great Iarres made of Earth, wherein there wine is put. *Nicosia* is the principall Citie of *Cyprus*, and is inuironed with Mountaines, like vnto *Florence* in *Hetruria*; wherein the Vizier Bashaw remaineth: The second is *Famogusta*, the chiefe strength and Sea-port in it: *Selina*, *Lemisso*, *Paphos*, and *Fontana Morosa*, are the other foure speciall Townes in the Iland.

This Ile of *Cyprus* is in length 210. and large sixtie, and of circuit 600. miles. In this Ile was *Venus* greatly honoured: It yeeldeth infinite Canes of Sugar, strong Wines, and Cotten-wooll, besides all other sorts of Fruit in abundance.

In my returne from *Nicosia* to *Famogusta*, with my Trenchman, wee encountered by the way with foure *Turkes*, who needs would haue my horse to ride vpon; which my Interpreter refused: But they in reuenge pulled mee by the heeles from the horse backe, beating me most pittifully, and left mee almost for dead. In this meane while my companion fled, and escaped the sceleratenesse of their hands; and if it had not beene for some compassionate *Greekes*, who by accident came by and relieued me, I had (doubtlesse) immediately perished. From *Famogusta* I embarked in a *Germe*, and arriued at *Tripoly*. *Tripoly* is a Citie in *Siria*, standing a mile from the marine side, neere to the foot of Mount *Libanus*: since it hath beene first founded it hath three times beene scituated and remoued in three sundrie places: First, it was ouerwhelmed with water: Secondly, it was sacked with *Cursares*, and Pirates: Thirdly, it is like now to bee ouer-throwne with new made Mountaines of Sand: There is no Hauen by many miles neere vnto it, but a dangerous rode, where often when Northerly windes blow, Ships are cast away. The great trafficke which now is at this place, was formerly at *Scanderona*, a little more Eastward; but by reason of the infectious aire (that corrupted the blood of strangers, proceeding of two high mountaines, who are supposed to bee a part of Mount *Caucasus*, which withhold the prospect of the Sunne from the In-dwellers, more then three houres in the morning: So that in my knowledge I haue knowne dye in one Shippe, and a moneths time twentie Mariners; for this cause) the Christian ships were glad to haue their commodities brought to *Tripoly*, which is a more holesome and conuenient place.

The daily Interrogation I had here, for a Carrauans departure to *Aleppo* was not to me a little fastidious, being mindfull to visit *Babylon*: In this my expectation I tooke purpose, with three *Venetian* Merchants to goe see the Cedars of *Libanon*, which was but a daies iourney thither. As we ascended vpon the Mountaine, our ignorant guide mistaking the way, brought vs into a labyrinth of dangers; insomuch that wrestling amongst intricate paths of Rocks: two of our Asses fell ouer a Banke and broke their necks: And if it had not beene for a Christian *Maronite*, who accidentally encountred with vs, in our wilsum wandring wee had beene miserably lost; both in regard of Rockes and heapes of Snow we passed; and also of great Torrents which fell downe with force from the steepe tops; wherein one of these Merchants was twice almost drowned. When wee arriued to the place where the Cedars grew, wee saw but twentie foure of all, growing after the manner of Oke trees, but a great deale taler, straighter, and greater, and the branches grow so straight out, as though they were kept by Art.

Although that in the daies of *Salomon*, this Mountaine was ouer-clad with Forrests of Cedars, yet now there are but only these, and nine miles Westward thence seuentene more. The nature of that Tree is alwaies green, yeelding an odoriferous smell, and an excellent kind of fruit like vnto Apples, but of a sweeter taste, and more holesome in digestion. The Rootes of some of these Cedars are almost destroyed by Shepherds, who haue made fires thereat, and holes wherein they sleepe; yet neuerthelesse they flourish greene aboue in the tops and branches. The length of this Mountaine is about fortie miles, reaching from the West to the East; and continually Summer and Winter, reserueth Snow on the tops. It is also beautified with all the ornaments of nature, as Herbage, Tillage, Pastorage, fructiferous Trees, fine Fountaines, good Cornes, and absolutely the best VVines that is bred on the earth. The Signior thereof is a Free-holder, by birth a *Turke*, and wil not acknowledge any superior, but the most part of the inhabited Villages are Christians, called *Maronites* or *Nostranes*, quasi *Nazaritans*, and are gouerned by their owne Patriarke. There are none at this day doe speake the *Syriack* * Tongue, saue onely these people of Mount *Libanus*; and in that Language the Alcoran of *Mahomet* is written. The kind *Amaronite* whom wee met, and tooke with vs for our best guide in descending from the Cedars, shewed vs many Caves and Holes in Rockes, where *Coliers*, religious *Sirens* and *Amaronites* abide: Amongst these austere cottages, I saw a faire tombe all of one stone, being seuenteen foot of length; which (as he said) was the Sepulchre of the valiant *Ioshua*, who conducted the people of *Israel* in the Land of Promise.

The *Mahometans* esteeme this to bee a holy place, and many resort to it in Pilgrimage, to offer vp their Satanicall praiers to *Mahomet*. I saw vpon this Mountaine a sort of Fruit called *Amarza franchi*: that is, the death of Christians; because when *Italians*, or others of *Europe* eat any quantitie thereof,

Cyprus.

Tripoly.

Cedars.

* Arabike.

Coliers religious Greekes or Monks.

Eden.

thereof, they presently fall into the bloudie Fluxes, or else ingender some other pestilentious Fe-
uer whereof they die. The Patriarke did most kindly entertaine vs at his house; so did also all the
Amaronites of the other Villages, who met vs in our way before wee came to their Townes, and
brought Presents with them of Bread, Wine, Figs, Oliues, Sallats, Capons, Egges, and such like as
they could on a sudden prouide. About the Village of *Eden*, is the most fruitfull part of all *Liba-
nus*, abounding in all sorts of delicious Fruits. True it is, the variety of these things, maketh the
silly people thinke, the Garden of *Eden* was there. There are with this one, other two supposed
places of the earthly Paradise: the one is by the *Turkes*, and some ignorant *Georgians*, holden to
be at *Damascus*, for the beautie of faire fields, gardens, and excellent fruits there; especially for
the tree called *Mouslee*, which they belecue hath grown there since the beginning of the world. 10
Indeede it is a rare and singular tree, for I saw it at *Damascus*, and others also of the same kinde,
vpon *Nylus* in *Egypt*: The growth whereof is strange; for euery yeere in September it is cut
downe hard by the roote, and in fve moneths the tree buddeth vp a pace againe, bringing forth
leaues, floures, and fruit. The leafe thereof is of such a breadth, that three men may easily stand
vnder the shadow of it, and the Apple is bigger then a Foot-ball. The third place by the *Chel-
faines*, is thought to be in the East part of *Mesopotamia*, neere to the ioyning of *Tygris* and
Euphrates.

This tree hath
seuerall vertues
bearing but
one Apple at
once.

After my returne to *Tripoly*, I departed thence Eastward, with a *Carauan* of *Turkes* to *Alep-
po*, being ten daies iourney distant. In all this way (leauing *Scanderon* and *Antiochia* on our left
hand) I saw nothing worthy remarking; saue onely a few scattered villages, and poore mise- 20
rable people, liuing in tents, and following their flockes, to whom I payed sundry *Cassars*:
who remoue their women, children, and cattell where so they finde fountaines, and good
pastorage.

Aleppo.

Before my arriual in *Aleppo*, the *Carauan* of *Babylon* was from thence departed. I ioyned with
a *Carauan* of *Armenians* and *Turkes*, that were well guarded with *Ianifaries*, and *Souldiers*; of
whom some were to stay at *Damascus* by the way, and some mindefull to *Ierusalem*. And for my
better safeguare (being alwayes alone, which by all was euer much admired) the *Vize* *Consull*
tooke surety of the Captaine, that he should protect me safely from theeues, cut-throats, and the
exactions of tributes by the way, deliuering mee freely into the hands of the *Padre Guardiano* at
Ierusalem: which being done, I hired two Mulets from a *Turke*, one to ride vpon, and another to 30
carry my victuals; and so set forward with them. The number of our company were about nine
hundred *Armenians*, *Christian* pilgrimes, men and women: sixe hundred *Turkes*, trafficking for
their owne businesse: and one hundred *Souldiers*, three *Schowffes*, and six *Ianifaries* to keep them
from inuasions.

The reposing
of the Turkes.

Betweene *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, we had nine dayes iourney, in fve of which, we had pleasant
trauelling, and good Canes to lodge in, that had beene builded for the support of Trauellers, and
are well maintained: But when we passed *Hamssek*, which is a little more then mid-way, wee
had dangerous trauelling, being oft assailed with *Arabs*, fatigated with rockie Mountaines, and
sometimes in point of choaking for lacke of water. The confusion of this multitude, was not one- 40
ly grieuous in regard of the extreame heate, prouiding of victuals at poore villages, and scarcitie
of water to fill our bottles, made of Boare skinnes, but also amongst narrow and stonie passages,
thronging, we oft fell one ouer another, in great heapes; in danger to be smothered: yea, and of-
tentimes, wee that were *Christians*, had our bodies well beaten by our conducting *Turkes*. At
our accustomed dismounting, to recreate our selues: and refresh the Beasts, I would often fetch a
walke, to stretch my legs, that were stifled with a stumbling beast; wherewith the *Turkes* were
mightily discontented, and in derision, would laugh and mocke me: for they cannot abide a man
to walke in turnes, or stand to eate; their vsage being such, that when they come from the horse
backe, presently sit downe on ground, folding their feete vnder them, when they repose, dine, and
sup. So doe also their Artizans and all the *Turkes* in the world sit alwaies crosse-legged, wrong- 50
fully abusing the commendable consuetude of the industrious Tailors. In their houses they haue
no Bed to lye on, nor Chaires to sit on, nor Tables to eate on, but a bench made of boords,
along the house side, of a foote height from the floore, spread ouer with a Carpet; where-
on they vsually sit, eating, drinking, sleeping, resting, and doing of manuell exercises, all in
one place.

Damascus.

They neuer vncloath themselves, when they goe to rest, neither haue they any bed-cloathes,
saue onely a couerlet aboue them: I haue seene hundreds of them, after this manner, lye ranked
like durtie swine in a beastly stie, or loathsome iades in a filthy stable. Vpon the ninth day (lea-
uing *Cotafa* behinde vs on the Mountaines) wee entred in a pleasant plaine of three leagues in
length, adorned with many villages, gardens, and riuers; and arriuing at *Damascus*, wee were all
lodged (some in Chambers wanting beds, and others without, on hard stones) in a great Cane cal- 60
led *Herammen*, where we staid one day.

Damascus is the Capitall Citie of *Syria*, called by *Turkes*, *Shamma*, and is scituated on a faire
plaine, and beautified with many riuers on each side (especially *Pharpar* and *Abdenab*) excellent
Orchards, and all other naturall objects of elegancie: That for scituation, Artizans, all manner
commo-

Commodities, and varietie of Fruits, in all the *Asiaticall* Prouinces it is not paraleld. By *Turkes* it is called, the Garden of *Turkie*.

Betweene *Iacobs* Bridge and *Ierusalem*, we had sixe dayes journey.

Aprill the tenth day, about ten of the clocke, (passing the Riuer *Kyson*) we arrived at *Nazareth*, and there reposed till the Euening, prouiding our selues of Victuals and Water. In this Towne dwelt *Ioseph*, and the Virgin *Mary*; and in which also our Sauour was brought vp. After we had dined, the *Armenians* arose, and went to a heape of Stones, the ruines of an old House, before the which they fell downe vpon their knees, praising God: and that ruinous lumpe (say they) was the House where *Mary* dwelt, when *Gabriel* saluted her, bringing the Annunciation of Saluation to the world. I am fully perswaded they carried away about fise thousand pounds weight, to keepe in a memoriall thereof. Then did I remember of the Chappell of *Loretta*, and told the Carauan, that I saw that House standing in *Italie*, which (as the *Romanists* say) was transported by the Angels. O, said he, wee *Armenians* can not beleue that, neither many other assertions of the *Roman* Church; for we certainly know by *Christians*, that haue from time to time dwelt here euer since, that this is both the place, & stones of the House. Let *Papists* coyne a new Law to themselves wee care not, for as they erre in this, so doe they in all, following meerly the traditions of men, they runne gallopping post to Hell. The Patriarch being informed by the laughing Carauan of these newes, asked mee in disdaine (thinking it had beene an Article of my Beliete) if I saw that House, or beleued that the Chappell of *Loretta* was such a thing: I answered, I did not beleue it, affirming it was onely but a deuillish inuention, to deceiue the blind-folded people, and to fill the Coffers of the *Roman* Priests.

Speeches of the Patriarch

In the time of our staying heere, the *Emeere* or Lord of the Towne, sent sixe Women, conducted by twelue of his Seruants, to an *Armenian* Prince, that was a Pilgrime in our companie, to be vsed by him and others, whom so he would elect to bee his fellow labourers: which indeed hee did kindly accept, and inuited me to that Feast; but I gaue him the refusall, little regarding such a frivolous commoditie. Hee, and some of the chiefeest Pilgrimes entertained them for the space of three houres, and sent them backe, giuing to their Conductors 15. *Piasters*, in a reward.

The villanie of Armenians.

Approaching to Mount *Carmell*, I beheld a farre off vpon the top of the Hill, the place where *Elias* ascended to Heauen, when hee left his Cloake behind him to *Elizens* his Disciple. This Mountaine is foure miles of length, lying South and North, the North end bordering with the Sea, neere to *Acre*, called antiently *Ptolomais*, and the South end ioyning with the borders of *Samaria*.

Mount Carmel.

Leauing *Samaria* on our left hand, we entred into a faire Plaine, adorned with fruitfull Trees, and all other ornaments that pleasant Fields afford, but no Village we saw. Marching thus, about the declining of the Sun from the Meridian, we came in sight of two hundred Pauillions, all pitched in rankes; yeelding the prospect of a little Citie, by a Brooke side of water: which being perceiued, the Captaine began to censure what they might bee; and immediatly there came riding towards vs sixe naked fellowes, well mounted on *Arabian* Geldings, who demanded what wee were, and whither we were bound; and if there were any *Frankes* of *Christendome* in our companie. To whom the *Ianizaries* replied, wee were purposed to *Ierusalem*, and that there was but one *Frank* with them: vpon the which they presently sought me, demanding *Cassar*, *Cassar*; and caused me perforce to pay seven *Chickenes* of Gold for my head, because (said they) our King is now resident in these Tents, he must pay therefore so much the more extraordinarie.

Cassar tributes

They returning backe to their Prince, with the malediction of a Pilgrimes purse, and wee marching on in our way, that day wee trauelled about three and fortie miles, and pitched at a Village called *Adasb*, where we found good Hearbs to eate, and abundance of water to drinke, and also to fill our emptied bottles. As wee lay downe to sleepe, after a hungry Supper on the hard ground, and our Guard watching vs; that same King of the *Arabians*, came a little before mid-night, with foure and twentie well Horsed Runagates, and naked Courtiers, being armed with Bowes and Arrowes, and halfe Pikes, pointed at both ends with hard Steele, and asked for the Carauan, who presently awoke, and went to salute him, laying his hand on his brest, bowed his head very low; which is the vsuall courtesie amongst the *Insidels* and *Christians* in these parts, for they neuer vncover their Heads to any man; and after some short parley, they fate all downe on the grasse. The Carauan presented his rude-like Maiestie with Water, Bread, Hearbs, Figges, Garlike, and such things as hee had. As they were thus merrie at this poore banquet, the awfull King tooke the oath of our Conductor, if there were any moe *Frankes* there then I; and he hauing sworne the truth, the King by a malignant informer, incontinently caused me to bee brought before him, and staring me in the face, asked my Interpreter where were my Companions? who replied, I had none. Then said he, tell that Dog, hee must acknowledge me with fise peeces of Gold more, otherwise (making a signe to his owne throat) I shall cut off his Head. The which I being informed, and knowing that by no condition, there was resistance against such a scelerate Prince, gaue it him presently with a halfe smiling countenance; which he remarking, told the rest it seemed I gaue it with a good heart; and to recompence my outward

The courtesie of Turkes.

The extortion of the Arabian King.

outward behaviour, hee drunke a great draught of water to me, thinking thereby, he had done me more honour, then all the Chickenes of gold I gaue him now, and in the morning; would doe him profit. Truly, this was one of the greatest Tributes I payed for one dayes journey, that I had in all my voyage in *Asia*. There are two Kings in *Arabia*, the one who liueth on *Euphrates*, the Desarts of *Mesopotamia*, sometimes in *Arabia Felix*, and in some parts of *Siria*. And the other, (which was the King to whom I payed this money) wandreth with his Tribes, Tents, and Bestiall, one while in *Arabia*, *Petrea*, and *Deserta*, and sometimes in the *Holy Land*, as hee findeth good Pastorage and fresh Fountaines. These two Kings are mortall enemies; and if by accident they meet, they fight most cruelly.

Sychar of old the chiefest Citie in *Samarita*, is now altogether ruined.

The next morning leauing *Jacobs Well*, and the Towne of *Sychar*, on our left hand; we marched through a part of the fields of *Basan*, and had exceeding pleasant traueilling; and at night wee pitched by *Lydda* on the fields: *Lydda* is not about ten miles from *Cesaria*.

A Massacre of Armenian Pilgrimes.

Aprill the thirteenth, before the breake of day, setting forward, scarcely were wee well advanced in our way, till we were beset with more then three hundred *Arabs*, who sent vs an unexpected shower of Arrowes, to the great annoyance of all our companie: for if it had not been that our Souldiers shot off their Gunnes on a sudden, surely wee had then miserably perished. But the nature of the *Arabs* is not vnlike to the *Tackals*: for when any of them heare the shot of a Harquebuss, they turne backe with such speed, as if the fiends of the infernall Court were broken loose vpon them. In that momentary conflict, on our side there were killed nine Women, five men, and about thirtie persons deadly wounded, which to our worthie Captaine bred no small grieve.

Proceeding in our journey, in the hilly Countrey of *Idnea* we entred; leauing *Rhama* on our right hand. *Rhama* is a Towne inhabited by *Christians*, *Arabs*, and *Moors*; not blacke *Moors*, as the *Africans* be, but they are called *Mori*, which are a kind of *Egyptians*, and not naturally blacke, but Sun-burnt with the parching heat. The whole Territorie of *Canaan* is inhabited with these *Moors*, some *Turkes*, ciuill *Arabs*, and a few *Christians*, and scattered *Jewes*. The *Arabians* are for the most part Thieves and Robbers, the *Moors* cruell and vnciuill, hating *Christians* to the death: the *Turkes* are the best of all the three, yet all sworn enemies to *Christ*. About two of the clocke in the afternoone wee arrived at *Berab*, called of old *Beerseba*, being eleuen miles distant from *Ierusalem*. Having a little reposed, we embraced our Mountainous way, as cheerfully as we could, for we were exceeding faint, and trauelled that day about three and fortie miles; whereby we might arrive at *Ierusalem* before the Gates were shut, sustaining drouth, heat, hunger, and not a few other inconueniences. At last we beheld the prospect of *Ierusalem*; which was not onely a contentment to my wearied body, but also being ravished with a kind of vnwonted reioycing, the teares gushed from my eyes for too much ioy. In this time the *Armenians* began to sing in their owne fashion, Psalmes to praise the Lord; and I also sung the hundred and third Psalme all the way, till we arrived nere the walls of the Citie, where we ceased from our singing for feare of the *Turkes*.

Aprill the fourteenth day, vpon *Palme-sunday* in the morning, we entred into *Ierusalem*, and at the Gate we were particularly searched, to the effect we carried in no furniture of Armes, nor Powder with vs, and the *Armenians* (notwithstanding they are Slaues to *Turkes*) behoued to render their weapons to the Keepers, such is the feare they haue of *Christians*. The Gates of the Citie are of Iron outwardly, and about each gate are Brasen Ordnance planted.

Aprill the fourteenth, on *Palme-sunday* after dinner, the *Guardiano* departed from *Ierusalem* to *Bethphage*, accompanied with twelue Friers, and many other Orientall *Christian*, which were come thither to that Festiuall time, but I by no meanes would goe, reposing my selfe till their returne. The ridiculous Ceremonie which that day they vse, is thus: In an Apish imitation of *Christ*, at the aforesaid *Bethphage*, there was an Assie brought to the *Guardiano*, whereupon hee mounted (being as it were, the greater Assie riding vpon the lesser) and came riding to *Ierusalem*, the people cutting downe boughes of Trees, and also dispoyling themselues almost to the skinge, bestrewed the way as he rode along, crying, *Hosanna*, *Hosanna*, the Sonne of David, blessed is hee that cometh in the Name of the Lord, vntill they came to the South gate of *Sion*, where hee dismounted. At night after Supper, the *Guardiano* knowing that I was a Protestant, and also some other *Franches*, made an Oration, saying; You Pilgrimes, who refuse to bee participant with vs in the Sacraments; nor will not adhere to the Processions and Ceremonies, which wee follow of the Roman Church, I would therefore intreat you (your libertie being heere as much as mine, whereby you may doe whatsoeuer seeme good in your owne eyes) onely to abstaine from scandalizing and mocking our Rites and ordinary Customes, which at this great Feast wee must performe. To the which we condescended and promised to giue no occasion of offence. In the conclusion of his long Exhortation, hee disclosed this admonition, saying; All of you Trauellers must in generall bee indued with these three worthy gifts, Faith, Patience, and Money; Faith, to beleue these thinges you shall see heere at *Ierusalem*; Patience, to indure the apparent iniuries of *Infidels*; and Money, to discharge all Tributes, and Costs, which heere (meaning in his owne Monasterie) and about this Citie must be defrayed.

Pilgrims then graces.

Earely vpon Tuesday morning* (being all of vs, both Friers and Pilgrimes, well mounted, Mulets laden for our prouision) we departed from the Citie with our Souldiers; and trauelled all that day through a barren and desert Countrey, till Sun-setting, where wee reposed by a standing Well, till an houre within night. In all this deformed Countrey, we saw neither house nor Village, for it is altogether Desartuous, and inhabited onely by wilde Beasts, and naked Arabians. Before we came neere to Sodomē and Gomorha, by seuen miles; (for so we behoued to passe by the East end of it, before we could arriue at that place of Jordan which we intended) wee I say incountred with such deepe sandie ground, that the Mulets were not able to carrie vs through, whereupon we all dismounted, wrestling, and wading about the middle part of our bodies, and sometimes falling in ouer our heads, we were in great danger of perishing. Euen in the midst of this turmoyling paine, (the night being darke) the vnwelcomed Arabs inui-
 10 roned, and inuaded vs with a storme of Arrowes, which they sent from the toppes of little hard Hills whereupon they stood, for knowing the aduantage of the ground, they tooke opportuni-
 tie to giue the more featefull assaults; yet they preuailed nothing (although they wounded some of our Souldiers) such was the resolute courage of our valourous defendants. True it is, that in all my trauels I was neuer so sore fatigated, nor fearefully endangered, as I was that Night.

*Mondaies ho-
 ly visitations
 are omitted.
 Sandys, Timber-
 ley, and others,
 haueshewed
 them already.

Inuasions of
 Arabs.

A true descrip-
 tion of Sodomē
 and Gomorha.

Nothing now
 groweth neere
 Sodomē. The
 same is repor-
 ted by Master
 Eldred.

Jordans water
 is of a whitish
 colour.

A comparison
 betwixt Jordan
 and Tigris,
 whose colour
 and growth
 are both alike,
 and their cour-
 ses agreeable
 thereunto.

Iericho.

A rare kind of
 Apples.

A little after mid-night, we left this troublesome way, and marched along the Lake of So-
 dome. This Lake is called *Mare mortuum*, the dead Sea, for of it selfe it is vnmoueable, such is
 20 the stabilitie of the water. It is also called so, because if a Bird flie ouer it, shee presently falleth
 downe therein dead: and as *Salomon* reporteth of it, *Wisd. 10. 7.* it smoaketh continually; from
 whence proceed filthie vapours, which deforme the Fields, lying about for certaine miles, as it
 were blasted, scorched, and made vtterly barren. This Lake is eightie miles in length, and fixe
 in bredth. It breedeth nor reserueth no kind of Fishes, and if by the swelling of *Jordan*, any Fi-
 shes be carried to it, they immediatly die. Although *Iosephus* witnesseth, that in his time, there
 was an Apple grew vpon the bankes thereof, like to the colour of Gold; and within was rot-
 ten, and would consume to powder; yet I affirme now the contrary: for there is not such a
 thing, (whatsoeuer hath beene in his dayes) as either Trees, or Bushes, grow neere to Sodomē
 by many miles, such is the consummation of that pestiferous Gulfe. Diuers Authors haue re-
 ported, that nothing will sinke into it, of any reasonable weight, as Dead men, or Carkasses of
 30 beasts; but by experience I approue the contrary, for it beareth nothing aboue at all; yea, not
 the weight of a Feather. The water it selfe is of a blackish colour, and at sometimes in the
 yeare, there are terrible shapes, and shoues of terrour in it, as I was informed at *Iericho*, which
 is the neereff Towne that bordereth thereupon.

About the breake of day on Tuesday morning, we past by the ruines of an old House, where
 (as they say) *Saint Iohn* the Baptist remained, when hee Baptized those that came from *Ierusa-*
lem, and other Regions about, which is but the flight of an Arrow from *Jordan*. Approaching
 to the banke-side, we dismounted and vnclothed our selues, going in naked to the Riuer, wee
 washed vs to refresh our bodies. In this place as the *Guardian* said, was *Christ* Baptized of
Saint Iohn, lying on the banke-side; whereupon are ingrauen Letters of *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and
 40 *Latine*, testifying the same thing: and may also bee so coniectured, in regard of the ancient Ha-
 bitacle, of that precursor, which is not farre from thence.

This Riuer *Jordan* beginneth in Mount *Libanus*, of two Fountaines, *Iere*, and *Dan*, which run
 seperated till they come to the Lake *Maronab*; and hence it maketh one body, keeping his
 course through the Lake *Genesareth*, endeth in Sodomē. The Riuer *Tigris* at *Rome*, and *Jordan*
 are not much different in quantitie and colour, and not vnlike other in their courses: for *Jor-*
dan falleth in the old *Gomorab*, and *Tigris* runneth through the new Sodomē. A historie of such
 euidence, as trauell taught me by experience: for it is the Priests confluence, which breeds in
 the *Italians* insolence. If I erre, I will beg indulgence of the Popes aureat magnificence. The
 water of *Jordan* hath beene transported to *Venice* in Barrels, for that puritie it hath; which will
 50 reserue vnspoyled, both moneths and yeares, and the longer it is kept, it is the fresher; and
 to drinke it, is an excellent remedie for the Feuer quartan, and Quotidian.

After dinner we arose, and went to the House of *Zachem*: this was hee who sate vpon a Tree
 to see our *Sauour* as he passed by) the Walls whereof stand to this day. *Ierico*, is now a poore
 Village onely of nine dwelling Houses, inhabited by a kind of *Arabs* (which are in subiection
 vnder the Gouvernour of *Ierusalem*;) but I saw many ruinous lumpes of the walls, and demolli-
 shings of the old Towne. Heere I saw two most daintie kind of Fruits, the one was a little lesser
 then an Apple, but more round; whose colour was like to Gold without, and within it was
 white as snow, and sweet like Sugar. I would gladly haue eaten of them: but the Friers for-
 bade me, saying; they were the onely pest of Death vnto a Stranger. The other Apple was like
 60 to a greene Lemmon, long, and full of knots, of a reddish colour, like to a Mellone, being both
 delicate and wholsome, of which we did eate to sati fie the naturall appetite. From *Ierico* wee
 set forward in the way of the Wildernesse; our determination being such, as to view the Moun-
 taine whereon *Christ* fasted fortie dayes: where arriued, being late, wee durst not goe vp till
 Morning.

The Mountain
in the Wilder-
nesse, where-
upon *Christ* fa-
sted fortie
dayes.

Morning. Wherefore wee pitched that Night by the Fountaine of *Elizew*; the water of which was of old, naturally bitter, but by the Prayers of that diuine Prophet, was restored to a sweet taste. It is also excellent in digestion, and will doe a man no harme: for I esteeme it to be the lightest Water the earth yeeldeth: hauing on the morrow filled a Boares skinne of it, to carrie with me to the Mountaine; I found it so light, that I had no weight nor paine in the bearing of it on my shoulders, notwithstanding, the way of it selfe was fastidious.

This Mountaine is called *Quarantanim*, or *Quaranto*, being of height by the computation of my painefull experience, aboue fixe miles, and groweth from the bottome still smaller and smaller, till that the top is couered with a little Chappell, not vnlike to the proportion of a Pyramede. There is no way to ascend vpon this Hill, saue one, which hath beene hewen out of the Rocke, by the industrie of men, experimented in Masonrie, (which was done at the cost of *Queene Helen*) going vp by the degrees of fise and fortie turnes. In all our Companie there were onely three Friers, foure Pilgrimes, and I, that durst attempt to climbe the Mountaine. After diuers dangers and narrow passages, hauing come to the top, wee entred into a Caue ioyning to the Chappell, where (say they) in this place did *Christ* fast, and heere it was, that hee rebuked *Sathan*. In our returne againe, wee had a most fearefull descending: for one Frier *Laurenzo* had fallen fise hundred fathomes ouer the Rocke, and broke his necke, if it had not beene for mee: who rashly and vnadvisedly endangered my owne life for his safetie, as my Patent vnder the great Seale of *Ierusalem*, beareth sufficient testimonie thereof. But wee will follow this our Pilgrime no further, in visiting these and the *Egyptian* Antiquities, nor relating the other perils of his Voyage.

CHAP. XIII.

Later Intelligence out of Turkie, touching the Resignation of *MvsTapha*, and the aduancing of *AmvRATH* a younger Brother of the lately Murthered *OSMAN*; with other later Occurrents.



Bashaw Daout, hauing married the Daughter of *Mustaphas* Mother, and taking some aduantage of the lenatie and tractable disposition of the Emperour, projected without controuersie, first to destroy the Brethren of *Osman*, then to make away *Mustapha*: and last of all, to intrude some Children of his owne, as if they had beene the saued and preserued stocke of the *Othoman* formerly: whereupon with the pernicious assent of his Mother in Law, he sendeth a secret Commission to the *Capiaga* or *Mayor domo* of the *Seraglia*, to remove the Brethren of *Osman*, and strangle them, which hee did without either the priuie of *Mustapha* the Emperour, or any other of the *Vizeers* and *Bashawes*. But as these instruments of Villanie were readie to carrie away the Prince in the tumult, and making a noyse, the Pages came in to their rescue, as emboldned by the *Castiaraga*, who long since grew jealous of *Daout Bashawes* ambition, and by this time saw apparant signes of perfidiousnesse.

The Pages thus set on worke, presently acquainted the *Spahies* and *Ianizaries*, with the accident, who as presently shewed themselves the seruants of the Empire, and so without further adoe or examination of the matter, killed the *Capiaga*, and hanged out his bodie for a Spectacle in the *Hippodrome*. But not thus satisfied, they returne in furie to the Court, and demand Iustice euen at the Emperour *Mustaphas* hand: hee againe disclaimes his consent, or at least out of his simplicitie maketh his Apologie, that if any thing were done by the name of an Emperour, it was enforced from him, and hee had much adoe to preserue himselfe: then they seeke and hunt after the Mother, who belag found, played a womans part, shed teares, wrung her hands, modeld out a dejected Countenance, and by some externall signes made an impression in them of her innocencie. Whereupon they repaire to the *Vizeer*, who at the first put them off, that it was a day of Councell; and to single them, bade them repaire to the *Diuane*. But they as it should seeme, outstript his policie by their owne experience, and told him plainly they would haue no sitting, till this Treason were both discovered, and punished: at last hee is degraded from the place, and one *Huzin Bashaw* comming from *Egypt*, admitted in his roome.

This *Huzin Bashaw*, was neither knowne to *Constantinople*, nor *Constantinople* vnto him; that is, the Courtiers did little looke for a harsh, barbarous, insolent, rich, and vntractable man; and he did lesse expect the brauerie, pleasures, popularitie, wantonnesse, and ease of a licentious Citie: But nature had quickly taught him a lesson of Corruption, and he begins a Pharaons flourish of greatnesse with the Death of *Daout Bashaw*, and insinuation into *Mustaphas* modestie, or if you will simplicitie; but of all other to make himselfe strong with the loue and good opinion of the Pages, and Capogies, hee hangeth many that were consenting to *Osman*s death.

In a word, for the first yeare hee proued a wonder in the Empire, and by his Wisedome, Courage,

Courage, and Authority pacified such tumults, and fashioned such a government of peace and tranquility in seditious and outrageous times, that both Turks, Jewes, and Christians beganne to feare what a man he might proue, or *Mustapha* proued, though neuer so stupid by his Viuification.

Notwithstanding all this, such is the condition of greatnesse, that if it doe not *Mole sua ruere*: yet it may be watched by the eyes of other men, who may either confound by opposition, or supplant by deuises: thus had this man two great enemies, the Bashaw of *Aleppo*, who with open defiance acted a braue Scene of contestation, and the Bashaw *Chigala* Admirall of the gallies, who by crafty conueyance of businesse, lay still in the winde to take aduantage of his contrarious flights. With both these was *Huzein* Bashaw to deale: but such was his fortune, that the Bashaw of *Aleppo*, for all he had mustred a great Army in *Armenia*, was almost out of countenance, through the rarity of the businesse; for when he vnderstood, that the Souldiers laughed him to scorne, if he pretended for himselfe, or had any conceit to share the *Othoman* Empire, and that they of *Constantinople* thought him too dangerous, if he should attempt the remouing of Officers, or take vpon him to be so potent and wise, as to practise the reformation or alteration of the Government; he fairely and quietly dismissed the Army, and was contented to write his minde to the *Dinan*, or great Councell in the great City.

But the Admirall of the gallies went another way to work, having the sea open to his flights or retirings; and the Vizeers businesse was opened vnto him by such as he had imployed to watch his proceedings (by whose endeauours he had notice, that the Vizeer meant to destroy him; and either to strangle him in his Gally, or at the next Councell to surprise him, and send him to the *seuen Towers*) whereupon he acquaints the Emperour, his Mother, and the Mutty, with the coniuration, and that he projected the aduancing of *Amurath*, the second brother of *Osman*, and durst many times repine, that so great a burthen as the *Turkish* Empire should lie on so weake & vnable shoulders.

This neuer started *Mustapha* at all, but contrary to expectation hee acquaints *Huzein* Bashaw with the secret, and *Huzein* acquaints himselfe with the danger, so that being yet at liberty sends great store of Treasure to *Gran Cayro*, and as some haue it, retires himselfe against all expectation, to the country where hee had bin brought vp, and was fuller of Reeds and secret Caues to hide him, then other places: that is, presuming on his wealth and the peoples loue, he verily conceiued they would giue him leaue to liue a priuate life: yet doe others affirme, that hee was ouermatched and ouertaken, and so cast into the *seuen Towers*.

When *Mustapha* perceiued to what straights he was driven, and that all this coile was for the glory of Soueraignty: of which though he were possessed in the highest degree of Maiestie, yet far from security, in regard his two Nephewes liued of the direct Line of the *Othoman* Family, he resolved to cozen death, destruction and misfortune, by a voluntary submission and resignation of his Crowne. Whereupon he sent for his Mother, the Doctors of the Law, & some principall Officers, as the *Teffierdy* (or Treasurer) the *Cadifelker* (or chiefe Iudge) the *Haga* (or Captaine of the *Ianizaries*) and diuers others whom he had acquainted with his resolution, desiring to see his Nephew before he retired himselfe to the Prison, and so the Prince being presented vnto him, he only wished that he would take notice of his owne fortunes: that is, not to trust in any condition of man: not to be peremptory, or preiudicate in his owne opinion: to dissolue if it were possible that custome of strangling their brethren: to remember, that al Empires had their beginning, progression, and dissolution: to take heed of Flatterers and Parasites: and by no meanes to neglect the seruice of God, but make vse of true deuotion, in setting the Iewes before him, who lost their glorious estate, meerely through Idolatrie: and thus is *Mustapha* deposed, and *Amurath* *Osman*s brother aduanced: but herein consists the wonder, that all this was done without trouble, terror, shutting vp of a shop, disturbing the Merchant, rising a Iew, or tumult of the *Ianizaries*.

The King of Persia hath besieged a strong castle, within the Precinct of *Arzerum*, the old government of *Abassa* Bassa; whether this hath occasioned it, or that he and the Vizeer were one afraid of another, a peace is made betweene them, and the government of that Prouince giuen him during life: For defence whereof, he is directly marched thither: Pardon and Honours are confirmed from the Port, and what soeuer the Rebels would propound for themselves; And yet at this dishonourable agreement, this State doth reioyce, as at a great victory, and haue raised their hopes now of good successe against the Persian, yet there rests some doubt, because neither part will trust the other, but haue taken feneral waies, the Vizeer directly towards *Babylon*: *Abassa* to *Afzeron*, from whence little this yeere is expected, and few beleue that the Persian will sell all his conquest, for the noyse at first sight of their Armies.

From the Black Sea, hath come many aduises, that the Prince of the Tartars sent from hence, is beaten from the land, & that the Captain Bassa seeking once more to set him on shore, hath receiued a great scyle and losse, wherein the Prince was hurt, if not slaine: of the particulars we can haue no certainty but without doubt, the parties sent from hence haue receiued disgrace, & the Tartar hath discovered an Arcanum Imperij, posse Principem alibi quam Roma fieri, they neuer committed a greater error, though al be one confusion of error in government, then this, nor of which they will sooner & longer repent, that they would offer in these times, when the peace of Poland wauered, when all their forces were drawne into Asia to depose a

A Letter written from Constantinople, the tenth of Iuly, 1624.

young Prince who was well beloved of the people, to plant an old goutie decreped wretch, who the last yeere was by them deposed for insufficiency; and now the quarrell is on foot, they know not how to retire.

This Empire hath hereby lost or indangered one of the greatest honours and prerogatives; to give that Nation a Prince at the Pleasure of the Grand Signiour, whom now they not onely refuse, but dare oppose the Armies of the Port, and send insolent letters, that it is sufficient for these to governe Constantinople if they will not be quiet, but undertake to molest the Princes in possession; that they will esteeme themselves as free and as ancient, as the race of Ottoman: In conclusion, I am of opinion, there wil be found some way (though with shame) to recall their Order, and to confirme the present Prince, excusing the fault by misinformation, which for quietnes he may formally accept. There is not one word or mention of Bethlem Gabor, nor his designs, since the departure of his Embassadors: It is beleevued all things are quieter there, then is convenient for the quiet of other Christian Countries.

Nine gallies of Messina & 4. of Malta have met with five Pirat ships of Barbary entring into the Port of Tunis, and being favoured by a calme, sunke two of them in sight, & took the other three with 600. men in them; whom they have brought to Palermo. It is reported Sampson was Commander, who when hee must fall into Captivitie by two wounds, with his owne hands he ended his wretched life. These 13. Gallies ioyning with sixe of the great Dukes, within two dayes after went out againe, understanding of seven Cossacks more now they have opportunity to do any thing, if they have courage: for there are no Gallies of this Port in the Medeterranium to hinder them. Tis thought that these five Pirates are the same that were at Cyprus & Scandrone. The ninth day of this month, betweene 70. and 80. boats of the Cossacks, with fifty men apiece, Rowers and Souldiers (watching their opportunitie of the Captaine Bassas being ingaged in Tartary) entred the Bosphorus about breake of day, where dividing themselves, they sackt and burnt almost all the villages and houses of pleasure on both sides the River, as farre as the Castles, and within foure miles of this Citie: The principall places were Binkderry and Genneychoy, on the Grecian and Stenia, and on the Asian shore, where having made rich and great bootie, they staid till nine of the clock in the forenoone, and then all this Citie and the Suburbs having taken the alarm, the Grand Signiour came downe to the water side, the Chimacham to the water Port: Hally-bassa made himselfe Generall in this tumult, and having not one Gally ready for defence, they manned and armed all the Ships, Boats, Barges, & other small Wherryes, to the number of 4. or 500. with such people as they could either get to row, or hope to fight; & dispatched all the Horse and Foot in the Citie to the number of 10000. to defend the Coast from further spoile. Never was seene a greater feare and confusion: Now we expected that these poore theeves would presently have retired; but they seeing the Turkes Boats making towards them, drew themselves in to the middst of the channell, and not far above the Castles, and staid firme upon their Oares in Battalia in forme of a Cressant expecting the assault, the wind and current being against them. Hally-Bassa caused some shot to be made a far off, but they answered not with one Musket, but howred from one shoare to another without any shew of reitrait. Hereupon the Generall seeing their forme and resolution, thought it not fit to assaile them with such Boats as he had, but esteemed it wisdome enough to keepe them from further attempts, fearing if they had broken his Fleet of Boats (which was easily to be done) that they would venture downe to Constantinople, which was now empty of all defence. And these few Boates having first made great spoyle, lay the whole day untill Sun set, searing and braving the great and fearefull Citie of the world, and all the force it could make; and departed with their booty, with their Colours spread, unfought and almost unresisted. This small action and bold attempt, to affront so great an Empire, hath made a strange discovery; how much under the reputation, the terror and strength of this State now is; how weak and unprovided they are. But as the Oracles commanded them, first to set over against blind men: So it hath bin their fortune unto this day to have blind Enemies. Philip of Macedon had never projected, nor his Sonne Alaxander ever adventured with so small Forces, the huge enterprises of subduing the Easterne Empire, if they had not discovered the effeminate and faint courage of the Asiaticks, by the admirable reitrait of Xenophon, and swift incursion of Agesilaus great Armies, not daring to oppose the vertue of their small numbers. Sepe res maximæ ex parvis principijs oriuntur. How this attempt will be taken from the Poles, is a question. For hereby the Treaty of Peace is absolutely broken.

CHAP. XV.

Briefe Extracts of a Journall of ARNOLD BROWNE his Indian voyages, sailing diuers times and courses in five yeeres space to Bantam, Patania, Iapan, the Manillas, Macau, and the Coast of China, with other Indian Ports.

* In this voyage Sir T. Dale was sent to the Indies of whom see sup. 1. 5. Dr. Deuill of D. an vnfit name for Christian Ships.



February 18. 1617. * wee (in the *Samson*) departed from Tilbery, and on the 21. came to the *Downes*. On the 24. the Sunne and Moone came into the *Downes*. The 26. the *Dragon*, *Lion*, and *Expedition* set saile, &c. June 20. 1618. wee got into the Road of *Soldania*, in latitude 33. degrees 50. minutes, longitude 28. degrees 30. minutes variation 0. deg. 50. min. the Northwest July 13. came in the *Deuill of Delph*, with a prize. On the 30. wee tooke a Portugall Ship bound for *Mos-*

Mosambique, which had lost company of three Carriks. By a Councell she was freed with all in her. August 14. we saw a Carrike. On the 21. *M. Spalding* was sent aboard her. By the 24. wee made an end with her, and fetched * the money from her. September 15. we espied Land, being the Island of *Ingano*. Here the Current setting to the shoare, the *Sunne* our Admirall (her men being very weake) seemed in great danger. Sir *Tho. Dale* was aboard the *Cloue*, with the President *Cap. Jordan*: and it was concluded that wee should goe for *Bantam*. The South of *Ingano* is reasonable high and wooddie. On the Southwest is false sounding, one cast twentie; the next fourteene or fiftene fadome. It is safe to keepe farther off in fixe or in 5. degrees fiftie minutes. November 17. we espied the Land of *Sumatra*, the Southwest point: latitude 6. degrees 15. minutes long: from Cape of *Good Hope* 80. degrees 38. minutes. The 21. we entred *Bantam* Rode.

* See sup. in Trigaut. his letter. c. 2.

Ingano.
Sun distressed;
Of such unhappy names;
see Part. 4. pag. 1367.
Sumatra.
Sun lost.

10 The next day arrived sixtie eight of the *Suns* men in their Skiffe, and a small Boat which they had built, having lost their Ship on the fiftieth split on the shoare. Yet it pleased God to save neere one hundred of our men, on whom the Cruell Inhabitants and Hunger made fresh assaults, so that some which had escaped, escaped not wounds or deaths. December the fourth, the *Blacke Lion* yeelded her selfe, which after on the 27. three or foure drunken fellowes stealing Rackapee set on fire, so that shee was lost with all in her, &c. The fights with the *Hollanders*, and his Voyage to *Patania* I omit.

68. of her men arrive.

June 5. 1619. our Ships got into the Rode of *Patania*. Wee were in great danger of driving on a shoald. The President went to the Queene with a great Present. On the 16. wee had fight of foure *Dutch* Ships, and fitted our selues to fight. No perswasion could moue the President to set

A. 1619.
The fight you have before in C. Pring, &c. the rest in *Flores* and others:

20 saile, but hee abode at an anchor till the *Dutch* Ships anchored by vs. The next morning without speaking any word, they shot, and wee answered, but in short time wee had but few left which could do vs any pleasure. The weather was now calme and we could not set saile, as before wee might have done: Whereupon the President was willing to come to a parlie. I was shot in two places, and perswaded him to fight it out: but when I was gone downe hee sent the Master aboard the *Angell* (one of the *Dutch* Ships) to parly about yeelding, and order was presently giuen to shoot no more. At which time I was spoiled with Powder by a shot from the Admirall, our Master detained, and the President slaine with a shot thorow the bodie, after the Ship was yeelded, as I vnderstand. For the Master went aboard to giue vp the Ship, with condition that the Company should depart with their goods; which they promised: but after possession taken,

C. Jordan slain against law of war. See sup. l. 5. c. 9. & c. 12. §. 3. The *Samson* & *Hound* taken by the *Dutch*.

30 heathenlike they broke it. For mine owne part, before I vnderstood of any thing, the Ship was full of *Hollanders*, we hauing at that time eleuen men slaine, and thirtie three hurt, foure of which were dismembred. September 17. by reason of a broile raised among the *Slaves* we had two men slaine, and it was feared the *Blacks* would haue pulled down the *Godowne* and made pillage of all.

Our men in three *Prawes* returned to our Fleet. Nouember 22. as wee rode at *Pellambam* wee saw one *Dutch* Ship, and betwixt that and *Pulo Pemon* ten more: but whiles we sought to escape neere the shoare, a Boat from the first Ship came to vs, and said, that we were all friends. We being within Musket shot of two ships, must either go aboard or ashore: we did the first, but their Admirall bestowed vs aboard amongst their Ships, and tooke our Boat from vs. The 22. came in the *Dragon*, *Beare*, and *Expedition*, to our great grieve and their great reioicing, as Prizes taken at *Tecco*.

40 The thirtieth the *Flying Hart* brought newes, that Sir *Tho. Dale* was dead with many others, at which they greatly reioyced. December 4. came in a Boat with a Crosse saile, being a Ships Boat called the *New Hound*, their Ship being lost by fire through the Stewards Mates negligence in drawing *Aquanita*, 150. men lost, the rest in the boats escaping to *Sumatra*, where 15. were slain by the *Blacks* and others hurt. The 29. was a solemne Fast holden with prayer for the conquest they had of the *English*, with eating & drinking all the day long. January 17. came in a small Pinace from *Iacatra*, and the *White Beare* which had bin nine months comming from *Holland*, & had throwne nine men ouerboard alieue, besides two which saved them the labour, for conspiracy.

Dutch ship lost

11. Dutch destroyed. A. 1620.

March 14. Cap. *Robert Adams* in the *Bull* came in, and went aboard the Admirall: and April 1. 1620. all the *English* prisoners at *Iacatra* were freed & set aboard the *Bull*. On the 21. the *Dutch* put the *Indraught* an old Ship on shoare, thinking to haue made a Bulwarke of her against *Bantam*, but she ouerthrowing on the side frustrated their hopes and cost. May 11. Cap. *Adams* by a Councell was made Admirall for the *English* over five Ships, and five *Dutch* Ships in company were to goe for *Japan*, and so for the *Manillas*. The 21. the *Hope*, the *Bull* and the *Elisabeth* departed from *Iacatra* for *Japan*, with two *Dutch* Ships, the *Harlem* & *Hope* in company. The 24. the *Vrede* arrived, which brought conditions of peace out of *Holland*; which on the 30. was proclaimed ashore and aboard of euery Shippe, with great triumph. June the third, the *Moone* and the *Palsgrane* set saile for *Japan* (I was made Master of the *Palsgrane* by a generall

Peace betwixt English and Dutch.

Voyage to Japan. See sup. in *Saris* & *Primit.*

60 Councell of Defence) with the *New Bantam* and the *Trow*, two *Dutch* Ships. The voyage to *Japan* August the fifth, they came to *Coochy* road neere *Firando*. The 31. our Captaine set forth of *Firando* to go to the Emperour, and the *Dutch* likewise. We deliuered ashore 1547. barres of Lead.

January the third, we departed from the road of *Coochy* bound for the *Manillas*: The fourth the Island *Maxima* bore North West five leagues off, the Land high and ragged. The ninth, the Island of the three Kings bare West. The 10. the Island called *Long Island* bore East North East. The 12.

Voyage from Japan to the *Manillas*.

the Northernmost of the two Islands *Buckamegell* bore North Northwest. The 13. the biggest of the *Babuanis* East. The 15. at noone Cap. *Boiador* bare East of vs 4. leagues latitude, 18. deg. 40. min. The 21. at noone within two leagues of C. *Bullanaue* in 16. deg. 30. min. The 24. we plied to and fro off the Bay of *Manillas*. The 26. the *Dutch Hope* met with a *China Champan*, and tooke her being come from the Bay of *Tundo* from a *China* Iunke bound for the Bay of *Manillas*, which the said *Hope* tooke on the 26. The 27. two *Champans* more taken, laden one with Rice, the other with Timber. The 31. two Boats more taken, and one burnt.

From the first of Feb. to the sixt we were turning vp frō the Ile *Maruels*, & the *Caueita* where the *Spanish* Ships ride; the Bay a very faire one, from 24. to six fathom: in the mid way take heed you come no neerer the shore on the South then ten fathoms, in respect of a steep Bank that lieth off the shoare: otherwise nothing in all the Bay is to be feared but one Rock, on the South side also, halfe a league of the *Black point* within the *Oyster Rock*. This Rock hath on it two fathoms water. At *Caueita* we found riding six or seven ships, and two of them great Gallions, but all vntinged. The eight we passed by the Towne of *Caueita* with our ships. The towne shot two Peeces at our Admirall, but could not reach her. Wee all anchored in the Rode halfe way betwixt *Caueita*, and the towne of *Manillas*, in seven and a halfe fathom ozie ground. *Caueita* lieth from *Manillas* South Southwest two leagues & a halfe by Sea, by Land about 3. From *Caueita* to *Marauelle* the Course is west southwest somewhat Southerly. On the north of *Marauelle* is good fresh water, but not much, deepe anchoring neere the shore: we went on shore thereon 240. but found no people.

After some time spent in watering, careening, discovering and other affaires, March 28. 1621. by order of a Councell, the Fleet was dispersed for better looking out for Iunkes comming from *China* with the Coast. I was appointed to the *Ship Swan* to goe with it, two Frigats and two Boats into the Bay of *Pangasina* to fire a ship there in building; but we found none such. April 13. all the ships went to *Hart Bay* to water. On the 18. we boarded a Iunke which proued of *Japan*, hauing the Emperours Passe, and Letters from Capt. *Cokes* and the *Dutch Merchant*. The same day the *Harlem* tooke a *China* Iunke, and carried her into *Witters* Island. May 26. The *Dutch* Frigate fought with a *China* Iunke, but could not take her; wherupon our Frigate went vp and tooke her; and the *Dutch* comming aboard after they had yeilded, killed, and made leap ouer-board to the quantitie of sixtie or seuentie, like bloody—— On the 30. the *Dutch* Frigate was in fight with another *China* Iunk and could not take her, hauing spent most of their powder: and met our Frigate and told them, which pursued her and the next day ouertooke her, and she yeilded to them: they put the men on shore. The *Dutch* set fire on the Iunk, which was one of their—— tricks Iun. 9. (there being no hopes of more Iunkes that yeere) it was concluded that wee should direct our course for the Streits of *Piscadores*, I would wish all from the *Manilles* to *Macan* or *Piscadores* to keepe it well vp to the West, and not to goe to the North to preuent shoalds.

On the 29. we entred the Harbour of *Chaochie*. It was agreed that foure Ships should goe to *Firando*: whither wee went Iuly 10. In September the *Bull* and *Peppercorne* were careened. *Richard Short* one of the Masters Mates of the *Moone* ranne the second time to the *Portugalls*. October the first, sixe more of the *Peppercorne* and *Bull* ranne to the *Portugalls*, which were pursued and taken, and foure executed. Two of the *Elisabeths* men stole a prau, with intent to runne to them also to *Langasack*. The eighteenth, the *Peppercorne* and the *Moyen* a *Dutch* Shippe went for the Coast of *China*, to lie there till the comming of the Fleet. Nouember the first, the three *English* Store-houses at *Choochy* were burned to the ground by negligence.

The 23. we put to Sea with all the Fleet: December the tenth they met with the *Peppercorne* and *Moyen*, which had beene sixe weekes on the Coast and taken nothing. They were now ten Ships. The twelfth, a Frigate was taken laden with Canuas to make sailes for the Fleet at *Manillas*. Ianuary the third, the Countrey people (before vnseene) killed foure of the *Peppercornes* men, in *Witters* Island where they were watering, through their owne securitie. For ten of ours might haue kept off one hundreth of them. Their Weapons are Bowes and Arrowes not poysoned.

The thirtieth wee went into the Bay where the *Spaniards* had foure great Ships, three small, and three Gallies, besides other small Frigots. Some Truce-parlies passed and some bickerings also to small purpose. Diuers Fugitiues came to vs from them. The Fleet obserued their opportunities, but little was done. April 18. 1622. 8. of the *Moones* men ran away with her Shallop to the *Manillas*. The *Peppercorne* tooke two or three small Iunkes, but little in them. May 6. at *Loang* Island we found 30. tuns of Red Wood, a *China* Iunke, a *Portugall*, and two or three *Champans* in the Riuer, which were fired, except the Wood. The 9. foure ships were sent to *Macan*, the rest to *Piscadores* to exchange *Portugalls* for our men, and to intercept Frigats. The 17. a Frigate of *Macan* was after long fight taken by our shallops, with 320. balls of goods. Iune 1. we had fight of three Frigats, which went in among the Islands for *Macao*, we not being able to hinder them. A Priest and others came aboard with a Flag of Truce to treat about their men. The 12. came in eleuen *Dutch* Ships to take in *Macan*, and neuer offered to speake with vs, but went directly as neere the Towne at they could, and sent presently small vessells to sound. They landed 1000. men on the 14. against *Macan*, & after mutuall shot were repelled, hauing lost six Caprains (as I heard) and

and about 200. men, besides many hurt; and had they not gotten their Boats as they did, they had beene all, by their owne report, put to the sword. On the 17. we departed as it had beene agreed, and anchored vnder the Iles *Ladrones* all night. The next day we put to Sea betwixt the Iles *Su-pattos* and *Neme*. July 4. wee were close aboard the point of *Langsacke*. On the sixth *M. Hatch* the * Preacher came aboard. August 2. A Councell was called at the *Dutch* house by their Admirall, in which it was concluded to dissolue the two Fleets; each to beare their own adventures till they came to *Iacatra*. The 15. we had a Tyffon Southerly, and broke two Cables. The *Dutch Moone* and *Hound* droue ashore, the *Moone* litle hurt, the other bilged. The *Peppercorne* and *Hailen*, droue ashore at *Firando* without hurt. This Tyffon was so sore at Sea, that the *Moyen* cut ouer-bord her maine Mast, and threw out her Shallop: the *Tro* threw out 300. sackes of Rice, wet more, with her Powder, and was so leake shee was like to sinke. The *Bantam* lost her maine and misen Masts, threw ouer-bord 3. Pieces of Ordnance, 2. Anchors, a Shallop, 600. sackes of Rice, her Head and Gallerie all washt away, &c. October 9. the *Dutch Moone* and *Hound*, layd vp sunke. The 15. th we went out into the Road, being bound for *Iambee*. Till the first of Nouember we had no sight of the Sun to make obseruation. The 15. th we got into the road of *Iambee*. The rest I omit. May 28. they had sight of *Saint Helena*, and anchored next day in *Chappell Bay*. August 26. they arrived at *Erith*.

Ladrones.
Their third
comming to
Iapan.
* See his letter
sup. c. 3.
A Tyffon or
cruell storme.

Anno 1623.

Thus haue you seene the Dutch dealings in the Indies with the English and Natives; agreeing to that which in the third, fourth, and fifth Bookes is more fully before deliuered: to which this is here added as later Intelligence, and containing relation both of the *Manillas* and of the English industry, cost and dangers sustained to maintaine termes of Peace according to the league and Conditions articulated betwixt them. Now for their correspondence to the English, thou mayst read in the following Relation, confirmed by the Oathes of diuers thence returned, published lately by the East Indian Societie and heere abridged, the worke swelling too much, and a little of such Discourse being more then enough.

CHAP. XVI.

The Dutch late proceedings at Amboyna, in cruell torturing and executing of diuers English-men: with other their like Acts to the Natives in Banda; published lately by the English-East-Indian Societie; heere much abbreviated.



After the fruitlesse issue of two seuerall Treaties: the first Anno 1613. in *London*; and the other Anno 1615. at the *Hage* in *Holland*, touching the differences betweene the English and Dutch in the *East-Indies*, at last by a third Treatie Anno 1619. in *London*, there was a full and solemne composition made of all the said differences, and a faire order set for the future proceeding of the Supposts of both Companies in the *Indies*; aswell in the course of their Trade and Commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, that in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to bee bestowed by the *Hollanders*, in winning of the Trade of the Iles of the *Molluccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and in building of Forts for the continuall securing of the same, the said *Hollanders* therefore should enioy two third parts of that Trade, and the English the other third; and the charge of the Forts to bee maintained by taxes and impositions, to be leuied vpon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the English East India Company planted certaine Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the *Molluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*.

This *Amboyna* is an Iland lying neere *Seran*, of the Circuit of fortie leagues, and giueth name also to some other small Ilands adiacent. It beareth Cloues; for gathering and buying in whereof, the English Companie for their part had planted five seuerall Factories: the head and *Reu-deuon* of all, at the Towne of *Amboyna*; and therein first, Master *George Muschampe*, and afterward Master *Gabriell Towerson*, their Agents, with directions ouer the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica*, vpon the same Iland, and at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, vpon a point of their neighbouring Iland of *Seran*.

Amboyna described.

Vpon these Ilands of *Amboyna*, and the point of *Seran*, the *Hollanders* haue foure Forts; the chiefe of all is at the said Towne of *Amboyna*, and is very strong, hauing foure Points or Bulwarkes with their Curtaines, and vpon each of these Points fixe great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of Brasse. The one side of this Castle is washed by the Sea, and the other is diuided from the Land with a Ditch of foure or five fathome broad, very deepe, and euer filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this Castle consisteth of about two hundred Dutch Souldiers, and a Company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is alwayes a matter of three or foure hundred *Mardikers* (for so they vsually call the free Natives) in the Towne, ready to serue the Castle at an houres warning. There lye also in the Roade (for the most part) diuers good Ships of the *Hollanders*, as well for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of Traffique: this being the

Dutch Castle
Garrison.
Subiects.
Ships.

chiefe *Rendezvous*, as well for the Iland of *Banda*, as for the rest of *Amboyna*. Heere the *English* liued; not in the Castle, but vnder protection thereof, in a house of their owne in the Towne; holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of Amitie betweene both Nations. as of the strict coniunction made by the late Treatie before mentioned.

Iaccatra (now *Bacaria*) seat of the Dutch Government in the Indies.

They continued heere some two yeares, conuersing and trading together with the *Hollanders*, by vertue of the said Treatie. In which time there fell out sundrie differences and debates betweene them; The *English* complayning that the *Hollanders* did not onely lauish away much money in Building, and vnnecessarie expences, vpon the Forts and other wise, and bring large and vntreasonable reckonings thereof to the common accompt; but also did, for their part, pay the Garrisons with victuals and cloath of *Coremandell*, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the *English* Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the *English* (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and vpon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to *Iaccatra*, in the Iland of *Iaua Maior*, to the Councell of defence of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing vpon the points in difference, sent the same hither ouer into *Europe*, to bee decided by both Companies heere; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Maiestie, and the Lords the States Generall, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the *English* and the *Dutch*, about these and other differences, continued and daily encreased, vntill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Amboyna* and *Iaccatra* could not vntie. And this was vsed in manner as followeth.

Abel Price examined.

About the eleuenth of February 1622. *Stilo veteri*, a *Iaponer* Souldier of the *Dutch* in their Castle of *Amboyna*, walking in the night vpon the wall, came to the Centinell (being a *Hollander*) and there, amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is heere to bee noted, that thiose *Iaponers* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Iland) did, for the most part, serue the *Dutch* as souldiers, yet were not of their trustie bands, alwaies lodged in the Castle, but vpon occasion called out of the Towne to assist in the Watch. This *Iaponer* aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Centinel, apprehended vpon suspicion of Treason, and put to the Torture. Thereby (as some of the *Dutch* affirmed) hee was brought to confesse himselfe, and sundry others of his Countrymen there, to haue contriued the taking of the Castle. Hereupon, other *Iaponers* were examined and tortured, as also a *Portugall*, the Guardian of the Slaues vnder the *Dutch*. During this examination, which continued three or foure dayes; some of the *English* men went too and from the Castle vpon their businesse, saw the Prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; but all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themselves; hauing neuer had any conuersation with the *Iaponers*, nor with the *Portugall* aforesaid. At the same time there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgion of the *English*, Prisoner in the Castle, for offering in his Drunkennesse to set a *Dutch*-mans house on fire. This fellow the *Dutch* tooke, and shewed him some of the *Iaponers*, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the *English* to haue bene of their confederacie, for the taking of the Castle; and that if he would not confesse the same, they would vse him euen as they had done these *Iaponers*, and worse also. Hauing giuen him the torture, they soone made him confesse what euer they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*. Forthwith, about nine of the clocke the same Morning, they sent for Captaine *Towersson*, and the rest of the *English* that were in the Towne, to come to speake with the Gouvernour in the Castle: they all went, saue one that was left to keepe the House. Being come to the Gouvernour, he told Captaine *Towersson*, that himselfe and others of his Nation were accused of a Conspiracie to surprise the Castle, and therefore, vntill further triall, were to remaine Prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house, tooke the Merchandize of the *English* Companie there into their owne custodie by Inuentorie, and seized all the Chests, Boxes, Bookes, Writings, and other things in the *English* house. Captaine *Towersson* was committed to his Chamber with a guard of *Dutch* Souldiers. *Emanuel Tomson* was kept Prisoner in the Castle, the rest, viz. *John Beomont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Timothy Johnson*, *John Fardo*, and *Robert Browne*, were sent aboard the *Hollanders* ships then riding in Harbour, some to one ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Gouvernour sent to the two other Factories in the same Iland, to apprehend the rest of the *English* there. So that *Samuel Colson*, *John Clarke*, *George Sharrock*, that were found in the Factorie at *Hitto*, and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, and *John Sadler* at *Larica*, were all brought Prisoners to *Amboyna*, the sixteenth of February. Vpon which day also *John Powel*, *John Wetherall*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, were apprehended at *Cambello*, and *John Beomont*, *William Grigs*, and *Ephraim Ramsey*, at *Lobo*, and brought in Irons to *Amboyna* the twentieth of the same moneth.

In the meane time, the Gouvernour and Fiscall went to worke with the Prisoners that were already there: And first they sent for *John Beomont*, and *Timothy Johnson*, from aboard the *Unicorne*; who being come into the Castle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Johnson* was taken into

into another roome. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him cry out very pitifully; then to be quiet for a little while, and then loud againe. After taste of the torture, *Abel Price* the Chirurgion, that first was examined and tortured (as is above remembred) was brought in to confront and accule him: But *Johnson* not yet confessing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* brought againe to the torture, where *Beomont* heard him sometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afresh. At last, after he had been about an houre in this second examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diuers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by place of the Hall, with a souldier to watch him that he should speake with no body. Then was *Emanuel Tomson* brought to examination; not in the roome where *Johnson* had beene, but in another something farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont* being in the Hall, heard him roare most lamentably, and many times. At last, after an houre & an halfe spent in torturing him, he was carried away into another roome another way, so that hee came not by *Beomont* through the Hall. Next was *Beomont* called in, and being demanded many things, all which he denied with deepe oathes and protestations, was made fast to be tortured; a cloth tyed about his necke, and two men ready with Iarres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Gouvernor bad loose him, he would spare him a day or two, because he was an Old man. This was all Saturdaies worke, the fiftenth of February aforesaid.

Emanuel Tomson
examined.

Vpon Sunday the 16. of February, *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and *Robert Browne*, were fetcht from aboard the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the same time came *Samuel Colson*, *William Grigs*, and *John Clarke*, *George Sharrocke*, & *John Sadler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*; and were immediatly vpon their arriual, brought into the Castle-hall. *Robert Browne* Tailor was first called in, & being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the Fiscall asked him. Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined, had confest him as accessory to the plot of taking the Castle. Which, when he denied with great oathes & execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throat, ready to be put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confesse all. Being let downe, he againe vowed & protested his innocencie; yet said, that because he knew that they would by torture make him confesse any thing, though neuer so false, they should doe him a great fauour, to tell him what they would haue him say, and hee would speake it, to auoyd the torture. The Fiscall hereupon said; what, doe you mocke vs? and bad, Vp with him againe; and so gaue him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let downe again to his confession. Then he deuised a little with himselfe, and told them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himselfe, *Tomson*, *Johnson*, *Browne*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the helpe of the *Iaponers*, to surprize the Castle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiscall, and asked, whether *Captaine Tower* were not of that conspiracie. He answered, No. *You lie*, said the Fiscall; *did not hee call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the Dutch had caused him to thinke of a plot, and that hee wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie?* Then said a Dutch Merchant, one *John Loost* that stood by, Did not you all swear vpon a Bible to bee secret to him? *Collins* answered with great oathes, that hee knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bade make him fast againe: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscall asked him, whether the *English* in the rest of the *Factories*, were not consenting to this plot. Hee answered, No. The Fiscall then asked him, whether the President of the *English* at *Iaccatra*, or Mr. *Welden* Agent in *Banda*, were not plotters or priuie to this businesse. Againe he answered, No. Then the Fiscall asked him by what meanes the *Iaponers* should haue executed their purpose. Whereat, when *Collins* stood staggering and deuising of some probable fiction, the Fiscall holpe him, and said, *Should not two Iaponers haue gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Gouvernours Chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had beene without, and the Gouvernour comming to see what was the matter, the Iaponers to haue killed him?* Here one that stood by, said to the Fiscall, Doe not tell him what he should say, but let him speake of himselfe. Whereupon the Fiscall, without attending the answer to his former question; asked what the *Iaponers* should haue had for their reward. *Collins* answered, 1000. Ryals a peece. Lastly, he asked him, when this plot should haue bin effected. Whereunto although hee answered him nothing (not knowing what to deuise vpon the sodaine) yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certain beleeve that he should die for this his Confession. Next, was *Samuel Colson* brought in, being newly arriued from *Hitto*, as is before touched, & was the same day brought to the torture, who, for feare of the paine wherewith he saw *Collins* come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blowne out of his head with the torment of water; chose rather to confesse all they asked him: and so was quickly dismissed, comming out weeping, lamenting, & protesting his innocencie. Then was *John Clarke*, that came with *Colson* from *Hitto*, fetcht in, and a litle after was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water & with fire, by the space of 2. houres. The maner of his torture (as also of *Johnsons* & *Tomsons*) was as followeth: First, they hoised him vp by the hands with a cord on a large doore, where they made him fast vpon 2. staples of Iron; fixt on both sides, at the top of the doore posts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made fast, his feet hung 2. foot from the ground, which also they stretcht asunder as farre

Robert Browne
examined.

Edward Collins
examined.

Samuel Colson
examined.

John Clarke ex-
amined.

as they would retch, and so made them fast beneath vnto the doore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face so close, that little or no water could goe by. That done, They powred the water softly vpon his head vntill the cloth was full, vp to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher; so that hee could not draw breath, but hee must withall sucke in the water: which being still continued to be powred in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his Nose, Eares, and Eyes, and often as it were stifling and choaking him, at length tooke away his breath, and brought him to a swoone or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit vp the water. Being a little recouered, they triced him vp againe, and powred in the water as before, eftsfoones taking him downe as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or foure seuerall times with water, till his bodie was swolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great Bladders, and his eies staring and strutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this hee bare, without confessing any thing; insomuch as the *Fiscall* and tormentors reuiled him, saying that he was a Deuill, and no man, or surely was a Witch, at least had some charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare so much. Wherefore they cut off his haire very short, as supposing he had some Witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoised him vp againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted Candles in the bottome of his feete, vntill the fat dropt out the Candles; yet then applyed they fresh lights vnto him. They burnt him also vnder the elbowes, & in the palmes of the hands; likewise vnder the arme-pits, vntil his inwards might be euidently seene. At last, when they saw he could of himselfe make no handsome confession, then they led him along with questions of particular circumstances, by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and ouercome by the torment; he answered, yea to whatsoeuer they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine *Towersson* had vpon New-yeeres day last before, sworne all the *English* at *Amboyna* to bee secret and assistant to a plot that hee had projected, with the helpe of the *Iaponers*, to surprize the Castle, and to put the *Gouernour* and the rest of the *Dutch* to death.

Hauiug thus martyred this poore man, they sent him out by foure *Blacks*; who carried him betweene them to a Dungeon, where he lay five or six daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, vntill (his flesh being putrified) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most lothsome and noysome manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies worke; and it growing now darke, sent the rest of the *English* (that came that day from *Huto*, and till then attended in the Hall) first to the Smiths shop, where they were loaden with Irons, and then to the same lothsome Dungeon where *Clarke* and the rest were, accompanied with the poore *Iaponers*, lying in the putrification of their tortures. The next morning being Munday the 17. of February, old Stile, *William Grigs* and *John Fardo*, with certaine *Iaponers*, were brought into the place of examination. The *Iaponers* were first cruelly tortured to accuse *Grigs*; which at last they did: and *Grigs* to auoid the like torture, confessed all that the *Fiscall* demanded. By and by the like also was done by *John Fardo*, and other *Iaponers*: but *Fardo* himselfe endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoeuer the *Fiscall* asked him; and so was sent backe to Prison.

I haue no heart to proceed. In like manner *John Beomont*, *George Sharrock*, *William Webber*, *Gabriell Towersson*, *John Wetherall*, *John Powle*, *Thomas Ladbuoke*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *John Sadler*, were examined by torture of the mind or bodie, or both. The *Storie* is fresh and lately printed, and long, to which I referre the Reader. Ten suffered, viz. *Mon. Towersson*, *Colson*, *Thomson*, *Johnson*, *Wetherall*, *Clarke*, *Grigs*, *Fardo*, *Price*, *Browne*; all protesting their innocencie.

They had prepared a Cloth of blacke Veluet for Captaine *Towersson* his bodie to fall vpon; which being stained and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the *English* Company.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darknesse, with a sudden and violent gust of wind and tempest; whereby two of the *Dutch* ships, riding in the Harbour, were driuen from their Anchors, and with great labour and difficultie saued from the Rockes. Within a few dayes after, one *William Dunckin*, who had told the *Gouernour*, That *Robert Browne* the *English* Tailour, had a few moneths before told him, he hoped; that the *English* should haue as much to doe in the Castle of *Amboyna*, as the *Dutch*; This fellow comming vpon an Euening to the Graue where the *English* were buried, being all (saue Captaine *Towersson*) in one pit, fell downe vpon the Graue; and hauing lien there awhile, rose vp againe starke madde, and so continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new sicknesse at *Amboyna*, which swept away about a thousand people, *Dutch* and *Amboyner*: in the space wherein, there vsually died not aboute thirtie at other Seasons. These signes were by the suruiuing *English* referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomson* aboue-named, and were by the *Amboyner*s interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyrannie of the *Hollanders*.

The manifold testimonies of their innocencie by their owne writings before their death, deuout and deep protestations at their death; desire also to receiue the Sacrament to ratifie the same, and lastly the prooffe thereof by many reasons, with the Obiections answered; the Reader may at large see in the Booke set forth by the Company. Out of which for perfecting our *Banda Relations*, I haue added this.

But he could not see the thirtieth Article, which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should be remitted into *Europe*; first, to the two Companies there; and in default of their agreement to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former Articles, to limit the Councell of defence; and this generall Article appeareth to be added by way of ampliacion, to provide for that which was not particularly and expressely cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation vpon this thirtieth Article, agreed vpon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, *Anno 1619.* where this course of proceeding is expressely directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter happening in their common aboad. Since which also the Kings Maiestie hath, vpon a smaller occasion then the life of his Subiects, cleerely declared himselfe in the point of Souereigntie; That both Nations in the *Indies* should wholly lay aside al pretence therof. Which Declaration was sent to the Lords States General, & by them accepted before this bloudie butcherie was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Hollanders* are absolute Lords of their partners the *English* in those parts, without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the *Hollanders* in *Amboyna*, are bound to obserue the Lawes of the vnited Prouinces; for so saith this Authour himselfe. Doe these allow to begin the Processe at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the Racke, vpon others confession made in the torture? Do their Lawes allow of the leading Interrogatories aboue mentioned, to direct the Prisoner what to say, to auoid the torture? Where, in the vnited Prouinces, is that drowning with water, in vse? or the torture with fire, vsed to *Johnson*, *Tomson*, and *Clarke*? or especially the splitting of their toes, and launcing of the brest, and putting in Gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the bodie is not left intire, neither for innocencie, nor execution? *Clarke* and *Tomson* were both faine to bee carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictory, apparantly false, and of things impossible to bee done, much lesse practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their Law to haue beene beleueed, nor the Prisoners to haue beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *Indicia*, or euidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excesse of the torture whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in *England*; and saith, That the Lords States Generall take great care to enforme themselves of all the passages of this busines; and to that end haue desired to see all the Letters, Pieces, and Papers that concerne this Processe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture vsed. But suppose the acts make no mention of them; is it any maruell that the Authors of this murtherous and tyrannous Processe, being themselves the persons that also formed the Acts would omit those things that made against them? It is to bee presumed also, that the Acts kept by their people at *Poloway* in *Banda*, haue omitted many things of their Processe, against the poore *Polaroones*, whom in August 1622. being about fixe monethes before this execution of the *English*, their Gouvernour there vsed in like sort, as the Gouvernour of *Amboyna* did the *English*, and gaue him a modell and precedent of this Processe; which it will not be amisse to relate briefly, because this Authour, in the next place alleageth the mercifull disposition of the *Netherlands* Nation in generall; to inferre thence, that it is therefore vnlikely, that their Gouvernour at *Amboyna* was so cruell, as is reported in *England*.

Polaroon one of the Ilands of *Banda*, was in possession of the *English* at the time of the Treatie, *Anno 1619.* and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the Treatie came vnto the *Indies*, the *Hollanders* forbore publishing thereof in the Ilands of *Banda*, vntill they had taken *Polaroon*. But, knowing that it must be restored againe, according to the Treatie, they first take all courses to make the Iland little or nothing worth: they demolish and deface the Buildings, transplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them vp by the Roots, and carrying them into their owne Ilands of *Nera* and of *Poloway*, there to be planted for themselves; and at last finde a meanes to dispeople the Iland, and so leaue it so, as the *English* might make no vse of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that vpon this occasion: There was a young man, the Sonne of an *Orankey*, or a Gentleman in *Polaroon*, that had committed Felonie; for which, by the Lawes of his Countrey, hee was to die. This fellow, to saue his life, fled to another Iland of *Banda*, called *Rosfinging*, and there turned Christian: but quickly vnderstanding, that that would not make him safe from punishment, hee went backe secretly to his owne Countrey of *Polaroon*; and, hauing lurked there a few dayes, tooke his passage for *Nera*, another Iland where the *Dutch* haue a Fort; and told the *Dutch* Gouvernour, that the *Orankeyes* of *Polaroon* had conspired to massacre the *Dutch* as well at *Polaroon*, as at *Poloway*, with helpe of the people of *Seran*, that should send ouer thirtie Curricuries for that purpose. Immediately vpon this *Indicium* of this Malefactor, certaine Prowes or Fisherboates of the *Polaroones*, that were fishing at *Poloway*, were seized, and the people made Prisoners. Command was sent by the *Dutch* Gouvernour to *Polaroon*, that the *Orankeyes* should come ouer to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter.

The

Noorwendich
discourse prin-
ted, An. 1622.
vnder the
name of Ymant
van Waarmond.

The Priest of the *Polaroons* and seuentie *Orankeyes* instantly tooke a Prow or small Vessell of their owne, and imbarcked themselves for *Poloway*. As they were at Sea, and yet out of the sight of the *Dutch* Castle, they were met by a Fisher-boat of *Bandanexes*, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to *Poloway*, they were all but dead men. Neuerthelesse, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and meanes to haue escaped to *Seran* and other places safe enough from the *Hollanders*, yet were so confident of their innocencie, that they would needs to *Poloway* to purge themselves. Where, as soone as they were arrived, they were instantly carried Prisoners to the Castle: and withall the *Gouernour*, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for *Polaroon*; whence he fetched all the rest of the *Orankeyes*, and brought them Prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were come, they were presently brought to the torture of Water and fire, euen in the same sort as our people were afterward at *Amboyna*; onely herein differing, that of those of *Poloway*, two were so tortured, that they died in their tortures: the rest being one hundred sixtie two persons, were all vpon their owne forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the *Mallayan* Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poore, black and white, looke to it: we haue committed no fault. And when hee would haue spoken more, hee was taken by the hands and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle with a Sword. Forthwith, the *Gouernour* caused the wiues, children, and slaues of those of *Polaroon*, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subiect to the *Dutch*; and so haue made a cleere Countrey for the *English*; where they may both plant and gather themselves destitute of the helpe of any of the Countrey people; without whom, neither the *English* nor *Hollanders* can maintaine their Trade in the *Indies*. And yet this is not heere recited, to the end thereby to charge the *Neetherlands* Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselves, that haue committed those barbarous Tyrannies: Who, if we shall beleue an Authour of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the *Maiores* (as this Authour sayes) vse the *Indies* as a *Tucht-house* or Bridewell, to manage their unruly and vnthrifte children and kindred; whom when they cannot rule and order at home, they send to the *Indies*, where they are preferred to Offices and places of *Gouernment*. Yea, saith he, they preferre such to be *Fiscals* there, as neuer saw Studie nor Law. So that it is no maruell, that such persons proceed not with that Iustice and moderation as is vsed generally in the Low Countries, by the choice of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credit, that came lately from *Amboyna*; who auerre, that excepting the *Gouernour* himselfe, who is well stept in yeeres, of the rest of the Councell there, as well the *Fiscall*, as others, there was scarce any that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons; and yet must be Iudges as well of our *English*, as the poore *Indians* there.

WE haue bin long enough perplexed with viewing Easterne Tragedies. Let vs now turne our Eyes Westward. And lest any should thinke that in hatred of the Dutch Name I haue published the last, or any of the former Relations of bad dealing with the *English*: I haue heere added this that may make for their Honour, an Act of Hostilitie against a knowne Enemy: as also euery where in this Worke I haue not wittingly omitted, either publike Act, Fleet, Voyage, or Victorie of theirs, which might honour their Nation (yea if I found any particular Act of kindnesse, or any kinder person to the *English* Name and Nation, I haue bene readie to mention the same) so farre as agreeth with our Historie. I cannot make the East Indian Dutch Case good, nor would I make the European bad, raising a Nationall quarrell (which God forbid, and which the Demill there sought) out of a personate.

CHAP. XVII.

A true description of the Bay Todos los Santos in Brasill, and taking the Towne Saluador by the Admirall Master IACOB

WILKINS 1624.



He Bay of Todos los Santos, in the Land of Brasill is situated vpon thirteene degrees of Southerly Latitude an hundred leagues above *Pharnambuco*. It is the place at which the *Gouernour*, the *Bishop*, and the Auditor Generall of all the Coasts of *Brasill* are resident. This place is most inhabited: it hath three Townes: the one is neere to the *Barra*, or comming in, and is called *Villa vera*, which is the first that was built in this Iurisdiction.

The second is the Towne called *Saluador* or *Saujour*, in *English*) builded by *Thomas de Sosa*, and

and foure leagues thence Landwards in, lyeth the Village *Paripe*. It hath many Sugar-mills, although the Inhabitants get their livings for the most part by Cotton.

Within the Towne are five Churches and one Colledge of the Iesuits, of which are some eightie in the Towne. The Bay is some three leagues large, and stretched some fiftene Leagues Landwards in. It hath many small Islands which yeeld great store of Cotton. It is diuided into seuerall parts, and hath many branches in which the Inhabitants vie small Barkes.

The Bay is (when the water is reasonable high) in some places, tweloe, eightene, and twentie fathome deepe, and lyeth inwards North North-west. On the corner of it is a Castle built, which is called *Saint Antonio*, neere which lyeth a Banke which reacheth a league into the Sea Southeastward. When the wind bloweth very strong, the water maketh there great noyse: but there is no danger for the ships, seeing it is five or six fathome deepe, and the ground is sand. The corner on which *Saint Antonio* standeth, is but a league distant from the Towne. The high ships Land commonly rust against the great Church.

Now for the taking of the same by the Dutch, it is thus both related and in Picture also (here omitted) described.

The High and Mightie States, with the aduise of his Excellencie the Prince of *Orange*, erected a West India Company, and prepared a Nauie of aboute thirtie ships strong, of which Master *Jacob Wilkins* was chosen Admirall, and the Lord of *Dort* appointed to be Generall.

This Fleet put to Sea the two and twentieth of December, in the last yeere 1623. and the Island of *Saint Vincent* (which is one of the Islands of *Cabo Verde*) being appointed to bee the Rendezuous, all the ships of the Fleete met there, except that in which the Generall was, who came to *Sierra Lione*: And the Fleet hauing tarried there the space of five weekes, it departed on the fixe and twentieth day of March thence, and came on the eighth of May before the Bay of *Todos los Santos*, in which he might haue sailed the same night, but hee tarried, for good reasons and considerations, till it was day, and vsed this stratagem or policie, namely: hee put all the Souldiers on foure of the greatest and best shippes, and caused their Ensignes on the other still to bee displayed. The same day hee landed fiftene hundred men with two light Peeces called *Dragons*, who went in the night time into a small Wood which lyeth neere to the Towne.

And the Admirall commanded afterwards that foure ships should saile directly to the Towne and lie against the batterie, which they did, and came so neere to it that they touched ground; whereupon they shot very fiercely, both vpon the Towne and the batterie, from whence the Enemy answered them in the same tune, and shot amongst other, one of our Captaines named *Gedulthaber*. The Captaine *Peter Freeckson* of *Enchuyssen* behaued himselfe amongst the rest very valiantly, to the great admiration of all them that saw him: And all the others vsed likewise there best endeouours; but seeing that both the Ordnance of the Towne, and the battery played so cruelly vpon them, they resolued to land some men with their Boats to surprise the batterie, although it was defended by two hundred men, and to make the Ordnance vseruiceable. Which charge being vndertaken by the Viceadmirall *Peter Petersson Heyn*, hee went with eight Boates, or Sloopes (which were well furnished with Men, Muskets, Skeanes, Hammers, and Nails) directly to the battery, and as soone as our men mounted vpon the same, the enemies fled through the water to the Towne. Whereupon our Vice-Admirall hauing nayled the Ordnance vpon it, and cast it downe, hee returned againe with all his men to the ships without receiuing any damage by the Ordnance of the Towne which was continually displaid against him. *Clayes Gerrisson Vos* was not one of the least that shewed themselves valorous in this Enterprise.

The next day being the ninth of May, it was resolued that the Towne should bee assaulted on two sides, namely, from the ships by the Mariners, and out of the Wood by the Souldiers. But the Townesmen hauing had the night before an allarme or two giuen vnto them by reason of the Souldiers which were come into the Wood, as they learned, they fled all out of the Towne with the Archbishop, and in the morning when our forces thought to scale the wals of the Towne, there appeared an old man, who said that all the Burgers were runne away, and opened the gate: At which time Captaine *Vogelsanck* of *Amsterdam* marcht first into the Towne with his Companie, and the other following him, they beset the Market and other passages, and afterwards when they mistrusted no enemy they began to pillage, and euery one got rich prizes, or bootie of Gold Chaines, Duckets, Rials of eight, gilded and siluered Rapiers, Swords and Daggers, besides great store of rich apparell, of which there was such abundance, that euery Souldier is prouided with it, as if he were a Captaine: They found likewise at their arriual the Tables yet couered in the Cloyster, and many other places, and fell to the meate and drinke on them. But because no excesse should be committed, some hundred Pipes or Vessels of Wine were presently knockt in pieces.

All the houses were almost all as Palaces, and adorned and furnished with rich household-stuffe, of which euery one tooke as much as he could carrie. When the pillage was done there were many inferiour Souldiers that durst venture fortie and fiftie pieces of eight Rials, (which amount

Gouernour taken.
Rich Crucifix.

to foure shillings and six-pence) at a set or gaine. And there are many Officers, which haue gotten foureene thousand and fifteene thousand Guilders for their owne priuate bootie, and goe with Chaines of Gold about their necks, whereby it appeareth that a man may euen in one houre grow rich in those parts.

The Gouernour being with his Seruants and yet armed in his Palace, the Vice-Admirall caused him to lay his Armes downe, and tooke him as his Prisoner. Amongst the other booties and prizes that were found in the Church, there was a Crucifixe of Silver some foure foot long, with the Image of our Sauour being made of Gold, and was a foote and a halfe long.

When all the tumult was ceased, and all things were put in order, namely on the twelfth of May, a Preacher of Zealand gaue in the great Church the Almighty thanks for such a great Victory; and on the same day came the Lord of Dore into the Bay, when hee had wandred some five weekes about it.

And in the meane time was the Ship *de Vos* (or *Fox* in English) laden with foure hundred Chests of Sugar, besides great store of Tobacco, and Hydes, and being sent thence, the Shipper of it, namely, the valourous *Claes Gerritsson Vos*, arriued the five and twentieth of August, with the same in the Vnited Provinces, and brought this good tydings to his Countrey-men.

Euen before the departure of this Shipper, there arriued yet in the Bay afore mentioned, a small Ship that came with the *Promedidor*, (or *Providor*) of the *Iesuites*, with a great summe of money that was gathered for them that are of his Order; and hee being seized vpon, the money was presently made prize. On the Castles which the Enemie forsooke, were left five and fortie Pieces of Brasse. There was also presently order giuen for the demolishing of the Castle that was seated neere the Sea, and for the fortification of the Towne. The goods which are taken and the remainder of the Prizes, are to bee brought into the *Lion-Countries* with other Ships.

As soone as this tyding came into the *Vnited Provinces*, there were on a sodaine many Souldiers leauied to goe to the Bay afore mentioned, with a Fleet that lay readie for the same purpose, seeing that there are yet many other places to bee taken, besides rich Booties and Prizes.

There is also *News* of great preparations in Spaine to recouer this losse, as also, of another famous Act of the Hollanders commanded by *L'Hermit*, which are said to haue taken *Lirma* the chiefe Citie in Peru, and other places on the Peruan Coast: the old Enemy of the Spaniard, viz. the people of Chili being ioynd with the Dutch. If this bee true, it is likely to proue a Costly warre to the Spaniard, and Honourable to the Dutch. For as the Spanish Treasure hath long kept Europe in action, so Peru is their chiefe Mine, and Chili their most preuayling American Enemy, which hath not onely not lost, but gotten of them now above fiftie yeares together, not Cities and Forts alone, but *Martall skill, Armes, and Horses*, not fearing man to man to dare and entertaine the proudest. Besides, Chili it selfe is the richest Countrey for Gold, knowne in America.

The end of the tenth Booke.

FINIS.



AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE OF THE PRIN- CIPALL THINGS CONTAI- NED IN THE FIVE BOOKES

of the second Part of PVRCHAS.

his Pilgrims.

A



A Bassia, described, 1181. 1182. 1184
The Merchandise and trade of Abas-
sia, 1188. The A-
bassine Emperour,
1187. The Map of Abassia,
1026
Abassine Ambassadour, 1027. The
Abassines alwayes stand on their
feet in the Church, 1031. 1033.
The Customes and Rues of the
Abassines in their Denotions,
1032. 1433. Nineteene thou-
sand Abassines led away captives,
1100. A Letter of a lesuites
touching the Abassines blinde
zeale and errors, 1175. 1176.
Abassine Monasteries, Monkes,
Nunnes and their grosse errors
about the Sabboath and Meats,
1177. Description of the Coun-
tries, and the severall Regions,
Religions, and Abassine opinions,
1181, 1182. & seq. The Abas-
sines fashions in apparell, haire,
nailes, clothes, houses, deuotions,
warres, &c. 1184
Abexines Customes, 1129. They
are naturally ceremonious men, &
full of points of Honour, ibid.
They are nimble on horsebacke;
but lying people and much giuen
to rapine, 1130
Abrahams house, 1446
Abraham King of Maroco,

his casting himselfe and his
Queene on horsebacke downe
headlong from a Rocke, where-
by they were miserably murthe-
red, 775
Abraham pius, his pia fraus,
1446
Absolons Pillar, 1322
Absolons Tombe, 1633
Abstinence from Fish without fins,
1184. Other kindes of Absti-
nence, ibid.
Abu Sahid King of Fez and his
sixe Sons slaine all in one night,
806
Abuchemmeu King of Tremi-
zen, restored to his Kingdome
by the Emperour Charles the
Fifth, 811
Acallaihe Port described, 1146
Aceldama or the Field of Bloud,
the situation thereof, 1321
Addad a bitter Hearbe, and the
Roote so venomous, that one
drop of the water distilled there-
out, will kill a man within the
space of an houre, 850
Adders of a marnellous bignesse,
1002. They are roasted and
eaten by the Pagan Negroes,
and more esteemed by them
then Hens or any such delicate
flesh, ibid.
Alea Kindome, 1110
Adel the King thereof a mortalle
nemy to Prete Ianni, and there-
fore esteemed a Saint, 1099. The
The description of the Kingdome

of Adel, 1110
Aden Mountayne the situation
thereof, 1123
Adimmain, a Beast shaped like a
Ramme, of the stature of an
Asse, with long Eares; used by
the Libyans instead of Kine;
they make of their Milke
great store of Cheese and But-
ter, 846
Adoration to an exhalation suppo-
sed a Saint; and to a Saint as to
God, 1527
Adriatike-Sea-Observations, 1835
Adultery how severely punished by
the Turkes, 1297. By Indians,
1478
Aegean Sea described, 1277
Egypt the description and Mappa
thereof, 817. 831
Egypt foure hundred and fiftie
miles long, 832. The diuision of
Egypt, and the ancient Pedi-
gree and Originall of the Eryp-
tians, ibid. The qualitie and
temperature of the Aire, as al-
so the Diseases most rise in E-
gypt, 833. Plenty and scarcety
in Egypt knowne by Nilus
flowing, 838. 897. The fertili-
ty and Commodities of Egypt in
generall, 896. The Commodities
of Egypt in particular are Sn-
gar, Flaxe, Rice, all manner of
Graine, Linnen Cloth, Hides,
Salt, Buttargo, and Cassia, 896
897
Egyptians excellent in Physick, 906
Egyptian

THE TABLE.

<i>Egyptian Embalming of dead Corpſes</i> , 911. <i>It ſeldome raiſeth in Egypt, but only in Alexandria and the raines which there fall are unwholeſome</i> , 988.	<i>changes of State and Religion in Ethiopia</i> , 1174. 1175. & ſeq. <i>Patriarches of Ethiopia</i> , 1174	<i>Aicha a Lake in the Kingdome of Angote, which is eight miles long, & three miles broad</i> , 1067
<i>Arabique Egyptians</i> , 1137	<i>Ethiopian Cinill Combustions</i> , 1185	<i>Aladeules his Paradise</i> , 1423
<i>Fruitfull and barren parts of Egypt</i> , 1139	<i>Ethiopians Devotions</i> , 1184	<i>Alarabes</i> , 1141
<i>Egyptian boyles</i> , 1213. <i>Tribute paid by the Egyptians, to the King of Ierufalem</i> , 1214	<i>Ex, A little Rockie Iland ſacred unto Neptune, upon which none could ſleepe for being diſturbed with Apparitions</i> , 1279	<i>Alcan a certaine Tree ſo called by the Arabs; the leanes whereof being dried & reduced into powder, doe dye a reddiſh yellow</i> , 913. <i>Diſcusses other uſes, thereof</i> , <i>ibid.</i>
<i>Egyptian Date-trees</i> , 1618	<i>Africa, why ſo called</i> , 749. <i>The borders thereof</i> , <i>ibid.</i> <i>The diuiſion thereof into foure parts</i> , <i>Barbarie, Numidia, Libya, and the Land of the Negroes</i> , 750. <i>The agreement or varietie of the African Language</i> , 752	<i>Alchair, vid. Cairo.</i>
<i>Ethiopia</i> , 750. <i>A paſſage from Europe to Ethiopia through the Kingdome of Tremizen</i> , 812. <i>No Snow nor Ice in Ethiopia</i> , 988. 1117. <i>The Great Chriſtian Emperour of Ethiopia</i> , 1026. <i>The Noblemen of Ethiopia their dyet</i> , 1063. <i>Chriſtian Churches in Ethiopia</i> , 1060. 1061. 1062. <i>Pepper is the beſt Merchandiſe in Ethiopia</i> , 1072	<i>The Tribes, Caſts or Kindreds, inhabiting the African Deſarts</i> , 755. <i>The Manners and Cuſtomes of the African people</i> , 757	<i>Alchymills</i> , 799.800
<i>Ethiopian Cuſtomes</i> , 1073. <i>The olde Cuſtome of Ethiopia not to ſuffer ſtrangers to depart</i> , <i>ibid.</i> <i>Policy of State in Ethiopia</i> , 1072. <i>The Connerſion of Ethiopia</i> , 1080. <i>The moſt part of Ethiopia conuerſed by force of Armes</i> , <i>ibid.</i> <i>Craggie and Rockie paſſages and fearefull downefalls in Ethiopia</i> , 1083. <i>Religious Rites of the Ethiopians</i> , 1085. <i>Strange Abſtinences in Ethiopia</i> , 1094. 1095. & ſeq. <i>No walled Caſtles nor Cities in Ethiopia</i> , 1109. <i>Small ſtore of Wine in Ethiopia</i> , 1117. <i>Other Commodities there</i> , <i>ibid.</i> <i>Their ordinary manner of Juſtice, manner of feeding, principall Feaſts, &c.</i> 1117. 1118. <i>The Letters of Dauid the mighty Emperour of Ethiopia, unto Emanuel King of Portugall, written in the yeere 1521. As alſo to King Iohn and Pope Clement</i> , 1119. 1120. 1121. <i>Relations of Ethiopia ſub Egypto, & Preſter Iohn: the cauſe and meanes of the decay of that Great Empire, neuer ſince recovered</i> , 1127. 1128 & ſeq.	<i>The povertie and Famine in ſome parts of Africa</i> , 760. <i>The Faith and Religion of the Ancient Africans or Moores</i> , 761. <i>The vnpleaſant and Snowie places in Africa</i> , 762	<i>Alcocer Port & Towne deſcribed</i> , 1139. <i>It is a very faire Nooke</i> 129. <i>leagues from Suaquen</i> , <i>ibid.</i> <i>It ſeldome raines there, & is the moſt barren & miſerable place in the World; the maner of the buildings & houſes</i> 1139. 1140. <i>New Alcocer</i> 26. degrees & a quarter, 1139
<i>Ethiopia produceth many Mines of Gold</i> , 1127. <i>Ilands Hauens, and Ports of note in Ethiopia ſub Egypto</i> , 1133. 1134. <i>The Embaſſage which the Patriarch Don Iohn Bermudez brought from the Emperour of Ethiopia to the King of Portugall</i> , 1149. & ſeq. <i>Late</i>	<i>African yeares and the ſeaſons of the yeare</i> , 764. 765. <i>The Diſeaſes the Africans are moſt ſubieſt unto</i> , 765. <i>The commendable actions and vertues of the Africans</i> , 766. <i>The vices they are ſubieſt unto</i> , 767. <i>No Electiue Princes in Airica choſen by the people</i> , 801	<i>Alcoran learned by heart</i> , 795
	<i>African Beaſts how they differ from the Eroupean</i> , 844. <i>The Dominions & Fortreſſes which the King of Spaine hath upon the Iles & mayne lands, of Africa</i> , 873. 874 & ſeq. <i>African Chriſtianity</i> , 1561. 1562. 1563. & ſeq.	<i>Aleppo the ſituation thereof</i> , 1411. <i>An extraordinary Star or Comet ſeene there</i> , <i>ibid.</i> <i>English Conſuls at Aleppo</i> , 1386. 1411. 1412. <i>An Order how to provide to goe ouer the Deſert from Babylon to Aleppo</i> , 1720. <i>The Iourney betwix Aleppo and Bagder</i> , 1721
	<i>Agagi certaine people moſt dreadfull & Deniliſh</i> , 1025	<i>Alexanders Pillars, & Sepulchre</i> , 834
	<i>Agai, or the white Chriſtians</i> , 1187	<i>Alexandria a great City in Egypt founded by Alexander the Great, a deſcription thereof</i> , 833. 1330. 1615. <i>The ancient traffique of the English unto Alexandria</i> , 834. <i>Alexandria ſurpriſed and ſacked by the King of Cyprus</i> , 834. <i>The unſafe protection of the Harbour of Alexandria</i> , 896. <i>The preſent ſtate of Alexandria</i> , 900. 901. <i>Their Rites and Ceremonies</i> , <i>ibid.</i> <i>Antiquities at Alexandria</i> , 1461
	<i>Agathon Iland</i> , 1136	<i>Algar a Towne in the Kingdome of Telenſio, the deſcription thereof</i> , 813. <i>It is become tributarie to the King of Spaine</i> , 814
	<i>Agmet a Towne almoſt comparable with the City of Maroco</i> , 777. <i>The deſolation thereof</i> , <i>ibid.</i>	<i>Algere the Neſt of Sea-hornets, or Caga of Pirats</i> , 756. 814. <i>A Denne of all Fugitiues and Reprobates</i> , 873. <i>The deſcription of the City of Algere</i> , 874. 875. & ſeq. <i>The miſerable life of the Chriſtians in Algier</i> , 875. <i>A Fleet of ſhips ſent out by the King of England, aſwell againſt the Pirats of Algier as others, the whole body of the Fleet conſiſting of eightene ſayle, vnder the command of Sir Robert Maniell Knight, Viceadmirall of England, and Admirall of that Fleet</i> , 881.
	<i>Agua or Agaoa, a Kingdome neere Nilus, inhabited with Moores & Gentiles mingled together</i> , 1170	
	<i>The bounds thereof</i> , 1171	
	<i>Agra a great City in the Eaſt Indies deſcribed</i> , 1733	
	<i>Agria, the ſiege and taking thereof by the Turkes</i> , 1357. <i>Letters from Agria</i> , 1358	
	<i>Ague a ſpeciall medicine for it</i> , 1020	
	<i>Aharonites Priests of Samaritane Law</i> , 1444	

THE TABLE.

881. 882. & seq. <i>A Relation of the Iacob, a ship of Bristoll taken by the Pirats of Algier: & within five dayes after, foure English youths valiantly overcoming thirteene of the said Turkes, and bringing the said ship to Saint Lucas in Spaine, where they sold nine of the Turkes for Galley-slaves, 887. 888. A Bristow ship wonderfully recovered from the Pirats of Algier, 889.</i>	Ambitious persons, 967	ney, 1059
Algier buildings, scite, compasse, numbers of people and Houses, Slaves, Inhabitants, Encrease, government, Jewes, Apparell, Rites, Women, Sinnes, Speech, Death, Buriall, Riches, &c. 1562. 1563. 1564. Hel-tragedies really acted on Algier Stage by Men-denill Turkes, 1565. Algier is Hels Epitome, Miseries Ocean, Christians Whirle-pool, Tortures Center, Hell upon earth, 1566. 1567	Ambiziamatare, or the fish of the Rocks, 990	Anna a Towne in Arabia, 1437
Alicunde Tree described, 985	Amboina and the Rarities thereof, 1682. The Dutch late proceedings at Amboina, in cruell torturing and executing diuers Englishmen, 1853	Ananas a delicate and pleasant fruit abundant in Guinea described, 957. Three sorts, and diuers names thereof, ibid.
All Saints Bay, 927	America the first Discoveries thereof, 1676	Ants or Pismires very great and hurtfull, 1771
Alleagance used by the subiects of the King of Tunis, 820	Anacheta a great River of Ethiopia, wherein is store of great and goodly fish, 1069	Antehils of huge bignesse, 1570
Allume Hills, 1686	Ananas one of the best fruites and best of taste in all India, 1775	Ante a kind of Beast, 1029
Almes, 905. 909	Ancona River, 1059	Antelope killed bigger then any Winsen Stag, 923
Altar-stones carried up and downe by Priests, 1081	Andemaon certaine Ilands where they cate one another, 1710	Antichrist to whom the name most due, 1270
Alvarez a Portugall Priest his Voyage made unto the Court of Prete Ianni, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia, 1026. 1027. & seq. His baptising of an Ethiopian child, 1081	Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex his strange Adventures, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola, who lived there, and in the adjoining Regions, more eightene yeeres, 970. 971. & seq. His trading on the Coasts, offer to escape, imprisonment, exile, escape and new imprisonment; his sending to Elambo, and Bahia Das Vaccas; many strange Occurrents, 971. 972. 973. His returne to the Portugals: inuasions of diuers countries, abuse, flight from them, & living in the Woods diuers moneths; his coming to Loango, 978. 979	Antimonie a Minerall so called the description thereof, 849. Where plentifull, 850
Amar a Kingdome of the Moores very great where through the Merchants of Cairo doe passe to goe to Guinea, to seeke Gold, 1171	Anfa a famous Citie in the Province of Temesne, the description thereof, 782. The desolation thereof by the Portugals, 783	Antiochia chiefe City of Syria, besieged, 1194. Miserable famine ensuing, 1195
Amara Mountaine the description thereof, 1065	Angad Desert, a description thereof, 811	Antiochia City entred and taken, 1196. The Castle of Antiochia yeilded, 1198. The description of Antiochia, 1198. 1199. Threescore and five Kings haue ruled in Antioch; three hundred and sixtie Churches in her Territorie; an hundred and three Bishops under the Patriarch, environed with many stately Hills, &c. 1198. Cruell slaughter in Antioch, 1199. 1200
Amara Kingdome described, 1067. 1068. In Amara are Mines of Copper, Tinne, and Lead, and certaine Churches cut out of the Rocks which they say Angels did make, 1171	Angels; certaine people that faine themselves to haue continuall conference with them, 799. The place of Angels Apparition to the Shepheards bringing the glad tidings of our saluation, 1320	Antiochians sinne and punishment, 1209
Amazons, 1022. Warlike Amazones, 1025. 1111	Angola a Kingdome in Africa lying under the Equinoctiall Line, 971. Provinces of Angola, 981. Strange Monsters in Angola, 982. The warres betwixt Congo and Angola, 994. The King of Angola freeeth himselfe from subiection to the King of Congo since Congo receiued the faith, 995. The Commodities, Religion, and Language of the people of Angola, 998	Antiochia the great built by Antiochus in the Valley of Iabog, 1443
Amber choice, and excellent, plentifull and cheape, 772. 836. Whereof it is made, ibid. Great store of Amber is found upon the Coast of Sofala, 1022. And in the Kingdome of Gorague, 1167. How and where found, 1743	Angote Kingdome described, 1057. 1182. The chiefe Towne thereof called Angotina, ibid. In all the Kingdome of Angote, Graine and Sale runne currant for Money, 1059	Ants like field Mice, 956
Ambergrice how growing, & where found, 1546		Apes the diuers kindes, and where found, 847. Their flesh eaten for victuals, 966. Squadrons of Apes 1037. Great bayrie Apes, 1069

THE TABLE.

Arabia described 1496. 1497. & seq.	principall commoditie is raw silke of all sorts, 1428. 1429	of Nilus, a description thereof, 843
Arabia why so called, 1499	Araxis River described, 1427. It springeth out of the Hill Taurus, 1426	Azores first inhabited, 1674
Arabians their inhabiting the City of Africa, 752. The Arabian language corrupted, ibid. the paucitie of people in Arabia Deserta, 753. Arabians out of Deserts are like fishes without water; a Proverbe, 754.	Arcadia a suruay thereof, 1837	Azzel a towne in the Kingdome of Angote described, 1067
Arabians which inhabit Africa diuided into three parts, 754. The Arabian Tribes or Kindreds which inhabit the African Deserts, 755. They are warlike and valiant, 756. 759. The Arabians called Cactin and Hilel descended from Ismael the base sonne of Abraham: the Arabians called Machil, descended of Saba, 757. The manners and customes of the Arabians which inhabit Affrica, 759. They are very witty & conceited in penning of Poems and Verses, 759. They offer themselves slanes to any that would relieve their extreme hunger, ibid. The Arabians in the Deserts neere Egypt, their pouertie, want of Corne, cruell Famine, pawning their Sonnes vnto the Silicians for Corne, 760. The vertues of the Arabians, 767. An Arabian Grammar written by Iohn Leo, 797. A Booke written by Leo of the lines of the Arabian Philosophers, 800. The Arabians of Barca most cruell and bloody theenes, 822	Archers very nimble, 992. Women Archers, 1022. 1424	B
Arabian Horses, 845. 913	Arctamar Lake, 1426	B Aba Bassa, or the New Land, 1069
Arabian ships, 913. Wilde Arabs, 914	Ardouill Citie the first place that received the Persian Superstition, 1431	Baboones their nature, & where found, 847. 923. 1575.
Arabia petrea, 914. 1348	Arequea Harbor, twenty two leagues from Suaquen; the description thereof, 1133	Baboones dancing Schoole, 1576
Arabique Egyptians, 1137. Stonie Arabia, 1140. Stony Arabia how diuided from Arabia foelix, 1141	Arias Diz or Diaz made a general of the Portugals against the Moors, 1159. His treachery, 1162. 1163	Babylon City by whom built, the present state thereof &c. 912
Aborisci King of the Arabs visited, 1387	Armenians, 905. Their manners, they are a populous Nation governed by two Patriarkes, they haue amongst them the Christian faith, but their Religion is spotted with many absurdities, 1424. 1425 Their Sect and Originall thereof, 1271. Their Church Rues, 1416	Babylonian Ambassage, 1196. The ruines of Babylon, 1387. New Babylon, 1435. Old Babylon described, 1437. 1452. 1723
Arabia called Eliman, 1450. Zambai a Prince of great power in the Countrey of Arabia, 1484	Armie of infinite bignesse, 1356	Bachouens a very delicate and pleasant fruit described, 957
Arabian high-ways, 1497	Arnulphus chosen Patriarch of Ierusalem, 1200	Bachu a very ancient Hauen towne commodious for ships to harbour in; neere it is a wonderfull Fountayne under ground, out of which springeth Oyle, 1431
Arabian Cities, 1497. 1498	Arroe River, 1022	Bagdet sacked by the Tartar, 798
Arabians dwelling in India, 1765	Arrowes of strange fashion, 992	Badois a peruerse people and void of all goodnesse, 1140. A description of the Land of Badois, and of their Customes and life, 1146. They haue no King, but are wild or savage, ibid.
Aramata Promontory, 1127	Arloth, which the Ancients call Antipatrida, 1206	Bagamidri a great Kingdome six hundred miles long, 1112
Aras the most chiefe and opulent Citie in the trade of Merchandise that is in all Seruania, 1429. The Commodities there growing, and thither brought, are rough and smooth galls, Cotton-wooll, Al-lome, Spices, Drugs, Diamonds, Rubies and other stones brought out of the East Indies: but the	Arzilla or Azella a great & famous City in Africa, the description thereof, 805	Bagdat a City neere the River Tygris, very abundantly furnished with all kind of prouision, both of Corne, Flesh, Fowle, Fish, Venison, besides great store of Fruit, especially Dates, 1435. 1449
	Arzilla taken by the Portugals, 805	Baghdad a famous University, 1500
	Ascalon described, 1309	Diners English at Bagdat, 1644
	Asna a Citie of Egypt described, 843	Baharem Island, where the excellent Pearles are gotten, 1413
	Asses playing prettie pranks, like vnto Bankes his Horse, 836. 837. Hackney Asses, 839. Wilde Asses, 1002	Bahuto Island, 1137
	Asuan a great, ancient, and populous City built by the Egyptians vpon the River of Nilus; a description thereof, 844	Baia das Vaccas; to the South thereof a River that hath great store of Gold, 976
	Astrologie cunning Disputants therein, 764. 766	Bailur Port how situate, 1185
	Atheists, 1551	Balibela signifying a Miracle, 1062
	Athens a description or Suruay thereof, 1837	Balme-tree a description thereof; being the onely true Balme-tree in the World, 838. A plant of Balme to bee seene in Maracra transported out of Iury, in the dayes of Herod the Great, by the commandment of Antonius, at the suoe of Cleopatra, 907. Vessels full of Balsame or Balme, 1488
	Atlas Mountaynes, 750. 765. The Mountaynes of Atlas exceeding cold, and barren, 762	Balsam brought from Gilead to Cairo,
	Aua or Auua the King thereof his Rebellion, 1728. Expedition against Aua, ibid. The discipling of Aua, 1729	
	Azieth a huge great City founded by the Egyptians vpon the banke	

THE TABLE.

Cairo, thence to Mecca, 1501	cutting Justice, Ordinary Iudges, manner of Contracts, the causes and manners of Fight in Barbarie 871. Whirle-windes or Borasques of Barbarie most dangerous for Saylers, 876. Christianitie of Barbarie, 1561. 1562. 1563	rable, 1349
Balfara Customs, 1412. The way to sayle from Balfara to Ormuz, 1413	Barbarous inhumanitie, 960	Beards of two sorts, 1652. The people of Pegu weare no Beards, 1741
Bamba Coast, 972. 999	Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers under a Cloth, 1719	Beasts of Africa described, 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 913. 1046. Unclean Beasts and Fowles, 1046. Two-headed Beast, 1202. The Beasts called Ueargares or Sables, 1462. Divers wayes by which the people of Sofala take wilde Beasts, 1543
Bamba Shells, 976	Bar-nagas signifieth King of the Sea, 1041	Bedis. vid. Velles de Gamera.
Bambala Province, 974. A large description of the Province of Bamba, and the Creatures therein, 994. 999. It is the principall Province of all Congo, 999. It yeeldeth for a need foure hundred thousand men of warre, ibid.	Barnagasso, 1037. His brutish entertainment, &c. ibid. His Kingdome, Dominion, and Government, 1041. 1042. & seq. His State, 1044	Beds in Africa, 930
Banda Islands, 1682. The plenty of Nutmegs there, 1710	Barrets Acts, 1542. 1549. His invading Sofala, ibid.	Beduines their Actiuitie, Tribes, food, apparell, 1499
Bamia a great Riuer hauing many Islands, and people dwelling in them, 981	Bartons Island, 1373	Beetles adored, 911
Bannana or Indian Figges described, 957	Bartons Voyage to Constantinople, 1354	Belloos, a Nation neither Christians, Moores, nor Jewes, 1112
Banquerupt-Law in Pegu, 1718	Barua chiefe Towne of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, the situation thereof, and of their Houses wilde Beasts and Fowles, 1041. The way from Barua to Ercoco, 1013	Bels of Stone; Iron Bels, and basons used for Bels, 1031. 1059. Offering of a Bell to a Friery in a kinde of Ceremonious triumph, 1409. A huge Bell beeing of twenty Tunne weight, drawne by three thousand and five hundred men, and the manner how not being possible to bee drawne by Oxen, or Horses, ibid.
Baptisme of the Greeke Church, 900. The Abasines rites of Baptisme, 1040. The Baptised Communicate, ibid. The Baptising of an Ethiopian Childe by Alvarez a Portugal Priest, 1081	Basin Mount and Fields, 1351	Bels why forbidden to all Christians under the Mahumetans, 1501
Baptisme once a yeere, 1085. Ethiopians their manner of Baptisme, 1085. Certaine Gentiles Baptised, 1170. Negroes and Negro Kings Baptised, 1557. 1559	Basil great store thereof, 1029	Belus Riuer, 1328
Barathrum, 913	Batha an African plaine, 812	Bench where the Magi of the East that were conducted by the Starres disposed of their Presents, 1319
Barbanda a Citie founded by the Egyptians upon Nilus, a description thereof, 843	Bathes, and Bathing in Africa, 787. 835. Womens Bathes, 788. The Turkes Bathes and manner of bathing, 1298	Bengala Conquered by the Mogoll, 1670
Barbar, certaine tawny people of Africa so called, & the signification of the word, 751	Bathes made of Gold and Silver, 1448	Bengo Riuer, 978. 990
Barbara, signifying to murmur, 751	Batta one of the Provinces of Congo, the description thereof, 1005	Beniamin the sonne of Ionas, a Jew, his Peregrination written in Hebrew, translated into Latine by B. Arias Montanus; discovering both the Sate of the Iewes, and of the World, aboue foure hundred and sixtie yeeres since, 1437. 1438. & seq.
Barbarie one of the foure parts of Africa the bounds thereof, 750. It is distinguished into foure Kingdomes, to wit, Maroco, Fez, Telenfin and Tunis, ibid. The conditions and manners of the Inhabitants of Barbarie, 766. Their vile and contemptible lining, 768. The Map of Barbarie, 817	Batta the chiefe Town of all Batta, ibid. The preheminnence of the Governour of Batta, ibid.	Beniamin where growing, 1743
Barbarian Sauiages, 826	Battatas a fruit of a red colour, tasting like Earib-nuts, abundant in Guinea, 957	Benignazeuall Mount, 807
Barbarie Horses, 845. How the Kingdome of Barbarie came to Muley Hamet Xarif, the late deceased King, and the course of his Government; of his Sonnes and their behaviour: Sheeks misgovernment & Imprisonment: Hamets death, 851. 852. 853. & seq. The Policie of Barbarie, 870	Battell betwixt the Negus and Madudi, 1101. The great Battell fought betweene two great Bassaes, and Delimenthes a valiant Noble man of Persia, 1425	Benni Citie and Kingdome, 965. The Bennions their Houses, Court, Wines, Gentlemen, Fashions, Warres, Apparell, Government, Customes, Armes, Dyets, King, &c. 966. 967. 968. 969. The way to passe from Guinea to Benni, 965
The Captaines, Generals, and Commanders of Barbarie, 870. 871. 872. The manner of Ex-	Batto, Bo Johns Towne, 922	Beteuice a Citie under the Tropicke of Cancer, 1137
	Bats as bigge as Pigeons, which the Cafres kill, flea, and eat as sauiourly as Hennes, 1545	Berith besieged and taken, 1208
	Bay of Cowes, 986. A true description of the Bay Todos los Santos in Brasil, 1858	Bermudez his Voyage and Embassage brought from the Emperour of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Presbyter Iohn, to Don Iohn the third of that name King of Portugall,
	Bayrena. vid. Sirbonis.	
	Bdellius a Stone made by the wonderfull workmanship of Nature, where found, 1458	
	Beads made of Sea-horse teeth, 927	
	Beads blessed, 1154	
	Beard shauen the note of a married man, 769. Long Beards honou-	

THE TABLE.

Portugall, 1150. *A Letter of the Patriarch Don Iohn Bermudez, to the Portugall King,* 1149

Bersheba's Bath, 1318

Bethesda Poole, 1322

Bethlehem described, 1318. *Holies of Bethlehem,* 1634

Bethphage the situation thereof, 1325

Bethmariam Province, 1171. *The description and situation thereof,* 1171. 1172

Bettell a very profitable Herbe in the Indies, 1707

Bezeneger Citie sacked, 1704. *The Citie of Bezeneger twenty foure miles about, 1705. A description of the Citie, Court, Apparell, Seasons & Merchandize of Bezeneger,* 1706

Bigamie forbidden by the Greeke Church, 1305

Birds that will tell Fortunes, and performe other strange feats, 837

Birds batched after a strange manner in Egypt, 839. *Little Birds flying into the Crocodiles mouth to picke wormes from betweene their teeth,* 848. *Speaking Birds,* 906

Birds in Guinea called Birds of their God, like unto Eagles, beaded like Turkie-cocks, which they dare not hurt: they stinke very farre off, 956. *Other Birds of strange formes,* ibid.

Birds superstitiously respected, 967

Birds of Musicke, and strange Sea-birds, 1003

Birds of great beautie, of great force, of great wit, of great providence, Birds which neuer tread on the ground, 1545. 1546

Birds that haue no legges, but two strings by which they hang with their head downwards, resembling a dead leafe hanging on the Tree, and are directly of that colour, 1576. *A Bird with foure wings,* ibid. *The reuined Bird,* 1693

Bishops in Persia, 905

Bishopricks founded in the Kingdome of Congo, 1014

Bishop of Elies pride, pompe, Excesse, 1220

Bitumen fetcht from the Lake of Asphaltites in Iurie, and the vse thereof, 911

Black colour or Complexion whence proceeding, 913

Blacke Sea, 1287. *A description of the Disabachi or Blacke Sea,* 1367. 1650. *The way to the*

Blacke Sea up the River Danubius, 1420. *Sea Blacke as Inke, the water not,* 1650

Blessing with Crossing, 1032

Blessed Virgins house, 1329

Bloudie Decrees, 867

Bloud-stone Trade, 1573

Boat made with a Knife, 979

Boates made of Palm-trees, and after a strange fashion, 990. *Dwelling in Boates,* 1737

Bolac, the Port Towne to Cairo, 903

Bona. vid. Hippo. Port of Bona, 876

Bongo Province described, and how situate, 981

Booke fathred upon all the Apostles, 1079

Bookes of holy Scripture which are had among the Ethiopians, 1082. *A Booke called The Adultery of the Frankes, that is, of the Westerne Church,* 1175

Borno Kingdome the description thereof, 830

Bosiri an ancient Citie built by the Egyptians upon the Mediterranean Sea, standing twenty miles Westward from Alexandria, the description thereof, 833

Bosphorus described, 1287

Bottanter a great Northern Countrey, 1736

Bowes of strange fashion, 992

Boyes trained up in the Wars, 977

Bramas certaine African people so called lining under the Equinoctiall line towards the East, &c. 1004

Bramenes, which are the Ministers of the Pagods, and Indian Idols, their manner of life, 1762. 1768

Brasill great store, and the price thereof, 1414

Bread made of Mill and Pavicke, 758. *A people that eat no Bread, but feed onely upon Flesh and Milke,* ibid. *A kind of Bread fryed & tempered with Honey,* 793

Bread eaten by certaine people but onely upon festiuall dayes, 823

Bread of Iniamus, 957

Bread made of Palme, 1008

Brebers the Mountainers of Barbarie softiled, 853

Breidenbachs Journey to Ierusalem and the Holy places of Palestina, and thence to Sinai, 1379

Bresch a Towne in the Kingdome of Telensin; the description thereof, 813

Bridges in Africa, 808. *A wonderfull strange Bridge,* 809

Brokers in Pegu, 1717

Brothers mortall quarrels for a Crowne, Scepter, and Kingdome, 861

Browne his Indian voyages sayling diuers times and courses in fiao yeeres space to Bantam, Patania, Iapan, the Manillas, Macan, and the Coast of China, with other Indian Ports, 1850. 1851

Buamund taken, 1205. *A second army raised,* 1207

Buenos Aieres a Towne on the River of Plate, 971

Buffes certaine wilde Beasts of Africa described, 1002. *Great store of them,* 1168. 1169

Bugana a very cold Countrey, the description thereof, 1059

Bugia a Kingdome of Africa, the description thereof, 815. 816. & seq. *A description of the great Citie of Bugia, and the surprisall thereof by Pedro de Nauarra,* 815

Buildings of Constantinople, 1284. 1285

Bulgarians, 1354

Bullamatate carried out of his grane by Demils, 1015

Bals drawing Coches, 1733

Bulwarke of moderne worke very mighty, 1145

Barle very famous, 836

Butcherie of Barbarians, 866

Butcherly Rites of the Gagas, 977

Buttargo plentifull, 896

Butter used for Oyle, 1031

C

Abalists, 796. 797. 799. *The Art Cabala greatly admired, 797. The Art diuided into eight parts,* 799

Cabambe hills producing infinite store of Silver, 997

Cabota his great discoveries, 1677

Cachin the chiefest Tribe of the Arabians, 754

Cacongo a kind of sweet wood much esteemed by the Portugals, 973

Cacongo a Fish shaped after the likenesse of a Salmon, 991

Cadilechiers Dignitie among the Turkes, 1294

Caesar Fredericke his eightene yeeres Indian obseruations, 1703. 1703. & seq.

Cafates a Nation very blacke, and of great stature, supposed to be of Iewish Originall, 1111

Cafres their Rites and Customs, their mad titles, Musick, Outbes, Gallantry, attire, trades, riches, Hunting,

THE TABLE.

Hunting, Brewing, Dining, Lu- stice, Marriages, Childbirths, Funerals, and Lamentations, 1539. 1540. 1541. 1766. White Catres, 1542	the Island of Socotora, 1123	Carobs a fruit like unto Cassia Fir- stula, used in some parts of Atri- ca for food, 811
Catres charity, their numerous issue, and strange Nurses, ibid.	Cambria the description there- of, 1368	Carthage the building, description, and ruines thereof, 818
Caiphas Palace, in which our Savi- our was buffeted, spit upon, and despitefully reviled, 1321	Camelions described, 848. 904. They are observed to eat Flies, ibid. Their changing colour, ibid. The manner how the Camelion killeth the Serpent, 849 904	Cartwright his Voyage from Alep- po to Hispania, and his Obserua- tions in the same, 1422. 1423. - & seq.
Cairo or Cairaoan a famous Citie in Africa built by Gehoar, first cal- led Alchair, 752. 753. 835. 1615 818. The siege, and destruction thereof, 753. 754. Other relati- ons concerning the Citie of Cairaoan, 820. 821. The Plague there so hot sometimes that there dye twelve thousand persons thereof in a day, 833. The Citie of Cairo her stately Temples, Palaces, and Colledges, 835. The Customs, rites, and fashions of the Citizens of Cairo, 839. Religion of Cairo, 840. 905. The description of Cai- ro, 903. Feasts and fasts in Cai- ro, 905. The Citie Cairo inhabi- ted by Moores, Turkes, Negroes, Iewes, Copties, Greekes, and Armenians, ibid.	Camelions eaten, 954 Camelopardalis a huge wilde Beast 1183 Camels of diuers sorts, and aboun- dance, 754. 757 Camels used for victuals, 758. 823. The description of the African Camels, 844. Three kinds of Ca- mels, 845. Their wonderfull swiftnesse, great abstinence from drinke, their learning to dance, &c. 845. 906. The Camell a Creature content with little, 914 Camphora is a precious thing a- mong the Indians, and is sold dea- rer then Gold: the manner how it groweth and where found, 1743	Casana described, 913 Catalmach a great River running into the Blacke Sea, 1419 Casansa Lake described, 979 Casan or Cassan, a principall Citie in Parthia, very famous and rich; the description thereof, 1432 Catena Kingdome a description thereof, 829 Cashill a great Towne in the Gagas or Giagas Country described, 975 Cassius, a Mountaine famous for the Temple of Iupiter, and Sepul- chre of Pompey, 913 Cassia the manner how it groweth, and where found, 850. 896. 904. 1156
Cairo how farre distant from To- ro, 1141	Canaries, 986. 1506. 1507. The first discoverie of the Canaries by the Christians, 1672. The Ca- narie Islands sold over to a Spa- niard, 1673. The description of the Canaries, ancient manners of the Canarians, and Commodities of the Canaries, 1673. 1674. 1764. 1765	Castle which Daniel the Prophet is said to haue builded, 1429 Cataduoa of Nilus, whereof Tully maketh mention in the Dreame of Scipio, what it is, and how wor- thy to be knowne, 1170
Cairo at this day called Mecara, 1143	Candie a description thereof in old English Rime, 1238. The Map of Candie, 1384. The Duke of Candie vnder the State of Ve- nice, 1385. The Citie of Candia 1411. A description of Candie by William Lisleghoe, 1837	Cats worshipped in Egypt, 911 Cats highly esteemed, 954 Cattle bought for blew Glasse beads of an inch long, 973 Cattle how kept from wilde Beasts in the Night, 1042
Cairo about fifteene leagues from Soez, 1144	Cana a Citie built by the Egyptians vpon the banke of Nilus, a de- scription thereof, 843	Cauē that continually casteth vp fire 807. Another strange Cauē and the wonders thereof, 809. 810. A Cauē built for the reliefe of Tra- uellers containing a Quadrangle within, and Arched underneath very stately, 902
Califa of Cairo his State and Origi- nall, 1214	Cango Prouince described, 981. It hath great store of Copper, ibid.	Cauē hauing within them great and stately Churches, 1059. 1060
Cairo besieged, 1214. 1215	Cano Prouince the situation there- of, 829	Cauē dwellers certaine people so cal- led, 1097
Cairo a Stoffe that they make Ropes of, the which is the barke of a Tree; great store thereof where to be found, 1702	Capua a goodly Citie, built by King Capis, 1439	Cauē for Treasuries, 1109
Caius an Indian fruit or Drug de- scribed, 1775	Cape Verde described, 927	Cauē in which is said, that Ioseph hid our Saviour and his Mother, whilst hee prepared things neces- sary for his Iourney, 1320
Cakes used in the Sacrament by the Abassines, their fashion, and the manner of making them, 1032. 1033	Cape de Tres Puntas, 946	Cauē which is said to haue hidden sixe of the Apostles in the time of Christs Passion, 1322
Calfe all whole baked and laid in Paste, excellently dressed and sea- soned with Spices and fruits put in the belly thereof, 1072	Cape de las Palmas discovered: the people very treacherous, 970	Cauire, the manner of making it, 1420
Califa's place at Bagdat, 1450. His Feast, Sermon, retirednesse, Hospi- tals, 1451	Capers trees, the leanes thereof ea- ten by the Moores: they say that they be appropriated to the ioynts, 1135	Cauterizing, the onely Physicke used in some parts of Africa, 769
Callipoly a Citie of Chersonesus described, 1281	Capers as bigge as Egges, 1279	Caxumo the Citie of the Queene of Saba, which brought Presents vn- to Salomon, 1050
Calongo Prouince described, and how situate, 981	Caps of Reeds, Rushes, Straw, Dogs and Goats skins, 933	Cedars
Calonus Gulfe, 1279	Cardamomum the vse thereof and where found, 1783	
Camaran Island, 1073	Carege Island described, 1413	
Cambolis a kind of Cloath so called whereof great quantity is made in		

THE TABLE.

Cedars Juice and the use thereof, 911	Chingema Island, 1544	1561. 1562. 1563. & seq.
Cedars plentiful in Salomons time, but now very rare, 1335	Chison Torrent, 1328	Christianitie in China and Japan, 1697. 1698. Mungrall Christians, 1761
Cedar described, 1500	Chiulfall a famous Towne of Armenia, inhabited by Christians, the description thereof, 1427	Church builded by Saint Augustine, 877
Cedars of Libanus, 1636	Cholericke and quarrelsome people, 767	Church standing in the place where Saint Marke was buried, 910.
Cedron Torrent which runneth no longer then fedde with showers, loosing his intermitted streames in the Lake of Asphaltis, 1322	Chrisme disallowed by the Abalines, 1040	The Church of Saint Sauours in Congo, 1011. Two great Churches one for Men & one for Women, 1042. Great reverence vsed to Churches, 1043
Cell of Pelagia, 1326	Christ Crucified twixt two Theeues 1271. The place of anointing Christs body in Ierusalem, and the places of his Passion, Nailing, and Sepulcher, 1312. 1313.	Churches named by the Altar-stone 1050. The ancientest Church of Ethiopia, 1052. A Church of our Lady digged out of a Rocke, 1054. Saint Sauours a stately Church in the Countrey of Abugana hewen out of a Rocke, 1061. Another double Church hewen out of a Rocke, ibid. The stately buildings of the Churches which are in the Countreies of Abugana, which King Lulibella made, and his Tombe in the Church of Gologota, 1061. 1062. & seq. Four thousand Canons in eight Churches, 1064. Moneable Churches 1081. Saint Georges Church in Ethiopia described, and the riches thereof, 1083. The famous Ethiopian Church of Machan Celacem, which signifieth The Trinitie, 1084. The Custome of offering Churches, 1085
Censors, and Censing, 1031. 1032	Christ Crucified twixt two Theeues 1271. The place of anointing Christs body in Ierusalem, and the places of his Passion, Nailing, and Sepulcher, 1312. 1313.	Churches cut out of the hard Rocke, which it is said Angels did make, 1171. Turkish and Christian Churches in Constantinople, 1627
Centopozzi Mount a description thereof, 809	The Pillar whereto he was bound 1314. The place of his Nativitie, 1319	Church-men held in great Reuerence, 1339
Ceremonies of the Church of Alexandria, 900. Strange Ceremonies of State, 1074. 1103	Christall Glasses the manner of making them, 902. Great store of Christall Stone, 1188	Ciceroes Sepulchre, and the Epitaph thereon, 1277
Ceremonious Triumph, 1409	Christians and Christian Churches in Africa, 843. 899. 912. 986. 995. 1009. 1031. & seq.	Cinamon Trees, 1695. 1709. Wilde Cinamon in the lands of Iaua, ibid. The cutting and gathering of Cinamon, 1709
Ceremonie of breaking the Bow, 1538	Christians their happy successe against the Moores, 777	Circumcision, 769. 925. 944. 982. 993. 1040. 1084. 1184. 1293. 1573. The manner of Circumcising Children in the Kingdome of Rez, 794. Women Circumcised, 841
Cesaria besieged and taken, 1206	Christians made to abiure and renounce their Baptisme, 841	Circumcision performed with mirth Musicke, and Dancing, 925. Boyes and Maides Circumcised, 967. The Anzichians Circumcised, and marked in their faces, 993
Chaine-prison, 1105	Christians of Egypt called commonly and corruptly Costies, 899	Circumcision both of Males & Females, 1184. Rites of Circumcision, 1824. 1825
Chalices of Gold, Silver, and Brasse, 1032	Contempt of Christians, 903	Citterges
Caliphs dignitie among the Turkes, 1293	Christian Religion extolled, 1009.	
Chamblets where made, and sold, 836	Diuers Heathens become Christians, 1010. 1011. An insurrection raised by the Diuell to hinder the progresse of Christian Religion, 1010. Easterne Christians called Ghibetes: the Westerne Frankes, both in Africa and Asia, ever since the Expeditions into the Holy Land, wherein the Frankes were first and most beginning at the Councell of Claremont in France, 1073	
Chams Curse continuing still, 913	Christians detayned in Echiopia, ibid.	
Chanca a great Citie of Egypt described, 842	Christians their Warre and successe against the Turkes, 1193. 1197. 1198. & seq. 1203. A bloody Battell to the Christians, 1207. Huge slaughters of the Christians, 1215. 1217. Hurts to Christians by Holy-land warre, 1230. Diuers Sects of Christians in the East, 1270. 1271. 1272. Saint Thomas Christians, 1271	
Changelings, 892	Christians in the East, their Death and Buriall, 1505	
Chappels in Ierusalem, 1312. 1313. 1314	Christened Ethnicks, and Ethnick Christians, 1559. Relations of the Christianitie of Africa, and especially of Barbarie and Algier,	
Charmers and Inchaunters of Snakes, 800. Other kinde of Charmers, 1279		
Chatigan a Port in Bengala, whither the Portugals goe with their Ships, 1720		
Cheops King of Egypt his building of the great Pyramis, his infinite prodigalitie, and most miserable end, 908. 909		
Cheries ripe in Aprill, 764		
Chian a Citie of Egypt the description thereof, 843		
Chikinos pieces of Gold worth seven shillings sterling, 1717		
Childbirth, or the manner how the African Women bee deliuered of Childe, 930. A woman of sixtie yeeres deliuered of a Child, 1543		
Children the manner of their Education in Africa, 931		
Children buried quicke, 977		
Children borne white, and change their colour in two dayes to a perfect blacke, 980		
Children of the Sunne, 1525. A Child nursed and nourished with the milke of a mans breast a whole yeere, 1542		

THE TABLE.

Cisternes the cause of diseases, 834
 Citrons great plenty thereof, 1278
 Ciuet Cats, their nature, and where found, 847. 1002
 Ciuet plentifull, 831. The manner of gathering Ciuet, 847
 Claudius the Emperour his Commendation, 1179. Quietos disputes with Claudius, 1179
 Clergie-liberties, 1217
 Cloth where most esteemed, and the richest sale for it, 829. Blew and Red course woollen Cloth rich commodities on the Coast of Angola, 971. For one yard of such Cloth, three Elephants teeth given, that weighed one hundred and twenty pound, *ibid.*
 Cloth made of the barke of a Tree, 990
 Clones the place whence they come, and the Tree whercon they grow, 1743. 1783
 Coaches carried on mens shoulders, 1737
 Coanza River, about which are many Salt, and Silver Mines, 978
 Coblers wines in Satin Gownes, 1343
 Coca an Herbe which satisfieth hunger and thirst, 1694
 Cochin the chiefest place that the Portugals haue in the Indies, where is the great trade of Spices, Drugs, and Pepper especially, 1707
 Cochin diuided into two Cities, *ibid.* Great priuiledges that the Guizen of Cochin haue, 1708. The time for Ships to depart from Cochin, *ibid.*
 Cochonillio great store, & the price thereof, 1414
 Coco Nuts plentifull, 1643
 Coco Tree and the profits thereof: They are most plentifull in the Iles of the Maldives, 1703. 1777. 1778. 1779
 Coffa a blacke kinde of drinke made of a kinde of pulse like Pease, 1340
 Coffa-Houses, *ibid.*
 Coines of diuers sorts, 773. 827. 828. 990. Shells used for Coine, 828. 990. A Coine of Silver that troubles the Asper for value, 901. Strange Coines or monyes in Congo, 989. Clay Coine, 1025. The vsuall Coine through all the Kingdome of Prete Ianni, 1043. Salt Coine, 1055. A piece of Gold Coine called Amircus, payd yeerely by all the males aboue fifteene yeeres olde in the

Kingdome of the Ismaelites, 1455. Indian Coines, 1471. Mexico Coines, 1736. Pegu Coine, 1739
 Cola a certaine fruit as bigge as a Pineapple, which hath within it other fruits like Chest-nuts, wherein are foure severall shells or skins of redde and carnation colour; this fruit is singular good against the diseases of the Stomach and Luer, &c. 1008. 1574
 Collations of Benefices by the Pope, his prime helpe to get monyes, 1255
 Collicke a speciall remedy for it, 973. 1546
 Colledge of Maroco, the description thereof, 776. The stately Colledges of Fez, and the rich Renewes belonging therunto, 786. 787. The Colledges of Teza, 808. The Colledges of Telenin, 811. 812. The stately Colledges of Cairo, 836
 Colledges in Malta, 919
 Colocasia or the Egyptian Beane, 898
 Colossus, 910
 Columne of Constantine with the Inscription thereon, 1284
 Com Citie, once twice as bigge as Constantinople, 1431
 Combats decide Controuersies, 950
 Comol Haven, 1135. 1136. Speciall Observations concerning Comol Haven, *ibid.*
 Communion how administered among the Ethiopians, 1032. Single Comunion misliked, 1080
 Communion in both kindes, 1032. Twenty thousand Communicants at one Church in Africa at one time, 1060. Babes receiving the Communion, 1088
 Congo a Region of Africa described 986. & seq. The Journey by Sea from Lisbon to the Kingdome of Congo, & of the Ayre, Winds, Raines, & Temperature thereof, 987. 988. The circuit of the Kingdome of Congo, the borders and Confines thereof, the bordering Nations, and remarkable rarities therein, 989. 990. & seq. Warres betwixt Congo and Angola, 994. The Kingdome of Congo in the middle part thereof is distant from the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Articke 7. degrees and two thirds: so that it standeth under the Region which antient Writers thought to be uninhabitable, and called it Zona

Torrida, 987. The Northern border of Congo, 992. The Inhabitants of Congo their Manners, chandize, Circumcision, strange and beastly Customes, Apparell, and Language, 993. The Southernne Coast of Congo, 994. Christian Religion in Congo, 993. The Title or stile of the King of Congo, 999. Of Songos, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pimha, Provinces of Congo, 1003. & seq. In all the Kingdome of Congo no man hath any thing of his owne whereof he may dispose, or leane to his heyres, but all is the Kings, 1004. The situation of the royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo: Of their first Conversion & warre thence arising betwixt the Kings two Sonnes, 1006. & seq. The territorie of the chiefest Citie in all Congo containeth in compasse twenty miles about, 1006. The Map of the Kingdome of Congo, *ibid.* The King of Congo promisseth to become a Christian, 1009. He is Baptized, as also his Sonne, and many Lords, 1010. 1011. Christian Churches built in Congo, 1013. Of the Court of the King of Congo: Of the Apparell, of that people before they became Christians, and after. Of the Kings Table and manner of his Court, 1018. 1019. & seq. The Countries that are beyond the Kingdome of Congo towards the Cape of Good hope, 1021. 1022. & seq. Coniurers, Diviners, & Inglers, 796
 Consecration of the Church of Machan Celacem, 1089
 Consecration in the vulgar tongue used by the Abissines, 1032
 Constantina a famous Citie founded by the Romanes, the description thereof, 815. 816. 1441
 Constantinople described, 1282. 1283. 1284. 1285. 1286. & seq. 1287. 1288. & seq. Constantinople corruptly called Sambol, 1419. A discourse of the most notable things of the famous Citie Constantinople, both in antient and late time, 1624. 1625. & seq. The Sepulchers, Churches, Obelisks, Pillars, thousand Pillars, Seraphes, admirable Vaults, Bashes, twenty five Gates, and other remarkable things in Constantinople, 1627.
 Controuersies how decided in the Kingdome of Guinea, 950
 Copes

THE TABLE.

Copes and Vestments of the Abas- lines, 1032	Crabs whereof whosoever doth eat shall bee a while out of his wits, 1693. Huge great Crabs, 1774.	of Christall, 994
Copper Mines, 778. 973. 992	Creatures of a strange forme being as bigge as Rammes, having winges like Dragons with long tayles, and long chappes, and di- vers rewes of teeth, two feete, of colour blew and greene, feeding upon raw Flesh, &c. 1003	Cuama River described, 1022.
Corall great store, 816. Red Co- rall stone, 1148	Credulous people, who will beleue any thing that is told them, bee it an impossibilitie, 767. The su- perstitious Credulitie of Mahu- metans, 798. 867	1543. Observations concerning the River Cuama, otherwise cal- led Zambeze, and of the adia- cent Countrey, the Beasts, Fowles, Fishes of those parts, 1543. 1544. 1545. & seq.
Currants great plentie thereof, 1275	Cretan places of note, 1838	Cubagoa Island discovered and de- scribed, 1017
Corbanan the Generall of the King of Persia his huge Army, 1197	Crocodiles, 843. 847. 848. 991. 1547. 1615. The craft of the Crocodile in taking both men and beasts, 847. Little Birds flying into the Crocodiles mouth to picke wormes from betwene their teeth, 848	Cup-denotion, 1427
Corfu an Island lying in the Ionian Sea, called formerly Coreyra, a- dorned with groves of Oranges, Limons, Pomegranets, Fig. trees, Olives, Wines, abundance of Ho- ney, 1275. 1835	Crocodiles thirtie foot long, 923. Aboundance of most dangerous Crocodiles, 972	Curdies described, who are worship- pers of the Deuill, 1424. They are a most theenish people, ibid.
Corinth Citie where situate, 1277	Crocodiles described, killed, fedde, 1547	Currents very strange, 1650. Sixe moneths Currents, ibid. A ma- nifest token of the ebbing and flo- wing in some Countreys, 1719
Corisco Island so barren that no man dwelleth in it, 967	Crocodile-Purgatory, ibid. A Cro- codile stone, 1615	Curuanes Birds as big as Cranes, of excellent beantie, 1545
Cornaqua Island the description thereof, 1136	Crocodile-guard, 1727	Curzoleri Island, the description thereof, 1275
Corne the great want and scarcitie thereof in some Countreys, 758. 760. 822. 824	Crocodiles Charmed, 1749	Cuscusu a kind of meate used in the Kingdome of Fez, which being made of a lump of Dow, is set first upon the fire in certain vessels full of holes, and afterwards is tem- pered with Butter and Pottage, 793
Corne preserved an hundred yeeres without any ill savour or corrupti- on, 779. Foure strange sorts of Corne growing in Longo, 985. The Corne of Congo, 1007	Crosses painted upon mens cheekes, and the palmes of their hands, 813. Friers which will not wor- ship the Crosse, 1053	Customes strange and beastly, 993
Correction of Children most cruell, 931	Crosse-superstition, 1209	Cypresse Trees wonderfull tall and great, 1056
Coriats Travels to, and observati- ons in Constantinople, and other places in the way thither, and his Journey thence to Aleppo, Da- masco, and Ierusalem, 1811. 1812. & seq. Master Thomas Coryat Knighted, 1816. His O- ration, 1817	Crosses in the Ayre, 1224. Stories of the Crosse, 1225. The taking of the Crosse by the English, 1224. 1225. 1226. 1227. Man- ner of Preaching the Crosse, 1226	Cyprus innaded by Ranialdus de Castellione Prince of Antiochia 1213. King Richard the first, King of England his conquering of Cyprus, 1221. The Map of Cyprus, ibid. In this Island Ve- nus was greatly honoured; till a Citie therein called Paphia, built by Paphus, who dedicated it to Venus, 1334
Cottages moveable, 829	Crosses crossed by Popish extorti- on, 1228. The Pope maintaines his Kingdome by Crosses, when hee wants Crosses, 1229	D
Cotten Trees, 913. 1547. Cotton wooll growing in great quantitie, 1279. The manner how it grow- eth, and how sowed, ibid. Where the best Cotton wooll had, 1415. An excellent large Map of Cot- ton wooll, 1687	Crosse-preaching, 1266. Invention of the Crosse, 1315	D Abuh, or Iesef, a Beast in big- nesse and shape resembling a Wolfe, in legges and feete like a Man; will rake the carcases of men out of their Graves, and de- voure them, otherwise an abiect & filly creature, 847. The manner how taken, ibid.
Couche a great Province subiect to Damure lying by Nilus toward the South, and inhabited by Gen- tiles, 81. 281. 1481. 1482. 1169	Crosses and Crossings much used by the Armenians, 1425	Dahali Kingdome, 1182
Couetousnesse, 767. Cruell Coue- tousnesse, and conerous Crueltie, 1204	Crowes speckled, 956	Dallaqua Point, 1125
Coum a very great Citie, 1416	Cruelties most execrable, 865. 866. 878. 881. 1065. 1066. 1286	Dallaqua Island described, 1126. It is 25. leagues long, and twelve in breadth, ibid. The King of Dallaqua a Moore, the Metropolitan Citie called Dallaqua, ibid.
Councell of Claremont the occa- sion thereof, 1189	Crusadoes, 1224. 1225. 1226. 1227. The first instituting of Crusadoes, 1266. Long and bloudie warres by Crusadoes, 1267. Eight hundred thousand Crusadoes in Silver employed yeerely by the Portugals in Chi- na, 1741	Damascus, 1243. 1448. 1483. The pleasant situation thereof, 1347
Councell of Lateran, 1224	Christall Mountaines, 993. Vauks	Damiata Siege, & the taking there- of, 1225. 1227
Councels all reiected by the Greeke Church, since that of Ephe- sus, 900		Damure
Countries in Africa given to the English, 924		
Cowdung Jewels, 916		
Crabs lining on the Land, 956		

THE TABLE.

Danute a great Citie and Kingdome so called, bordering upon the Kingdomes of Prete Ianni, 1111. It is a Countrey reported to have great store of Gold and Christall; the King thereof is called the King of the Gentiles, 1111. 1168. The entrance to this Kingdome difficult in respect of the rough and high Rocks that are by the River Nilus, through which are made certaine passages, broken with the Pickaxe, and shut with gates, and kept with men at Armes, &c. 1168. Many Provinces subject to the Kingdome of Danute, the principall is of Christians, but some are of Gentiles, ibid. The best Commodity to carry to Danute for traffique is Iron, for which they give Gold by weight quantitie for quantitie, 1171	selfe against her Father, 1211	Diamants where found, 1742
Danute and her Provinces surpasseth Peru in Gold; and more profit in this adventure then in the East or West Indies, 1173	Dauids Cisternes, 1318. King Dauids posteritie, 1449	Diogenes Promontorie, 1133
Danao Port, 1143	Dayes and Nights in Congo have but small difference, 988	Diotcori Point, ibid.
Dancali Kingdome, 1048. The bounds thereof, and by whom inhabited, 1182	Dead Sea described, 1205. 1318. 1326	Dioscorides Island, 1122
Dancing way; a way, which a man may not passe without Dancing and leaping, vlesse hee will fall into an Ague, 810. Anticke Dancing of the Turkes, 1292	Death of Captaine Manwaring, 885. A Countrey in which none of any account dyeth, but another is killed for him, 983	Diotcorus Patriarch of Alexandria the opinion of the Abassines concerning him, 1176
Dancing Camels, Asses, and Dogs, 836. 845. 906	Dedes an high and cold Mountaine the description thereof, 780	Discoueries antient and moderne compared, 1673. 1674. As much discovered in antient time as now is, 1673
Dancing in Guinea, 959	Deliverance most miraculous of foure resolute youtnes, 887. 888	Discouery neere unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, 1675. The first Discoueries of America, 1676. The great Discouery of John Cabota and the English, 1677
Dande River, 990	Delos described, 1277. The ruines of Apollos Temple there to be scene, ibid.	Discoueries by the Spanish and Portugall in the East and West Indies, 1678. 1679. 1680
Dangali a Kingdome of the Moores 1110	Delta a triangular Land bearing the forme of that Letter, 897	Discoueries in the South Sea from America to the Philippina's, 1696
Dangers escaped by the English, 892. 893	Dembia a Kingdome of Abexines antient Christians, great and good 1170. Through it a huge Lake of Nilus, ibid.	Dispensations the first ground and reasons thereof, 1256. Popish abuse thereof, 1257
Daniels Tombe, 1455	Demensera a certaine tall and spacious Mountaine in Africa; the description thereof, 771	Diuans Dignity among the Turkes, 1294
Dantes certaine foure footed Beasts somewhat lesse then Oxen, described, 1002	Desarts and Woods in Africa, 962. 872	Diuining or Southsaying, 795. 796. 1553. 1556. Three sorts of Diuiners in Fez, 796
Dara Province of the famous River of Dara, a description thereof, 823	Desarts of Sands, 861. Dreadfull Desarts, 872. Hondius his Map of the Israelites Peregrination in the Desart, 1378. Promise for food in the Desart, 1378. 1379. Plants and habitations of Sinai Desart, 1379	Diuination and South-saying forbidden by the Law of Mahomet, 797. Ceremonies of Diuination, 892
Dara a famous Towne in the Kingdome of Xoa, 1039	Deuils conuersing with Witches, with strange passages, 796. Snake Deuils, 618	Diuination of Birds, 997
Darat Melcuna a flat Island of Sand 1147	Deuils Oracles, 925. Deuillish preservations against the Deuill, 931. Sacrifice to the Deuill, 946. Angell-Deuill, 1271. 1348. A Legend of the Diuils appearing to Isaac, and how Isaac wounded the Deuill in the forehead, 1489	Diuorcements in Africa, 929. 1039
Darts made Iauelin-fashion at both ends, 927. Other kind of Darts, 947. Poisoned Darts, 948	Deuillish Exequies, 1583	Dofarso an African Towne of one thousand Christian Households, 1057
Daruiles a kinde of Turkish Friers, 1821	Deuill-Oracle: Opinions of the Deuill, 1539	Dogon Citie described, 1726
Dates plentiful, 772. 816. 821. 898	Deuils tyrannie, 1538. Islands where Deuils familiarly conuerse with the people, 1692	Dogges feats, 906. The Dogge through Egypt universally worshipped, but especially by the Cynopolites, 911
Date-tree the strange properties thereof, 823. 898. The manner of growing, and the Kindes male and female, 898	Deuils Martyrs, 1769	Dogges eaten, and driuen to Markets like Sheepe or Hogges, 954. 966. Dumb Dogs which cannot barke at all, 982. Woodden Clappers hung about their neckes when they are Hunted, and so followed by the rattling of the clappers, ibid.
Daughter vnnaturall, opposing her-	Deuotions brutish, cruell, distracted, diabolically, 1724. 1725	Dogs deere sold, 982. 998.
	Deus vult, Deus vult, a Mislarie word used in the Expedition to Ierusalem by Christian Princes, 1190. 1193	Dogs used for burthen, 1194. The Great Turkes Dogs and manner of keeping them, 1614
	Deutroa a strange kinde of Herbe, a little whereof put into meate or drinke, makes a man as though hee were out of his wits, 1757. 1781	Dogzijn or Drusians, people of no Religion or Sect, wilde, subject to no Government, infamous through their Incests, for the Fathers marry their Daughters, 1443. Their wicked opinion concerning

THE TABLE.

cerning the soule of man after
Death, 1443
Dolorous way amongst which our Sa-
viour was ledde to his Passion,
1324
Dolphin Port, 1614
Don Duarte de Meneses the Vice-
roy, his tractate of the Portugall
Indies, containing the Lawes,
Customes, Revenues, Expenses,
and other matters remarkable
therein, 1506. & seq.
Dorpo Bay, a description there-
of, 1133
Doves darkening the Sunne, 1041.
Church-Doves, 1049. Stocke-
Doves of the Progenie of the
Dove which spake in Mahumets
care, 1489
Doves that carry Letters from A-
lexandria to Cairo, 1616
Dradate Coast described, 1132.
Mountaines of Sand neere it,
ibid.
Dragons their description, & where
found, 848. 969. African wri-
ters affirme, that the male Eagle
oftentimes ingendring with a she-
wolfe begetteth a Dragon, 849.
Fierie Dragons, 1364
Drinkes very delicate, made of all
kinds of fruits, 833. The absti-
nence of some Beasts from Drinke,
845. 848. Greedy Drinkers,
927. 936. Strange fashions of
Drinking, 936
Drinking rites, 11657
Dromedaries, 845. 914. 1642. The
wilde Arabs ride on Dromida-
ries, 914
Drugges of all sorts which are had
in the Indies, 1775. 1776. 1782.
1783
Drunkennesse punished with death,
899. 1828. The Drunkennesse
and greedinesse in some parts of
Africa, 933
Drusians, vid. Dogzijn.
Dub a Beast resembling in shape a
Lizard: It drinketh no water
at all, and if a man putte any in-
to the mouth thereof, it presently
dyeth, 848. Having bene slaine
three dayes together, and then put
to the fire, it stirreth it selfe a-
gaine, &c. ibid.
Durydens a fruit of Malacca de-
scribed, 1779
Dutch Renegades, 892
Dutch Knights and their Origin-
nall, 1269
Dutroa, vid. Dentreoa.
Dyer of the Noblemen of Echio-
pia, 1063

E

Eagles, described, 849. Strange
Narrations concerning the
Eagle, 849
Earth of divers colours, good to dye
withall, 1694
Earth of Egypt neere the River
Nilus, a pretty observation con-
cerning the weighing thereof,
897
Earth having two parts of Gold, & on
of Earth, 1169
Earth-quakes, 1208. 1215. 1448
Easter Rites observed by certaine
Monkes, 1028
Easter Ecue, and Easter Day Rites
used in Ethiopia, 1097
Easter light which used to be kindled
from Heauen at the Lords Sepul-
chre in Ierusalem, 1206
Easterne Princes, English Com-
merce formerly with them, 1271
1272. 1273. & seq.
Eating, a strange manner thereof,
1758. Greedy eaters and drinkers,
927. 936
Eden Iland the description thereof,
1435
Edessa the siege and taking thereof,
1112. Huge slaughter of Edis-
sians, ibid.
Eden Land, 1443
Eggs strangely hatched, 875. 906
Edmiticus Gulfe described, 1140
Elamph a certaine wild Beast so
called, 823
Elana, vid. Toro.
Eleanesia, certaine men in Africa so
called, who supposinge to find trea-
sure under the foundations of old
Houses, doe perpetually search and
delaie, 799
Elephants, the nature of them, and
where plenty, 844. 922. 923. 954
992. 1472. 1555. 1728. The
manner of taking Elephants in
Ethiopia & elsewhere, 844. 954
1555
Elephants flesh eaten, 922
Elephants teeth and tayles bought
very cheape, 971
Elephants flesh greatly esteemed,
981. Twenty thousand Elephants
tayles bought at a time, 983
Elephants whether they shed their
teeth, ibid. An Elephants foot
source span broad, 999. The Ele-
phant lieth an hundred & fifty
yoyes, ibid. Elephants tayles ve-
ry precious, 1000. The manner of
the Elephants feeding, his want
of knees a fable; the she Elephant,

the Elephants skin, their nature
and the manner of taking them,
1000. 1001. An Elephants
tooth of two hundred pound
weight, 1000
Elephants in great Herds, 1001
Elephants their sensitive reason,
gratitude, service, 1472. Four
white Elephants, 1714. 1738.
An excellent device to hunt and
take wild Elephants, 1714. 1738
An excellent pastime of Ele-
phants, 1715
Elephants piety or loyalty, 1729.
The king of the white Elephants,
1738
Elevation of the Host not used by
the Abassines, 1032
Elgiumuha, 780
Elias his House, 1328
Elcondye Tree described, 985. It
yeildeth refreshing for water to
thousands: one tree holds forty
tuns of water, ibid.
Elmante Iland how situate, 1134
El Mahdia, a City founded upon
the Mediterranean Sea, the de-
scription thereof, 820
Emaus the description thereof, 1239
How situate from Ierusalem,
1317
Embalming of the dead, 1459
Embassages of Pierre Ianni with
what reverence received by the
Lords of his Kingdom, 1043.
Strange Embassadors, 1542
Emerald found as big as the Palme
of a mans hand, 1690
Emers of Sidon, 1330
Empalanga certaine Beasts of Afri-
ca, in bignes and shape like Oxen,
1002
Empires ill gotten are seldome of
long continuance, 869
Emeralds where found, 843
Engeco a strange kinde of Monster,
982
Engeriy a tree that beareth a Fruit
as bigge as a Pomewater, & hath
a stone in it, present remedie for
the Wind Collicke, 973
Engins for the conveyance of water,
801
English Nation beloued in forreine
parts, 853
English Gunners sent for into Bar-
bary, 857
English valour, 867. 868. 888. 895
1327
English youths a great number com-
pelled to turne Turkes, 889. 890.
Miserable tortures inflicted on
the English by Pirats, 890. 891.
Sale of the English, 890
English

THE TABLE.

English Renegadoes, 896
English Acts, 1224. 1227
Englishmen in threefold respect
Normans, 1245
English Commerce formerly with
Easterne Princes, 1271. 172. &
seq.
Englishmen murdered by Friars,
1321.
English Embassadors to the Great
Turke, 1338
English ships their first visiting the
Mofambique Seas, 1536. Two
English overcome eleven Turks,
1579
English Sea-fight Portugals, 1788
Engoye the first Province of Longo
described, 979. The Customes
there observed by the King and
people, 980. 981
Envious people, 961
Epistle from Heaven, 1224
Epitaphs on the Tombe of Iacob
Almanfor the Saracenical
Emperour, under whose Reigne
Spaine was subdued to the
Moorens written by Mahomet
Algazeli a learned Arabian, and
graven in the foure stones of his
sumptuous Monument, 1809.
1810
Ercoco taken by the Turkes, 1179
Esay sawne in sunder by the
commandement of Manasses his
Grandfather by the Mother,
1322
Ethioll Grapes, 1635
Estridge Hen the manner how shee
layeth her Egge, 1616
Ethiopia, vid. *Aethiopia*.
Ethnike Religion, 941. 942. 943
Ethnike Sabbathes and Priests, 941
Their Gods and opinion of the
soules departed, 943. Their Prea-
ching, blessing, Mattens, Fun-
erall Rites, &c. 942. 1712
Eunuches of the Turkes, 1299. The
place where Philip baptised the
Eunuch, 1320. The education &
employment of the Turkes Eu-
nuches, 1597. 1598
Euphorbium described, and where
found, 850
Euphrates described, 1423. 1437.
The Course downe the River Eu-
phrates, and the places thereon,
1722. 1723
Europæan excellence, 1533
Eutychian Errours, 1177
Excommunications and Curses,
1172
Excommunicating of Grasshoppers
and Locusts, 1347. Force of Ex-
communication against con-

tracts, 1269
Executions very cruell, 779. 951
1200. 1433. An horrible kind of
Execution, 840. 951
Execution of a Cow, 959
Exorcising of Locusts, 1047
Exorcising of the Seas and winds,
1178
Extortion severely punished, 1399
Extreme-Vnction rejected by the
Abassines, 1040
Eyes soone decaying, 765
F
Faccardine his courage, 1331.
his wisdom, subtiltie & strength,
1331. 1332
Faith of Papists, built not on Scrip-
ture, but revelations, 1219
False Cape, 1021
Famine following war, 866
Farate River described, 1134
Fasting the manner thereof in Alex-
andria, 900. The severall Fasts &
manner of fasting in the City of
Cairo, 905. The Abassines Fasts,
1034. In their Fasts no eating till
Sun be downe, *ibid.* A Fast from
Trinity Sunday till Christmalle,
ibid. Fast of Nineue, *ibid.* Sea
uere Fasting and Abstinence vi-
sed in the Countrey of Prate Lan-
ni, 1094. 1095. 1097. Seuerer
Fasting, 1668. 1763. 1764
Fatnesse in women accounted a spe-
ciall excellency, 899
Feare feare, 868
Feasts, 839. 903. 905. 949. 959.
1292
Fees not to be given to any Officer by
Mahumets law, 792
Field sowne every moneth, and in the
same Field Haruest in Soed-time,
1056
Ferate River described, 1134
Fernando Poo River, and Island,
987
Ferate-Cans Treason, 1396. 1397
His haughtinesse and the Kings
gracious speech to him, 1395
Festiuall Rites observed in Africa,
795. The solempne Feast of seven
dayes for Nilus, 839. The Feast
of little Byram, 903. 1292.
Feasts in Cairo, 905. The Feast
day of the King of Guinea, 949.
Annuaall Feasts, 959. The Feast
of Philip an erronious Saint cele-
brated by the Abassines, 1035.
Oxen offered to Philips Feast,
1036. The principall Feasts of
Aethiopia, 1118. Feasts of Pegu,
1740. Lampe-feasts, 1822. The

Iewes Feast of Tabernacles
nine dayes, 1826
Fetisso or the God of the Heathens,
942. 943
Fez, one of the foure Kingdomes of
Barbary comprehending seven
regions; the names thereof, 750. A
dangerous way betwixt Fez and
Tombuto, 763. The Map of
the Kingdome of Fez, 781. A
most exact Description of the
Kingdome of Fez, 781. 782. &
seq. The Territory of Fez, 784.
The City of Fez besieged for se-
uen yeares together, 784. The
Founders of the City of Fez, *ibid.*
A description of the City of Fez,
785. The stately Temples, Colled-
ges, Hospitals & Baths in the Ci-
ty of Fez, with their rich Reue-
nues, 786. 787. A description of
the Occupations, Shops, Markets,
Mills, & Innes in Fez, 788. 789
790. 791. The Magistrates, ad-
ministration of Iustice and punish-
ment of Malefactors in Fez, 792
Their wearing of ciuill and decent
apparell in Fez, 793. The diuers
Sects and Sectaries in Fez, 798.
799. A description of the Suburbs
withouthe the City of Fez, 800.
New Fez, *ibid.* The Sepulchre of
the Kings of Fez, *ibid.* Fashions
and Customes used in the Kings
Court of Fez, 801. King of Fez
his Reuenues, Guard, and manner
of Warfare, 803. Sale King of
Fez carried captiue into Portu-
gall, 805. Abu Sahid King of
Fez, and his sixe Sonnes all slaine
in one night, 806
Fidelitie of the Moorens, who had
rather dye then breake promise,
767
Figge-tree reported to haue opened to
receiue our Saviour & his Mo-
ther pursued by Herod; closing a-
gainst the pursuiter, 907. A strange Figge,
1278. Adams and Pharaohs
Figges, 1617
Fire worshipped, 761. A cane or
hale that perpetually casteth up
fire, 807
Fire-workes, 884
Fires for feare of Beasts, 1042. 1048
Fir from Heaven, 1316
Fire kindled by rubbing pieces of
wood one against another, 1655.
Fire unknowne, and much feared by
certeine people, 1689
Fishes flying, 877
Fishes Royall, 991. Hog-fish, *ibid.*

THE TABLE.

<i>A strange kinde of fishing with Mats,</i> 985. <i>The fish of the Rocks,</i> 990. <i>Cunning fishers,</i> 1023. <i>A fish which laid amongst dead fishes, if it stirre it selfe, it maketh those which it toucheth to stirre as if they were alive,</i> 1183. <i>Other Rarities of fishes,</i> ibid. <i>Women fishes,</i> 1546. <i>Other strange fishes,</i> 1546. 1547. <i>Running fish,</i> 1568. <i>Variety of fish & fishing,</i> 1660. <i>Monstrous fishes,</i> 1774	<i>Shadow like a Cloud,</i> 1169 <i>Foxes great store,</i> 1002 <i>Francois Pyrad de Lauall, his Voyage to the East Indies (an Englishman being Pilot) and especially his obseruations of the Maldives, where being shipwrecked he liued fine yeeres,</i> 1646. 1647. & seq.	<i>Africa,</i> 795. 742. 961. 977. <i>Kings Funerals,</i> 962. <i>The Abasines their manner of Buriall,</i> 1040. <i>The Turks Funerals Rites,</i> 1299. 1300. <i>The Jewes Funerals,</i> 1541. <i>Loranga Funerals,</i> 1553. 1560. <i>Peguan Funerals,</i> 1724 <i>Funerals by burning,</i> 1734. 1740 <i>Fura supposed Ophir,</i> 1549 <i>Fuxaa Bay the description thereof,</i> 1133
<i>Fitch his Voyage to Ormuz, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, Ganges, Bengala; to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Iamahay in the Kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, & from thence to Malacca, Zailan, Cochinchin, and all the Coast of the East India, &c.</i> 1730. 1731. & seq.	<i>Frankes, all Europeans, so called in the East,</i> 1070. <i>Weaknesse of the Frankes at Ierusalem,</i> 1206. <i>Passage yearly of Frankes at Easter at Ierusalem,</i> 1213 <i>Frankincense Trees,</i> 1496 <i>Frankincense groweth in Arabia, it is the Gumme that floweth out of the bodies of trees,</i> 1784 <i>French Disease, and the causes thereof,</i> 766. <i>When and by what meanes the French Poxe was brought into Africa,</i> 766. <i>Egypt the most molested with it, of any Countrey under Heauen,</i> 833. <i>Medicines for the French Poxe,</i> 992	G
<i>Flatterers Embleme,</i> 1568 <i>Flaxe plentifull,</i> 896 <i>Flea bound in a Chaine,</i> 840 <i>Flea-bane,</i> 1759 <i>Fleet of ships consisting of eightene sayle sent from England to Argier under the command of Sir Robert Mansell,</i> 881. & seq. <i>Flesh little or none eaten in some Countreies,</i> 898. <i>The manner of drying of flesh or fish,</i> 979. <i>People that eat only raw flesh,</i> 1057 <i>Fluxe, a present remedy for it,</i> 984 <i>Flyes, none in some Countreies,</i> 824 <i>burning Flyes,</i> 956. <i>Great hurtfull Flyes,</i> 1068. <i>Shining Flyes,</i> 1328. <i>Troublesome Flyes,</i> 1471 <i>Strange kinde of Flyes, and of a strange mixture,</i> 1545. <i>Iland of Flyes,</i> 1725 <i>Fokers men of good life which are only giuen to peace,</i> 857. <i>The reputation of Fokers in Barbarie,</i> 861. <i>Their great hospitalitie, good example, manner of liuing, &c.</i> 871. 872 <i>Foolles foolishly admired,</i> 903 <i>Formes of set Prayer,</i> 1336 <i>Fornace of burning fire into which Hananias, Misael, and Azarias were cast,</i> 1452 <i>Forts of the Gagas, or the manner of their fortifying,</i> 976 <i>Fortune-tellers,</i> 796 <i>Forty dayes of extreame heate, and forty of cold,</i> 764 <i>Fountaines so cold, that if a man dip his hand therein, he is in danger of losing the same,</i> 762 <i>Fowles of huge bignesse,</i> 1168 <i>Fowles so bigge that they make a</i>	<i>French perfidie,</i> 1223 <i>French Cheaters & Noble Frenchmen,</i> 1361. <i>Hondius his Map of France,</i> 1362 <i>Fricatrices,</i> 796 <i>Friers seared or branded on the face with an hot Iron,</i> 750. <i>Barsooted Friers in imitation of Moses,</i> 1034. <i>Abassine Friers their manner of liuing,</i> 1035. <i>They eat no flesh,</i> 1036. <i>Abundance of Friers,</i> 1043. <i>An holy Frier in the Monastery of Alleluia,</i> 1052. <i>All Friers in Ethiopia are of the Order of Saint Anthony,</i> 1053. <i>Friers which will not worship the Crosse,</i> ibid. <i>Yellow Friers,</i> 1103 <i>Friers lyes,</i> 1185. <i>Orders of Friers when first erected,</i> 1266 <i>Friers numbers and cumber, with Matthew Paris Inuectiues against them,</i> 1267 <i>Friers Carmelites,</i> 1328 <i>Frier Merit-monger,</i> 1349. <i>A quarrell with Friers,</i> 1633 <i>Friers treachery,</i> 1636 <i>Frogs of strange colours,</i> 956 <i>Fruits which breed Feuers and some Diseases,</i> 834. <i>Variety of most excellent Fruits,</i> 904. <i>A Fruit good for the Collicke,</i> 973 <i>A Fruit good for the stomacke, and for the Liner most admirable,</i> 985. <i>A most fruitfull Countrey,</i> 1056. 1057. 1063 <i>Fruitfull Valleys belonging to the Signiory of Venice,</i> 1275. 1276 <i>Funerals and Funerals Rites in A-</i>	<i>G Abom Iland described,</i> 967. <i>The famous Riuier of Gabom,</i> 968. <i>The rites and customes of the Gaboms,</i> 969. <i>The crueltie of the Gaboms,</i> 970 <i>Gadenauli Nooke, foure leagues from Ciall,</i> 1137 <i>Gaffates certaine Gentile people very sanage; their abode, &c.</i> 1170 <i>Gagas or Giagas discovered,</i> 974. <i>The Gagas are the greatest Man-eaters in the World,</i> ibid. <i>Their Wars, ouerrunning Countreies, their rites and manner of life &c.</i> 975. 976. 977. <i>The great Gaga,</i> 975. <i>The Gagas destroy all their children, burying them quicke,</i> 977. <i>The lagges or Giagas are the most dreadfull and Denish people in the World,</i> 1025 <i>Gago or Gagoa, the description of the Kingdome and Towne thereof,</i> 829. 872. <i>The Moores trading thither for Gold Oare,</i> 872 <i>Galxa a sauage Nation of the Caffres, begotten of Devils, as the vulgar report,</i> 1185. <i>Mischiefes of the Galxa,</i> 1186. 1187 <i>Galata Citie described,</i> 1286 <i>Galgad, sometimes called Gilead,</i> 1448 <i>Galingall Rootes, the vse thereof,</i> 906 <i>Gall trees, somewhat like our Okes, but lesser and more crooked,</i> 1424 <i>Galls growing upon Tamarix,</i> 904 <i>Gambra, 927. Master Richard Iobsons Voyage to Gambra, the raines and land-floods, the cause and time of their contagion: the beasts, fish and fowle of the Riuier; the Portugals, Mandingoes, and Fulbies there liuing,</i> 1567. 1568. 1569. 1570. 1571 <i>Gamu a Lordship of the Gentiles as bigge as a Kingdome,</i> 1110 <i>Ganges famous Riuier,</i> 1468. 1734. 1737

THE TABLE.

1737. Ganges water lighter
then other, 1470. Ganges Rites,
1712. Pilgrimage to Ganges,
1734. Gold neere Ganges, 1735.
The breadth of Ganges in time of
raime beyond Kenne, 1735. Gan-
ges water pretious, 1736
Gaze a Lordship of the Géciles, 110
Garet Province or Desart, a descrip-
tion thereof, 805
Garze Islands, 1674
Gasparo Balbi his Voyage to Pegu
and Observations there, gathered
out of his owne Italian Relation,
1722. 1723. & seq.
Gate of Silmer, 1488
Gaza described, 1308
Gehoar a slave by condition, conque-
red all Barbary, Numidia, E-
gypt and Syria, 753. Hee built
the famous Citie of Cairo, other-
wise called Alchair, 752. 753
Gemma a great and faire River,
which falleth into Nilus, and a-
boundeth with fish, 1069
Generall of the blacke Campe, 984
Genoway the description and situa-
tion thereof, 827. 828. Captives of
Genoway, 886
Gentiles their Sects, Opinions,
Rites, Priests, and other Obser-
vations of Religion and State a-
mongst them, 1478. 1479. & seq.
Gentiles their Lordships, no King-
domes, 1110. The King of Da-
mute called, The King of the
Gentiles, 1111. Eighty & foure
Sects of the Gentiles, 1478. A
Ceremony of the Gentiles when
they are dead, 1712
Gentlemen of Guinea their Crea-
tion, Ambition, Priviledges,
Peasts, Dancing, &c. 958. 959
Georgians their Sect and Originall,
1271. Their place of saying
Masse, they are poore and accept
of Almes, 1312
Gerbi an Island of Africa abounding
exceedingly with Dates, Vines,
Olives, and other fruits, 821
Gethiemani Village, yet fruitfull in
Olives, 1322
Gezirac Eddelheb, or the Golden
Isle, 835
Ghinea or Gheneda Kingdome, the
description thereof, 827. The na-
turall Commodities of Ghinea,
827. 828
Giehas, what manner of people they
are: their conditions and weapons,
1015. Their spoyleing the Province
of Batra; their coming to the
Royall Citie of Congo, their sur-
prizing it and ruling over all the

Kingdome, 1016. The Giachus
a people most dreadfull and De-
villish, 1025
Giagas, vid. Gagas.
Ginger growing in abundant man-
ner, 987. 1469. 1743.
Giraffa a savage and wilde beast,
headed like a Camel, eared like
an Oxe, &c. 844
Glasle-land, 1329. Artificiall work-
men in Glasle, who make Glasle,
called Tyrian Glasle, 1444
Goan Island described, 1506. 1751.
1752. 1753. 1755. 1756. A Re-
gister or Collection of the uses,
Lawes and Customes of the In-
habitants of the Island of Goa, and
the Townes thereunto belonging,
1507. 1508. & seq. Officers be-
longing to the Citie of Goa; her
Fortresses and Ports, 1525. 1526
Parishes within the Citie of Goa,
1528. Parishes within the Island
of Goa, 1528. 1529
Goan Jealousie, 1757. Lalenesse &
lust of the women of Goa, 1758.
Of the Heathens, Indians, and
other Strangers dwelling in Goa,
of their Religions, Goan Idols, O-
racles, Priests, Southsayers, Houf-
hold Furniture, &c. 1758. 1759.
Goats fed with Nuts and stones of
Dates, 823
Goats playing strange feats, 906
Goats blood poured at the feet of an
Image, 975
Goats hornes good against poison,
1773
God the ruler of all actions: Man
his Instrument, 894
Gods of the Egyptians, 911. Hea-
then Gods, 943. Tree-Gods, Hill-
Gods, Bird and Fish Gods, ibid.
Godfrey of Bullen his Expedition
to Ierusalem, 1189. He is chosen
King there, 1200. King God-
frey dyeth and Baldwin succee-
deth, 1205. Godfreyes Sepul-
chre, 1312
Goame Kingdome described, and
the government thereof, 1103.
1111. It is a Kingdome plenti-
full, fruitfull, and rich, inhabited
with Christians subject to Pres-
byter Iohn; it bath Gold; and
in it is the Catadupa of Nilus,
whereof Tully maketh mention in
the Dreame of Scipio, 1170
Gold Countreies, 872. 873. 874. 924
926. 1022. 1024. 1045. 1111.
1168. 1170. 1494. 1549. 1739.
Golden Spheare, 776. The tra-
ding of the Moores into Guinee
and Gago for Gold Oare, or

Sandy Gold, 872. A Countrey
whose houses are all covered with
Gold; and where Iron is far more
esteemed then Gold, 924. Subtile
deceit in falsifying of Gold, 963.
Gold how esteemed in Guinea;
962. A River having great store
of Gold, to the South of Bahia
das Vaccas, 976. Store of Gold
Myres, 1021. The Empire of
Monomotapa full of Gold
Myres, 1022. Seeking of Gold
after raines, 1051
Gold of Damute, 1111. 1168. 1178
The manner of gathering Gold in
Damute, ibid.
Gold of Goame, ibid. & 1170. In-
creasable quantity of Gold, 1169
Gold accompanied with bying
Arts, and deadly Snakes, ibid.
A golden glistening Mountaine;
and Gold Stones, 1170. Where the
most profit to adventure for Gold,
1173. The most and most fine
Gold found in Chiroro, 1549
Gold neere Ganges, and how found,
1735. Iamba-gold, 1742
Golden Gate, through which Christ
passed twice, first in triumph, and
after a Captive, 1324
Gonza a mixt metall of Brasse and
Tinne whereof the Peguans make
money, 1729
Good-fellowship, 936. Abassine
Good-fellowship, 1183
Good-friday wonder, 907
Good-fridays Fast, 1052
Good-fridays penance or punish-
ment used in Ethiopia, 1096
Good-friday Ceremonies used in
Ierusalem, 1315
Gorages a Nation very malicious,
1097
Gorague Kingdome described, 1167
The people thereof great Sorce-
rers; the Countrey bath Gold, great
store of Cinet, Sandalos, Black-
wood and Amber, 1167
Gordicus Mons, whereon Noahs
Ark rested, 1426. 1417
Goroma a Kingdome of the Abas-
sines large and fertile, 1182
Goron a kinde of fruit growing in
the Land of the Negro's like unto
a Chestnut, 763
Goza a most famous Port in the Re-
gion of Hea lying upon the West
part of Africa, 769
Granada a Kingdome upon the
Streights of Gibraltar, 806. The
entring of the Moores into Gra-
nada, 805
Granaries of Ioseph wherein bee
hoarded Corne in the yeare of plen-

THE TABLE

ty against the succeeding Egyptian Famine, 913	discovered, 926. 927. 928. & seq.	same, 992
Grapes of marvellous bignesse, 779	What course the ships hold which go to the gold coast of Guinea, 926.	Hearbe from which the Snake will flye as from an enemy, 1169
Grapes without graines, 1493	Trading in Guinea & what wares are fit for those parts, 937. 938.	Hearbes strange and admirable, 1781. 1782
Grashoppers excommunicated, 1047	Their knowledge in English wares, & tryall thereof, 939. Their mar- kets, Measures, Weights, and Fines, 940. Their Houses, Townes, Countrey-ways, Warres, Armes, State of their Kings, Judgements, Lawes, Iustice, Theft, Promises, Oaths and other Rites, 944. 945 & seq. Their Summer and Win- ter, manner of tilling and sowing the Land; their Corne, Rents, Raines, Beasts, & hunting Fowles, Trees, and Fruits, 952. 953. & seq. Their Gentlemen, Dan- cings, Sports, Diseases, Cures, Visitations, Mourninges, Fune- rals; and of their Gold, 958. 959. 960. & seq. The passage from the Golden Coast of Guinea to the kingdome of Benni, 965. Calmes on the Coast of Guinea, 970. Hondius his Map of Guinea, 1558. Jesuits description of Gui- nea, 1559. The Countrey of Gui- ney let out to farme, 1675. Now Guinea, 1697	Heate very extraordinary, 1116
Grashoppers sacred with Holy-wa- ter, 1186	Guiney let out to farme, 1675. Now Guinea, 1697	Hebron described, 1308. 1446
Grashoppers comming in an infi- nite multitude from the parts of Arabia into Ierusalem and de- stroying their Corne, 1208	Gulpurates, 1763	Hebron Sepulchres, 1635
Grasse sowne by hand, 1378	Guzzula a populous Region, the con- tinuall warres therein, 778	Hedge with twelve Gates, 1106
Greeke Church the Rites and Ce- remones thereof, 900		Heires there are none, neither Inhe- ritance in Guinea, 962
Greeke Mothers Bowdes to their Daughters, 916		Heli Citie where the Israelites rested after they had passed the Red Sea, 1208
Greeke Churches under the Signo- ry of Venice, 1376. Merry Greekes, 1282. The Customes of the Greekes; their drinkings, women, Language, Patriarkes, Monkes, Funerall lamentations, Forbidding of Bigamy and dete- sting Trigamy, &c. 1303. 1304. 1305		Hell mouth, 1437
Greeke Emperours Palace, wealth, and renew, 1442		Hellespont why so called, the bounds and description thereof, 1281
Greeke Caloieros & Nuns, 1634		Henry the Second King of England his penance, 1217. He is elected King of Ierusalem, 1217. 1218
Greekes taken Captives, 1840. The pride of Greekish Whores, ibid.		Hermes great store upon Mount Iron, 772. An Heremite brave- ly attended, 777. Store of Reli- gious Heremites, and their man- ner of living, 779. The reputation of Heremites in Barbary, 861. A famous Hermite of Batha, 812
Greeke Monkes described, 1843		Heremites of Ethiopia, 1096
Greene Mountayne a description thereof, 779		Hermion Mountaine, 1443
Grey-hound greatly esteemed, 1551		Hernia, or the Disease called bur- sting, or the rupture common a- mongst the Egyptians, 766
Griffons; which are fowles so big ge th it they kill the Buffe, and carry them in their clawes, as an Eagle carrieth a Rabbet, 1168		Hides plentifull, 896
Grot where it is said Saint Paul lay when hee suffered shipwrecke, 918		Hieroglyphikes, 1050
Ground paved with mens skulls, 1551		Hilel one of the chiefe Tribes of the Arabians inhabiting Africa, 754 755
Gualata a small Kingdome in the land of the Negro's a description thereof, 827	H Adecchis a famous Towne in the Prouince of Hea, 769. The sacking thereof by the Por- tugals, 770	Hills of the Sunne, 993. High Hills, 1048
Gualili a Towne of Mount Zar- lion, 804	Haire long contemptible, 1349. Long beards honourable, ibid.	Hippo an ancient towne where Saint Augustine was once Bishop; a de- scription thereof, 816. 877
Guarall a beast in shape resembling a Lizard, but bigger, and hath a poison both in the head and taile, which two parts cut off, the Ara- bians eat it, 848	Haire-ceremonies, 1651	Hippopotamus, or the Riuer Horse described, 984. Great store of them where found, ibid.
Guardafui Cape described, 1025	Hanchisa Mountaine a description thereof, 773	Hispahan, now the chiefe City of Persia, 1415. It useth great store of Anil, maketh the greatest store of Muscaille, and hath the best Cotton of any place, ibid. The de- scription of Hispaan, 1432. 1433
Guildes when first erected, 1266	Hares strangely hunted and taken, 955	Histories very pitifull and lamenta- ble, 878
Guinea a Golden Kingdome, a de- scription and Historicall declara- tion thereof; shewing their be- lief, opinions, traffiquing, barte- ring, and manner of speech; toge- ther with the situation of the coun- trei, Townes, Cottages, and hou- ses of the same, with their persons and proportions, Hauens & Ri- uers, as they are now found out &	Haruests fine in a yeare, 904. A field sowne every moneth, and in the same field Haruest in Seed-time, 1059	Hogges flesh in Mosambique, is as dainty as Hens flesh, and they give their sicke men Hogges flesh to eate instead of Hennes flesh, 955. Heards of wild Hogges, 1048
	Haruest and Seed-time all the yeare, 1959	Hogges which beside the teeth which they haue in their mowthes, haue other two growing out of their snowts, and as many behind their eares of a large span and a halfe
	Harts how hunted and taken, 955	
	Hawkes of Africa, 849	
	Hea one of the Prouinces of Maroco, the description and situation ther- of, 769. The Inhabitants their ri- ches, food, attire, houses, & other beasts, Cities, Townes, Temples, Hospitals, &c. 769. 770. 771	
	Head-ache, a Medicine for the	

THE TABLE,

in length,	1693	men,	935	Ichmin the most ancient Citty in all
Holy Land the Map & description		Hungary, the Map and description		Egypt, a description thereof, 843
thereof, 1204. 1205. 1306. 1307.		thereof, 1325		Idleness; the Persian Law against
1447. & seq. A supplement of the		Hunger very strange for a hot cli-		it, 1432. People of idle life, 1570
Holy Land Story gleaned out of		mate, 936		Idolatry, & Idolaters, 761. 808.
the large history of William Arch-		Husbandmen no good Soldiers,		809. 838. 897. 911. 932. 942. 943.
bishop of Tyros, 1210. 1211. & seq.		1100		975. 998. 1003. 1004. 1013. 1168
Holy Land taken by Chorosmines,		Hydra the description and payson		1425. 1457. 1458. 1459. 1749.
1227. A description of the Holy		thereof, 848		1769. Idol-Feasts, 1750. The King
Land in old English Rime, 1238.				of Congo commandeth all Idols to
The Holy Land surveyed by Ben-				bee destroyed, & all other things
jamin Tudelensis a Jew, 1447.				contrary to the Christian Religion,
Superstition advanced in and by the				1012. Idol Motta, 1468. Double
Holy Land Expeditions, and the				Idolatry, 1525. Idol-houses co-
Christians Christianity in those				vered with Gold, 1718. Idol Ada,
parts worse then other, 1269. The				and the Idolatrous Rites thereof,
whole Holy Land Country, Cities,				1734. Ugly Idols, 1735. Idols
Inhabitants, & holy places, & me-				of Pegu, 1739. Idols & Idol-cham-
morabler things there described,				riots, 1745. 1749. Goan Idols,
1306. 1307. 1308				1759. Idol-iacrury, 1769
Holy-water, & holy Bread, 1033.				Idris the first Founder of the City of
The pretended effects of Holy-wa-				Fez, the principall City of all Bar-
ter, 1186				bary, 784. His valour at fiftene
Holy Ornaments, 1633				yeares of age, 785
Homers Odyssees & Iliads written				Jealousie the cause of murther, and
in the inward skinn of a Dragon,				other fruits thereof, 758. 770.
1286. Homers Sepulchre, 1812				Moore's most subiect unto Jealousie
Hony great plenty thereof, 770. 779				of any Nation in the World, 767.
White Hony, 779. Hony like unto				Tryall of Jealousie, 929. The Turks
Sops, 835. Honywhite & hard, 1055				Jealousie, 1297. Goan Jealousie,
Horne-vessels, 1038				1757
Horses of Barbary, 759. 845. Hor-				Jeremias Sepulchre, 1338
ses that will climb like Cats over				Jeremies Dungeon, 1632
fleepe & craggie Mountaines, 769				Ierico City, 1326
Horses fed with Camels Milke, 846.				Ieromes naturall Image, 1319
914. Wild Horses, ibid. Running				Ierusalem described, 1269. 1445.
of Horses, 884. An excellent breed				Christian Sects at Ierusalem, 1271.
of Horses in Egypt, 1037. Horse				1013. Ierusalem peregrinations,
flesh eaten, 811. 840. 846. Crowned				1110. 1189. The History of the
Horses, 1098. Nimble Horsemen				first Expedition to Ierusalem by
1129. The Persian Horses very				Godfrey of Bullen, Rob. of Nor-
good, 1433. A very good sale for				mandy, & other Christian Princes:
Horses, 1704				written by Robert whom some call
Hospitalars of Ierusalem their ori-				the Englishman, a Monke of S.
ginall, &c. 1269. 1445				Remigius, which was present both
Hospitality of the African Nation,				at the Councell of Claremont, and
758. 769. 825				in the said Expedition, 1189. 1190
Hospitals in Africa for the enter-				& seq. Ierusalem besieged & taken
tainment of Pilgrims, & strangers,				1200. The Acts of the Pilgrims in
769. 770. 836. 916. The rich Hos-				their Expedition to Ierusalem, be-
pitals in Fez, and the large reue-				fore & after the taking thereof, ex-
nues belonging thereunto, 787.				tracted out of Fulcherius Carno-
The stately Hospital of Cairo, 836				tensis, who went thither with Rob.
Saint Johns Hospitall in Malta,				Earle of Normandy, 1201. 1202.
comfortable both for lame & sicke,				& seq. A supplement of the Storie
919. Rare Hospitality, 1332. Hol-				of Ierusalem, gleaned out of the
pitals for beasts, 1736				large History of William Arch-
Hot-houses, 788				bishop of Tyros, 1210. 1211. 1212
Houses under the ground, 1051. Hou-				1213. 1214. The Continuation of
ses borne on Camels backs, 1484.				the Ierusalem Expedition & other
Houses made of Canes, and covered				additions gathered out of Mathew
with the leaves of trees, 1714.				Paris, chiefly relating the Acts of
1737. Ladder-houses, 1737				the English Pilgrims in that Em-
Housewifery of the African wo-				ployment, 1215. 1216. & seq.
				Ieru

THE TABLE

Jerusalem taken by Saladin, 1218	Jewish Errors, 1177. An English woman turned Jew, 1277. The Jewes Justice, their Attire, Diet, Burials, Women, Doctors of the Law, &c. 1307. The Jewes patience induring any wrong, 1306.	red, 1675. 1676
Prosecution of the Holy Land Warres, 1224	Their Synagogues, Lyrurgie, and Devotions, 1306. 1307.	Iland of Saint Lawrence one of the greatest in the World, being a thousand and two hundred miles long, and 480. broad, 874. The description thereof, 1023
Jerusalem rased, the Walles and Towers made rude heapes, &c. 1224. 1225. The way to Jerusalem described in olde English Rime, 1230. 1231. 1232. & seq. Peeres of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1269. The damnable Impietie of Pastors, Regulars, and the people of Jerusalem, 1270	Jewes stoned on Goodfriday, 1342.	Iland of Saint Thomas esteemed to be the most unholiest place in the World, 964
Jerusalem the receptacle of all Impietie and Impuritie from other parts of Christendome, 1270. The chiefe places of note in Jerusalem, 1311. 1312. 1313. Observations of the Holies, and ancient Monuments in Jerusalem, 1317. 1318. An admonition to such as travel to Jerusalem, 1353	Jewish Superstition, ibid.	Hands & shoalds under water, 1130
The places famous in and about Jerusalem, 1445. 1446. Difficult entrance to Jerusalem, 1636. Barrenesse and wickednesse of Jerusalem, 1642. An order how to provide for the going to Jerusalem, 1721	Jewes eat not of the hinder part of any Beast; their Sacrifices, Universities, Learning, they have no Beggars among them, 1342. 1343. Of the Jewes and their Synagogues, Schooles or Universities, the observations of Benjamin the Sonne of Ionas a Jew, 1437. 1439. & seq. Of Jewish Tradition, & of the Jewish Rabbinis Students in Traditions, 1438. 1439. The affaires of the Jewish Synagogues, & their permitted Government, 1439. 1440.	Ilands called the seven Sisters, 1125
Jesuites wonders and how to be credited, 1178	Jewes in Italy & Greece, 1440.	Ile of Horses, 991
Jesuiticall Humiliation, 1174. An armed hand and hand required to further the Jesuites preaching in Abassia, 1181. The names of the Jesuites which passed to Abassia, ibid. A Jesuites Ethiopian Journey, 1185	Jewes hated in Pera, 1442. The state of the Jewes in the higher parts of Asia, Syria, Palestina, Damascus, & the parts adjoining 1442. 1443. & seq. Scripture Jewes, 1443. 1447. A Jewish Fable of Abraham pius, 1446	Ilha Grande in five degrees to the South of the Line, on the Coast of Brazil, 971
Jesuites honours, wicked Treasons, Wars, Wares, Superstitions, 1187. The Jesuites Conversion in Africa to Christian Religion, gathered out of their owne Writings, 1556	Jewes at Bagdat, 1451	Image-worship, 975
Jesuits are called F. of Saint Paul in the Indies, by reason of their Colledge of that name in Goa, 1708	Jewish Pilgrimage yeerely, 1453. Strange reports, if true, of the Aliman Jewes, of Persian, of the Nisbor Jewes, & some places of India, 1453. 1454. & seq.	Images in the Abassine Churches, 1035. An Image in great triumph offered to a Priory, 1409
Jesuits exemptions from ordinary Jurisdiction, 1744	Jewes called Mourners, 1454. Numbers of Jewes, 1455. Reports of Separated free Jewes, 1457. Blacke Jewes, 1459. Sects of Jewes and Saracens, 1460	Imbalming of dead Corpses, 911
Jewels and precious Stones, 826	Jewes in Silicia, Germany, Bohemia, Prussia, 1462	Imbandigioni, certaine toothsome delicacies, 1063
Jewes in Africa, 769. 770. 772. 778. 801. 811. 1112	Jewish Bookes, Almes, Holies, & places of Jewish Devotions, 1630. 1631. 1636	Imbondo a kind of root by which the guiltinesse of Offenders is discerned, 983
Jewish people in the Holy Land, & their Sects and Rites, 1306. 1307	Jewes bones carried to the Holy Land, 1636	Imizmizi a Citie of Africa, the description thereof, 774
Jewes expelled the Region of Tegeran, 824	Jewes charitable, ibid.	Incent Trees, 1690
Jewes extremely hated by the King of Combuto, 828. A very rich Jew, 854. Jewish superstition, 914	Jewish Decemes and Blasphemies, 1637	Incestuous Customes, 968
Jewish Sabbathising, 1054. The Mountayne of the Jewes, 1128. 1154. 1157. The passage of the Jewes, fleeing from the Egyptians, 1142. A Captaine of the Jewes baptised, 1157	Jewes in India, 1768	India when first discovered, 1675. Four narrow passages from Sea to Sea in the West Indies, 1689
	Jewish Circumcision and Feast of Tabernacles, 1826. 1827	Indian observations, 1744. 1745. 1750
	Jewish University at Salonica, 1841	Indian Spices where growing, 1743. of the times of the yeare in India, and of the diseases, 1760
	Igidid Port described, 1135	Indian Figs, 957. 1183. 1776. A description of the Indian Figgetree, 1470
	Igidid Port in proportion to like a great Cauldron, 1135	Indian diseases, dayes, Bramenes, Religion, Marriages, Attire, Wife, Burning, &c. 1762. 1763.
	Ilalein Mountaine a description thereof, 773	Indian Beasts of all sorts described, 1770. 1771. & seq.
	Ilands ancient & moderne discovered, 773	Indian fishes, 1773. Fruits, Trees, Plants and common hearbs in India, 1774
		Indico great plenty thereof, 823. 1470. 1554.
		Indole a great flying fish so called, 877
		Indostan people described, their Stature, Colour, Habit, Diet, Women, Language, Learning, Arts, Riding, Games, Markers, Armes, Valour, Burials, Opinions, & Rites of Religion, 1473. 1474. & seq.
		Indulgences of Mahumer, 833
		Indulgences of Pope Celestine, Anno 1195. 1123
		Indulgences their original, and the divers opinions of them, 1261.
		1262. Leo's Indulgences occasion

THE TABLE.

sion of Luthers preaching, 1261.
Indulgences disputed, they are incurable, gainfull, &c. 1262. Popish Indulgence Daughter of Purgatory, 1263. Adulterous commixtion of Indulgences and Dispensations, ibid. The use & abuse of Indulgences, 1263. 1264 King John subjected by Papall Indulgences, 1265. Indulgences how many wayes they mayneaine the Popes Mint & Mine for Moneyes, 1268. An Indulgence very large, 1425
Ingombe Island, 973
Ingratitude, 767
Inhangoma Island described, 1544
Inhazato Island, 1525
Iniamus a kinde of fruit abundant in Guinea described, 957
Inne-keepers odious, 788
Innocents killed for the Nocents, 983
Innocents Sepulchre in Ierusalem, 1319
Inquisition the first institution thereof, 1266. Officers belonging to the Inquisition, 1531
Insandie tree, cloth thereof worne, which is neyther spunne nor woven, 973
Interdictments examined & defined, 1264. King John of England abused to his Subiects by Interdicts, 1265. Interdicts how uniuersall, ibid.
Inuestitures, 1255
Ioachims House, 1324
Iobs City, 1346
Iobson, viz. M. Richard Iobson his Voyage employed by Sir William Saint John Knight, and others, for the Discovery of Gambia, 921 922. & seq. M. Richard Iobson his Observations touching the river Gambia, with the people, Merchandise and Creatures of those parts, larger then in his foresaid Iournall is containned, gathered out of his Notes, 1567. & seq.
John the Second King of Portugall his plating the Christian Religion in the Kingdome of Congo, 995
John Baptists Wildernesse, 1320
John Huighen Van Linschoten his Voyage to Goa, & obseruations of the East Indies, 1750. 1751. & seq.
Ioppe which was called the Port of Iury, the description thereof, 1309 1334. Ioppa Gate, 1352
Jordan 1205. 1326. The head of Jordan, 1447. Jordans motion, 1630
Jordan & Tigris compared, 1847
Iosephs Pit, 1349

Iosephs Sepulchre, 1444. Monntaynes of the Treasuries & Storehouses of Ioseph, 1461
Irish Rugs rich Commodities on the Coast of Angola, 971
Iron plenty, 771
Iron Mynes, 778. 808
Iron Coyne, 773. 827
Iron preferred before Gold, 924. People the most curious in the World for making all kind of Iron worke, 927. Iron in what Countries scarce, & most desired, 1151
Iron so much worth in Damute, that they giue for it Gold by weight, quantity, for quantity, 1171. The Liner of a little beast good against any wound of Iron, 1681
Irreligion, and Irreligious people, 768. 757. 830
Israel: the Land of Israel, 1444
Isthmus, that is to say, a Straight, or narrow Land betweene two Seas, 1143
Italie a Survey and Description thereof in ancient English Poetry, 1235. 1236. 1237. Hondius his Map of Italy, 1235
Iudas, the place where hee hanged himselfe, 1325
Iudges of Africa, 758. 792. 840. 871
Iudgement place, where the Saniour of the World was by the World condemned, 1324
Iuglers, 796
Iuorie great plenty thereof, 831. 1022. 1494
Iustice extirpated, 860. The maner of execution of Iustice in Barbary, 871. Seuerer Iustice of the Egyptian Balla, 898. Base knavery and good Iustice, 904. The Lawes and execution of Iustice in the Kingdome of Guinea, 950. Courts of Iustice in Barua, 1044. The manner of Iustice in Ethiopia, 1093. 1102. 1107. The excellent order of Iustice in Pegu, 1716. No difference of persons before the King of Pegu, in controversies or in Iustice, ibid.
Iuzanda a tree yeelding excellent Cloth, 985

K

K *Atherine of Mount Sinai her martyrdome, 905*
Kelle River, 1420
Kine wild, 1038
Kine with only one horne, 1495.

cc 2

Bunched Kine, 1554. Worshipping of Kine, 1732. Kine tales in great request, 1736
Kingdomes rich in Gold & Silver, and other Commodities, 874. 926
Kings Houses reuerenced, 1053. A studious and laborious King, 1450
A venemous King, 1495
Kings three slaine in one Battale, 852
Kings how chosen in the Kingdome of Guinea, 948. Their Feast dayes, 949. Their Kings attire, Wines, Guard, Treasurer, Children, 949. A King neuer vsing to speake in the day, 979. Present death to see the King of Engoy eate or drinke, 980. Hee is called God, & his subiects beleene hee can giue them raine when hee listeth, ibid.
Kings casuall Deaths, 1212
Kings of the Heathens becomming Christians, 1011. 1016. The King Supreme Governour in causes Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall, 1186
King of Naria slaine, 1186. A King accustomed to eate Payson, 1495
King elected by women, 1538. An honourable Title to be called the Kings wife, 1543
King of Pegu a Prince of marvellous great strength & power, 1710
A Combat of Kings, 1728. The prodigious title of the King of Bilnagar, 1746. King of Pegu beheaded, 1748
Kissing of the Booke at the Gospell, 1032
Knight of the Affe; a Mahumetan Prelate so stiled, 820
Knights of Malta their Order, Ceremonies of Creation, Vow, degradation and death, numbers & gouernment, 916. 917. Women capable of the Order 917. Three Orders of Regular Knights, 1269. 1270
Knights of the Sepulchre, 1310. Their Originall & Vowes, 1310. 1311. A Patent for Knight-hood from the Romane Emperour granted to Sir Robert Sherale, 1806. 1807

L

L *Aborious creatures rewarded with death, 985*
Labos

THE TABLE

- Labos Marinos a Ile in the mouth of the River of Plate; abounding with Seales and Sea-morsses, in such sort that it is hard to get on shore for them, 971
- Lacke or Lac described and the manner how it is made, 1783. 1784
- Ladies Passion, 1196. Our Ladies Well, and the storie thereof, 1320. Ladie of Lauretta, 1329 1832
- Lake of Lepers, 821. A Lake of twelve miles compasse on the top of a Mountayne, 1100. A huge Lake which hath in length thirty leagues, and twentie in breadth, 1170
- Lakes of Abassia, 1182. Salt Lakes, 1694. A Lake of fresh water, and the bottome is of good hard Salt, 1694
- Lampe continually burning day & night since it was lighted by the Prophet Ezechiell, 1453
- Languard a Beast like a Crocodile, 954
- Languages corrupted, 752. Easterne Languages, 1504
- Lant or Dant, a Beast in shape resembling an Oxe, so exceeding swift that no Beast but the Barbary Horse can overtake him: of his hide are made Targets of great defence, 846
- Larbies, the Inhabitants of the plain Champion Countrey of Barbary, so stiled, 853
- Latitudes when first observed in sayling, 1676
- Lauretta, 1330
- Lawes of the Catiarims concerning Claimes, Loue, Interest, Witnesses, Inheritance, Goods of the deceased, Theft, Fugitives, Circumstances and Rites of Honour, &c. 1509. 1510. 1511
- Lawlesse people, 770. 781. Danger of remisse Lawes, 1276
- Lawrence II. described, 1023. 874. The Inhabitants of the Ile of S. Lawrence, 1024
- Lawyers in some parts of Africa very cunning and well seen in the Lawes and Constitutions of that Nation, 770. Their Law-bookes, ibid. Strange trialls in Law, 778.
- Lawyers & Lawes in the Kingdom of Guinea, 950
- Leacherous men and women, 927. 933. 968
- Learning in contempt, 758. The suppression of Learning & Learned men, a principall cause of disorderly and base Government in Africa, 787
- Leather of Maroco, 773. The excellency and price thereof, ibid.
- Legend of Adam, 1312. Profit of Legendary lyes of Saintt, 1525
- Lelunda River, 990
- Lemba River, 990
- Lemnos famous for Vulcans fall, 1280
- Lent the observation thereof by the Greke Church, 900. The Ethiopian Lent long & strict, 1094 1095. & seq. The generall Lent-fast of Friars and Nuns in Ethiopia, 1096. The Turkes Lent, & their obseruing thereof, 1292. 1609. Indian Observation of Lent, 1669
- Leo his Relations touching the People, Tribes, Languages, Seasons, Vertues, Vices, and other more generall considerations of Africa, 749. 750. & seq. 769. & seq. His being constrained to play the Iudge in Africa, 778. In his youth hee was a Notary of an Hospitall in Africa for two yeares together, 787. An Arabian Grammar written by him, 797. A Booke written by Iohn Leo of the lines of the Arabian Philosophers, 800
- The great travels of Iohn Leo, 844
- Leopards, 809. 847. 955. 1333
- The nature and description of Leopards, 847. A kind of subtlety in taking the Leopards, 955
- Lesban Rules, 1260
- Letters or Characters of the Africans, 761. A Letter of a Iesuit touching Abassines Errours, 1175 1176. The Letter of Emanuel Fernandez, 1179. The Letter of P. Paez to the Iesuits at Goa, concerning his Ethiopian Voyage, 1185. Part of a Letter of Master William Biddulph from Aleppo, 1334. Part of another Letter of Master William Biddulph from Ierusalem, 1344.
- Letters of Master Edward Bartons from Agria, 1358. A Letter from Don Garcia Silua Figueroa Embassadour from Philip the Third King of Spaine to the Persian written at Hispaan, Anno 1619. To the Marquesse of Bedmar, touching matters of Persia, 1533. 1534. A Letter containng the admirable escape and glorious Victory of Nicholas Roberts, Tristram Steuens, and Robert Sucksbich taken by Py-
- rais of Algier, 1577. Turkish Letters, translated by Master Robert Withers, 1612. 1613. Master Iohn Sanderson his Letters of commendations from the Patriarke of Constantinople, from the Iewes, and from the Patriarke of Alexandria, 1638. 1639. Two Letters of Master Iohn Newbery, relating his third and last Voyage into the Easterne parts of the World: with three other Letters from Master Eldred concerning the same Affaires, 1642. 1643. 1644. 1645. The summe of a Letter of Nicholas Trigautius a Iesuite, touching his Voyage to India, and of the state of Christianitie in China & Iapan, A Letter also of Captaine Robert Cocke, & Relations of Master Roberts wreck on the Coast of China, 1697. 1698. & seq. A Letter of Master Arthur Hatch touching Iapan, 1696. A Letter of Thomas Wilsons concerning the Ormuz warres, 1790. 1791. & seq. Letter of the Mamede Xa King of Ormuz, to the King of Spaine, 1802
- Letter and Certificate of diuers Portugals to the English, 1803 1804
- Lhasis a composition, whereof who-soever eateth but one ounce, falleth a laughing, disporting and dallying, as if hee were halfe drunken, and is by the said confection marvellously prouoked vnto lust, 820
- Library of Constantinople containing an hundred and twenty thousand Volumes, destroyed by horrible combustion, 1286. The sacred Library, 1453. Mahumets Library 1486. The Vatican Library in Rome, 1832
- Libya one of the foure parts of Africa, called of the Arabians Sarra, which signifieth a Desert, the bounds thereof, 750. The division and description of the Libyan Desarts, 751. The Inhabitants of Libya live a brutish kind of life, destitute of Religion and Lawes, neglecting all good Arts and Sciences, given to treachery, theft, violence, villany, &c. 768
- Licondo, a certaine Tree so called, which is so great that sixe men cannot compasse it with their armes, and is in length of proportion answerable to the thickness, 991

THE TABLE.

Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina, 1743. *A description thereof,* 1784
 Line of Partition, 1676. Cruell Snow under the Line, 1690. Cold hills under the Line, 1695
 Linnen Cloath of diuers sorts very excellent in Africa, 836.896
 Lions great store, 776.804.809. 846.1001. Hunting of Lions, and fight betwixt a Lion and a Bull, 804. The nature and description of Lions, 846.847
 Lions Denne a place so called, 776. Tame Lions, 804.809. Wonderful great Lions, 1575
 Lithgow his Travels in Candie, Greece, the Holy-land, Egypt and other parts of the East, 1831 1832. & seq.
 Liver; a fruit of excellent use for the diseases thereof, 1008
 Loanda Port, 986
 Lockes and Keyes of wood, 903
 Locusts great swarms thereof, 770. Four and twentie miles compassed covered with Locusts, and the mischief done by them, 1046. A strange signe of the coming of Locusts, *ibid.* Through the prayers of the Portugals Locusts destroyed and killed, 1047. Exercising of Locusts; incredible swarms of dead Locusts; their mischievous spawn, &c. 1047. Men driven by Locusts out of their habitations, and the strange hurt done by them to Trees, 1048
 Locust a kinde of fruit so called, flat, and of the forme of a Cycle, 904
 Locust Trees, 1574
 Logwood very fine and plenty to be withall, 979
 Longinus Lance, 1197
 Longo fifteen leagues to the Northward of the River Zaire, 971. Description of the River Longo, 975
 Longo Port, 979. A description of the Provinces, Princes, Inhabitants, and Customes of Longo, 980.981. No white man may be buried in Longo, 981. Monsters and strange Beasts in Longo, 982.983.984. Their manner of Fishing in Longo, 985. Four sorts of Corne in Longo, *ibid.*
 Longspats honourable death, 1227
 Lopez Zuarez his taking and destroying the Citie of Zeila, 1101
 Loranga River, 1552
 Loranga Rites, Religion, Gallantrie, Marriages, Dinination, Funerals, 1553

Loretta Pilgrims, 1832. The Loretan Legend, 1833. The shameful opinions of the Papists concerning Loretta, 1833.1834
 Lots, 1100.1541
 Loue-moneth, 1669
 Loze River, 990
 Luaba or Luabo Island described, 1544
 Luca Citie, 1439
 Lunatikes observed in the Art of Dinination, 892
 Lunel, a famous Uniuersitie of such as apply themselves to the study of the Law of the Israelites day and night, 1438
 Lungo, a kinde of Boates so called, 991
 Lupata Hills, 1547
 Lupo Gonzale Cape discovered, 987
 Lustfull conditions of some African people, 934. Unnaturall Lust, 1299
 Lydda a place made famous by Saint Peter, called after Diospolis, that is, The Citie of Iupiter, destroyed by Cestius, 1327
 Liturgie of the Turkes, 1291

M

Macareo great Tides, 1703
 Macone a Fish somewhat like a Lamprey: In Summer when the Lakes are dry hee lies a span deepe in the earth with his tayle in his mouth, which hee sucketh for his sustenance about three moneths together till the Raines come; and in this manner he eats most of his tayle, which grows againe as before at the returne of the waters, 1546
 Maczua Island, 1073. The description of the Island and Port of Maczua or Macua, 1126
 Madagascar an Ile very rich and above 9. hundred miles in length, which they call, The Ile of the Moone, 1092
 Madera Island, 986. The Island of Madera discovered by Macham an English-man, 1672
 Madresse taken for holiness, 1493
 Madocha Citie, 1123
 Mafudi his many mischiefs, and death in battaile, 1101
 Magarfaon Island, 1134
 Magistrates, the Embleme of good Magistrates, 904
 Magnice River the bounds and originall thereof, and the Rivers that runne into it, 1021

Mahumet his great curtesie toward Strangers, 807. His Indulgences, 833
 Mahumetan Priests, 770.786
 Mahumetan Sects, 1214. Learned men or Students of Mahomets Law, 1451
 Mahumetan Sermons, 766.786. A pestiferous Mahumetan Preacher, 771
 Mahumets Lawes for the administration of Iustice, and punishment of Malefactors, 792
 Mahumets Birth-day the solemnizing thereof, 795.796. Diuers Mahumetan Sects, 797.798.799. Certaine rules and superstitions observed in the Mahumetan Law, 797. Seventie two principall Sects in the Religion of Mahumet, 799. No Rulers Mahumetan but Prelates, 801. No Mahumetan King or Prince may weare a Crowne, Diademe, or such like ornament upon his head, 803. Tithes payed to Mahumetan Princes because they were Priests, *ibid.* Four generall Sects of the Mahumetan Religion permitted in the Citie of Cairo, 840. Piety of a Mahumetan, 918
 Mahumets Sepulcher, and Library, 1486. The fable that Mahumets Tombe hangeth in the ayre, 1487. The Denne where Mahumet liued in contemplation, *ibid.*
 Mahumet his Hegiera, Wines and Children, Life, Death, Successors, Tombe, Meschit-Rites, 1502.1503
 Mais a kinde of Indian Wheat described, 935
 Mais in how made, 1541
 Malabares their manners and Customs, 1766.1767
 Malacales, certaine Saracens so called, 1180
 Malasegued the Abassine Emperour, 1187
 Maldiuers described, their thirteene Cantons, twelue thousand Iles, Sea-changes, strange Currents, Monsons, Maine-Inlets, blacke boyling Ser, Heate, Seasons, Civilitie, and Haire ceremoniousnesse, 1648.1649. & seq.
 Maldiuers fruits, 1643
 Malta the description thereof, 916. The Knights of Malta, their Creation, Vow, Number, Government, 917. Cities, Villages, Palaces, Colledges, and Nunneries in the Island of Malta, 918.919
 Mamalukes,

THE TABLE.

Mamelukes, 841. <i>The originall of</i>	Map of the Turkish Empire, 1288	1271. 1272. 1500
of the Mamelukes, 841. 842	Map of Candie, 1384	Martauan a Citie under the King of
Mamelukes tyrannie, 1381	Mappes of France, and Transilua-	Pegu, 1713. <i>A Custome that</i>
Mamelukes activitie, 841. 842.	nia, 1362. 1363	these people have when the King
Observations concerning the Ma-	Map of the Israelites Peregrination	is in the Warres, 1713
malukes, 1483	in the Desert, 1378	Marthas house, 1325
Man-children in great esteem, 1343	Map of Morea, 1836	Martiall people, 756
Mandoa or Maudoway a great	Marabo River, 1048	Martiall Customes, 947
Citie described, 1733	Marate Iland and Port described,	Marybuckes Priests of a Mahume-
Mandra Iland, 1555	1130	tan Sect, differing from the com-
Mandy-Thursdai Celebration in	Marble party-coloured, and excel-	mon, their Religion, Orations or
Ethiopia, 1096	lently spotted, 776. <i>A Citie with</i>	Sermons, Bookes and abstinence,
Mandingos their idle Life, Dyet,	Marble walles, 780	Travels, Merchandise, Musicke,
Townes, Houses, Fortifications,	Marble marnels, 905	&c, 1572. 1573
Armes, Kings, State, Devotion	Marble Mountaines, 1008	Maso Shels of great account among
in salutation, Women, apparell,	Marriages and the manner of solem-	the Gagas, 976
subjection, Marriage, rites, &c.	nizing Mariage in Africa, 767.	Massagano Fort, 976. <i>The situati-</i>
1569. 1570. 1571	793. 794. 929. 1039. <i>the Mariage</i>	on of Malangano, 978
Man-eaters or Canibals, 974. 1551	of Widowes, 794. 795. <i>A supersti-</i>	Masses of the Abassines, 1032.
Mangas an Indian fruit or Drugg	tious Custome of casting Fishes at	1033. <i>The description of Mal-</i>
described, 1775	the new Married womans feet, 794	ling Apparell and the misteries of
Mani what it signifieth, 999	Marriages unstable, 1039. <i>Incesti-</i>	it, 1067. <i>A Masse for Prete</i>
Manilla, Acts of the English and	ous and adulterous Marriages,	Ianni his Mother deceased, 1098
Dutch there in two Voyages,	ibid. <i>The Patriarch of the A-</i>	Masticke where found, 1277
1852	basines his Marriage-blessing,	Masticke Tree described, 1812
Manna great store found, 825. 1554	ibid. <i>The Abassine Priests best</i>	Matama Kingdome, and the King
Manna found onely in August and	observers of Matrimony, 1043.	thereof, 994
September, 1380. <i>A conceit of</i>	<i>The Moores of Dobas have a</i>	Matarea, a place where they say our
Manna contrary to Scripture,	Law among them, that none of	Sanjour, and the blessed Virgin
1485	them may Marrie unlesse hee can	with Ioseph reposed themselves
Manomotapa Marts, 1548. <i>The</i>	prone that hee hath killed twelue	as they fled from the furie of He-
Kingdome of Manomotapa de-	Christians, 1058	rod, when oppressed with thirst, a
scribed, ibid. <i>The Manomotapa</i>	Marriage of the Sea, 1274	Fountaine forthwith burst forth
his Customes, Vassals, Rites,	Mariage rites of the Greeke Church,	at their feet to refresh them, 907
Queene, speech, and of the adoy-	1276	Mathematicks much studied by the
ning Kingdomes, 1550. 1551	Married Bride carryed about on	Africans, 764. 766
Mansell, viz. Sir Robert Mansell	Horsebacke, and diuers women	Matimbas, a kind of little people no
of England his Voyage to Al-	like Maskers, 1419. <i>The Mar-</i>	bigger then Boyes of twelue yeeres
gier, with a Fleet of eightene	riage rites of the Moores of So-	old, but very thicke, and line one-
Sayle, 881	fala, 1541. 1543	ly upon Flesh, which they kill in
Mansor the fourth King and Pre-	Marriage Rites of the Mandingos,	the Woods with their Bowes and
late of the Mahumetan Sect, 754	1571. <i>Strange Marriages, 1732</i>	Darts, 983
Manuscripts brought out of Barba-	<i>A Marriage rite of lying the new</i>	Matthew the Embassadour of Pre-
rie, 828	married folkes together by the	te Ianni is conducted by the Por-
Map of Paradise, 1436	Clothes, 1735	tugals, unto the Haven of Mac-
Map of Guinea, 1558	Maroco, one of the foure Kingdomes	zua in the Red Sea, and what
Map of the Kingdome of Maroc-	of Barbarie, divided into seven	baptized to his death, 1027. 1028.
co, 768	Regions or Prouinces, the names	&c. &c.
Map of the Kingdome of Fez, 781	thereof, 750. <i>The first King of</i>	Maugegar, 922
Mappes of Barbarie and Egypt,	Maroco, 754. <i>The Map of the</i>	Maura Iland described, 1275
817. 831	Kingdome of Maroco, 768. <i>The</i>	Mayombe Prouince described, and
Mappe of the Kingdome of Congo,	situation and estate of the Region	how situate, 981
1006	of Maroco, 773. <i>A most exact</i>	Mazua taken by the Turkes, 1179
Mappe of the Abassines Kingdome,	description of the great and fa-	Mazza of Congo, 1007
1026	mous Citie of Maroco as it was	Meates and manner of eating in A-
Map of all Asia, 1188	an hundred yeeres agoe, 774. <i>The</i>	frica, 793
Map of Hungarie, 1355	miserable death of Abraham	Mecha or Mecca, the situation, go-
Map of Asia Minor, 1192	King of Maroco, and of his	uernment, and description there-
Map of Europe, 1369	Queene, 775. <i>Great store of</i>	of, 1487. 1488. <i>The Iourney to</i>
Map of Terra Sancta, 1204	Bookes in olde time to bee sold in	Mecha, and why the Mahume-
Map of Sycilia, 1220	Maroco, ibid. <i>Causes of the de-</i>	tans resort thither, 1487
Map of Cyprus, 1221	cay of Maroco, 775. <i>The first</i>	Mecha cursed of God, 1488
Map of Spaine, 1230	founder of Maroco, 774	ibid.
Map of Germany, 1244	Maronites their Sect and originall,	Mecha Ships taken with great ri-
		ches

THE TABLE.

ches of Gold, 1115. why Mecha is not so much frequented as times past, 1490	Merle an excellent Tree for many uses, 1693	Molucca Islands and the varieties thereof, 1682
Mecha the Center of Arabia, 1497	Mice found of strange formes, 876	Monadeli a Towne of wonderfull traffique, 1057
Media Kingdome divided into Me- dia Atropatia, and Media the Great, a description of both, 1428	Micheas Ile, that is, The Ile of Measure; in which Ile the In- habitants most certainly foresee the plentie or scarcitie of the yeere following throughout all the Land of Egypt, 838. The description of the Island, 838. 839. 897	Monasteries and Monkes in Atri- cia, 843. 905. 1031. 1177. The infinite renewes of a Mona- sterie in Cairo, 906. The Mona- sterie of Bislan, 1037. The A- basines Monasterie of Saint Mi- chael described, 1031. The situ- ation and forme of the Ab. lines
Mediterranean-Sea Observations, 1834	Misra which the first Caire that was built in Egypt in the time of the Mahumetans, a description ther- of, 837	Monasterie intitled, The vision of Iesus, 1034. No woman nor Beast of the female sexe may come neere it, 1036. The rene- newes of that Monasterie, 1036.
Meies, an high Hill, which is the ex- treme part of all the Mountaines of Atlas, 750	Militarie Orders in Africa, 995	Monasterie of Al- telima, 1052. A goodly Mona- sterie and Church of our Lady built in an exceeding mightie Cave or an high Mountaine, 1059. A Monasterie in a Lake, 1067. The Monasterie of our Lady in Ethiopia ascended by a Ladder, and stony stairs, 1097.
Melila an ancient Town in the Pro- vince of Garce, enjoyed and re- dified by the Spaniards, 807	Militarie Instruments, Apparell, &c. 996	The Monasterie of Debra Liba- nus, 1171. The Monasterie of the Franciscans in Ierusalem, 1310. 1319
Melinde Kingdome and Coast de- scribed, 1024. 1555. The tale of a Sheepe in Melinde weigheth commonly twenty five or thirty pound, ibid.	Militarie actions and observations, 997	Monasterie of the Holy Crosse, 1328. The Monasterie of Saint Katherine, 1377
Melli a large Kingdome in the land of the Negroes, the description thereof, 828. It is very rich in Corne, Rice, Cotton, and Flesh, 928. The traffique there, ibid.	Militarie Orders when first ere- cted, 998	Monies of strange kinds, 989. 822. 901. 773. 827. 838. 1025
Memnon's Sepulchre, 1329	Millet or Millie described, 953	Monkes in great abundance, 1575. 847. 923
Memphis a regall City, the strength and glory of olde Egypt, built by Ogdoo, and called Memphis by the name of his Daughter, com- pressed by Nilus in the likeness of a Bull, &c. 910	Mills of a strange fashion, somewhat like unto our Horse-mills, 783	Monkes adored 911. Divers kinds of Monkes, 955. Rosted Mon- kes, 966
Men fleeced alive, 841	Milons of marvellous goodnesse, and incomparable sweetnesse, 875	Monkes in great respect, 1727
Men effeminate, 973	Miracles pretended, 1061. 1084. 1157. 1180	Monkes who eat neither Flesh nor Fish, but onely Hearbes, Bread, and Oliner, 842. Greeke Monks, 1304. 1843. A Monkish tale of a Mountaine, 1427
Men of long life in temperate ayre, 1493	Miracles how to be esteemed, 1178. A pretended Miracle of our La- dy, 1380. False deluding Mira- cles to confirme false Religion, 1487. A Jesuiticall Miracle, 1723	Monomotapa Empire full of Gold Miner, 1022. A description of the Kingdome and people of Mo- nomotapa, 1022. 1023. 1548. The K. of Monomotapa main- taineth many Armies, 1022. The situation of the Empire of Mono- motapa, 1023
Men that give sucke from their breasts and so bring up Chil- dren, 1542	Mirthe how and where growing and found, 1784	Monomotapa Mants, 1548
Merbat Trees, 1496	Mitterie of the Starre, Key, Locusts of the bottomlesse Pit, foure An- gels, &c. Mentioned Apoc. 9. 1248. 1249. 1250. The Mitter- rie of the thousandth yeere of Sa- thans loosing discussed, 1251	Monomotapa Rites, Customs, and Speech, 1550
Merchandize, 767. 936. Subtill, undermining & defrauding Mer- chants, 937. 938	Moamaa Haven described, 1134	Monsters two sorts found in certain Woods, which are there common and very dangerous, 981. A strange Monster borne in Lesina Clyffa, 1834
Merchandise for Women, 946	Mitzraim olde and new described, 1461	Monuments in Africa very antique, 763. 800. 825. 834. 835. 843. 901.
Merites of our Lady for Women, 1082. The effects of the opinion of Merit and superstition, 1261. No greater Simonie then the sale of Merits, 1263. A Frier mighti- ly boasting of his Merits, 1349 1351	Mogols greatnesse, 1468	
Meroe Island, in which is a great and rich Citie, 1128	Mogols Letters to the King of England, 1481. His Lescar, Women, Children, disposition, &c. 1481. 1482	
Mermaids skinned scene, 1377	Mogols Empire described, and the most remarkable things of Na- ture and Art therein, 1467. 1468. &c. 1469	
Mersalcabir the greatest Haven in the whole world, 813. The sur- prising thereof by the Spaniards, ibid.	Modestie, and graine carriage, 767	
Mesopotamia Province, and the Cities therein described, 1422. 1423. 1449. 1450	Motarigolar, a great Negro Lord, 974	
Messa a Town in Africa the descrip- tion thereof, and of the holy Tem- ple neere it, 772	Mohememugi Empire described, 1025. The Commodities there- of are Gold, Silver, Copper, and Inory, ibid.	
	Mokisso or Idoll having more then three Tunnes of Elephants teeth piled over him, 975	

THE TABLE.

901.905.907.908.1146. Oc-	Moses Rocks, 1206	ransacking thereof, <i>ibid.</i>
man Monuments, 1284. An-	Moses receiving the Law, 1243	Mozambique Island, Kingdome,
cient Monuments in Ierusalem,	Mosake Painting, 1283	and Inhabitants described, 1023.
1317.1314.1315. Other anti-	Moslemah Superstitions and Rites, 1499	1554
ent Monuments, 1550	Moslemah Women disrespected, 1503	Muffies their Dignitie amongst the
Monuments of Antiquitie, taken	Moslemans Creed, and Precepts, 1504	Turkes, 1293
out of ancient Records, to testifie	Mosuff described, 1449	Mule admirably streakt, 1283
the quondam Commerce be-	Motheres Baydes to their Daugh-	Mummi or the Mummies, 907.
twixt our Kings and their Sub-	ters, 916	908
jects, and the Easterne Princes,	Moucheron Isles, 967	Munia a stately Citie of Egypt, the
1271.1272.1273.& seq.	Moulee-tree, 1848	description thereof, 842
Monuments of Antiquitie in Rome	Mountaines of Africa described, 777.778.& seq.806	Murther severely punished, 849.
1832	Mount Dedes the description there-	871
Moone Island. <i>vid.</i> Madagascar.	of, 780	Murtherous people, 1276
Pomer of the Moone, 1183	Mount Zarhon a description there-	Mute or Maus, a fruit of a most ex-
Moore, 752.1104.1110. A di-	of, 804	cellent taste, 835. A description
vision of the tawnie Moores into	Mount Beniguazeual, 807. The	of the fruit and tree whereon it
sundry Tribes or Nations, 752.	Mountaine of Rauens, 810	groweth, 850. The Mahumetan
The Faith and Religion of the an-	Mount Horeb, 905	Doctors affirme, that this was the
cient Moores, 761. Their fideli-	Mountaines of Silver, 975. The	fruit which God forbade our first
ty, Iealousie, Merchandise, Gra-	Mountaines of Christall, 993.	Parents to eat in Paradise,
nity, modestie, 767. Christi-	998. The Mountaines of the	which eaten they covered their na-
ans happie successe against the	Sunne, and the Mountaines of	kednesse with the Leaves there-
Moores, 777. Threescore thou-	Sat Nitrum, 993. The Moun-	of, <i>ibid.</i>
sand Moores slaine, 806. A Sect	taine of Silver, 994. Cold and	Musicians blindfold, or hoodwincked
of the Moores called Chenefia,	Snowy Mountaines, 998. The	in manner of Hawkes, 820. A
living upon Horse-flesh, 840. The	Mountaines of the Moone, 2021	rich Musician, 854
trading of the Moores into Gui-	An inaccessible Mountaine,	Musicke of strange kinds, 966.
nee and Gago for Gold Ore, or	1030. A strange Mountaine,	1573
sandy Gold, 872. The weapons of	1052. An high Mountaine as	Musicall instruments in Congo,
the Moores, and the manner of	steep as a wall, 1053. Of the ex-	1020. In the Kingdome of Pieta
riding their Horses, 878. Eryp-	ceeding huge Mountaine where-	Ianni, 1118
gian Moores described, 899.	upon the Sonnes of Prete Ianni	Muske very plentifull, 836
Villages of Moores, 1054. A	are kept, 1065. The Mountaine	Muske-Cats, 955
diuelish Law of the Moores of	of the Satires, 1131	Muskie River and Fish, 923
Dobas, 1058. A Moore behea-	Mountaine of Gold, 1170	Muske how made, 1500.1743. The
ded 1094. Queene of the Moores	Mount Caluarie described, 1239.	Muske commeth out of Tarta-
her pompe and traine, 1104. No	1311	rie, 1743
Christian will eat of that which	Mount Oliuet, 1240.1326	Muzimbus Stratagem andcrueltie,
a Moore killeth or dresseth, 1107	Mount Sinai, 1243. Chappels of	1551. His horrible Expedition,
The Kingdomes of the Moores,	Mount Caluarie, 1312	1552
1110. Two Moores dying in	Mount Carmell, 1328	Myna the Golden Coast thereof de-
Portugall for heate, 1116	Mountaines of Saron, 1333	scribed, 926.927.& seq.
Moores discomfited in battell by the	Mount Libanus, 1334. The Moun-	Myrrhe where found, 1455
Portugals, 1154. Prouinces of	taine Ancitaurus, and Gordæus	
the Moores, 1170.1171. Ma-	1426. Old Mountaines, 1435.	N
desty of a Moore, 1180. Idleness	The Mountaine famous in and	Nabuchodonosors Palace the
of Moores, and industry of Gen-	about Ierusalem, 1445	ruines thereof, 1452
tiles, 1479. White Moores, 1542	Mournings in Africa, 795.961.	Nails of the fingers suffred to grow
Moores of Sofala their Customs,	1099. Shaving and Blackes v-	very long, and esteemed as a great
1543. Treachery of Moores,	sed for Mourning, 1099	ornament, 932
1557	Mourning with Timbrels, 1350.	Naked people, 1029
Moores in India, 1768	Feasting and Dancing in stead of	Naming of Children in Africa, 930
Mordecaies Sepulcher, 1456	Mourning, 1705	Narbona a Citie of the Iewes,
Moria Mount, 1324	Mozambaza Kingdome rich in	which giueth Lawe to the rest,
Morocco, the Conquest thereof at-	Gold and Silver, and Pearle,	for out of it the Law goeth forth
tempted by the Portugals, 986	1024. The Citie of Mozamba-	into all Countreies, &c. 1438
Mosarabes or Moxarabes which are	za ransacked and spoiled by the	Nature compared to a Piramis, 907.
Latine Christians, their Sect and	Portugals, and the rich Com-	A strange effect of Nature, 1000
Originall, 1271.1272	modities that were found at the	Naucretis her Shoe by an Eagle
Mosche of Damascus the like buil-		conueighed to Memphis, 910
ding whereof is no where to bee		Nauell being cut is present death,
seene in the world, 1448		841. The Nauel of the world, 1315
Moses Fountaine, 1141.1143		Nayros

THE TABLE.

Nayros their manners and Customs, their Armes, insolencies, Lusts, Habite, Superstition, Heyres, &c. 1767. 1768
 Nazareth Province, 1154. 1845
 Neapolitans Farfa; an Hearbe which groweth in the Kingdome of Naples, 823
 Ned Roma, a Citie in Africa built by the Romanes; a description thereof, 811
 Neefing a strange order thereof at the Mahumetan Sermons, that is, if any one in the Sermon-time falls a Neefing, all the whole multitude will neefe with him for companie, 766
 Negroes, 751. 752. 826. A fourth part of Africa called the Land of the Negroes, the division and bounds thereof 750. The number of Kingdomes within the Land of the Negroes, 751. Some of the land of the Negroes not to be called any member or portion of Africa, 750. The severall Languages of the Negroes, 752. The manners and Customs of the Negroes, 757. The Faith and Religion of the Negroes, 761. The Land of the Negroes extreme hote, yet abounding with Cattell and Corne, 763. Their Lives and Ages, 765. Their conversation and manner of living, 768. A description of all the Provinces, Cities, Townes, and other observable places in the Land of the Negroes, 826. 827. & seq. The Negroes subiect unto Ioseph King of Marocco, 827. The Negroes are troubled with Wormes in most parts about them, 964
 Negro Cape; it is in sixteene degrees to the South of the Line, 981. Some white Children borne among the Negroes, 980. No white man may be buried among them, 981. Their manner of Fishing, 984. The Negroes of Congo described, and how differing from other Negroes, 987
 Negroes and Negro Kings baptised 1557. 1559
 Negus the Kingdomes in Abassia subiect to him, 1182. A discourse betwixt the Negus and a Jesuite, 1175. Gradeus the young Negus his reiecting the Pope and his Patriarch, 1157
 Nesir a strange African Fowle, the description thereof, 849
 Nestorians their Originall and

Sect, 1271
 Newberies Voyages and Observations; one into the Holy-land, the other to Balsara, Ormus, Persia, and backe thorow Turkie 1410. 1411. & seq. His sayling the Perlian Gulfe from Balsara to Ormuz, 1413. His Letters from Bagdet and Balsara, 1642. 1643
 New Moone Rites, 1668. 1740.
 Four principall New Moones, ibid.
 Nice besieged, 1192
 Nice taken, 1132. 1202
 Nicholas Roberts his admirable escape and glorious Victory taken by Pyrats of Algier, 1577
 Nicopolis, the desolations & redifying thereof, 1317. The situation & description thereof, 1317. 1318
 Nifila Mountaine, a description thereof, 777
 Niger a mighty River in the Land of the Negros, a description thereof, 750. The increase thereof, 765
 Nigers overflowings, 827. 988. The River Niger or Senega runneth Westward, 988
 Night-blindnesse, 1555
 Nilus, opinions concerning the same, 750. 1460. The increase of the River Nilus, 765. 833. 838
 Nilus not Navigable betweene Nubia and Egypt, 931. The Course of Nilus, 832. The water of Nilus brought by a Sluce into Alexandria, 834. Plenty and scarcitie in Egypt knowne by Nilus flowing 838. Observations concerning the flowing of Nilus, 897. 1127. Amongst the hidden mysteries of Nature, none more wonderful then the overflowing of that River, 897. 898. The breadth of Nilus, 902. The River Nilus runneth Northward, 988
 Nilus ariseth not out of the Mountaines of the Moone as some have imagined, 1022. The River Nilus otherwise called Gion, springeth out of two great Lakes in the Kingdome of Goiamé, 1111. Lakes of Nilus, 1127. Falls of Nilus, 1170. A great huge Lake of Nilus, which hath in length thirtie leagues, and twenty in breadth, wherein are many small Ilands, all inhabited with Monasteries of Religious men, ibid. A Trench intended from Nilus to the Red Sea, 1171. Crossings of Nilus, 1172. Strange Springs and Course of Nilus, 1183. The water of Nilus medicinable, 1460.
 d d

The division of Nilus, 1461. The water of Nilus inclosed in Pits, the onely heat of the Sun in three dayes is turned into Salt, 1503
 Nilus Elyes, dust, Spowies, 1618
 Nilus water the profitablest & wholesomest in the world, ibid.
 Ninive described, 1435. 1449. The magnificent building of Ninive by Ninus, ibid.
 Nisbor Mountaines, 1457
 Noahs Arke upon a Mountaine which is somewhat high, and hath alwayes Snow lying upon it, and no man may goe up it, 1417. 1426. 1449
 Normans historie and their proceedings, 1245. & seq. The Normans Dominion in Italy, the occasion of their entring into Greece, &c. 1246. Apulia shared amongst Normans, ibid. Boamund the Norman & Pope Urban abuse the zeale of Christendome, 1247
 Northern Discoveries, 1684. 1688. Two Ilands in 16. degrees of Northerly latitude, 1685. Fortie two degrees of Northerly latitude, ibid. The North-west passage very beneficiall, 1689. Gomes his Northerne Discovery, 1688
 Nostranes quasi Nazaritans, an ancient company of Christians so called, their habitation, Originall, and Rites, 1342
 Nouelties delightfull, 1078
 Nubia Kingdome the description thereof, and the rich Commodities it hath, 831. 1112. A Proclamation of Warre against Nubia, 1045. The people of Nubia are neither Moores, Jewes, nor Christians; but they say at sometimes they were Christians, and that through default of euill Ministers they lost their Faith, and are become Infidels and without Law, 1045. 1112. Suria Nubia a Province of the Moores, 1171
 Numidia one of the foure parts of Africa, called by the Arabians the Land of Dates, which it bringeth forth in great abundance, 750. The bounds thereof, ibid. The division & description thereof, 751. the people of Numidia their Attire, Camels, riding, Bed, & Tents, miserable dyet, hunting, theening, incivility, ignorance, &c. 757. They are most ignorant of naturall, domesticall, & Common-wealth affaires, addicted unto Treason, robbery, Murder, Theft, &c. 768
 Numidians

THE TABLE.

- Numidians Couetise, 810. Trading in Numidia, 816. A description of divers Cities and Townes in Numidia, 822. 823. & seq.
- Munneries in Africa, 919. 1059.
- Abassine Nunnes their habite, number, &c. 1044
- Nurles the like not heard of, 1542
- Nutmegs and Maces grow together and come from the Iles of Banda, 1743. There are two sorts of Nutmegs, the male which is long, the female round, 1783
- Nuts of precious esteeme, 924
- Nypet Wine good to cure the French disease, 1712
- O** Athes taken after a strange manner, 951. 952. The manner of administering an Oath in Ethiopia, 1117. Three kinds of dreadfull Oathes used in Judgment, 1540. Decan Oathes and the Ceremonies thereof, 1764
- Oblations, 838. 834. 1669. Offering of a Bell and an Image to a Friery, 1409. Burnt Offerings, 1444
- Obiliskes, 1050. 1186. 1284. 1285. 1627
- Odia a Citie in Siam the description thereof, 1738. 1739
- Oecye a Kingdome of the Abassines, 1182
- Oggy Kingdome, 1167. The force and Armour thereof, ibid.
- Ogheghe certaine Trees so called, the fruit thereof described, 1008
- Olabye, a part of Ethiopia, 1062
- Old Age and the effects thereof, 961
- Olicondie Trees, 975
- Oliues of Africa the use thereof, and manner of gathering them, 764
- Onagri, or wilde Asses, 1002
- Onix stones great plenty, 793
- Oracles, 867. 1759. Devils Oracles, 925. 1539. Ethnickes their Consultation with their Oracles, 942
- Oran a famous Towne upon the Mediterranean shoare, built many yeeres agoe by the Africans; the description and Conquest thereof by the Spaniards, 813. Christian Captives redeemed by the Conquest of Oran, ibid.
- Oranto Island, 922
- Orations of the Gagas, 976
- Orchards most fruitfull, 1278
- Orders of Priesthood giuento thousands at once, 1084. The manner of giuing Orders vnto Priests in Ethiopia, 1087. None blind, lame, or maimed can take Orders, ibid. Infancie and illiterature among them no hinderance to take Orders, 1088
- Oreb Mount described, 1377
- Orgebra a Towne in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of Adea, 1106
- Orisa Kingdome described, 1711. The Commodities that goe out of Orisa, are Rice, diuers sorts of white Bumbast cloath, Oyle of Zerkeline, great store of Butter Lacca, long Pepper, Ginger, Mirabolanes drie and condite, great store of Cloth of Herbes, which is a kinde of Silke which groweth amongst the Woods, &c. ibid.
- Ormuz Straight, 1141. The description and situation of Ormuz, 1413. 1731. Excessive heat in Ormuz and the cause thereof, 1414. The Election of the King of Ormuz, 1703. Rites and fashions of Ormuz, 1731. A relation of the Kings of Ormuz, and of the foundation of the Citie of Ormuz, taken out of a Chronicle which a King of the same Kingdome composed, called Pachaturunxa written in Arabick, 1785. 1786. & seq. A Relation of Ormuz businesse by Master William Pinder, 1787. 1788. A Letter containing many particulars of the Ormuz warre and cause thereof, 1790. 1791. & seq. A Relation of the Ormuz businesse gathered out of the Iournall of Master Edward Monox the Agent for the East Indian Merchants trading in Persia, 1793. & seq.
- Ormuz besieged and taken, 1795. 1796. Passages in Siege of Ormuz by the Persians, 1797. 1798
- English sickness at Ormuz by immoderate heate, 1805
- Orpha a Citie in Mesopotamia, of great account and estimation, the description thereof, 1422
- Osman's Dreame, 1375
- Ostriches their natures, shape, and where found, 849. 811. 914
- Ostriches used for victuals, 758. 823. 914. Great store of Ostriches, 811. 914. The taste of an Ostrich, 823. they are the simplest Fowles, and Symbols of folly, 915. Their Egges, young ones, their de-
- morring of stones and Iron, 914
- Oteiro of Congo, 990. 1007
- Ottomans presumed Tule, 1287
- Ottoman Monuments, 1284
- Ottomans Letter to the King of England, 1287
- Ottoman race extinguished, 1375
- Ouido a Iesuite his disputes with Claudius an Abassine, 1179
- Ouido banished three times; his Letter to the Pope, 1180
- Oxen of Africa; Sea Oxen, and wilde Oxen described, 846. 847
- Oxen shod and ridden upon as upon Horses, 875
- Oxen and Cowes no bigger then our Calues, 955. White Oxen without hornes as bigge as Camels, 1106
- Oxen almost as bigge as Elephants with huge hornes, 1168
- Oyle Argavicke, 772
- Oyle made of Stinco; the manner of making it, and the use thereof, 877. Palme-Oyle, 936
- Oyle springing out of the ground, 1431
- Oyle distilling out of Hills, 1686. Fountaines of Oyle, 1839
- Oysters growing on Trees, 969. Pearle-Oysters, 1546
- Ozone River, 990
- P**
- P** Acona or Indian Figs described, 957
- Pagans Baptised, 1009. 1010
- Pagods or Indian Idols described, 1769
- Pagod superstitions, 1770
- Paintings, 1283. Turkish Painters, 1300. Religious Painting, 1409
- Palaces in Africa, 808. 836. 839. 904. 919. 945 966. Sophia Palace, 1284
- Palme-Sunday rites used in Ethiopia, 1096
- Palme-tree the strange properties thereof, 823. 898. 976. Male and female Palme-tree, 898. Whole fields of Palmes, 904
- Palme-oyle, 936. 954. 971. 1008
- Palme wine Tree, 957
- Palme-cloth, 971. 994
- Palme-wine how drawne, 976. Diuers kinds of Palme-trees, 1008
- Bread of Palme, ibid. The Vineger of Palme, ibid.
- Palme-tree Streets, 1737
- Palmitas Tree described, 958. Abundance of Palmitas trees and Wine, 1574
- Pancakes

THE TABLE.

Pancakes fried with Oyle,	836	1715. The great Riches, Pompe,	Justice of the King of Pegu,	Pepper how it groweth, 174	description of the Pepper The
Pango one of the Prouinces of		1716. The Commodities that	are ventured in Pegu, and ordi-	1743. The long Pepper groweth	in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the
Congo, the description thereof,	1005	narily brought into Pegu, 1716.		Ilands of Iauas,	ibid.
Pantalaree or Paconia an Iland in		1717. A note concerning the	departure of Ships from Saint	Pera a place formerly inhabited by	Iewes, now by Christians, 1442
Africa, very hilly and full of high		Thomæ to Pegu, 1716. Great ri-	gour for the stealing of Customes	Perfumes very plentiful and cheape,	836
Rockes; hauing great quantitie		in Pegu, 1717. A description of	the fruitfulness of Pegu, ibid.	Pernassus described,	1846
of Cotton, Capers, Figges, Me-		1718. How a man may dispose	himselfe for the Trade in Pegu,	Persepolis and her remaines, 1533.	Antiquities of Persepolis, 1534
lons, Reysons, and other fruits, 877		ibid. The Merchandizes that	goe out of Pegu, ibid. 1719. Ru-	Perthian Gulfe, 1413. 1141. Tra-	nels from the Perthian Gulfe up
Paper excellent and smooth, plenti-		ibid. Order of Apparell in Pegu,	bies exceeding cheape in Pegu,	and ouer land, 1690. The nature	of the Perthians, the description of
full and cheape,	836	1721. Galparo Balbi his Voy-	age to Pegu, and Observations	the Perthian King, his Palace,	Garden, the Perthians sensuality,
Paper-siege, 898. The Leanes of		there,	1722. 1723. & seq.	inconstancy, Persian indignities	in Hispaan, Persian Horses, Wea-
the Indian Fig-tree used a-		Peguan Crueltie,	1728. 1747	pons, Souldiers, Government,	1432. 1433. 1434
mongst the Turkes for Paper,		Peguan Warres, Elephants, Colosses,	moveable Houses, 1729. Woollen	Perthian Greatnesse,	1455
957. 1300. White Paper well		Cloth and Scarlets sold in Pegu,	1739. The Commodities in Pegu	Perthian Seas,	1498
sold,	1466	are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Sa-	phires, Spinels, Muske, Benia-	Persia famous for beautiful Women	1683
Paphia a Citie in Cyprus built by		min, or Frankinsence, long Pep-	per, Tinne, Lead, Copper, Lacca,	Persian Bishops,	905
Paphus who dedicated it to Ve-		Rice, Wine made of Rice and Su-	gar, 1739. Priests of Pegu, ibid.	Persian Pilgrims, 1388. Abas	King of Persia his Person, Ver-
nus,	1334	Miseries of Pegu and how cau-	sed, 1746. 1747. Pegu besieged,	ties, Perils, escapes, Aduanee-	ment, Government, and Conquests
Paradice, 1435. Hondius his Map		ibid. King of Pegu beheaded: his	immense treasures sacked, 1748	1389. 1390. 1391. & seq. The	Perthian Greatnesse, 1390. The
of Paradice,	1436	Pelicans, 983. 1003. Which are	the right Pelicans, ibid. The Pe-	means by which King Abas	settled the quiet of Persia,
Parats, or Poppingaies, 849. Blem		licans skinned usefull, 1003. A	Pelican described,	1829	
Parots, 956. Roasted Parats,	966	Pemba one of the Prouinces of Con-	go, the situation and description	Persian Queene, 1376. Sir Antho-	nie Sherleyes perswasue to the
Parents unnaturall, and desirous to		thereof, 1005. The government	thereof,	1005. 1006	Persian to make Warre against
part with their Children,	912	Pemba the chiefe and royall Princi-	pallitie of Congo,	1006	the Turke 1400. Proposition of
Parke of all sorts of wild Beasts, 776		Penance of a strange kinde,	1095	the Perthians warre against the	Turke discussed, 1401. The
Partition by Lot,	1100	Penance dayes and places to doe Pe-	nance in, 1096. 1097. The mon-	prond Message deliuered by the	Turkes Ambassadors to the
Passion-weeke rites obserued in E-		ster of regall Penance,	1217	King of Persia; and the King of	Persias resolute answer, 1403.
thiopia,	1096	Pentadatilors Pramontory,	1136	The Perthian Magnificence in	their solemn Feasts, 1406.
Pataque a fruit which the Italians		People most sauage, nasty, and dir-	tye,	899	Two great Fortunes which befell
call Auguries, a description there-	875	People exceeding cunning and ex-	pert, 969. Treacherous People,	970. Very rude People,	1062
of,	1185	People with swollen legges, 1742	Blacke and little People,	ibid.	
Pathmos, a Mountainous and bar-		Pepper money,	990	Pepper in great esteeme,	1062
ren Iland, the place where Saint		Pepper the best Merchandize in	Ethiopia,	1072	
John wrote the Reuelation, 1839		Pepper Gardens,	1458	Pepper a principall Merchandize	in China,
Patience of Iewes,	1306		1638		
Patriarkes of Alexandria, 900.	901				
Patriarkes of Ethiopia, 1174. The					
four Patriarkes of the Greeke					
Church, and their Iurisdictions,	1304. 1305. Patriarkes Sepul-				
cher at Hebron,	1446				
Paulas Sepulcher,	1319				
Peacockes accounted holy, 975.					
ilde Peacockes,	ibid.				
Pearle-fishing, 1017. Countries rich					
in Pearle,	1024				
Pearle-Oysters, 1458. 1546. The					
Order of fishing for Pearles, 1708					
Pearles how prised in the Indies,	1709				
Peason of strange sorts,	985				
Pedigrees blazed by the Arabians					
in daily and triniall Songs,	752				
Pegu Kingdome, 1710. 1713. A					
Law in Pegu for killing of men,	ibid.				
The forme of the building					
of the new Citie of Pegu, 1714.					
The greatest strength that the					
King of Pegu hath; twenty sixe					
Crowned Kings at his command,					

THE TABLE

Phoenice Bird which is one alone the world, and is one of the wonders of Nature, where living and found, 1168. 1169	come thereof can in no wise bee seene: strange wonders concer- ning the same, 809	Damascens, taken and slaine by Army despered, and a great mul- titude killed, 1211
Philippina Ilands, 1696. 1697	Pitch how distilled, and where made, 850. Two kinds thereof, ibid.	Poole without Bottome, 1183
Philosopher, 800. 815	Pitch boiling out of the ground con- tinually, 1412. A valley of Pitch 1437. A Fontaine of Pitch, 1722. 1730	Pope of Rome called by the Ethio- pians, King of Rome and head of the Pope, 1101
Phanicia a Province of Syria, the description and borders thereof, 1330	Places famous for Birth, Residence, and Buriall, of our Forefathers, 1242	Popish Indasme in abuse in Scrip- ture and the Church, 1201
Physicke, the Egyptians excellent and famous therein, 906. The Physicke or medicines used in the Kingdom of Congo, 1020.	Place of Pauls Conversion, 1348	Popes praise by a Monke, 1219
Foolish Physicke, 1735	Plague often rise in Barbarie; the cure thereof, 766	Popish perfidie and tyrannie, 1226
Pictures used in the Greeke Church 900	Plague rare in Numidia, ibid.	Popes tenth, 1226. Cruell papall Exactions, 1228. Sathans loo- sing and deluge of Popery a thousand yeeres after Christ, 1253. The Pope when and how first a Temporall Prince, 1254.
Pigmeyes, 983	Plague ceasing by the influence of the Heavens, 1345	Four meanes which Popes haue to get money, 1254. 1255. The Popes greatnesse by the Churches spoyle, 1256
Pike of Teneriffe, 1464	Plant procuring easie deliuerie to women in trauell, 899	Popish abuse of Dispensations, 1257
Pilates Palace, 1324	Plantaines a fruit hauing a broad flaggie Lease, growing in clusters shaped like Cucumbers, the rinde like a Pescod, solid within, with- out stones or kernels, to the taste exceeding delicious; the Mahu- metans say it was the forbidden fruit; which eaten by our first pa- rents, and their nakednesse disco- uered vnto them, they made them Aprons of the leaues thereof, 904	The Popes abuse of Non Ob- stante; Commendams, Unions, Prouisions, 1258. Courses of the Popes Consistory and Penitenti- arie, 1259. Papa Turpilucicu- pidus, 1260. Officers and Coun- sellors of the Popes State, ibid.
Pilgrimages, 783. 834. 838. 905. 912. 1061. 1251	Place Riner, 970. The Riner of Plata runneth vpr to Potossi, 1691	How the Pope grew great, 1264
Pilgrimage to Ierusalem, 1110.	Ploughing with a Horse and a Ca- mell, obserued through all Numi- dia, 823	Miserable warres and bloodshed of Christians by Papall procure- ment, 1265
Places of Pilgrimage described in the Holy-land, 1243	Poets, and Poetry, 759. 795	Porcupines, 1575
Pilgrimage to Ierusalem whither of God or Sathan, 1252. Faith and manners endammaged by Pilgri- mages to the Holy-land, 1264	Policie concerning Gold, 1044	Porphyrie Mountaines, 1008
Pilgrimage to Mecha, 1347. Me- chan Pilgrims much honoured, 1348. Santon Pilgrimage, 1388	Policie of State, 1072	Portugall atts in Africa, 759
Pilgrimage to Ezechiels Tombe, 1453. A Pilgrimage of the Gentiles to the Riner Ganges, 1734	Pollans their Originall, and why so called, 1269. The Pullani or Pol- lans delicate, wanton, effeminate, more accustomed to Bathes then Bartels, in euery kind very wic- ked and abhominable, 1270. The quarrels betwixs them and the Saracens, 1270. 1271	Portugals perfidie, 922
Pilgrim-rites & fond conceits, 1833	Polygamie, 930. 1011. 1039. 1096 1733. How punished amongst the Abassines, 1039. Numerous issue by reason of Polygamie, 1560	Portugall Armada, 1129
Pillars with sundry inscriptions, 835 843. Alexanders Pillars, 834.	Pomegranets plantifull, 904. 1183. 1278. Pompeion, 922	Portugals their attempting to Con- quer Morocco, 986. Their first trading in Congo, 995
The Pillar called by Plinie Ni- loscopium, 838. 897. An Arch- triumphall Pillar, with diuers sculptures in the Towne of Tripo- li described, 880. The Pillar of Pompey, 901	Pompeyes Pillar, 901. 1614 It is said to haue been reared by Cesar as a memoriall of his Pompeian victory, ibid.	Portugals in Congo slaine and di- spersed, 1015. The Portugals danger by approaching the Moun- taine of Amara, 1064. The small beginning of the Portugall great- nesse in the East, 1091
Pillars in memory of Saint Kache- rine of Mount Sinai, 905. A stately Pillar, 1051. A Pillar covered with Copper ever swea- ting, 1283. Stately Pillars stan- ding in Constantinople, with their Inscriptions, 1284. 1285.	Pompeis Epitaph, 913	Portugall Stratagems, 1151. 1153
The Pillar of Absolon, 1445.	Pongo Iland the situation and de- scription thereof, 968	Portugals victorie against the Moors, 1160. Riches of the Portugals, 1171. The wicked- nesse of a Portugall, 1385. The Portugals Indies described, 1506
Salomons Pillars, 1439. The Pillar of Sale into which the wife of Lot was turned, 1445	Pontius Earle of Tripolis, with all his power fighting against the	& seq. The Order that the Vice-roy shall hold there for mat- ters of Iustice, 1512. 1513. & seq. Renewes and Expenses of the Portugall Indies, 1521.
Pillars in Constantinople, 1628		1522. & seq.
Pinda Hauens, 991		Portugals slaine in Monomotapi, 1551
Pirates end, 866		Portugals disgrace, 1552. Irregi- ous Portugals, 1570. The first beginning of the Portugall Dis- comities,
Pirates pursued, 884. Execrable tor- tures by bellish Pirates inflicted on the English to make them Rene- gades and Apostates, 890		
Pisa Citie described, 1439		
Pit of so great depth, that the bot-		

THE TABLE.

conquerors, 1672. *Famous Portugall Travellers*, 1690. 1691
Portugals compounded with the English rather than they will fight, 1697
Portugall government and customes of the Portugals which live in India, 1752. 1753. *Diversitie of Indian Portugals, and manner of their life at Goa*, 1754
Portugals Visitation, Weddings, Christnings, Souldiers at Goa, 1755. *Pride of the Portugall Saylers*, 1765. *The cause of the Warre betwixt the Portugals and Persians, and the proceedings therein*, 1796. 1797
Possidium Promontory, 1124
Poyson so strong and deadly that one Graine thereof divided amongst ten persons, will kill them all within lesse then a quarter of an houre, 831. *Cunning Poysoners*, 1757
Practick of health, 1275
Praying five times a day, 1668
Priests honoured as petty Gods, 766
Priests appparelled in white, 827. *Co-sening Priests*, 838
Priests of Alexandria their Habit, Rites, & Ceremonies, 900. *Ethi-nicke Priests*, 941
Priests of Pegu, 1739. *Absaline Priests married*, 1037. *They are the best observers of Matrimony*, 1043
Priests offending their degradation, ibid. *Absaline Priests their Habit, &c.* 1044. *A King-Priest*, 1060. *The manner of giving Orders unto Priests in Ethiopia*, 1087. *No Priest ought to bee blind, lame, or maymed in body*, ibid. *Orders given to thousands of Priests at once*, 1086
Prester Iohn, 1127
Prester Iohn overthrowne in battle by Gradamet King of Zeila, by means of Harquebusses, 1128. *His Treasure taken*, ibid. *A Relation of the Embassage which the Patriarke Don Iohn Bermudez, brought from Presbyter Iohn to the King of Portugall*, 1149. *An Armenian his report of Prester Iohn*, 1187. 1188
The State of Prester Iohn, 1188
Prete Ianni, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia, 1026
An Embassador of Prete Ianni, 1027. *An exceeding high Mountaine upon which the Sons of Prete Ianni are kept, and of the*

Pretes Kindred, 1064. 1065. & seq. *A Sonne of the Prete Ianni had his eyes put out, for flying out of the Mountaine*, 1066. *No Kindred to the Pretes, nor honour to the Females of Pretes kind, nor to their Issue*, ibid.
Prete Iannis Campe, 1070. *The Portugall Embassador sent for by the commandement of Prete Ianni, and of the State and Majesty of Prete Ianni, his conference, allowance, remoone, the Embassadors audience, &c.* 1076. & seq.
Pretes moveable City of white Tents, and his Festivall red Tents, 1071. *Playing, singing, and dancing desired by Prete Ianni*, 1066. *Of the Questions moved to the Portugall Embassador by the appointment of Prete Ianni, at severall times by Interlocutors, and lastly in presence, wherein many points of Religion are opened*, 1066. 1067. & seq.
Prete Ianni his habit, stature, and person described, 1079. *The Prete sheweth himselfe to the people thrice in a yeare, and why*, 1082. *The manner of the Pretes riding in Progresse*, 1084. *How the Prete came to the Church of Macham Celacem, and of the Procession wherewith he received him*, 1084
Prete Ianni refused to bee baptised once a yeare, as also his Subjects, 1085. *The Pretes Expedition in succouring the King of Ader*, 1106. *The Prete carrieth foure Lions about with him*, 1107. *How the Prete is lodged in his Tents*, 1106. *The Pretes absolute Sovereigntie*, 1108. *The manner of great mens coming to his Court*, ibid. *The wonderfull great Treasure of the Prete Ianni*, 1109. *The Countries which border on Prete Ianni, viz. Moores, Gentiles, Amazonas, Calates, Damute, Goame, Bagamidri, and Nubia*, 1110. 1111. & seq. *A Copie of the Letter which Prete Ianni writ to Don Diego Lopez de Sequiera, which was delivred to Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, his Successour in the government of the Indies*, 1114. 1115. *The Pretes Presents to the King of Portugall*, 1116
Princes Ile discovered, 997
Prionoto Promontory, 1136
Prisons and the manner of impri-

sonment in Ethiopia,
Procession of the Abalines, 1105
1033. 1034. 1044. A very Jerusalem Procession, 1089. 1098.
A Procession in Muscouia, 11409
Prodigallie the Map thereof, 908.
Promises not valued by the Turkes, 886. *How valued by certaine Heathens*, 1099. 1101. 1102.
Prophecies, 1027. *A false lubberly Prophet*, 1735
Ptolomaida City described, 1126
Pudding Iland, 922
Pullani, and Pollans, 1101
Punishment without mercy, 1344
Purgatory, Popish Indulgence the Daughter thereof, 1262. 1263
Pyramides viewed: the description thereof, and signification of the name, 907. *The forme of the Egyptian Pyramides and Colosses*, 908. *The exact and curious building of the Pyramides, with the entrance into the great Pyramis*, 909
Pythagoreans, 1732. 1737
Pythagorian Superstitions, 1732

Q *Vadres a Mountaine in Africa*, 806
Quansa a famous River in Africa, 971
Quarrellsome people, 767
Quartanea, the Desert where our Lord was tempted, 1269
Quesango a Giantly Image so called, and the Idolatrous Rites belonging thereunto, 975
Questions concerning Christ, his Apostles, and Evangelists, 1079
Quilfit Haven described, 1134
Quiloa Iland and Kingdome described, with the Inhabitants thereof, 1023. *The King of Quiloa overthrowne by the Portugals, and driven out of the Iland*, 1023.
Quirimba Iland described, 1554
Quiteuc King of Sofala his Atheisme, Incest, Death, 1537
Quizama Countrey, 999

R *Achels Sepulchre*, 1319
Raine signifying plenty or scarcity, 764. 1127
Raine the cause of many Diseases in Egypt & elsewhere, 833. 988.
The King of Engoy arrogating to

- gine when he listeth, and the
 feeding police of the Demill
 therein 980. It seldom raineth in
 Egypt, but only in Alexandria,
 988. Violent fallings of Raine,
 1127. It neuer raines in Riffa,
 very seldom in Alcocet, 1139.
 Cause of the unwholesomenesse of
 Raine, 1567.
 Rama, the place where the Jewes
 say the Prophet Samuel was bu-
 ried, 1631.
 Rammes of Africa described, 846.
 A tayle of a Rammie weighing
 fourescore pounds, 846.
 Rammes used for burthen, 1194.
 Ramula besieged, 1206.
 Ramula described, 1309.
 Raselmaxef Point, or the dry Cape,
 1136.
 Rasilgid Hauen, 1134.
 Rats roasted and eaten, 966. Muske
 Rats venemous, their smell sweet,
 1545.
 Rauens taught to speake plainly, 906.
 Scaligers report of the like, *ibid.*
 Rawlings an Englishman taken
 slane by the Turkes, and his com-
 fortable speeches to his fellow-
 slaues, 890. 891. A plot of Raw-
 lings put in execution with good
 successe, 893.
 Reall Presence examined, 1255.
 Rebaptisations, 1184.
 Rebels and seditious persons fleed
 a line, 841.
 Rebellion, 1374.
 Receipt of the Reuenues of the State
 of India: as also the expenses
 publike therein, 1521. 1522. &
 seq.
 Red Sea, the mouth of the Streight
 thereof standeth in twelue degrees,
 and one quarter toward the
 North, 1124. The Streight sixe
 leagues broad, *ibid.* The Gulfes,
 Lakes, Channells, Mouthes, Ports,
 Harbours, Points, Ilands, Ilets,
 Townes, and Cities discovered in
 and about the Streights, 1124.
 1125. 1126. The end of the Red
 Sea, 1143. 1144. Opinions of the
 Red Sea, 1174. Whither the Sea
 of the Streight bee Red or no, and
 the causes wherefore they called it
 the Red Sea, 1147. 1148. Winter
 when it beginneth in the Red Sea
 1183. Obseruation concerning
 the flowing of the Red Sea, *ibid.*
 The Duch which lyeth betweene
 the Red Sea, and Nilus, 1376.
 Pedro de Couillan the first Por-
 tugall that came into the East
 India and Ethiopia by the Red
 Sea, 1675.
 Religion not imbraced in some parts
 of Africa, 830.
 Religion neglected for want of Tea-
 chers, 1018. Questions of Reli-
 gion, 1063. Varietie of Religi-
 ons, 1758.
 Reliques found at the sacking of the
 Citie of Toledo, 821. Other Re-
 liques, 912.
 Reliques the best Holy Land Wars,
 1227. Treasure of the Reliques,
 1212.
 Resurrection-tree, 1537.
 Reuefications, 1224.
 Reuenge, 767.
 Reuerence to Tents, 1107.
 Reuerence to Superiours, 1296.
 Rheubarb where growing, 1427.
 Rhinoceros or Abadas described,
 1773. The Hornes that
 grow upon the nose of the Rhino-
 ceros, are both of great value &
 estimation, and also used for the
 helpe of diuers Diseases, *ibid.*
 Rhodes a description thereof, 896.
 Rib of a man nine Spanish handfuls
 long, and two handfuls broad,
 1448.
 Rice plentifully, 896.
 Rice ground, 1764.
 Richard the first King of England
 his Expedition, his Noble Ex-
 ploits in Sicily, Cyprus, and the
 Holy Land, 1218. 1219. 1220.
 1221. & seq. Miseries to Eng-
 land by King Richard his Holy
 Land Voyage, 1219. 1223. Hee
 smeth away the Kingdomes of
 Ierusalem and Cyprus, hee win-
 neth Darnm, his Acts at Ioppe,
 his great glory, and grievous scan-
 dal, 1222. Hee is taken by the
 Duke of Austria, and sold to the
 Emperour, his Courage, Redemp-
 tion, and returne into Eng-
 land, 1223. King Richards death,
 1224.
 Riches the cause of pouertie, 1549.
 Riding on Bullockes and men tra-
 uelling with them on the way,
 1706.
 Riffa a fruitfull part of Egypt,
 1139. It neuer raines in Riffa,
ibid.
 Rio de Angra, the situation and de-
 scription thereof, 967.
 Rio de Gabom described, 967. 968.
 Riuer-horses described, and where
 found, 1544. 984. 1183. 1568.
 The manner how taken, 1544.
 Riuer-horles of great bodies, and a
 mouth so wide that they can gape
 a cubit and halfe; they goe out of
 the Riuer into the fields to feed,
 line on Herbes, destroy abundance
 of Corne, assaile men like fierce
 Dogges, and cruelly teare them
 whom they take, are afraid of fire,
 their flesh eaten, 1183.
 Riuer dried up by sands, 763. Riuer
 adored, 897. A Riuer of hot wa-
 ter, 821. The strange qualitie of
 the Riuer Dara, 823. The famous
 Riuer of Congo, 987. 989. 990.
 991. The Riuer of Saint Chri-
 stopher 1021. The sweete Riuer,
ibid.
 Riuer which are alwayes eyther very
 full and terrible, or quite empty &
 dry, 1037. A remarkable Story
 concerning a Riuer, 1058. A
 prettie manner of passing ouer a
 Riuer to fetch Gold, 1169.
 Riuer drunke dry, 1281. The Riuer
 of Ponnars falling into Euphra-
 tes, 1418. Famous Riuer, 1426.
 1544.
 Riuer of good signes, 1544. The fa-
 mous Riuer Maragnon, 1690.
 Road of Saint Paul, 878.
 Robbery, people most inclinable
 therunto, 768. 771.
 Robert of Normandy his Expedi-
 tion to Ierusalem, with Godfrey of
 Bullen & other Christian Priu-
 ces, 1189. 1190. & seq. An
 Heroike Act of Robert of Nor-
 mandy, 1201. Hee is offered the
 Kingdome of Ierusalem, 1204.
 Rocke-passages and strange Gates,
 1168. 1426.
 Rocke of Iohn the Hermite, 1377.
 Rome described, 1831. 1832.
 Romane Church held Hereticall by
 the Greeke, 900. The Romish
 Church and Bishop magnified by
 a Iesuite, 1176.
 Romane Church blamed by all her
 children, 1213.
 Romane Symonye, 1219. The
 applying of Apoc. 9. to the Ro-
 mish Clergie, 1248. 1249.
 Rome lately subiect to the Pope,
 1255.
 Romane Capitoll, 1439.
 Roote, a little whereof taken in wa-
 ter stoppeth Urine, 983. A Roote
 which healeth all kinde of rotten
 Soares, and applyed vnto whole
 and cleane flesh, it will eate it vn-
 to the bone, 1694.
 Rose Vallyes, 1321.
 Rosetto or Rasid a City vpon the
 Easterne banke of Nilus, three
 miles from the Mediterranean
 Sea, a description thereof, 839.
 902.

THE TABLE.

902. No place under Heaven
better furnished with Grain, Flesh,
Fish, Sugar, Fruits, Rootes, &c.
902. Raw Hides there a princi-
pall commodity transported thence
into Italy, *ibid.*
Roasting in Ovens, 789
Roxalanas Story, 1301
Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu,
1719. The place where the Ru-
bies and Precious Stones are
found, 1741. 1743
Running at Quintan, 1195
Rue a preservative against infection,
and prevalent against hurtfull
Spirits, 906

S

Saba the Queene of Saba which
brought Presents unto Salo-
mon, her Citie and place of Resi-
dence, 1050. Chists of the Queene
of Sabas treasure, 1051. Where
the City of Sabaim is situate,
whereof the Queene of Saba took
her name, 1052. A Tale of the
Queene of Saba, 1168
Sabboaths, 940. An Ethnick Sab-
boath, 941. Grosse Errors of the
Abassines about the Sabboath,
1177. The Turkes Sabboath,
1291
Sacraments how administred by the
Abassines, 1032. 1033
Sacrifices most inhumane, 881.
Sacrifice to the Demill, 946. 977. In-
numerable Sacrifices, 1202.
Lambe-sacrifice, 1425
Sacrifice to Abraham and Isaac,
1488. The manner of Sacrifi-
cing at Mecha, 1489. Mahu-
metan Sacrifices, 1501. 1610
Saia a roote which dieth an excellent
colour, 1739
Saic King of Fez, carried captive in-
to Portugall, 805
Saint Saujour the chiefe Citie in
the Kingdome of Congo descri-
bed, 1007
Saints in Barbary, dwelling in the
best places, of the Countrey, kee-
ping great hospitality for all Tra-
uellers, men of good example; well
beloued, &c. 871. 872. Madde
Saints, 903
Saints lines related, 1080. Mad-
bedlam Saints, 1339
Saints Images, 1035
Saint George on Horsebacke in all
the Abassine Churches, *ibid.* Phi-
lip an erroneous Saint, *ibid.* The
King of Adell esteemed a Saint,

and why, 1099. Foule-fat-foole-
Saints, 1616. 1617
Saladines their taking of Ierusalem,
and the Holy Land, 1217. 1218
Salaqua Hauen, 1134
Salomons Officers, 1112
Salomons Temple, 1323
Salomons Cisternes, 1333
Salomons Pillars, 1439
Salomons Hospitall, 1445
Salomons Ophir, 1549
Salomons studie, 1632
Salonica a Temple in Macedonia
described, 1841
Salt most extremely deare, 828. 829
872. Mineraill Salts, 849
Salt Mynes, 978. The scarfity of Salt
in Tombuto might be supplied by
our English Merchants to their un-
speakeable gaine, 828
Salts plentifull, 896
Salt where most desired, 923. 1044.
1059
Sal Nitrum great plenty thereof,
993
Salt-mony, 1055. Thorough all E-
thiopia Salt runneth as a princi-
pall Merchandize, 1055
Salt cause of excessive heate, 1414
Salt-Iland, *ibid.*
Salt growing in the ground, 1417
Salutations, 934. The custome of Sa-
luting in Ethiopia, 1096
Salutations of the Turkes, 1340.
1341. Devotion in Salutations,
1570
Sandal-wood plentifull, 831
Sanderfon his Voyage to Constanti-
nople, and thence to Cairo, and
to Tripoli, 1614. 1615. & seq.
His second Voyage to Constanti-
nople, with other his Trauels,
1618. 1619. & seq. His third
Voyage to Constantinople, 1622
1623. His Pilgrimage from
Constantinople to the Holy
Land, and so to Tripoly in Syria,
1629. His Letters of commen-
dation, 1638. 1639
Sanders red and grey, and the vse of
them, 992
Sandys, viz. Master George
Sandys his Iourney from Venice
to Constantinople, and observa-
tions both there and by the way,
1274. 1275. & seq.
Sanguis Draconis great plenty ther-
of in the Iland of Socotora,
1123
Sanguin River, 1417
Sant Helena Iland where situate, &
why so called, 986
Sant Anthony Iland discone-

red, 1099
San Thome Iland, 970. 986. 986
The Hauens of S. Thomas, 987.
1710
Sant Sebastian Ile, 971
Saphetta a Iewish Vniuersitie,
1350
Saphires where found, 1743
Saracens called Malachales, 1180
Sarbo Iland and Port described,
1125
Sarepta and Sarapanta, 1332
Satagan Port described, and the
Commodities that are laden
there, viz. Rice, Cloth of Bom-
bast of diuers sorts, Lacca, great
abundance of Sugar, Mirabolans
dried and preserued, long Pepper,
Oyle of Zerzeline, and many o-
ther sorts of Merchandise, 1712
Satans loosing discussed, and what is
meant by the thousandth yeare
of his loosing mentioned in the
ninth of Apoc. 1251. 1253
Saturday sorrow, 1308
Schooles and the manner of instru-
cting their Schollers in Africa,
795
Selauonia, the description thereof,
1274. 1275
Scorpions infinite numbers thereof,
824. 825. The dangerous sting-
ing by them, 825. 1471. A reme-
die for the stinging of Scorpions,
1471
Scripture abused, 1040
Sea-passages in the West Indies,
1689
Sea-fights, 1210. 1362. A Sea-
fight of the Portugals and Eng-
lish, 1788. A Sea-fight betwixt
Christians and Turkes at Le-
panto, 1836
Sea-monster, 1556
Sea-nuts, 1666
Sea-horse, the description thereof,
847. A world of Sea-horses, whose
paths where they went on shoare to
feed were beaten with tracks as
great as London high-way, 922
Sea-Oxe described, 847
Sea-morses, an Iland covered with
them, 971. The causes of white-
nesse, greenesse, or rednesse of
the Seas, 1148
Sects and Sectaries, 798. 799. 840
Segelmesse a description thereof, 823
The towne or City of Segelmesse,
824
Selego, Mount a description there-
of, 808. 809
Selfe-whippings in Ethiopia,
1097
Selim

THE TABLE.

by Treason, 876	ritt, 1498	custome was in Funerals, sacrific- ing, &c. 1279
Selig Mountaine, the bounds and description thereof, 777	Seuerity of the great Gage, 976	Silkes of all sorts, and the cunning Artists in making thereof, 994
Septa, a great City built by the Ro- mans upon the Streights of Gi- braltar, the description thereof 805. The taking thereof, by the Portugals, 806	Seulaua Mountaine a description thereof, 778	Silke-wormes how bred, 1337
Sepulchres in Africa, 800. 837. 838	Shambles of mans flesh, 993	Siloe Well, 1240. 1322
Sepulchre visited for feare of Lions, 783. Alexanders Sepulchre re- sorted to in Pilgrimage, 834. The famous Sepulchre of Saint Ne- fissa, 837. Regall Sepulchres, 907	Shauing for many Ages much used by the Westerne Church, as in old Pictures is scene, 1269	Siluer Mines, 773. 978. 1549. Kingdoms rich in siluer, 874. 997 Mountaines of siluer, 973. 994
Sepulchre of our Saviour described in old English Rime, 1239	Sheepe adored, 911. Tayles of Sheepe weighing twenty fine or thirty pound, 1024	Simeons House, 1318
Sepulchre of Cicero, 1277	Shel-fishes growing on trees, 990	Simony of the Romish Clergy, 1219 1255. 1256
Sepulchre of Achilles, 1279. The holy Sepulchre in Constantino- ple, 1286	Sherley, viz. Sir Anthony Sherley his honourable Ambassage vnto many States, 863. His Bountie, State, Famous Aduentures: the Spaniards in loue with him, &c. 863. His bounty to two Portu- gals, 864. His preferment, 870. His Voyage to Persia, the causes of his going thither, and strange accidents in the way, 1383. 1384. & seq. Sir Anthony Sherleys first salutation, speech and present to the King of Persia, 1398. The Kings loue to Sir Anthony Sherley, 1399. 1402. The Kings condescending to Sir Anthonies motion, employing and furnishing him in Embassage to Christian Princes, 1404. 1405. Sir Antho- ny Sherley his Voyage ouer the Caspian Sea, and thorow Russia, & seq. His bad vsage in Russia by a Frier, 1408. A briefe memori- all of the trauels of Sir Robert Sherley now Embassadour from the Persian King to his Maiestic of England, & other Christian Kings, 1805. 1806	Sinai Mountaine situate about some 18 leagues from Toro, 1141. The description of Sinai Desert, 1379 Sinai prospect & holies, ibid.
Sepulchres of Godfrey of Bullen, and his Brother Baldwin with the Inscriptions thereon, 1312. Other Sepulchres in Ierusalem, 1317	Shoalds under water very dange- rous and how to auoid them, 1130 1132. 1133	Sinne: Mahumetans opinion con- cerning freedome from sinne, 798
Sepulchres of Rachel, Innocents, & Paulas, 1319	Siagros Promontory, or Cape Farta- que, 1123	Sio, a famous Iland described, 1277 Commodities & Customs of Sio, 1812. Proud women of Sio, 1840
Sepulchres of the blessed Virgin and her Parents, 1323	Sian Country discovered and descri- bed, 1681. 1710. Merchandise comming from Sian, 1712. The invasion of Siam, 1729	Siras the ancient Persipolis, a de- scription thereof, 1434. Excellent Armour made in Syras, 1435
Sepulchres of three children cast in- to the fiery Furnace, and of Eze- chiel, Sedechias, Iechonias, and Sepharias, 1453	Sicamor Figs, 904	Sirbonis Lake, called by the old E- gyptians, the place of Typhons expiration, new Bayrena, diuiding Egypt from Syria; a description thereof, 913
Sepulchres of Daniel, Mordechai, and Ester, 1454. 1456	Sicamor trees as great as the grea- test Okes; the manner how the Figs grow on them, ibid.	Sissopoli a good Harbour, 1420
Seraglio of the Turke in Constan- tinople and of other great men, 1283. 1284. A description of the place, partitions, and manifold conueniences of the Grand Sig- nors Seraglio, 1580. 1581. De- scription of the old Seraglio, 1605 & seq.	Sicilia the Map thereof, 1220. King Richard the first of England his Exploits there, 1220. 1221	Skirmishing on horsebacke, 1078
Serians bawdy Knaues, 792	Sidon siege and the taking thereof, 1208. The situation thereof, 1330	Slaues exchanged for Horses, 15. or twenty Slaues for one Horse, 830. Diuers English made Slaues, and their miserable tor- tures, 890. 891. Traffique for Slaues, 965. Generation of Saues, 1067. Nineteene thousand Abal- sines made Slaues by Prete Ian- ni, 1100
Serpents, 810. 1168	Siege misorable, 1203	Slauonia the description thereof, 1835
Serpents not hurtfull, 918. Eating of Serpents, 1715. Domesticall and tame Serpents, 810. Apre- seruatiue against the venom of Serpents, 918	Sigeum Promontory honoured with the Sepulchre of Achilles, which Alexander covered with flowres, & run naked about it, as then the	Smith, viz. Capitaine Iohn Smith his Travels and Aduentures in diuers parts of the World, 1361. 1362. & seq. His travels through France, Italy, and on the Sea- coasts of Europe, Africa, & Asia: his entertainment and Exploits in the Emperours Wars against the Turke: his subtilie stratagems, valorous combats, applause, ad- uancement, honour, 1361. 1362. 1363. His Transiluanian Acts, 1364. Smith in three combats winneeth three Turks beads, 1365
Serpents which carry upon the tip of their tayle a certaine little run- dle like a Bell which, ringeth as they goe, 1003		Smith throwne ouerboard, & enter- tained by a Britton, 1362
Serras certaine Mountaines of Ca- shincabar, which are mighty, high and haue great Copper-mines, 975		Smith set on shore at Antiboin Pie- mont, 1363. Triple reward to Smiths triple victory, his gifts, command, honour, 1366
Sersell a towne built by the Romans upon the Mediterranean Sea; the description thereof, 813		Smiths employments under the Vay- uod of Walachy, 1356. Capitaine Smith
Seruah built as is fabled by Spi-		

THE TABLE.

Smith taken, sold, sent into Turkie,
and over the Black Sea to Tartaria:
his admirable escape, and other travels
in divers parts of Christendome, 1367. 1368. 1369
His returne by Germany, France
and Spaine, 1370
Smyrna described, 1343
Snailles which fond people call Devils,
816
Snakes the greatest and most venomous
that ever were seene, 954. 959. 1002. 1169. One of 30. foot
long, ibid. A remedie against the
hurt & venom of Snakes, 1169
Snakes so fat, that they have leanes
of grease like a great and fat hog,
which is good for the cold and other
diseases, ibid. Snakes with a
precious stone in their heads, ibid.
Snow continuall, 763. 777. Most
wonderfull and terrible Snowes
about October & Nouemb. 762
Snowie Mountaines, 777
Snow or Ice none at all in Ethiopia
or Congo, 988
Snowie Mountaines, 998
Socotora Iland described, 1122. The
way from Goa to Socotora, ibid.
The Socotorians converted to the
faith of Christ by S. Thomas the
Apostle, 1123. The tides in Socotora
are contrary to them of India,
being alwayes full Sea, when the
Moone appeareth there in the
Horizon, 1122. The Merchandise
of Socotora is only Verdigreale,
and Sanguis Draconis, 1123
Sodoms fruits, the skin whereof broken
was dusky within & black, 1206
Sodomy punished by Gods severe
Iudgement, 779
Sodomiticall Sea, 1445. Wicked
Sodomie, 1558
Soez, in times past called the Citie
of the Heroes, the description and
manner of the situation thereof,
1143. It is kept by the Turke
with Garrisons, ibid. The Voyage
from Toro to Soez, 1145
Sofala Kingdome, with the Inhabitants
thereof described, 1022. 1525. The commodities
of Sofala, are Gold, Ivory, and Amber, ibid.
Sofala supposed Ophir, ibid. The strange
customs observed in Sofala, 1537. Their
Musicke, Oaths, Gallantry, Attire, Trades,
Riches, Hunting, Brewing, Dining,
Iustice, Marriages, Childbirths, Funerals,
Lamentations, &c. 1540. 1541

Sofala Rivers and Ilands, the wilde
beasts, strange Wormes, Snakes,
and Fowles about those parts, 1544. 1545
Sogno a Province of Congo the description
thereof, 1003. 1004
Soldan the manner of creating him,
and of the Orders, Degrees, and
Offices in his Court, 841. The
greatest Peere in dignitie vnder
the Soldan, 842
Solimans Army of 460000. defeated,
1193. His taking the Citie Van,
1426
Soltania the description thereof, 1430
Sondina Iland the fruitfullest Countrey
in all the World, 1720
Sorcerers of Gorague, 1167
Souldiers, their honourable respect
in Ethiopia, 1109
Soule of man, a wicked opinion concerning
the same, after the departure thereof
out of the body, 1443. Transmigration
of Soules, 1636
Southsayers, 800
Southsaying Birds, 867
Southsaying Oracles, 867
Southsaying Ceremonies, 892
South Sea first searched by Cortes
his Pilots, 1685. Discoveries in
the South Sea from America to
the Philippinas, 1696
Spaine, the Map thereof, 1231. The
Dominions and Fortresses which
the King of Spaine hath upon the
Iles and mayne Lands of Africa,
and of the Great Turkes, 873. 874. & seq.
Relations and Observations of Spaine
in old English Rime, 1231. 1232. 1233. 1234.
Contention betwene the Kings of Spaine
& Portugall, 1676. Spanish & Portugall
discoveries in the East and West, 1676.
Warre betwixt the Spaniard & Portugall,
1688
Speare tryed by fire, 1203
Speech by Instrument, 1020
Sphynx & what represented thereby,
910
Spiders as bigge as the palme of a
mans hand, 954
Spinels where found, 1743
Spinning a strange manner thereof,
819
Spodium, and many other kinds of
Drugges come from Cambaya, 1743
Springs very strange, 1547
Spunges abundance thereof, 1279
Starre of the Wisemen, 1318
Starta Iland described, 1135
State-ceremonies in the Province of

Batea, 1722
Statues and Colosses, 1722
Stone whereon whosoever sitteth shall
be broken in his body, 1693
Stone salt a speciall commodity, 978
Stone-workes very curious, 1051
Storke of wonderfull bignesse, 1195
Stormes the like not heard of, 1058
Strangers kindly entertained, 769. 770. 825. In the Kingdome of
Benna they are adidged to dye
if they doe any wrong to a Stranger,
967. The manner of Iustice used
to them, ibid. ibid.
Stratagems of the Gagas, 976. A
strange Stratagem, 1210. De-
villish Stratagem of a Iugling
Knaue, occasioned by the superstition
of that time, 1228
Stratagems of Cap. Smith, 1364
A witty Stratagem, 1685
Strawtorches, 1560
Striually, certaine Rokes so called,
1277
Suaquen City and Port described,
1131. It is one of the richest Cities
of the Orient, ibid. It is superiour
to all other famous places in
four things, ibid. A description
of the shoalds of Suaquen, 1130.
Five leagues of shoalds, between
leagues from Suaquen, ibid. The
great traffique of Suaquen with
many Nations for Gold, Ivory, &
rich Merchandises, 1131. 1132
Suaquen for some fiftene leagues
is environed about with Shoalds,
Flats, Ilands, Rockes, Channells,
Bankes, &c. 1132. A Channell
seven leagues from Suaquen, ibid.
Observation of the Tides neere
Suaquen, 1133
Subia Nubia a Province of the
Moors, 1171
Suffange Elbahar Iland the description
thereof, 1140. There is a good
Hauen for all weathers, ibid.
Sugar plentifull, 773. 835. 896. 987. 1469
Sugar Gardens, 853
Sugar Canes, 940. 1547
Suliman watering, 1145
Sultan of the Turkes described, his
acts, cruell policies, occupation, attire,
Court, his women & Virgins, his
entertainment of Embassadors,
going to the Mosqui, generall
silence, Hawking & Hawkes,
Huntsmen, his Drinkings, 1301. 1302. 1303
Sultan Osman his death, and the
setting up of Multafa his Unkle,
1370. 1371. 1372
Suma-

THE TABLE.

ania the Metropolitall City of Sruan, the situation and de- scription thereof, 1428. A most barbarous spectacle in Samachia, ibid. The Persian Prince punished the Inhabitants of Samachia with diuers kinds of tortures & death, ibid.	an ell long, & some longer 1414. Sword very rich, the like whereof is not in the World, 865 Sybilla's subtilty, 1218 Synagogue of Ezechiel the Pro- phet, 1452. Jewish Synagogues, 1437. 1438. 1455. The Syna- gogue of Moles, 1461	A description thereof, with the Temples and Hospitals therein, 769 Tedfi a great Towne in Africa, and of much trade, hauing great abun- dance of Corne, Sugar, & of wild Oude, 773 Teeth soone lost, 765. People that doe gild their Teeth, 1693 Tegorarin a great and large Region in the Numidian Desert, a de- scription thereof, 824
Sundi a Province of Congo, the de- scription thereof, 1004. The Pro- vince of Sanda is alwayes gover- ned by the Heire apparent of the King of Congo, ibid. Sunne worshipped as God, 761. 1004 Three Sunnes appearing at one time in the Firmament, 1207 Supererogation the effects of the o- pinion thereof, 1261 Superstitions of the Africans, 766. 772. 794. 795. 798. 834. 932. 940 Superstitions obserued in the Ma- hometan Law, 797. 840. A most fond and senselesse Supersti- tion, 816. Jewish Superstition, 914. Crosse-superstition, 1209 Superstition aduanced, 1219 Superstition by what meanes ad- uanced, 1269. Fire & Sun super- stition, 1456 Superstition to Corpus Santo, 1525 Stupid Superstition to and of Blocks, 1560. 1561 Superstitions in Barbs, Winds, Cha- racters, Barkes, Diseases, 1658. Pythagorean Superstitions, and the Superstitious Ceremonies of the Bramenes, 1732. 1733. Pa- god-superstitions, 1770 Sutians their Sect and Originall, 1271	T abor Mount 1350. The wea- risome ascent of Mount Ta- bor, and the pretence of meriting by ascending it, 1351 Taddye a pleasant cleere liquour, issuing from a Spongie tree that grows straight and tall, without boughs to the top, & there spreads out in branches where they make incisions, & receiue the influence in earthen pots. It is a piercing medicinable drinke if taken early and moderately, excellent for the Stone, 1469 Tagabun a Countrey in Ethiopia, 1070 Tagauost a famous Citie in Africa, the description thereof, 773 Tali men like Giants, 1161 Tamarinds where plentifull, 1029 Tangia, or Tangiara a great & an- cient City in Africa; the descrip- tion thereof, 805 Targets & Shields made of the skin of a beast, 846 Tarodant a Towne of Sus, 763 Tarre-Springs, 1694 Tartars of Nagi, 1368. The state of the places betwixt Tartaria & Transilvania, 1369 Tarsus a City in Cilicia where Saint Paul was borne, 1337 Tartarie Merchants their Appa- rell, 1736 Tauris, the description and storie thereof, 1429 Tauzarghente a Route growing in the Westerne part of Africa vpon the Ocean Sea shoare, used for a most excellent Perfume, 850 Taxa Camera Apokolica, 1260 Tebessa a City of Africa, the descrip- tion thereof, 816. Satiricall Verses written in disgrace there- of, 817. Rebellious Tebessians beheaded, hanged, and their City sacked, ibid. Tecua besieged and taken, 1211 Teculeth a Towne in the Province of Hea, 769 Teddell Cape, 876 Tednest one of the Cities of Hea,	A description thereof, with the Temples and Hospitals therein, 769 Tedfi a great Towne in Africa, and of much trade, hauing great abun- dance of Corne, Sugar, & of wild Oude, 773 Teeth soone lost, 765. People that doe gild their Teeth, 1693 Tegorarin a great and large Region in the Numidian Desert, a de- scription thereof, 824 Telenin or Tremizen one of the four Kingdomes of Barbary, which hath three Regions vnder it, the names thereof, 750. A de- scription of the Kingdome of Te- lenin, 810. 811. & seq. The great Citie of Telenin, a description thereof, 811. The King of Telen- in taken Prisoner and beheaded, ibid. The King of Telenin his magnificence, 812 Temelne one of the Provinces of Fez, a description thereof, 782 The horrible desolation thereof, 782 Tempest of sand in manner of clouds, 1214. A most horrible and ter- rible Tempest, 1430 Templers beginning and degenera- tion, 1215. 1216. 1445 Templers Pride, 1226 Templers so called of a Temple built by Mahometans, 1269 Temples in Africa, 769. 772. 773. 774. 775. 786. 808. 811. 813. 835. 836. 837 Temples dedicated to the Sun, and Fire, 761. A Temple reported to bee where the Prophet Ionas was cast vp out of the Whales belly; the rafters and beames of the said Temple of Whales bones, 772. A faire & stately Temple through which a Riuer runneth, 773. 809 The stately Temple of Maroco, 774. 775. The admirable Temple of Fez, and the rich reuenues be- longing therunto, 786. The huge Temple of Tezza, 808. The beautiful Temple of Deretto, 835. The famous Temple of Cai- ro, 835. The Temple of Apis, 910 Temple of Hecate, 912 Temple built by Mahomet, 1269 The ruines of Apollos Temple where to be seen, 1277. S. Sophies Temple described, 1283. 1626. A description of the Temple of Helena on Mount Caluary, 1711 The Temple of the Resurrection and of the holy Sepulchre in Ieru- salem,

THE TABLE.

salem,	1013	by whom now inhabited,	1182	1072. A Towne in a	1063
Temple of S. Maries of Ierusalem,	1318.	Timaqueetes a kind of fruit,	1049	Trade from the Antlantike to the	1348
The huge Temple called		Timberley his Voyage from Cairo in		East Sea,	1348
Saint Abraham in the Valley of		Egypt to Ierusalem in fifty		Traditions foolish and blasphemous,	1499
Hebron,	1446	dayes,	1640	Transilvania described with the	
Temple full of Bookes,	1453	Time measured by the Moone,	1020	Map thereof,	1363. 1369
Temple of Mecha,	1488	Tinda hill,	923	Treacheries execrable and bloody,	865. 866. 867
Tenella a Citie of Africa the descrip-		Tithes paid to Mahumetan Princes		Treacle how made by the Moores,	1615
tion thereof,	774	because they were Priests,	803	Trees admirable,	899. 994. 957.
Tents, a mooneable City of white		Tombe found very ancient and ho-		1537. 1780. 1781. A Tree	
Tents,	1071.	nourable of an Arabian,	1146	the one halfe whereof, which	
Red Festuall		Tombuto the King thereof, and the		standeth toward the East is a	
Tents,	ibid.	extent of his Kingdoms,	751. 752	good Medicine against all Poy-	
Terebynth famous for the death of		Traffique to Tombuto,	755.	son, and the other side of the	
Goliath,	1327	Re-		Tree which standeth toward the	
Ternate Island described,	1681	nuerence used before the King of		West is very Poyson,	1693.
Terra Sigillata, the Earth thereof		Tombuto, 828. Great scarcitie		A strange Tree, the supposed Tree	
having those excellent vertues of		of Salt in Tombuto, which com-		of Paradise, 957. A Tree as	
curing of Wounds, stopping of		modity might bee supplied by our		big as twelve men can fathome,	
Fluxes, expulsiog Poysons, &c.	1280	English Merchants to their un-		holding forty tunnes of water,	
Terry his Voyage to the East Indies,		speakeable game, 828. 829. Dis-		985. Another Tree from which	
	1464. & seq.	uers Kings subdued by the King of		they draw Wine, and yeelding ex-	
Tesset a Towne of Numidia, the		Tombuto,	829. 830	cellent cloth, &c.	ibid.
description thereof,	822. 823	Tomourra the situation and descrip-		Trees like Corke-trees,	1135
Tezz, a City built by the Africans,		tion thereof,	1420	Trees which the most part of the	
five miles from Mount Atlas; an		Tondo Prouince,	975	yeare are dry, without leafe	
exact description thereof,	808	Tongobardinus his Wines,	1381	and greenesse, but haue this	
Thebe Citie the description thereof,		Toro a Towne sometimes called E-		propertie, that if one cut of a	
835. 1619. It aboundeth with		lana, the description thereof,	1140	bough, and put into water, in	
Corne, Rice, Sugar, and Muse,		A description of the Nooke or		the space of tenne houres it	
ibid.		Bay beyond Toro, and how by it is		springs and flourisheth with	
Theft severely punished,	779. 898.	understood the Gulfe Elaniticus,	1142.	greene Leanes; but draw it	
Cunning and subtile Theeuerie,		Distance of Land and		out of water, as soone as it is	
952. People much giuen to Thee-		Sea betweene Toro and Soez,	1144.	dry, it remaines againe as it	
uery,	968. 1072	The Tides from Toro to		was before. The wood thereof is	
Theodoricus King of the Gothes		Soez all equall with other Ports		good to stanch Fluxes of blood,	
vanquished,	821	of the Sea, 1145. The height of		1537. A Tree the Fruite	
Thirst, extremity thereof,	763. 1200	an Island that stands beneath To-		whereof whosoever doth eate	
A strange remedie used by the		ro,	1145	shall bee twelve houres made,	1693
African Merchants to quench		Torpedo a strange kind of fish, which			
their Thirst,	ibid.	no man can take in his hand		Tremizen a Kingdome called by	
Thomas Becket slaine in his Church		whiles it is alive, for it filleth the		the ancient Cosmographers Ca-	
at Canterbury, for mayntayning		band and arme with paine as if e-		saria, or Mauritania Casari-	
the Clergies Libertie against the		uery toynt would go asunder,	1185	entis, 752. vid. Telensin.	
Secular power in murders, &c.		1546. The Naturals say that the		Tributes and unreasonable exalti-	
1216. 1217. His Hospitall at		skin of this fish is used to Sorce-		ons,	803. 824
Achon, 1219. His appearing		ries. It is medicinable against the		Tributes of Goiamé and other	
three times after his death,	ibid.	Collicke, roasted and ground to		Prouinces in Ethiopia,	1103
Three, a remarkable number,	1072	powder, and drunke in Wine,	1546	Trigamie detested by the Greeke	
Thunder much feared by certaine		Tortate a Countrey full of Moun-		Church,	1305
African people, 944. A terrible		taines,	1052	Tripolis a Citie of Barbarie,	
Thunderbolt,	1147	Tortora Sea,	1328	753. 880. There is also the	
Tides very strange,	1703.	Tortoyles as bigge as a tunne,	847.	Kingdome of Tripolis, which	
Strong		The Story of a man that lay all		is the most excellent Region	
Tides,	1711.	night upon a Tortoyse, & thought		of Africa, 777. The olde and	
Admirable Tides,		hee had bene upon a Rocke, but		new Citie of Tripolis, the de-	
1713. Huge Tydes,	1724	found him self remooued three		scription of both,	821. 822.
Tigres very dangerous and terrible,		miles from the place in the mor-		Tripolis taken by a Flecte of	
	1725	ning,	847	Genowaies, 822. After sur-	
Tigres preuented by Ladders and		Tortoyse Egges,	1713	prised	
Buffalos,	1727	Towre of Cedron,	1240		
Tigrai Kingdome and the customes		Towre of Babell,	1437. 1452		
thereof, 1096. The description		Townes of Tents,	860. 1071.		
of the Kingdome of Tigrai, and					

THE TABLE.

by Pedro de Navarra, <i>An Arch-triumphall in the Towne of Tripolis descri- bed,</i> 880	Torkish Prophecie, 1324	led to turne Turkes, 889
Tripolis Citie taken, 1208.	Turkes reverence Church-men of all sorts, 1339	Turkes conspiring with Witches, 892
The Earle of Tripolis taken, and all his Footmen taken or slaine with their Carriages, 1211	Turkish Women described, their unnaturall Lust, their Chil- dren, &c. 1298. 1299	Turkes vanquished by Christians, 1193. 1198. 1203
Troy, antiently called Ilium descri- bed, 1280. A Survey of the Ru- ines of Troy, 1814. 1815. 1816.	Turkes Bathes and manner of Ba- thing, their Slaves, and the sale of them in Markets, Funerals, Physicke, Poetrie, Musicke, li- berall Arts, Language, Pa- per, Painters, Trades, &c. 1299.	Turkish Rebels, 1278. The Turkes Seraglio, Pera; the Turkish Empire and Government, and some Observations of the Turkish Religion, 1282. 1283. 1284. & seq.
The Tombe of the Troianes, 1841	Turkes knavery, 1310. 1328. A declaration of all Rites, Orders, and Officers belonging to the Great Turkes Court, 1585. 1586. & seq. Distinction of Names amongst the Turkes, 1341	Turkish warlike Discipline, 1288
Trumpeters Land, 1068	Turkes their Persons and manners, their Attire, their cutting of Haire, their Turbans, Shashes, Calico smockes, Gownes, Clergie attire, Knives, manner of walk- ing, cleanness, offices of Naime, Sloath, Shooting, Bowes, Wra- stlers, Games, quirkes in Law, Bri- bery, assurances and writings, Horses, reverence to Superiours, preferring of the left hand before the right, Hospitalitie, household, sitting Crosse-legged, dyet, meales and Feasts, Drinke, Coffa-hou- ses or Tavernes, taking of Opi- um, Mariage, punishment of A- dultery, Iealousie, 1294. 1295. 1296. 1297. 1607	Turpentine Tree, 1318
Tuffon an extraordinary storme at Sea, 1719. The Tuffon or Touffon commeth but every ten or twelue yeeres; and unfortunate are they that are at Sea in that yeere and time, because few there are that escape that danger, 1719 1720.	Turkes Officers, and his places of preferment, his Generals, Viziers, Vice-royes, Gouvernours, Ianiza- ries, &c. 1288. 1289. The Turkes chiefe Guard, 1290. The Turkes Sabbath, their Prayers, Litur- gie, Monkes, Lent, antique Dan- cing, feast Byram, Circumcisi- on, &c. 1291. 1292	Turtles which darken the Sunne, 1041
Tuna Port described, 1138	Turkish Charitie, Love, Pitié, feare to offend, 1293	Tygres wilde and tame, their na- ture & the maner of taking them 1001. Two men assaulted by Tygres, 1054. Store of Tygres, 1059. 1067
Tunis one of the foure Kingdomes of Barbaris, vnder which are comprised foure Regions, the names thereof, 750. Warre a- gainst the King of Tunis: the o- uerthrow and death and of the King of Tunis his sonne, 760. A description of the Kingdome of Tunis, 815. 816. & seq. A description of the mighty Citie of Tunis, 818. The King of Tunis saluted King of all Africa, 819	Turkes Dominions in Africa, 874. Mappe of the Turkish Empire, 1288. The Turkes Sea-force, 1291	Tygres River, 1423. 1723
Tunis now the richest Kingdome of all Africa, 819. The King of Tunis his Court, and the Rites and Ceremonies there v- sed, 820	Turkish perfidiousnesse, 880. Prizes taken by the Turkes from the English, 883	Tyrannous perfidie, 865
Turnadoes so variable and vncer- taine sometime within the space of one houre all the two and thir- tie severall windes will blow, 1464	Turkish Pirat taken & put ashore by the English, 886. Foure Eng- lish youths valiantly overcom- ming thirteene Turkes, &c. 887. The wonderfull recovery of a Bri- stow Ship from the Turkes, 890 Many English youths compel-	Tyrannicall custome of the King of Engoy, 980
Turnadoes accompanied with un- wholsome weather, Thunder, Lightning, and extreame Raine, ibid.		Tyrus besieged and taken, 1210.
Turkes their Religion, Opinions, Persons, Times, Places, and Rites sacred, 1607. 1608. 1609. & seq.		William an English man Arch- bishop of Tyre, 1211. The ruines of old Tyre, 1444
Turkes losse in Poland, 1373		V
Turkish crueltie, 1578. Description of the Great Turkes Seraglio, 1580. & seq.		Valetta a Citie built in the ho- nour of Iohn de Valetta, the description thereof, 918
Turkish Canes and Lampes, 1346.		Valleys twelue or fifteen miles deep 1069. The Valleys of Gehin- non & Ieholophat described, and how situate, 1321. 1322. The Valley of Aiolan, & the Valley of the Moone, 1445
Terrible Turkish Executions, 1355. Great Turkes dyet and services, 1599		Van Citie, the description, and Siege thereof, 1426. Solimans taking thereof after ten dayes Siege, ibid.
		Variance about the Dutchy of Fer- rara, 1384
		Variation of the Compasse ob- served in Ethiopia by meanes of Thunder and very great Haile, 1135
		Variation by meanes of heate, 1136
		Variation to Northeast halfe a de- gree, 1137. Other notes concer- ning Variation, ibid.
		Vaults of Christall and other rich Metalls, 994
		Velles de Gamera an antient Town built upon the Meditarranean Sea-shore, a description thereof, 806
		Veluets shorne and vsborne where made

THE TABLE

made and plentie, 994
 Veneration of an Old man, 808
 Venetian Signiorie inhabited by
 Grecians, 1275
 Verdigreale in great abundance
 and much esteemed in the Island of
 Socotora, 1123
 Vero, or Scinco, a small Tree, bring-
 ing forth a small round fruit,
 which at first is red, and being
 ripe waxeth blacke; of which the
 Inhabitants of the Ile Pantalaree
 make Oyle, which they use to
 burne in their Lampes and to
 cate, 877
 Vice-Consull of Alexandria, 901
 Valli di San Paulo, 990
 Vipers, 1003
 Virgin Maries Tombe, 1632
 Virginitie lost by making water up-
 on a Root, 850
 Visions, 1197. 1203
 Vnicornes found in the Kingdome
 of Damute, which are wilde and
 fierce, fashioned like a Horse, and
 of the bignesse of an Asse, 1168.
 Two other Vnicornes scene and
 described, 1489
 Voluptuous people, 798
 Vowes, 917. 1227. 1310. Sale of
 Vowes, 1226
 Vrbs an ancient Towne, full of Ro-
 man Antiquities, 817

W

W Aldenses their beginning,
 Doctrine, & Opposition,
 1266. 1267. The Popes In-
 dulgences against the Walden-
 ses, 1267
 Walking wondred at, 1348
 Wall of Glasse built by the worke-
 manship of Magicians, distingui-
 shed with holes equall in number
 with the dayes of the Sunne, so
 that every day the Sunne entring
 in at every hole goeth through the
 twelve degrees fitted to the houres
 of the day, & so sheweth the time
 of the yeere and day, 1448
 Warlike Customes and instruments,
 947. 948. 1434. 967. 996
 Warlike Discipline, 979. 1288.
 1434
 Warlike people, 974. 976. 1022.
 1129. Boyes trayned up in the
 Warres, 977. A famous Warri-
 our, 1100. 1101
 Warres blondy for Soueraignie,
 860

Washing in Iordan, 1205. The
 Washing of feete used by the
 Patri-guardian in Ierusalem,
 1315
 Water great scarcitie thereof, 763.
 770. 821. 825. 1711. A deare
 price for a cup of Water, 763.
 Conduits of fresh Water twelue
 miles, 783. Fall of Waters heard
 thirty miles, 975. Strange Wa-
 ter springs, 989
 Water Falls or Cataracts, 991
 Water-Horses, ibid. Rednesse of the
 Water in some places, 1131. A
 Well of Water very bitterish, 1185
 Cuning Water-diners, 1279.
 Strange spoutes of Water, 1330
 Water far lighter then ours here in
 England, 1340. Pleasant Wa-
 ter, 1352
 Water which will conuert Wood
 into Stone, 1694. A River
 of fresh Water in the bor-
 tome whereof lyeth white Salt,
 1694
 Waxe cast away by dull ignorance,
 770. Great plenty of Wax, 1117
 Wells affording most excellent wa-
 ter, 907. Legends or reports con-
 cerning the same, ibid.
 Whales great store, 772. 990. A
 Whales ribbe of incredible great-
 nesse, 772. A superstitious conceit
 concerning Whales, ibid.
 Whale Island described, 1125. It
 hath a good harbour for Ships,
 ibid.
 Whirlwindes of Barbarie most
 dangerous for Saylers, 876
 Wilde Beasts of diners sorts, 1041.
 1183. 1545
 Wilde Beasts which are not hurt-
 full, 1041. Provision against
 Wilde Beasts, 1053. A Wilde
 Beast so huge & bigge that a man
 sitting on Horsebacke, may passe
 upright under his belly, 1183.
 His shape and manner of fee-
 ding, ibid.
 Wilde Horses, wilde Asse, wilde
 Dogs, wilde Hogs, 1545
 Winde-Collicke, a speciall remedie
 for it, 973
 Windes in Africa, 765. 876. Cool-
 ling of hot regions by the Windes,
 988. Winter & Summer Winds
 in the Kingdome of Congo, ibid.
 A strange chance of the Windes,
 1138. Gales of Windes that
 scorched like flames of Fire, ibid.
 Windes so hot that many dye there-
 of, 1723. Constancie of Windes

in India,
 Wine of Maies, called by the
 ans Glicka, 955
 Wine of Raisins, 1032
 Wine in the Sacrament administred
 with a Spooone, 1033. Diners sorts
 of Wines which are had in Ethi-
 opia, 1084
 Wine made of Honey tempered
 with Opium, both pleasant and
 profitable taken moderately, 1183
 Wine of Vines, the scarcitie there-
 of; a Jesuite could not say Masse
 being desired by the Emperour
 of Ethiopia for want of Wine,
 ibid.
 Winters two in a yeere, 1042
 Winter and Summer strangely di-
 spensed, ibid.
 Witches, 796. 1013. Abhomin-
 able and unnaturall practises of
 Witches, 796
 Witches & Wizards carried to Sea
 by Turkes, 892
 Witches Ceremonies, ibid.
 Witches making foolish people be-
 lieue that Idols could speake and
 doe Miracles, 1013
 Wiuing in Africa and what goods
 Fathers there giue with their
 Children, 929. 931. Variety of
 Wiues, 930. The King of Beni
 hath above sixe hundred
 Wiues, 966
 Wiues burning with their dead hus-
 bands, 1479. 1705. Pluraltie
 of Wiues according as men are
 able to buy, 1571
 Wiues buried alive, 1724. Seven-
 ty Wiues burned with their Hus-
 bands Carcasse, 1749. Three
 hundred Wiues more burning
 with their Husbands, 1750
 Wolues, 1002. 1414. Certaine
 Wolues which loue the Oyle
 of Palmes beyond all measure,
 1002
 Women of Africa, 759. 758. 899.
 Women liuing in great liberty, 835.
 839
 Women very good Swimmers, 877.
 Shamelesse Women, 965. Ben-
 nions their offering of their Wo-
 men to Strangers, 968
 Women using Bowes, 983
 Women that dine under water, 989
 Warlike Women, 1022
 Women that burne their left Paps
 with fire, because they should bee
 no hinderance vnto them in their
 Shooting, ibid. Common Wo-
 men, 1038
 Womans

THE TABLE.

Wom ^{en} neglected in Echi- Wom ^{en} 1103. A Kingdome go- rned by Women, 1111. A Prouince of Women without Men: their Queene, Customs, and manner of living, 1168. A Womans wit, 1218	bigge as Rarities, bating wings like Dragons, &c. 1003. The Sunne, Moone, and other Crea- tures Worshipped, 1004. 1458. A Woman Worshipped, 1168	Zacharias his Body, 1483
Women prohibited to buy or sell, 1285	Worshippers of the Denill, 1425	Zago Zabo an Embassadour sent by Prete Ianni into Portugall, 1055
Women kept close, 1298	Worshippers of the Windes, 1457	Zaire the greatest River of Congo, 987. 991. The huge breadth and force thereof, 991. Whence it is said to spring, 1111
Women of light behaviour, 1343	The error of the Worshippers of the Fire, 1459	Zambeze River. <i>vid.</i> Cuama.
Women strangely attired, their fa- ces covered, &c. 1418. Faire Women, and the attire of Wo- men and Maides, 1421	Worshippers of an Exhalation, 1525. People that Worship no God but their King, who they say is God of the Earth, 1551	Zangaons Flies of strange mixture, 1545
Womens Heauen, 1608. A mar- vellous fond delight in Women, 1703	Worship of the people of Loranga: 1553. A bundle of Sticks wor- shipped, 1560	Zant Island, formerly called Zacyn- thus described, 1275. It produ- ceth the best Oyle of the World, & excellent strong Wines; but the chiefe riches thereof consisteth in Currants, which draweth thither much traffique, 1275. The Com- modities and Customes of Zant, 1812
Wonder, or chiefe of the worlds se- uen Wonders, 907	Worshipping of a Cow, 1732	Zarhon Mount, a description there- of, 804
Wood sold by weight, 898	Wounds and maladies, 960	Zauna a kinde of Drinke used in E- thiopia, 1094
Woods of wilde Olines, 1037	Wrestling in Breeches of oyled Lea- ther, 1329	Zebadees House, 1325
Wood which hath vertues against the Ayre, and blastings, 1537	Writing not used at all in the Con- go tongue, 1619. The use of Wri- ting hath not bene long in Echi- opia, 1093	Zebra a certaine Beast of Africa described, 1001
Wooll growing upon the Palme- Tree, 757		Zebulons Sepulcher, 1330
Wormes in the Legges, 960. Trou- blesome long-Wormes, 963. The Negroes are troubled with Wormes in most parts about them, 964. Sprinkling of Worms with Holy water to kill them, 1034. Very strange Wormes, 1168	X	Zeila Kingdome, 1130. The Com- modities thereof are Gold, Iuorie, Cinet, Frankincense, Myrhe, and many other Drugs and Slaves, 1151
Wormes in the belly by use of raw Flesh, 1182. A fruit which kills the Wormes and emptieth the belly, <i>ibid.</i> A wonderfull strange Worme, 1545	X Aabiliden Shelve, 1136	Zeilan Island described, and the rich Commodities thereof, 1709
Wormes which creepe and eat tho- rough mens Cloaths, 1771	Xacara Port, 1138. Obserua- tions concerning the Current there, <i>ibid.</i>	Zemorgite Island, 1136
Worshippers of fire, 761. 1459. Of the Sunne, <i>ibid.</i> 1458. Of an Old man, 808. Of a Sepulcher, 838. Of a River, 897. Of Dogges, Sheepe, Beetles the head of a Hawke, Isis, Cats, the head of a Monkey or Baboone, 911. Of certaine strange Creatures as	Xacos a kinde of great Sheepe which men ride upon, 1694	Zcuera or Zebra a strange kinde of wilde Beast like a Horse, but that his Mane, his Tayle, and strakes of diuers colours downe his sides and legges make a difference, &c. 983. The Picture of the Zcuera or Zebra, 984
	Xamea Island described, 1125	Ziden a Haue in Ethiopia, 1073
	Xiona a very great and famous Port, 1138	Zona torrida thought by ancient Writers to bee uninhabitable, but now disproued, 987
	Xarmelquiman Hanen described, 1137	
	Xoa Kingdome discovered and de- scribed, 1100	
	Xuarit Island described, 1137. It is a Calceuer-shot in length, and in breadth almost as much, <i>ibid.</i>	
	Z	
	Zacharies house, 1320	
	Zacharies Sepulcher, 1322	

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